

ARMENIAN MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND
ADJUSTMENT IN AUSTRALIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE ARMENIANS IN SYDNEY

by

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CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT AND RESIDENTIAL ADJUSTMENT IN SYDNEY

INTRODUCTION

The form which immigrant settlement takes and the subsequent pattern of population redistribution over time are expressions of the way in which an immigrant group is absorbed into the wider society¹ (Burnley, 1976a: A125). The classical view of such settlement and redistribution was introduced by E.W. Burgess (1974: 47-62) in his concept of "ecological succession". This entailed newly arriving immigrants settling initially in inner city areas which were being vacated by the native-born population. In time, as these immigrants became financially established and culturally adjusted to the host society, they moved out of these inner city areas and were succeeded by an in-coming migrant population, which, in turn, eventually moved out to be ultimately replaced by yet another immigrant group.

This geographical movement away from the area of immigrant concentration in the inner city was found to be accompanied by an increase in the "social distance" between earlier and later arrivals and a decrease in the social distance of the immigrants from the host population. Thus, spatial distance was taken as an indicator of social distance (Park, 1952: 177), and the immigrant's residential location was seen as an indicator of his level of assimilation into the host society.

His location was also a *determinant* of his assimilation. In the ethnic concentration, residential proximity to other immigrants served to maximize social interaction, thereby reinforcing traditional norms, values and expectations. This inhibited their assimilation to the host society and heightened the "visibility" of the immigrant group. Dispersal from the

¹ Price (1963: 249) also noted that "the ethnic group settlement, whatever its form, has been of the greatest importance to the whole process of migration and assimilation".

ethnic concentration, on the other hand, meant that the immigrants' social and cultural contacts with host society members were increased, usually at the expense of continued contact with other immigrants. This served to facilitate assimilation, with the immigrants gradually becoming more like host society members (Jones, 1967: 412).

Duncan and Lieberson (1959) took Burgess' concept one step further by hypothesizing that the extent to which an immigrant group was *segregated* from the host population was an indication of its social distance from, and assimilation into the host society. To assess the relative level of segregation these two authors developed an "Index of Dissimilarity" which measured the unevenness of the distribution of two statistical populations (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Lieberson, 1963a; Timms, 1965: 240-241). This index may be interpreted as a determination of net displacement, showing the percentage of one population which would have to move to other areas in order to reproduce the percentage distribution of another population, whether this other population is another immigrant group or the overall population. Various measures of "spatial association" have been derived from this index, the most common being the Index of Metropolitan Segregation (Zubrzycki, 1960a: 85). This index measures relative concentration, with zero indicating no concentration and the greater the index the greater the level of concentration. This and other variants of the Index of Dissimilarity have been used extensively during recent years in studies of the residential settlement of ethnic groups¹ (Burnley, 1972a; 1972c; 1975b; 1976b; 1977; Jones, 1967; 1969; Lieberson, 1963a; Stimson, 1970; Timms, 1969; Trlin, 1971; 1973; Zubrzycki, 1960a).

One of the principal findings of these studies is that the extent of dissimilarity of a migrant group from the host society, in terms of spatial distribution, is highly predictive of its degree of dissimilarity in other social structural characteristics and there is, in general, a

¹ In reality, the Index of Dissimilarity scores reflect much more than the desire of immigrants to live near one another. They also reflect such factors as the residential stratification of the total society and the ecological distribution of housing types - which might affect the residential choice of groups within both the immigrant and host populations at different stages of the life cycle.

consistency between spatial concentration and other social indices of assimilation.

Although many studies, both in the United States and Australia, have found that residential dispersion and the degree of ethnic concentration and segregation are fairly good indicators of assimilation (Burnley, 1976a: A130),¹ the patterns of immigrant settlement and change in ethnic concentrations are infinitely more complex than allowed for in Burgess' model. In fact, over the past quarter-century, the patterns and forms of immigrant settlement in large cities have become more complex, while, on the whole, the overall level of residential concentration of these groups has fallen (Burnley, 1977: 153).

Much of this complexity is due to the fact that, for immigrants, there are two basic kinds of elements which affect their initial settlement and their later population redistribution in the urban milieu: those factors directly related to their immigrant status, such as the pattern and mode of their migration and their ethnic and social origins; those factors which would tend to affect the residential location of immigrants and host society members alike, such as the societal and environmental opportunities available, the residential and occupational stratification of the host society, the character of urban expansion and the individual's life-cycle stage.² Although both sets of factors are found to act upon the immigrant's choice of residential location, the former are of more importance with respect to his initial settlement, while the latter may be considered to be at least of equal, if not greater, importance in the later redistribution of the immigrant population.

Pattern and mode of migration are important in a variety of ways. Immigration may occur *en masse*, as with a refugee movement, or it may be continuous over a long period of time. The former may therefore represent

¹ According to Johnston (1971b: 52) this 'measure of assimilation' applies equally well to persons of foreign birth, alien culture, alien religion or alien colour, and is typical of most societies.

² Shevky and Bell (1955) identified life-cycle stage, socio-economic status and ethnicity as the three major determining factors of urban residential structure.

a cross section of the population of origin which, because of its spread of occupations, could lead to substantial initial residential dispersion. The latter kind of migration, on the other hand, may be quite selective, resulting in a relatively homogeneous immigrant population which, because of its occupational and social characteristics, is relegated to settlement in a particular urban area. Moreover, some or all of the migrants may be assisted or unassisted, "free" or chain migrants. The assisted migrants would generally have more choice of residential location than those unassisted, due simply to the fact that they would be financially advantaged on arrival. At the same time, however, those assisted may be initially sent to a migrant hostel while unassisted and "free" migrants may be required to make arrangements for their own accommodation.

Chain migration has been shown in a number of studies of different immigrant groups to be of great importance in the formation of residential concentrations (Bromley, 1955; Cronin, 1967; MacDonald, 1959; Mapstone, 1966; Price, 1959; 1963). Because of the reliance chain migrants must place on their families and kinship networks in the host country, such migration has often given rise to many strongly clustered settlements, either within major ethnic concentrations or in separate parts of the city (Burnley, 1976a: A143).¹

Social origins of immigrants may also restrict some groups or subgroups in their choice of residences as occupational choices, and therefore available income, may be limited. Also, increasing national, regional or ethnic self-awareness on the part of the immigrants, which often accompanies settlement in an alien society, may exert a profound influence on the formation of immigrant concentrations by drawing migrants together.² Religion has been found to play an important role in this respect. Such

¹ In Australia, the development of "chain settlements" - those which arise due to chain migration - is fostered by the official requirement that unassisted migrants have a sponsor *in Australia* who guarantees initial accommodation and employment on arrival.

² For some immigrant groups, especially those living in diaspora, there may be the awareness that their survival as a distinct group is only possible provided that community living is maintained. For the Greeks and the Jews in Australia such awareness has been found to lead to settlement concentrations.

mutual attraction¹ may even lead over time to an increase in the initial ethnic concentration, by stimulating internal migrations of immigrants from other parts of the host society.

