

# 澳洲台灣移民之職業結構

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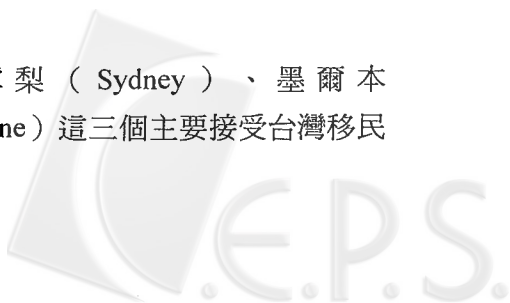
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## 中文摘要

在過去十年裡面台灣人移民海外人數相當可觀。平均每年都有兩萬到兩萬五千名移往美國、加拿大、澳大利亞與紐西蘭等主要目的地。台灣移民海外人數激增原因很多，其中政局不穩、經濟快速成長、個人收入增加以及一九八九年以來政府開放國人出國觀光此四者是主要的原因。另一方面，由於澳洲採取以吸收科技人才與企業家為導向的經濟商業移民政策，其境內以台灣出生為主的社區在一九八六年到一九九一年六年裡增加了五倍以上。在一九九一年至一九九六年間年平均成長率為百分之八點五。接受移民國的統計資料與研究活動固然有助於研究此一現象，但是相對而言台灣學者很少對此有所著墨。


此項研究的主旨是從雪梨（Sydney）、墨爾本（Melbourne）、布里斯班（Brisbane）這三個主要接受台灣移民



的大都市所公佈的報告、統計數據以及前往當地訪談來檢視以台灣出生移民為主的社區就業的情況。再者，根據澳洲一九九六年人口普查，台灣出生的移民接近兩萬人，但是卻未提及他們的經濟與職業結構，本研究論及台灣出生的澳洲移民成長的趨勢、分佈與就業的狀態。

根據澳洲各年人口普查資料顯示，台灣出生移民的總收入分佈最多是在一萬五千澳元到四萬澳元之間。而且，在台灣移民裡面，男性收入較女性為高。若以就業業別來看，大多數的台灣出生移民從事批發、零售、旅館與餐飲服務。其次為金融、財產與商業服務業。然而，女性台灣移民則比較集中在教育與社區服務等方面。從一九八六年至一九九六年人口普查資料顯示，台灣移民的職業結構為男性移民從事管理、行政與專業的工作為多，而女性移民則以中層階級辦事員、推銷與服務業為主。所以，男性移民的職業地位遠比女性職業地位為高。同時，上述資料也顯示台灣出生移民的失業率比澳洲出生和英語系移民的失業率高，且職業成就偏低。

值得注意的是，由於澳洲人口普查的資料是根據出生地而設計的，因而低估了在澳洲的台灣移民的實際數字。因為不少年長的台灣住民不是生於台灣，而是生於中國大陸，後來跟隨著國民政府在一九四九年到台灣。按照澳洲人口普查的分類，這些人並不屬於台灣移民。



# **A Preliminary Study of Taiwanese Immigrants to Australia**

**(An Examination of Employment Structure of Taiwanese Immigrants in Australia)**

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## **Introduction**

Since the 1980s, Australia has become a popular host country for Asian immigrants. It was recorded that in 1961, 0.8% of Australians were born in Asia, while in 1996, 5% of Australians were born in Asia (Inglis, 1999). The 1980s also marked the beginning of a new wave of Chinese immigration to, as well as settlement within Australia. Many (Inglis and Wu, 1994; Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998; Wu and Inglis, 1998; Inglis, 1999) have regarded this as indication of a 'new' Asian immigration, in that recent migrants have been mostly from an upper-middle or middle class background with both professional skills and considerably secure capital resources. As such, they are distinct from earlier settlers most often associated with the 'coolie' trade and fortune hunters. Recent Hong Kong and Taiwanese migrants have differentiated themselves clearly from the early Chinese sojourners (Inglis, 1998) and have formed spatially and socially significant groups.

Not surprisingly, the number of Taiwanese immigrants departing for Australia has been steadily rising since the late 1980s. In the

fifteen-year time between 1991-1996, Taiwan's immigrants increased more than 20 times, while she has become one of Australia's major trading partners. In both 1991 and 1996, Taiwan was the seventh largest trading partner for Australia. A total share of 4.4% Australian exports (A\$3.4 billion) went to Taiwan in 1996 (ranked 6th in Australia), and a share of 3.2% Australian imports (A\$2.5 billion) was from Taiwan in the same year (ranked 8th in Australia). These shares are still steadily growing (Bishop & McNamara, 1997: 397).