Further complications to the settlement picture arise from the formation of *secondary* and *second* settlements in the host society and by the chain settlement of new arrivals in these settlements rather than in primary settlement areas.² When this happens, new migrants by-pass the inner city areas of primary settlement and settle in other parts of the city. This is especially true of chain migrants who often join relatives who have moved to second settlement areas (Burnley, 1972a: 77; 1977: 148; Lee, 1970). Such migration tends to mitigate against sharp differentiation between the first and second settlements (Burnley, 1976a: A145). At the same time, however, many immigrants in the first areas of settlement may not disperse outward, preferring to remain in these areas because of the availability of ethnic institutions, or even on account of emotional attachment.

It is obvious, therefore, that the concept of ecological succession, by itself, is inadequate as an explanation of the changing patterns of immigrant settlement, as this classical view of immigrant intra-urban movement is not relevant for many migrant groups today (Simmons, 1968: 637). To quote Burnley:

"The formation of urban ethnic settlements is clearly a complex phenomenon and cannot be understood through any deterministic view of settlement processes or spatial patterns of residence" (Burnley, 1976a: A142).

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- ¹ Price (1963: 233) uses the term "gravitation" group settlement for settlement arising from the process "whereby persons who had no connection before coming to Australia were attracted to each other by their need for the company of congenial souls and customs".
 - ² Primary settlement areas are those of initial settlement which become a focus for the settlement of new arrivals. Secondary settlements are those areas of settlement formed largely by new arrivals, but which are neither as populous nor as important as the primary settlements. Second settlements are those which arise through the intra-urban mobility of migrants who initially settled elsewhere. First and second settlements are often differentiated by period of residence in Australia and other characteristics, such as age, sex and occupational status.

It also cannot explain the causes of such change or the ways in which immigrants adjust to their new environment residentially, i.e., become more or less permanently settled in an area. This requires an examination of the residential relocations of individual immigrants.

Until recently there was a general reluctance towards studying the residential relocations of immigrants in cities (Scott, 1967), possibly owing to the fact that those studies which were done had produced a complex and often contradictory body of theory (Jonassen, 1949; McIntire, 1960). As late as the 1960's the principal concern of most students of intra-urban mobility was the measurement of mobility rates (Simmons, 1968: 624), while those who did consider immigrant movements tended to accept the classical view of "ecological succession". There was an almost general lack of attention devoted to "how" and "why" people changed residences, or what has been termed the "process" of residential mobility.

More recent research, however, has been largely devoted to studying this "process" and has dealt with such aspects of intra-urban mobility as the nature of information flows, "cognitive maps" of the city and the decision-making process of residential change (Brown and Moore, 1970; Moore, 1969; Rossi, 1955; Simmons, 1968).

Studies of immigrant settlement in Australian cities have had a similar development. With one notable exception (Price, 1964: 36-39), most have been primarily concerned with the ecological characteristics of initial immigrant settlement and have devoted little attention to the process of residential relocations¹ (Burnley, 1972a; 1974a; 1975b; Galvin, 1974; 1977; Heiss, 1966; Price, 1959; Stimson, 1970). However, in a recent paper Burnley (1977) addressed himself to this issue of immigrant "resettlement" in Australian cities. By resettlement he was referring to residential changes which occur as the result of mobility or migration within cities or within the nation. It is the process by which much of the change in immigrant settlements takes place and by means of which individual

¹ Before the 1970's there were few studies of immigrants in Australia's cities. Most of the immigrant studies which had been done dealt with settlement in rural areas (Burnley, 1970: A24-A28).

residential adjustment is achieved. It is also "an important facet of the cultural, economic and social absorption process of immigrant communities into the wider society" (Burnley, 1977: 142).

Like immigrant settlement, resettlement is a complex process, being a function of many different factors, both those related to migration and immigrant status and those personal characteristics and societal factors which affect intra-urban mobility in general. Although it has been found to often lead to dispersal of an immigrant population and the eventual breakdown of ethnic concentrations, this is not always the case. For example, resettlement among Jews in Melbourne has actually resulted in an increase in residential concentration over time (Lippmann, 1973: 18-19), due in part to an ethno-religious identification with Jewish life which has drawn Jews of different country origins to areas of Jewish settlement (Burnley, 1977: 149).

Resettlement may also lead to a geographical shift in the immigrant concentration, rather than simply to a dispersal of the immigrants. This has been found to be related as much to socio-economic factors as to ethnic ones (Davis and Spearitt, 1974; Stillwell and Hardwick, 1973).

Unlike initial settlement, the process of resettlement can be considered to be influenced appreciably more by factors unrelated to immigrant status. For example, private home acquisition has been found to be important in much of the movement of immigrant groups from first settlement concentrations (Burnley, 1977: 158). Where they resettle, however, is dependent on the location of available housing. For this reason, such factors as the general pattern of urban expansion - which often indicates those areas where new homes may be purchased cheaply - can be considered to affect the resettlement of immigrants and the native-born population in a similar manner. When immigrants reach the point that their migrant status is no longer a factor in their residential relocation, i.e., they have achieved a level of financial success and assimilation with the cultural system of the host society which allows them to participate freely in the pattern of residential mobility of the general population, then, in reality, they must be considered to be well on their way to being residentially assimilated.

In the light of the synopsis of immigrant settlement studies just presented, this chapter will examine the patterns of Armenian settlement in Sydney and the process of their resettlement. Its purpose is to show not only why they have settled in particular areas, but also how their pattern of residential change has led to their residential adjustment and will possibly result in their residential assimilation.

SETTLEMENT IN SYDNEY: GENERAL

Most Armenians selected Sydney as a place to settle in Australia for the same reasons that they had selected Australia as their destination, i.e., 83 per cent had relatives, family members or friends already residing there. Others were attracted by its climate, the employment opportunities which were not available in other parts of Australia, or by the fact that it had an established Armenian community. A small number settled in Sydney for no other reason than that it was the place they first arrived in Australia.

A factor which must also have been influential in their selection of Sydney as a destination was that it was very well-known by Armenians before migration. Most of the Survey respondents had heard little or nothing about other Australian cities while Sydney was generally known to be both large and cosmopolitan. This situation was reinforced by Australian immigration officials in many of the source countries, who commonly told respondents that Sydney was the best place to live in Australia since it was the "liveliest" of Australia's cities. For urban dwellers, accustomed to the active life of cities like Cairo and Beirut, this can be assumed to have been very important.

Eighty-two per cent of the Survey respondents migrated direct to Sydney, while most of the remainder resided for various periods of time in the other capital cities of Australia, principally Melbourne and Perth, or in Bonegilla Migrant Hostel in Albury, N.S.W. (Table 4.1). All but a handful of these Armenians had moved to Sydney and settled there within five years of their arrival in Australia. It is significant to note that the majority of those who initially settled in places other than Sydney were not sponsored

Table 4.1

Arrival in Australia

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Place of First Residence in Australia										First Accommodation in Australia									
		Sydney		Melbourne		Perth		Adelaide		Other		Migrant hostel		With relatives		With friends		Found own lodgings		Other	
		(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹	(N=)	% ¹
<u>Arab Middle East</u>																					
Egypt	270	(205)	76	(12)	4	(1)	0	(1)	0	(51)	19	(100)	37	(110)	41	(14)	5	(38)	14	(8)	3
Syria	59	(55)	93	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(4)	7	(0)	0	(29)	49	(10)	17	(14)	24	(6)	10
Lebanon	118	(110)	93	(5)	4	(0)	0	(0)	0	(4)	2	(0)	0	(58)	49	(23)	20	(25)	21	(12)	10
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(82)	94	(0)	0	(0)	0	(3)	3	(2)	2	(3)	3	(39)	45	(8)	9	(29)	33	(8)	9
Iraq	24	(24)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	4	(11)	46	(4)	17	(4)	17	(4)	17
Other Arab ME	37	(31)	84	(5)	14	(0)	0	(1)	3	(0)	0	(0)	0	(16)	43	(1)	3	(17)	46	(3)	8
Sub-Total	595	(507)	85	(22)	4	(1)	0	(5)	1	(61)	10	(104)	17	(263)	44	(60)	10	(127)	21	(41)	7
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>																					
Turkey	19	(18)	95	(1)	5	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(11)	58	(5)	26	(2)	11	(1)	5
Iran	104	(104)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(47)	45	(15)	14	(32)	31	(10)	10
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(13)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(12)	92	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	8
Sub-Total	136	(135)	99	(1)	1	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(70)	51	(20)	15	(34)	25	(12)	9
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>																					
India	40	(36)	90	(1)	3	(2)	5	(0)	0	(1)	3	(0)	0	(21)	53	(6)	15	(11)	28	(2)	5
Indonesia	19	(19)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	5	(9)	47	(1)	5	(7)	37	(1)	5
Other Asia	16	(9)	56	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	6	(6)	38	(5)	31	(4)	25	(4)	25	(3)	19	(0)	0
Sub-Total	75	(64)	85	(1)	1	(2)	3	(1)	1	(7)	9	(6)	8	(34)	45	(11)	15	(21)	28	(3)	4
<u>Europe and North America</u>																					
	59	(53)	90	(2)	3	(0)	0	(0)	0	(4)	7	(7)	12	(28)	48	(5)	9	(15)	25	(4)	7
Other Countries	24	(22)	92	(1)	4	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	4	(0)	0	(13)	54	(3)	13	(7)	29	(1)	4
Totals	889 ²	(781)	88	(27)	3	(3)	0	(6)	1	(73)	8	(117)	13	(408)	46	(99)	11	(204)	23	(61)	7

¹ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.² All respondents in survey.

and did not have relatives or friends in Australia before their arrival. This is reflected by the fact that two-thirds of them first resided in migrant hostels when they arrived in Sydney, or else located their own accommodation, compared with 57 per cent of those migrating direct to Sydney, who initially stayed with relatives or friends already resident there. For this former group then, movement to Sydney is indicative of forces of attraction other than personal contacts there. Although scanty, the available information suggests that the principal motivations behind this internal migration were the fact that a fairly large, established Armenian community was known to exist in Sydney and it was generally acknowledged that Sydney had very good job opportunities available.

SETTLEMENT IN SYDNEY PRIOR TO 1963

Prior to World War II, Armenian settlement in Sydney was very small, consisting of only a handful of individual migrants and families. Although all initially settled in inner city suburbs, there was no apparent attempt to congregate, which ruled out the development of Armenian institutions and any real community life during this period.

Following the War, Armenians began settling in Sydney in greater numbers, again mainly in the inner city areas.¹ The two suburbs which witnessed the largest initial settlement prior to 1963 were those of Kings Cross and Bondi, with the greatest concentration of Armenians located in the Elizabeth Bay-Kings Cross area. Overall, however, these migrants were widely scattered, as shown by the fact that the 78 Survey respondents settling in Sydney during this period did so in 45 different suburbs.

The residential relocations of these post-War immigrants tended to follow the general pattern of Sydney's intra-urban movements, with movements

¹ The division of Sydney into inner, middle distance and outer suburbs is based on Burnley (1970). For the present study the suburbs are further divided into three major areas: (1) North Sydney (L.G.A.'s 016, 017, 020, 021, 024, 026, 027, 032, 037, 039); (2) South Sydney (L.G.A.'s 001, 002, 003, 007, 008, 011, 012, 013, 018, 019, 022, 025, 030, 031, 033, 034, 035, 036, 038, 041); and (3) West Sydney (L.G.A.'s 004, 005, 006, 009, 010, 014, 015, 023, 028, 029, 040).

out of the inner city suburbs to middle distance suburbs in South Sydney and on the North Shore. By 1962, small clusters of Armenians had formed north of the harbour, in the suburbs of Cammeray, Chatswood, Willoughby and Northbridge, while south of the harbour, settlement clusters continued to be found in the inner city suburbs of Elizabeth Bay, Potts Point and Bondi and a cluster had formed in the middle distance suburb of Maroubra. About one-third of the respondents were scattered in a "belt" of settlement across the middle distance and outer suburbs of South and West Sydney - mainly along the principal railway lines (Map 4.1).

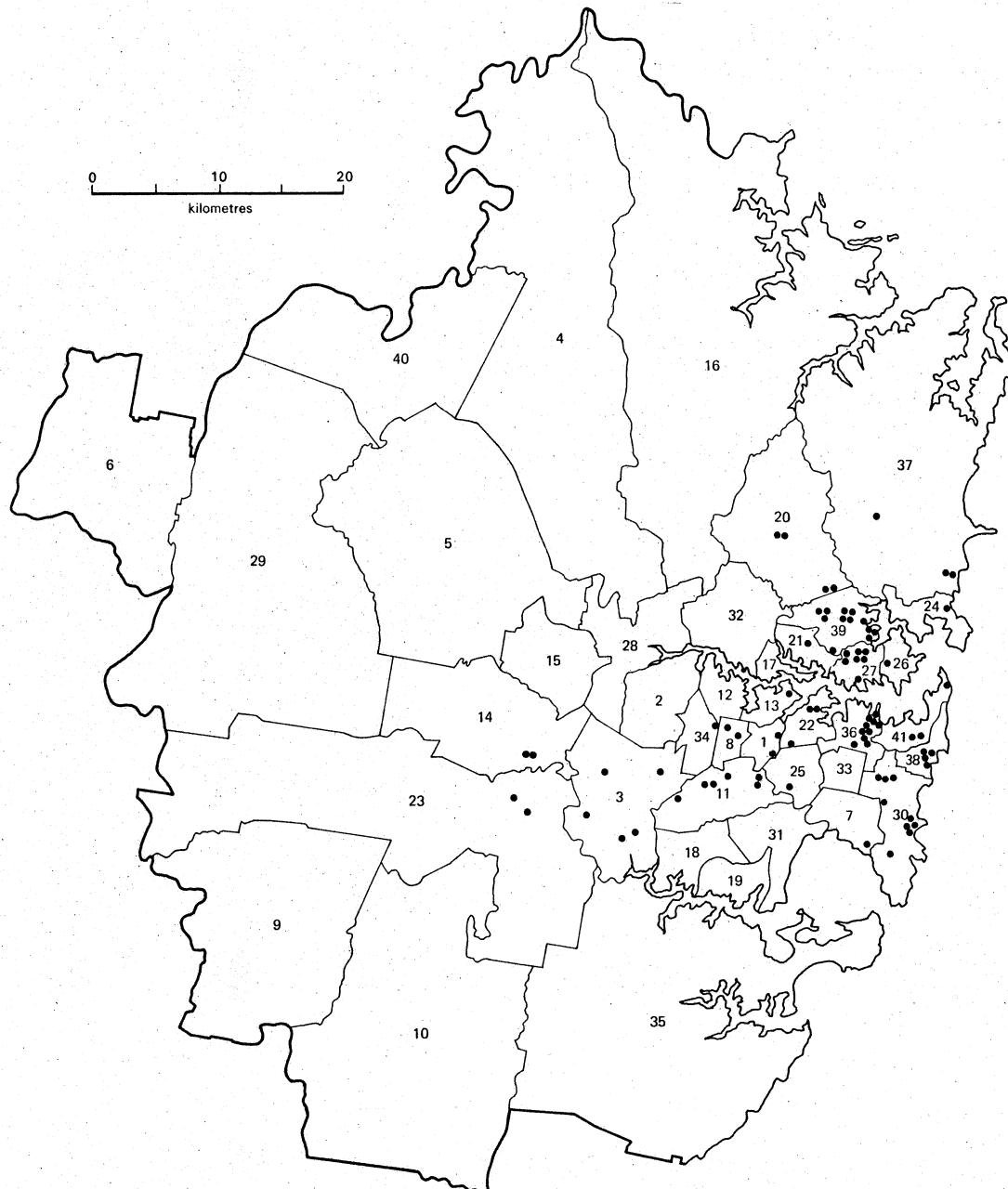
The 82 respondents who were residing in Sydney in 1962 had migrated from 24 different countries, only six of which had contributed as many as five respondents. These were Indonesia (18), Lebanon (10), Egypt (9), Jordan (7), India (5) and China (5). Although there was no discernible clustering of the members of any of these country groups before 1963, the areas of Armenian concentration in Sydney in 1962 served to set the pattern for much of the settlement which followed. This can be considered at least partially due to the fact that by this time the institutional structure of an established Armenian community in Sydney had begun to take shape.