The Taiwan-born community of Australia has undergone substantial growth between 1986 and 1996 (the years when the census was taken), having increased more than fivefold between 1986 and 1991 and by 8.5 % per annum between 1991 and 1996.(Hugo, forthcoming). This is partly due to Taiwan being one of the nations targeted in the economic and business migration programs of the late 1980s and early 1990s. For the most part, they have been selected on the basis of their export skills and experience and their ability to bring at least A\$1,000,000 when they came and therefore generally compare quite favorably to the host population in education and in entrepreneurial skills. For instance, a greater proportion (24.2% per cent) have a degree or diploma than is the case of the Australia-born (16.2%). In spite of their recent arrival, the Taiwan-born have a high proportion who own or are purchasing the house which they are occupying (75.3 %). However, an unexpected high unemployment rate (19.6 %) is found among the Taiwan-born, compared to 8.6% of the Australia-born population, reflecting the degree of adjustment in the country they have decided to land.

### Purpose of this Study

Taiwanese emigrants have reached a considerable dimension in the last ten years, averaging 20,000 to 25,000 per year heading for the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand as major destinations. (Table 1). Among the various reasons accounting for this increase, political uncertainty, rapid economic growth, increase of



personal income and relaxation of restrictions permitting her citizens to go abroad as tourists starting in 1990 came foremost. Recent research activities in the host countries have provided some insights in studying the phenomena (Coughlan, 1998; Wu, Ip, Inglis, Kawakami and Duivenvoorden; 1998) but relatively little is studied from the viewpoint of Taiwanese. Since the phenomenon of Taiwan-born immigrants moving to Australia has been fairly recent, the existing literature on Taiwan-born immigrants' growth and distribution, employment structure, labor force participation, and income level is quite limited. This study focuses on the occupational structure and employment conditions of Taiwanese work force in Australia. It will explore a few general dimensions of the employment conditions of Taiwan-born immigrants in Australia between 1981 and 1996. The research materials are mainly based on the Australian Census held every five years and partly derived from published work (Hon & Coughlan) on Chinese immigrants in Australia (1997). The findings are supplemented by recent field studies in major Australian cities.



**Table 1 Destinations of Taiwan-born Immigrants Overseas**

(表 1 台閩地區人民移居外國人數統計表按國家別分)

〈unit: person〉

	U.S.	Canada	N.Z.	Aust.	S.Africa	合計
1990	11,158	3,681	2,118	2,988	1,221	21,166
1991	10,626	4,488	436	3,219	1,219	19,988
1992	9,588	7,427	2,310	1,943	312	21,580
1993	7,834	9,472	2,501	774	1,500	22,081
1994	6,380	6,500	4,984	626	288	18,778
1995	7,605	6,700	3,955	1,115	9	19,384
1996	10,111	5,543	5,379	1,709	5	22,747
1997	8,263	9,613	588	1,535	0	20,017
1998	7,001	7,159	537	1,496	72	16,265
小計	78,566	60,601	22,808	15,375	4,626	181,976

Source: Committee on Population Policy, Ministry of Interior

## Growth and Distribution

As census data shows, there were only 877 Taiwan-born immigrants residing in Australia in 1981. However, this figure skyrocketed to 13,025 in 1991 and 19,574 in 1996 (Hugo, forthcoming).

As Figure 1 shows, Taiwan-born Australians are concentrated in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. Starting in 1991, Brisbane ranked

second in the concentration of Taiwan-born population (Table 2). In 1996, an even higher proportion of Taiwan-born population settled in Brisbane. The largest concentration of Taiwan-born population by states is in Queensland (37%), followed by New South Wales (36.5%) and Victoria (18.3%) as shown in Table 3

**Table 2 Distribution of Taiwan-born Immigrants in three major cities in Australia, 1986, 1991, 1996**

(表 2：澳洲台灣移民在澳洲三大城市的分佈比例，1986, 1991, 1996)

Year	1986		1991		1996	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sydney	806	50.3	4,921	45.0	6,729	41.5
Melbourne	577	36.0	2,413	22.1	3,432	21.2
Brisbane	219	13.7	3,600	32.9	6,038	37.3
Total (a)	1,602	100.0	10,934	100.0	16,199	100.0
Total Taiwan-born (b)	2,056		12,958		19,547	
Percentage of Total Taiwan-born (a/b)	78.0		84.4		82.9	