SETTLEMENT IN SYDNEY: 1963-1976

The principal changes which took place in the Armenian settlement pattern after 1962 can be attributed to: first, the great influx of unsponsored immigrants in the 1963-64 period; second, the preponderance of chain and family migration which occurred in the decade from 1966; third, the extensive resettlement of Armenians during this period. Having neither relatives, friends nor sponsors in Sydney who could provide initial accommodation, the large number of unsponsored migrants who came in 1963 and 1964 chose residential locations for other reasons, such as proximity to place of employment or the availability of inexpensive housing. A substantial number first resided for a time in one of the government migrant hostels. Consequently, initial Armenian settlement became more widely dispersed than previously. With the arrival of the families, relatives and friends of these migrants, there developed a number of secondary settlement areas, as well as numerous small clusters of dispersed settlement, since many

Map 4.1

Armenian Settlement Pattern in
Sydney in 1962



- | | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 Ashfield | 10 Campbelltown | 19 Kogarah | 28 Paramatta | 37 Warringah |
| 2 Auburn | 11 Canterbury | 20 Ku-ring-gai | 29 Penrith | 38 Waverley |
| 3 Bankstown | 12 Concord | 21 Lane Cove | 30 Randwick | 39 Willoughby |
| 4 Baulkham Hills | 13 Drummoyne | 22 Leichhardt | 31 Rockdale | 40 Windsor |
| 5 Blacktown | 14 Fairfield | 23 Liverpool | 32 Ryde | 41 Woollahra |
| 6 Blue Mountains | 15 Holroyd | 24 Manly | 33 South Sydney | |
| 7 Botany | 16 Hornsby | 25 Marrickville | 34 Strathfield | |
| 8 Burwood | 17 Hunter's Hill | 26 Mosman | 35 Sutherland | |
| 9 Camden | 18 Hurstville | 27 North Sydney | 36 Sydney | |

1. Each dot represents one respondent.

of the later arrivals tended to settle with, or near, those who had preceded them.

The pattern of settlement prior to 1963 exerted a profound influence on the settlement which followed, especially that which occurred in the North Shore suburbs. The principal areas of first settlement during this period were in the Local Government Areas (L.G.A.'s) of Willoughby and North Sydney and the middle distance suburbs of Randwick L.G.A. in southeastern Sydney. Settlement in these three L.G.A.'s accounted for 56 per cent of the first residences of migrants who arrived in Sydney after 1962.

Secondary settlement of Armenians took place in the L.G.A.'s of Lane Cove and Warringah in North Sydney, Botany, Marrickville and Sydney L.G.A.'s in South Sydney and in Fairfield L.G.A. in the western suburbs. Settlement in these areas was much less dense, with only 24 per cent of the Survey respondents initially residing in these areas. The remaining 20 per cent of the Survey respondents first settled in 26 of the remaining 32 L.G.A.'s of Metropolitan Sydney. Although this latter settlement appears to be quite dispersed, in reality it consisted largely of many small clusters of a few families each. Map 4.2 shows the distribution of initial residences of those who arrived after 1962.

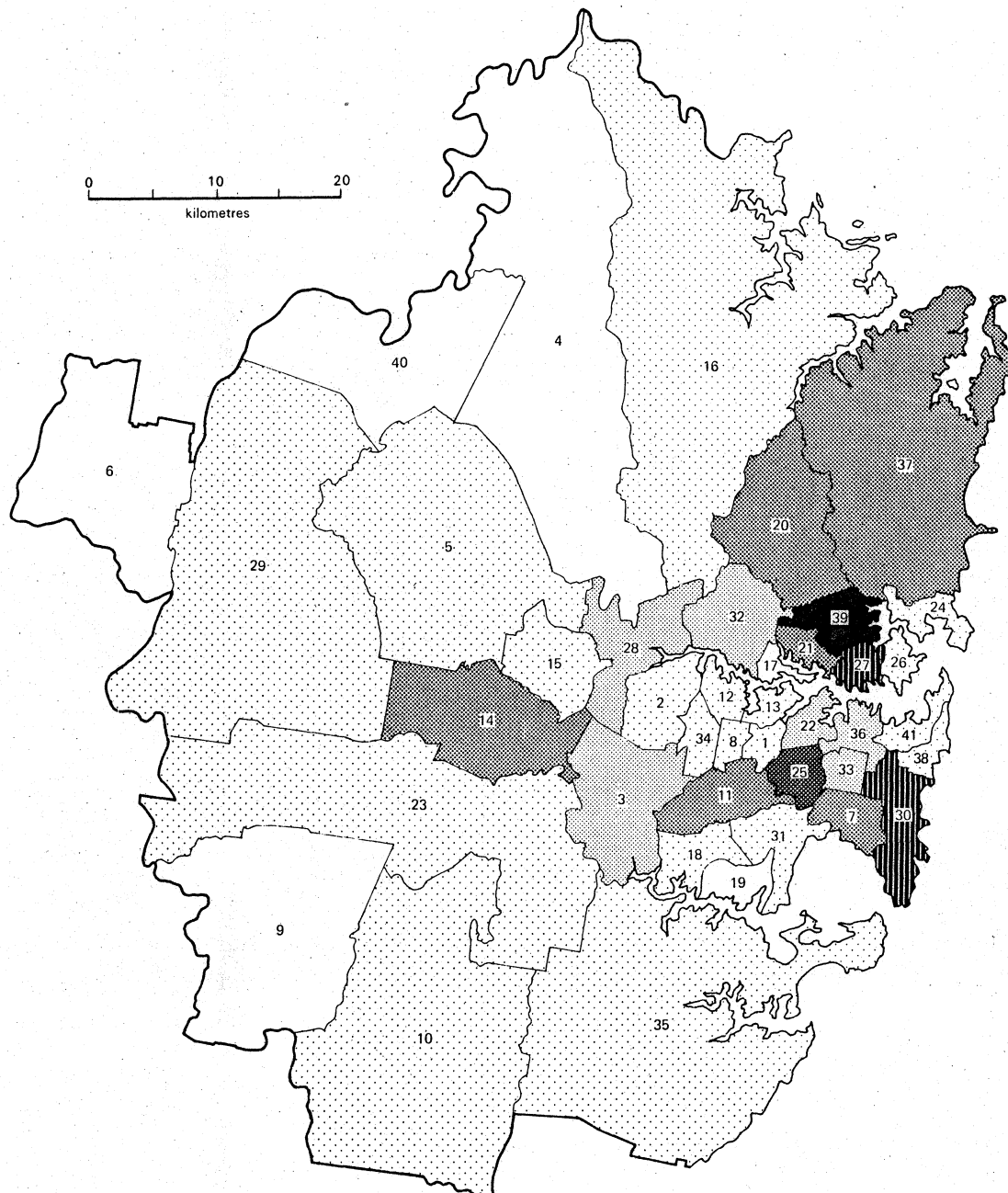
Resettlement has resulted in considerable redistribution of the Armenian population and the development of a number of second settlement areas.¹ This is well illustrated by Map 4.3 which shows the present distribution of the Survey respondents. There are six areas of second settlement in Sydney today. In North Sydney such settlement has occurred in the L.G.A.'s of Warringah, Lane Cove and Ryde. In South Sydney, Canterbury and Botany L.G.A.'s are such areas. The sixth second settlement developed in the local government area of Fairfield.

It is obvious from the pattern which second settlement has taken

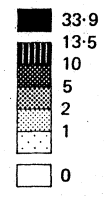
¹ These areas are considered here to be those where at least half of the present Armenian population initially resided elsewhere in Sydney. Not included are first settlement areas which today have a large component of second settlement.

Map 4.2

Initial Residential Locations of Arrivals
1963-1976

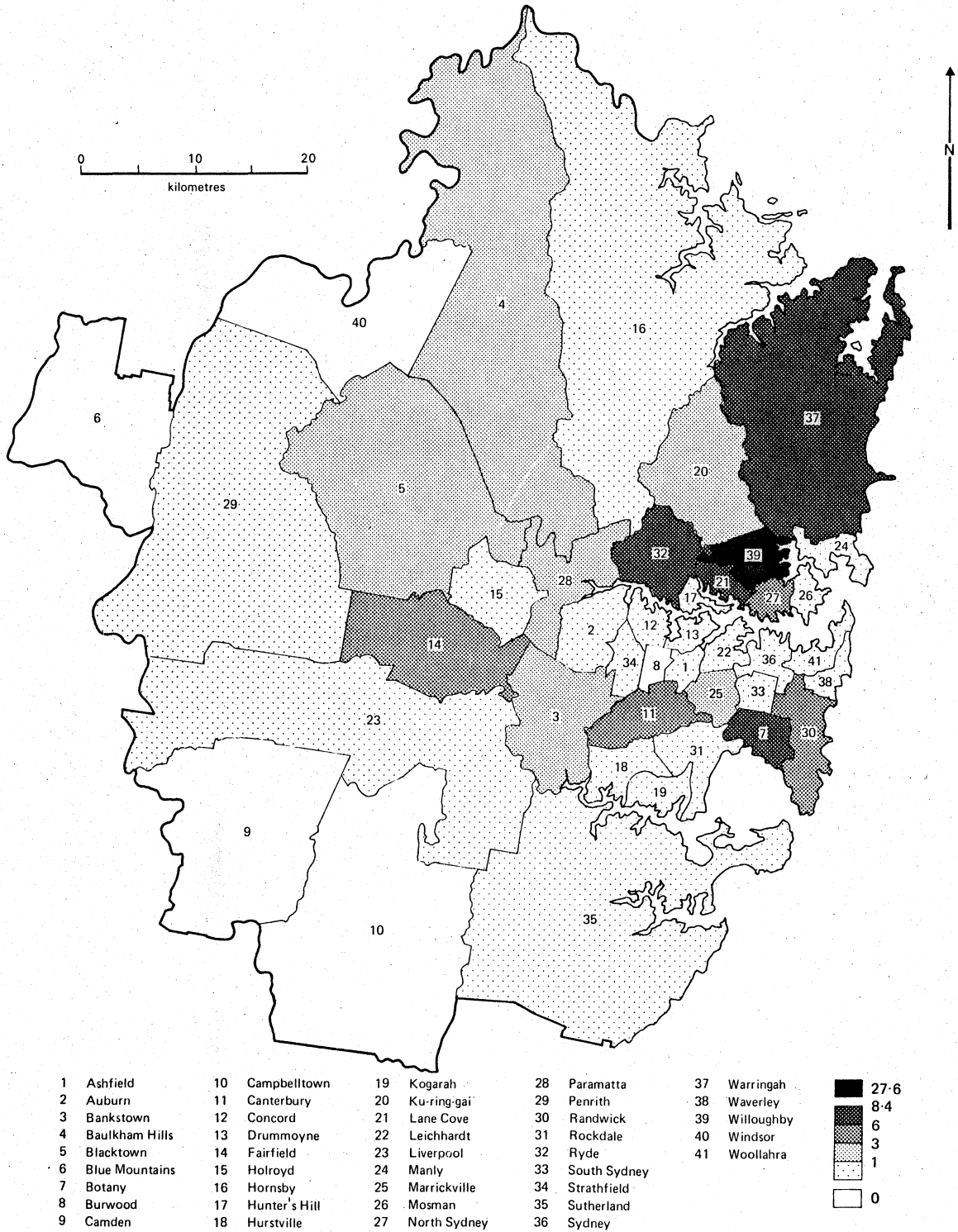


1 Ashfield	10 Campbelltown	19 Kogarah	28 Paramatta	37 Warringah
2 Auburn	11 Canterbury	20 Ku-ring-gai	29 Penrith	38 Waverley
3 Bankstown	12 Concord	21 Lane Cove	30 Randwick	39 Willoughby
4 Baulkham Hills	13 Drummoine	22 Leichhardt	31 Rockdale	40 Windsor
5 Blacktown	14 Fairfield	23 Liverpool	32 Ryde	41 Woollahra
6 Blue Mountains	15 Holroyd	24 Manly	33 South Sydney	
7 Botany	16 Hornsby	25 Marrickville	34 Strathfield	
8 Burwood	17 Hunter's Hill	26 Mosman	35 Sutherland	
9 Camden	18 Hurstville	27 North Sydney	36 Sydney	



Map 4.3

Residential Distribution of Armenian Respondents
in 1976



that the redistribution of the Armenian population in Sydney has been complex. North of the Harbour there has been a major shift in population from the first settlement areas of Willoughby and North Sydney L.G.A.'s to suburbs both west and northeast. There has also been movement to the North Shore area from south of the Harbour.