Source: ABS, Unpublished Census Data, 1986、1991、1996



**Table 3 Distribution of Taiwan-born Immigrants in Different States**

(表 3: 各州的人口分配比率)

State								
Year	NSW	Vic	Qld	SA	WA	Tas	NT	ACT
1991	39.9	19.3	23.2	2.1	4.7	0.1	0.4	1.3
1996	36.5	18.3	37.0	2.4	4.5	0.2	0.2	1.1

Source: Hugo, Graeme and Chris Maher. (1995) Atlas of the Australian People — 1991 Census, National Overview. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra. p.131.

Hugo, Graeme (forthcoming) Atlas of the Australian People — 1996 Census, National Overview, AGPS.

## Employment Structure

To get a closer overall picture of the employment structure of Taiwanese migrants, the author will use the original unpublished census. Census Data on Australia has been purchased from the Australian Bureau of Statistics covering 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996. Cross-tabulations of data on age, gender, status of work and labour force characteristics, occupation, industry are shown on Tables 4 to 8 as the basis for further analysis.

As for employment, this research shows that the unemployment rates (UR) of Taiwan-born immigrants in 1981, 1986, 1991, and 1996 are 8.2%, 13.9%, 26.9% and 19.6% respectively (See Table 4 for



detail). These rates fluctuate and are not only much higher than the average of the Australian-born or English-speaking migrant populations, but also higher than other Asian immigrants except those from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. For people born in Australia, the unemployment rates in the February of 1986, 1991, 1995 are 8.8%, 9.1% and 9.3% (HREOC, 1995: 64) respectively. For 1991, the Taiwan-born immigrants experienced a comparatively low level of labor participation rate similar to other non-English speaking migrants. According to Brooks (1996: 12), this is partly due to the effect of the 1990-1992 recession that hit much harder on non-English speaking immigrants than on those Australian-born as well as English speaking immigrants.

In these Census years, the overall income distribution of Taiwan-born immigrants indicates that the income range of A\$15,000-A40,000 is among the highest of all ranges. In addition, the males tend to have higher income than the females among Taiwanese immigrants (See Table 5 for detail). In terms of the employment industry, most Taiwan-born immigrants are involved in wholesale, retail, accommodation and restaurant business. Secondly, many Taiwanese are in the sectors of financial, property and business services. The females, however, tend to concentrate more on educational and community services (See Table 6).

From the 1986-1996 Census data of Taiwanese occupational structures, it is shown that the male migrants tend to occupy managerial, executive and professional positions, whereas the females take up positions in intermediate clerical, sales and service tasks. Thus, the occupational status of the male migrants is much higher than the females (See Table 7 for detail). As in the 1991 Census, 21.7% employed Taiwan-born immigrants were managers and administrators. This figure is higher than the Australian-born people who constitute only 16% in the same year (HREOC, 1995: 48). This is because the background of Taiwan-born immigrants is upper/middle-class oriented. In fact, a big proportion of Taiwan-born immigrants arriving at

Australia in the 1990s originally belongs to the managerial and administrating strata back at home. In terms of the sectors of employment of these immigrants, most Taiwanese work in private sectors (comprising at least 70% in general terms). This condition has been gradually intensifying year by year. On the other hand, the percentage of Taiwanese immigrants working in either federal or local governments is quite low (less than 10% in all years), especially for the immigrant men (See Table 8 for detail).

Obviously, Taiwan-born immigrants experienced high levels of unemployment and medium to low levels of occupational achievements when compared with Australia-born and English-speaking immigrants in Australia. According to Wooden's analysis on immigrant labor market (1994), English language ability of immigrants is the key to unemployment. David Schak (1999) who studied Taiwanese business migrants in Brisbane, pointed out that many migrants, because of poor English skills faced difficulties in translating their skills and capital into successful businesses. Racial discrimination is yet another hotly debated factor for the inferior outcome of Taiwanese/Asian immigrants in the labor market. In reality, it is clear that these non-English speaking immigrants are experiencing "unequal labor market outcomes when compared with other immigrants and the Australian born" (HREOC, 1995:45). Consequently, labor market outcomes for immigrants from Taiwan or other non-English speaking countries are still inferior to those for other Australians. This unequal labor market outcome is especially true for the immigrant women as the Census data shows that the Taiwan-born immigrant women had much poorer occupational performance.