In South Sydney, the principal population shifts have occurred from Randwick and Marrickville L.G.A.'s into the suburbs to the west of each, notably the L.G.A.'s of Canterbury and Botany. As noted above, however, significant movement also took place from these areas to the North Shore suburbs.

The formation of a second settlement area in the outer western suburbs of Fairfield L.G.A. is indicative of minor movements of Armenians from the settlement concentrations in both North and South Sydney.

The reasons behind the development of the Armenian settlement pattern described above, as well as the particular pattern of population redistribution, can only be understood by an examination of the factors which have led to settlement in the first and second settlement areas. Settlement north of the Harbour, which today accounts for almost two-thirds of the respondents, is due to a number of reasons:

- (1) Substantial resettlement of Armenians who came before 1963 took place in this area, resulting in about half of these earlier migrants residing in North Sydney before the large influx of Armenians commenced in 1963. Subsequent family reunion, chain migration and chain settlement led to many later arrivals settling in this area.
- (2) The principal Armenian priest of the largest Armenian church, the Armenian Apostolic Church, settled in the North Shore suburb of Cammeray (North Sydney L.G.A.) in 1958. This priest was very active in stimulating and sponsoring Armenian migration to Australia and,

more than any other individual or organization, assisted new arrivals in obtaining initial accommodation, principally in this area.

- (3) An Armenian Apostolic Church was established in the North Shore suburb of Chatswood (Willoughby L.G.A.) in 1965 and an Armenian Evangelical Church was founded in the nearby suburb of Naremburn. For most Armenians throughout the world, the Apostolic Church symbolizes their Armenian heritage and for this reason, whether or not they were active members, many sought support from the Church upon their arrival in Sydney and during their initial stages of adjustment. The same was true for Armenian Evangelicals. Thus, the presence of these churches in this area of Sydney, especially the Apostolic Church, can be considered to have led to significant initial settlement there, as well as to having stimulated resettlement from other areas. This "gravitational attraction" is illustrated by the fact that 59 per cent of the Armenian Apostolics and 64 per cent of the Armenian Evangelicals initially settled in North Sydney, while today 65 per cent of the former and 76 per cent of the latter live there. At the same time there has been a corresponding decline in the number of members of both churches who reside south of the Harbour.
- (4) In addition to these churches, almost all the Armenian clubs, associations and organizations in Sydney have been established in the North Shore area. Partially for this reason, the area of densest Armenian settlement, Willoughby L.G.A., has become known as the "Armenian Centre", i.e. the geographical core of Sydney Armenian community life. This has added to the attraction of this area for both new arrivals and earlier settlers.

Settlement south of the Harbour, which today accounts for about a quarter of the Armenian immigrants, was due principally to other reasons, although, here again, chain migration after 1964 was very significant. The major part of the initial settlement in this area took place in 1963 and 1964, when a substantial number of Armenians were sent to migrant hostels located in Randwick Shire and Marrickville L.G.A. Because many did not have relatives or friends already settled in other parts of Sydney, they obtained their own accommodation in the general vicinity of these hostels. The best example of this is provided by the Egyptian Armenians, a major portion of whom came as unsponsored immigrants during the above two-year period. As shown in the following section on settlement concentration, this group is the only one which is still principally concentrated south of the Harbour.

The less concentrated settlement south of the Harbour has served to limit the development of any real community life in this area and, consequently, few Armenian organizations have developed there. In recent years, however, the larger Armenian organizations which have been founded in North Sydney have established branches in South Sydney. This is especially true of those with international links. For this reason, the primary focus of community life for those south of the Harbour is also the North Shore "Armenian Centre".

Settlement in the outer western suburbs of Fairfield L.G.A. followed a different course again. The principal reasons for initial settlement in this area were the availability of inexpensive housing and employment opportunities, followed by the chain settlement of relatives and friends of earlier settlers. Movement into Fairfield L.G.A. from other parts of Sydney has also been largely for the same reasons and is indicative of a much more general metropolitan trend.

Younger Armenians who were getting married and starting their own families often moved further west to suburbs where less expensive accommodation could be obtained. This is reflected by the fact that Fairfield L.G.A. has a much greater proportion of Armenian immigrants in this stage of the life cycle than the areas of Armenian settlement further east. A similar

situation was found for the middle distance suburbs, such as those of Ryde and Bankstown L.G.A.'s. Out of the 74 respondents presently residing in Ryde L.G.A., 48 have moved from suburbs to the east - notably those of Willoughby L.G.A. Twenty-six stated they moved to Ryde in order to obtain less expensive housing, in contrast to 13 per cent of those living in the suburbs of Willoughby Shire who gave this reason. A similar situation was found for settlement in Bankstown L.G.A.; 11 of the 16 respondents who settled in this area came from the southeastern suburbs, while the other five came from North Shore suburbs. Nine moved to Bankstown primarily because of the availability of inexpensive housing.

An examination of the characteristics of the first and second settlement areas shows that the availability of inexpensive housing has also been one of the principal factors leading both to movement out of first settlements and to the development of second settlements. In fact, home ownership was the only differential found to be statistically significant.¹ Eighty-six per cent of those presently living in second settlement areas own their homes, compared with 72 per cent of those in first settlement areas. However, of those who have moved *into* these second settlement areas 90 per cent own their homes today.

The redistribution of the Armenian population has not been only to areas of inexpensive housing; there has also been significant movement to high status suburbs² where housing is very expensive. With regard to second settlement areas, the population increase in Warringah L.G.A. is a good example of such movement. Most of those who have settled there are in the middle and upper socio-economic groups and mainly from the countries of Iran, India and Southeast Asia.

Within the primary settlement areas themselves, there has also been progressive residential segregation by socio-economic status, with those of higher status tending to settle in the higher status suburbs. The principal suburbs of such settlement in North Sydney are Castlecrag, Middle Cove,

¹ $\chi^2 = 21.1508$, $df = 2$, sign. at .0001 level.

² Based on Congalton's (1961) status ranking of Sydney's suburbs.

Castle Cove and Northbridge, while in South Sydney Maroubra is the focus of such settlement. For both North and South Sydney, however, the distribution of Armenians by socio-economic status roughly coincides with the overall socio-economic distribution of the Sydney Metropolitan population (Davis and Spearitt, 1974: Map 48). This distribution also closely corresponds with the distribution of expensive and inexpensive housing. For example, in North Sydney, the largest percentage of those Armenians in the upper socio-economic groups - identified by levels of education, income and occupational status - are found in Warringah (20 per cent), Willoughby (18 per cent) and North Sydney (eight per cent) L.G.A.'s, while the proportion of this group in the Armenian population progressively declines the further west the settlement. With regard to the earlier discussion concerning the principal reasons for settlement in Fairfield L.G.A., it is interesting to note that no noticeable segregation by socio-economic status has occurred in this area.

In conclusion, the pattern of Armenian settlement in Sydney at the time of the Armenian Survey can be described as follows:

- (1) Principal settlement in the North Shore suburbs, mainly those of Willoughby L.G.A., and the local government areas to the west and northeast.
- (2) A "belt" of settlement stretching across the middle distance suburbs of South Sydney, but without a specific "centre" of settlement as found in North Sydney.
- (3) A small cluster of settlement in the western industrial area of Fairfield L.G.A., located mainly in the two suburbs of Fairfield and Cabramatta.