**Table 4 Labor force status of Taiwan-born immigrants in Australia, 1981-1996**  
**(表 4：澳洲台灣移民勞動參與力，1981-1996)**

Census		1981		1986		1991		1996	
Status	Year	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employed		150 (38.1%)	153 (31.7%)	343 (16.7%)	382 (32.0%)	978 (16.7%)	1,015 (14.1%)	1,784 (20.4%)	2,021 (18.7%)
Unemployed		9 (2.3%)	18 (3.7 %)	44 (5.1%)	73 (6.1%)	365 (6.3%)	369 (5.1%)	446 (5.1%)	484 (4.5%)
Not in the labor force		169 (42.9%)	199 (41.2%)	196 (22.8%)	442 (37.0%)	2,669 (45.7%)	4,155 (57.8%)	5,046 (57.7%)	6,948 (64.4%)
Persons aged under 15		66 (16.8%)	113 (23.4%)	263 (30.6%)	286 (23.9%)	1,744 (29.9%)	1,515 (21.1%)	1,393 (15.9%)	1,247 (11.6%)
Not stated		0	0	15 (1.7%)	12 (1.0%)	86 (1.5%)	129 (1.8%)	82 (0.9%)	96 (0.9%)
Total persons		394	483	861	1,195	5,842	7,183	8,751	10,796
Unemployment Rate (UR)		5.7%	10.5%	11.4%	16.0%	27.2%	26.7%	20.0%	19.3%
Total UR			8.2%		13.9%		26.9%		19.6%

Source: Compiled from the statistics of 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996 Census materials that are produced by the customized service from ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics).

Table 5 Distribution of individual income of employed Taiwan-born immigrants aged 15+ in Australia, 1981-1996  
(表 5: 澳洲台灣移民個人收入分配, 1981-1996)

Census Year	1981			1986			1991			1996		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Annual Income												
<\$8,000 <sup>a</sup>	27 (18.1%)	64 (41.3%)	91 (29.9%)	46 (13.4%)	93 (24.2%)	139 (19.2%)	137 (13.1%)	207 (18.2%)	344 (15.8%)	339 (19.0%)	509 (25.2%)	848 (22.3%)
\$8,001-15,000 <sup>b</sup>	58 (38.9%)	70 (45.2%)	128 (42.1%)	89 (25.9%)	130 (33.8%)	219 (30.1%)	165 (15.8%)	257 (22.6%)	422 (19.4%)	231 (13.2%)	349 (17.3%)	580 (15.2%)
\$15,001-26,000 <sup>c</sup>	46 (30.9%)	18 (11.6%)	64 (21.1%)	123 (35.9%)	130 (33.8%)	253 (34.8%)	257 (24.6%)	303 (26.8%)	560 (25.7%)	440 (24.7%)	524 (25.9%)	964 (25.3%)
\$26,001-40,000 <sup>d</sup>	8 (5.4%)	0	8 (2.6%)	58 (16.9%)	17 (4.4%)	75 (10.3%)	220 (21.2%)	175 (15.4%)	395 (18.2%)	426 (23.9%)	437 (21.6%)	863 (22.7%)
\$40,001-50,000 <sup>e</sup>	10 (6.71%)	3 (1.9%)	13 (4.28%)	10 (2.9%)	3 (0.8%)	13 (1.8%)	80 (7.7%)	35 (3.1%)	115 (5.3%)	129 (7.2%)	82 (4.1%)	211 (5.5%)
\$50,001 + <sup>f</sup>	10 (6.71%)	3 (1.9%)	13 (4.28%)	11 (3.2%)	9 (2.3%)	20 (2.7%)	77 (7.4%)	24 (2.1%)	101 (4.6%)	191 (10.7%)	85 (4.2%)	276 (7.3%)
Not stated	149 (6.71%)	155 (1.9%)	304 (4.28%)	343 (1.7%)	385 (2.3%)	728 (2.1%)	1,043 (10.3%)	1,136 (11.9%)	2,179 (11.1%)	1,784 (1.6%)	2,021 (1.7%)	3,805 (1.7%)
Total number	149	155	304	343	385	728	1,043	1,136	2,179	1,784	2,021	3,805