This pattern most closely resembles that found for the British- and Irish-born immigrants, with the exception that today there are few Armenians settled in the inner city or eastern suburbs. At the same time, it is vastly different from that of the larger immigrant groups - the Greeks,

Italians, Eastern Europeans and North Western Europeans (Burnley, 1972a: 67-71; Davis and Spearitt, 1974: Maps 26-30).

The pattern of population redistribution of the Armenians has largely followed that of the greater metropolitan population, with movement towards the western suburbs. Much of this movement has been associated with private home acquisition and has led to the development of second settlement areas. However, due to new arrivals joining older residents these areas are characteristically very similar to first settlement areas.

ARMENIAN RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION AND SEGREGATION

Redistribution of the Armenian population in Sydney has also affected its degree of concentration in particular areas, as well as the extent to which the Armenians have tended to cluster in the metropolitan area as a whole. Using a measure introduced by Zubrzycki (1960a: 79-80), the Index of Metropolitan Concentration,¹ it was found that, in 1976, the Armenians were only "significantly concentrated"² in five of Sydney's 41 local government areas. North of the Harbour, as well as in the metropolitan area as a whole, the greatest concentration was in Willoughby Shire (Index = 1525), with its Armenian population being over 15 times greater than would be expected. Also in the same area, the L.G.A.'s of Lane Cove (Index = 743), North Sydney (Index = 338) and Ryde (Index = 267) showed significant concentrations. Warringah Shire, an area of secondary and second settlement, especially of those of higher socio-economic status, exhibited Armenian concentration only marginally above that which would be expected (Index = 140).

South of the Harbour only Botany L.G.A. had significant Armenian concentration (Index = 513), while the area of first settlement in Randwick Shire showed none (Index = 100).

¹ This index expresses in percentages any deviation in the pattern from the norm, which is taken here to be the total population in a given local government area expressed as a percentage of the total metropolitan population. Thus, a local government area which has the same percentage of Armenians as it does of the total metropolitan population will have a concentration index of 100; a local government area with twice this percentage of Armenians, a score of 200, and so on.

² "Significant concentration" is taken here to be equated with a concentration index score of 250 or more. Areas with scores below this are not considered to have any concentration of Armenian settlement.

In 1976, 58 per cent of the respondents lived in local government areas which had significant concentrations of Armenians, while 42 per cent lived in areas of strong concentration - taken here to be those areas where actual settlement was at least five times that which would be expected (Index = 500+).¹ The proportion of Armenians who lived in the former areas has tended to decline over time, as shown by the fact that 65 per cent of those who have resided in Sydney for less than 10 years lived in areas of significant concentration in 1976, compared with 52 per cent of those who have been in Sydney for 10 or more years. Areas of strong concentration have shown greater resilience, with increased duration of residence having no apparent effect. In fact, the proportion of the Armenians (40 per cent) who still lived in such areas after 10 or more years' residence in Australia was comparable to that of the Italians, Greeks, Maltese and Yugoslavs resident in Sydney for less than five years (Burnley, 1977: 155). Also, this proportion of Armenians was almost twice that found for the long-term settlers of these other immigrant groups. This indicates that although some residential dispersion of Armenian immigrants has occurred over time, it has not resulted in a breakdown of the strong Armenian residential concentrations in Sydney.

The explanations for the maintenance of strong Armenian concentrations in North and South Sydney differ. On the North Shore, considerable movement out of this area, for reasons ranging from inexpensive housing to the desire to join relatives elsewhere, has been complemented by movement into the area. Most of this latter movement is due to the aforementioned "gravitational attraction" of the large number of Armenians and Armenian institutions located there. It has also been relatively common for immigrants to reside initially with relatives or friends in the area of concentration and to move out to other areas in order to find less expensive housing of their own. Once they become financially established and can afford housing closer to the "Armenian Centre", many have returned to the area of concentration. Thus, the social and institutional supports available to the Armenians in the North Shore concentration, combined with the knowledge,

¹ I am using Burnley's (1977: 154) definition of strong ethnic concentration here.

common to most Armenians, that their survival as a distinct group in diaspora is only possible provided that a certain level of community life is maintained, generate strong forces to ensure that a substantial Armenian population continues in this area.

One of the reasons an Armenian concentration developed in Botany L.G.A. has already been mentioned in the previous section; it is located near one of the migrant hostels to which many Armenians initially were sent. The other principal reason, which also accounts for much of the movement into this area, is that Botany contains large tracts of relatively cheap housing - primarily blocks of units - which are located adjacent to the industrial areas of South Sydney. The combination of these two factors almost naturally resulted in large numbers of Armenian immigrants leaving the hostel and settling in Botany. Since this concentration has never been large enough to support its own ethnic institutions, which would serve as a focus for Armenian community life in this area, the reasons for its continuation must be assumed to be those which led to settlement in this area in the first place.

The maintenance of strong Armenian concentrations is also reflected in the extent to which Armenians have remained "segregated" from the larger population. Using the Index of Metropolitan Segregation it was found that the extent to which Armenians cluster in Sydney (Index = 73.7) is mid-way between that found for Italians (46.2) and for Greeks (98.9) (Zubrzycki, 1960a: 84), and considerably greater than that of Northern and Eastern Europeans. The nature of Armenian concentrations and clusters of settlement is quite different from that found for the Italians and Greeks, however. Price (1963) found that Southern Europeans often tended to purchase all the houses in the same street and to tightly cluster in the same neighbourhoods, with the consequent development of distinct Southern European settlements. The Armenians have followed a different course, preferring to settle in the "general vicinity" of relatives, friends and other Armenians, but, at the same time, not considering it important to reside very close to them. General vicinity here means within the range of a few minutes' drive by car or easily accessible by public transport. A consequence of this is the failure on the part of the Armenians to form distinct neighbourhoods, even

in the areas of their greatest concentration. This is aptly illustrated by the fact that in most of the L.G.A.'s of significant Armenian concentration, the immigrants have settled quite widely, usually with no more than a few households being found in any one collector's district (C.D.).¹ Even in the C.D. with the greatest number of Armenians (32 respondents = 136 individuals), they account for only about 15 per cent of the total C.D. population (136/790). This was in contrast to first generation Southern European populations, such as the Greeks, who constituted between 30 and 35 per cent of the total populations of four collector's districts of their principal L.G.A.'s of settlement in 1966, and between 20 and 30 per cent of an additional 20 C.D.'s in these areas (Burnley 1972a: 73-74). Although the much smaller size of the Armenian population would reduce its percentage of the total population of any single C.D., the much greater Southern European concentrations almost certainly resulted from their tendency to form distinct neighbourhoods. Thus, although the Armenians are comparatively concentrated at the L.G.A. level, they are much more widely dispersed within their L.G.A.'s of significant concentration than are the Southern Europeans.

This particular pattern of settlement behaviour is probably due to the fact that the Armenians, unlike most of the Southern Europeans, were urban dwellers prior to their migration to Australia and were accustomed to maintaining their social networks in urban situations. Because of this they did not feel the pressing need to reside next door to, or in the same street as their relatives, friends or other Armenians in order to maintain contact and to receive and give social support. Additional factors, such as their higher occupational status and their proficiency in English on arrival, would also have led to greater dispersal of settlement, since they would have allowed the Armenians to adapt to the Australian urban environment more quickly.