Source: Compiled from the statistics of 1981, 1986, and 1996 Census materials that are produced by the customized service from ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics). 1991 statistics are derived and recalculated from Hoon & Coughlan's article of "The Chinese in Australia: Immigrants from the People's Republic of China, Malaysia, Singapore and Macau," in Coughlan & McNamara eds. Asians in Australia: Patterns of Migration and Settlement, page 160, published by Macmillan Education Australia PTY LTD, 1997.

a - For 1986, the range is <\$9,000; for 1996, it is <\$8,319. b - For 1986, the range is \$9,001-15,000; for 1991, it is \$8,001-16,000; for 1996, it is \$8,320-15,599.

c - For 1991, the range is \$16,001-25,000; for 1996, it is \$15,600-25,599. d - For 1991, the range is \$25,001-40,000; for 1996, it is \$26,000-41,599.

e - For 1996, the range is \$41,600-51,999. f - For 1996, the range is \$52,000 and more.

Table 6: Distribution of Employment Industry of Taiwan-born immigrants in Australia, 1981 - 1996 Census

Industry	1981		1986		1991		1996	
Census Year	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	2.0%	0	2.0%	0.8%	2.3%	0.6%	2.5%	1.4%
Mining	0	0	0	0	0.9%	0	0.3%	0.2%
Manufacturing	21.9%	13.9%	16.7%	17.0%	12.8%	8.0%	11.4%	8.1%
Electricity, gas and water	2.0%	2.0%	0	0	0.9%	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%
Construction	0	0	1.5%	0.8%	2.1%	0.6%	2.3%	1.2%
Wholesale, retail trade, & accommodation	18.5%	23.8%	39.2%	38.5%	27.0%	24.0%	34.8%	33.1%
restaurants								
Transport and storage	2.6%	4.6%	1.5%	2.1%	5.0%	3.5%	6.6%	6.1%
Communications	2.6%	0	3.2%	1.8%	0.9%	2.1%	1.8%	1.1%
Financial, property and business services	5.3%	9.9%	8.8%	11.5%	14.1%	12.6%	17.8%	16.3%
Public administration, and defence	4.6%	6.0%	3.8%	3.9%	2.0%	3.5%	1.8%	2.3%
Education & community services	15.2%	16.6%	12.9%	14.1%	7.6%	14.5%	7.3%	17.2%
Recreational and personal services	12.6%	11.3%	3.5%	3.9%	6.8%	8.6%	3.8%	4.9%
Not classifiable/not stated	12.6%	11.9%	7.0%	5.5%	17.6%	21.7%	9.3%	8.0%
Total number	151	151	342	382	987	1,075	1,784	2,022

Source: Compiled from the statistics of 1981, 1986, and 1996 Census materials that are produced by the customized service from ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics). 1991 statistics are derived and recalculated from Hoon & Coughlan's article of "The Chinese in Australia: Immigrants from the People's Republic of China, Malaysia, Singapore and Macau," in Coughlan & McNamara eds. Asians in Australia: Patterns of Migration and Settlement, page 155, Australia PTY LTD, 1997.

Table 7 Percentage distribution of the occupation of Taiwan-born immigrants in Australia, 1986-1996  
(表 7：澳洲台灣移民職業分布, 1986-1996)

Census Year	1986		1991		1996	
Status	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Managers and administrators	55 (16.0%)	14 (3.7%)	290 (30.3%)	136 (13.5%)	406 (22.8%)	209 (10.3%)
Professionals	77 (22.4%)	68 (17.8%)	163 (17.0%)	105 (10.4%)	367 (20.6%)	478 (23.7%)
Associate professionals	20 (5.8%)	28 (7.3%)	24 (2.5%)	19 (1.9%)	275 (15.4%)	203 (10.0%)
Tradespersons and related workers	44 (12.8%)	12 (3.1%)	63 (6.6%)	27 (2.7%)	117 (6.6%)	39 (1.9%)
Advanced & intermediate clerical and service workers	25 (7.4%)	102 (26.7%)	55 (5.6%)	221 (21.9%)	168 (9.4%)	555 (27.5%)
Intermediate production & transport workers	28 (8.2%)	27 (7.1%)	23 (2.4%)	30 (3.0%)	86 (4.8%)	33 (1.6%)
Elementary clerical, sales, & service workers	34 (9.9%)	57 (14.9%)	95 (9.9%)	163 (16.2%)	144 (8.1%)	270 (13.4%)
Laborers & related workers	40 (11.7%)	53 (13.9%)	76 (7.9%)	98 (9.7%)	81 (4.5%)	88 (4.4%)
Inadequately described/not stated	20 (5.8%)	21 (5.5%)	168 (17.6%)	209 (20.8%)	140 (7.8%)	146 (7.2%)
Total number	343	382	957	1,008	1,784	2,021
	725		1,965		3,805	

Source: Statistics of 1986 and 1996 Census are produced by the customized service from ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics). 1991 statistics are derived and recalculated from Hoon & Coughlan's article of "The Chinese in Australia: Immigrants from the People's Republic of China, Malaysia, Singapore and Macau," in Coughlan & McNamara eds. *Asians in Australia: Patterns of Migration and Settlement*, page 153, published by MacMillan Education Australia PTY LTD, 1997. Statistics of 1981 Census in occupations are not comparable to the Census in 1986 and after.

Table 8 Sector of employment of Taiwan-born immigrants in Australia, 1981-1996  
(表 8：澳洲台灣移民就業部門別，1981-1996)

Sectors	1981		1986		1991		1996	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Federal								
Government	8.7%	10.5%	8.5%	7.3%	5.2%	5.8%	2.7%	2.8%
State or local								
Government	16.0%	8.5%	11.4%	9.2%	4.3%	7.5%	4.0%	7.9%
Private sector	67.3%	71.9%	79.3%	81.7%	75.5%	67.3%	88.2%	83.7%
Not stated	8.0%	9.2%	0.9%	1.8%	15.1%	19.5%	5.0%	5.6%
Total number	150	153	343	382	1,043	1,136	1,784	2,021

Source: Compiled from the statistics of 1981, 1986, and 1996 Census materials that are produced by the customized service from ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics). 1991 statistics are derived and recalculated from Hoon & Coughlan's article of "The Chinese in Australia: Immigrants from the People's Republic of China, Malaysia, Singapore and Macau," in Coughlan & McNamara eds. Asians in Australia: Patterns of Migration and Settlement, page 155, published by MacMillan Education Australia PTY LTD, 1997.

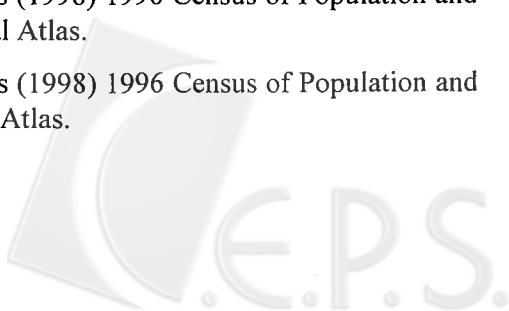
## Conclusion

This paper provides basic research on recent Taiwan-born in Australia which introduced economic and business migration policies that targeted at skilled and entrepreneurial groups, especially in the newly industrializing countries of Asia. Close to 20,000 Taiwan-born were counted in the 1996 census but little has been published with regard to economic and occupational structures. This study uncovers the growth trend, distribution and employment of new arrivals.

The Australian Census data underestimate the actual number of Taiwanese immigrants in Australia due to its design of the "birthplace" question. The Census calculates numbers of immigrants of different nations solely based on the item of "birthplace." Because many elder Taiwan residents were not born in Taiwan (they were born in China and came to Taiwan with the Chiang Kai-shek army in 1949 due to the civil war with the communists), and are not calculated as "Taiwanese" immigrants in Australian Census. Therefore, the actual number of Taiwanese immigrants in Australia can be underestimated. It is necessary to work out an estimate that can be derived from various sources of considerations and designs according to other existing statistics and materials. By so doing, the most approximate number of real Taiwanese migrants living in Australia can be found out. In addition, this research can be greatly enhanced if complemented by other research methods such as in-depth interviews and the collection of other types of non-Census materials.

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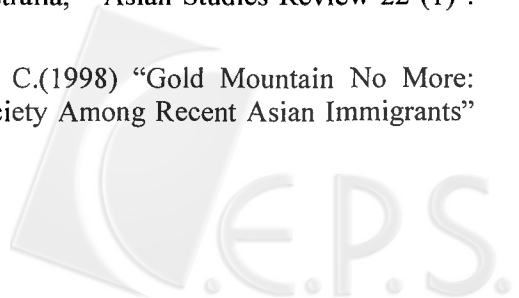
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Map 1 Distribution of Taiwan-born in Sydney

Map 2 Distribution of Taiwan-born in Melbourne

Map 3 Distribution of Taiwan-born in Br isbane