Like their degree of residential concentration, the Armenians' tendency to cluster appears to decline during their first decade in Australia, although it still remains quite high (Table 4.2). This pattern is a direct

¹ Collector's districts are the smallest units for which population data are available for the census. Their average population is approximately 900 in the inner suburbs and 1,000 in the outer suburbs.

Table 4.2

Index of Metropolitan Segregation Scores
for Period of Residence Groups

Period of Residence	Segregation Score
0-4 Years	113.05
5-9 Years	69.24
10-14 Years	65.58
15 or More Years	65.73
Overall Score	73.70

reflection of the trend noted earlier of the stability of strong Armenian concentrations in Sydney.

A comparison of the characteristics of those who have settled in areas of significant concentration with those who live in dispersed settlement areas shows that few differentials exist between the populations of these two kinds of areas. Only period of residence, occupation and country of last residence were statistically significant.¹ As indicated earlier, a much greater proportion of the more recent arrivals live in areas of concentration. This is a common finding for first generation immigrant groups (Burnley, 1977: 147; Minasian, 1972: 62-63; Teo, 1971). The Armenian concentrations are also noted to have a much larger proportion of blue collar workers, especially in the trades and labouring categories, while the dispersed settlement areas have more white collar, especially professional and managerial workers. This indicates that those with higher occupational status tend initially to cluster less, to be more residentially mobile and to move out of areas of concentration.

¹ Period of residence ($\chi^2 = 15.974$, $df = 1$, sign. at .001 level);
Occupational category ($\chi^2 = 11.659$, $df = 1$, sign. at .001 level);
Country of last residence ($\chi^2 = 48.841$, $df = 4$, sign. at .001 level).

The third characteristic, country of last residence, is the most important variable in explaining the changes in Armenian residential concentration and segregation. It should be kept in mind, however, that this characteristic subsumes a number of other factors which have been discussed earlier, such as chain migration, the importance of initial settlement with relatives, and so on. Table 4.3 shows the distribution of the different country groups between areas of settlement concentration and dispersion; it is obvious that no simple explanation, such as period of residence in Australia, can account for all the variation. Such an explanation requires a more detailed examination of the settlement and resettlement of these country groups.

Important trends have been noted with respect to the settlement of the various country groups. Firstly, the size of all these groups, with the exception of the Iraqi Armenians, has increased in the areas of settlement north of the Harbour, accompanied by a general decrease in the populations of these same groups south of the Harbour. Since only the Egyptian Armenians had greater initial settlement in South Sydney, the movement of members of these groups to North Sydney is assumed to be due to their desire to reside near other Armenians from the same country. Secondly, three of the four country groups found to be the most concentrated in a particular area - the Turkish, Syrian and Soviet Armenians - are also some of the more recent arrivals. The fourth group, however, is that of the Indonesian Armenians, who were among the earliest arrivals. Thus, period of residence cannot be considered a valid explanation for the concentration of this latter group. An examination of why Indonesian Armenians selected their present residential locations shows that their tendency to concentrate in the North Shore suburbs is largely a function of their socio-economic status rather than their attraction to the Armenian concentration in this area. Few of these Armenians felt that the location of relatives, friends or other Armenians were important considerations in their residential selection. Nevertheless, 15 of the 19 Indonesian Armenian respondents were living in areas of significant Armenian concentration in 1976.

The distribution of the country groups at both the local government area and suburb levels shows the great influence that gravitational attraction,

Table 4.3

Settlement Concentration by Country of Last Residence

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Live in Area ¹ of Concentration		Live in Area ² of Dispersed Settlement	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
<u>Arab Middle East</u>					
Egypt	270	(112)	41	(158)	59
Syria	59	(52)	88	(7)	12
Lebanon	118	(65)	55	(53)	45
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(50)	57	(37)	43
Iraq	24	(10)	42	(14)	58
Other Arab ME	37	(27)	73	(10)	27
Sub-Total	595	(316)	53	(279)	47
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>					
Turkey	19	(16)	84	(3)	16
Iran	104	(91)	88	(13)	13
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(8)	62	(5)	38
Sub-Total	136	(115)	85	(21)	15
<u>South, East, and Southeast Asia</u>					
India	40	(25)	63	(15)	38
Indonesia	19	(15)	79	(4)	21
Other Asia	16	(5)	31	(11)	69
Sub-Total	75	(45)	60	(30)	40
<u>Europe and North America</u>					
	59	(29)	49	(30)	51
<u>Other Countries</u>					
	24	(12)	50	(12)	50
Total	889	(517)	58	(372)	42

¹ Includes areas of significant concentration, i.e. L.G.A.'s 7, 21, 32, 37, 39.

² All other areas of settlement in Sydney.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

or, the location of friends, relatives or other Armenians, has on their settlement concentration (Table 4.4). For two groups, the Syrian and Turkish Armenians, more than half the respondents presently reside in a single L.G.A., while one-third of each group is found to reside in a single suburb. On average, the principal L.G.A.'s of settlement for the country groups contain 30 per cent of their population, while the principal suburbs of settlement contain 17 per cent. These percentages vary substantially from one group to another. For example, the Syrian Armenians are the most concentrated, with 73 per cent residing within one L.G.A. and 59 per cent within one suburb, while the Egyptian Armenians are the least concentrated, with 16 per cent in one L.G.A. and seven per cent in one suburb. In *every* case the principal suburb of settlement is located in the principal L.G.A. of settlement and, for all but one group, at least half the Armenian population of the former is found to reside in the latter.

As could be expected, the principal L.G.A.'s of settlement for all country groups, except the Iraqi and Egyptian Armenians, are located north of the Harbour and, in the case of all but the Indian Armenians, the L.G.A. is Willoughby. The principal L.G.A. of settlement of the Indian Armenians is Warringah. The Egyptian Armenians are predominantly found in South Sydney with Randwick Shire showing the greatest concentration, while the Iraqi Armenians are most concentrated in Fairfield L.G.A.

Changes in the proportions of the different country groups residing in their principal L.G.A.'s of first, previous¹ and present settlement help show the changes in concentration and segregation of these groups over time. For some, there has been a steady decline in the proportion of the group residing in the principal L.G.A. and suburb of settlement, while for others, there has been an increase in the population of both. A third category shows a decrease between the first and next to last residence, followed by an increase in concentration accompanying the move to the present residence. It is therefore obvious that some country groups are tending to become less, while others are becoming more concentrated. The latter groups are

¹ Their previous residence is that which immediately preceded their residence at the time of the Armenian Survey.

Table 4.4

Principal L.G.A. and Suburb of Settlement by Country Groups

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Principal LGA of Settlement									Principal Suburb of Settlement								
		First Residence			Previous Residence			Present Residence			First Residence			Previous Residence			Present Residence		
		LGA ¹	Respon- dent (N=)	% ²	LGA ¹	Respon- dent (N=)	% ²	LGA ¹	Respon- dent (N=)	% ²	Suburb	Respon- dent (N=)	% ²	Suburb	Respon- dent (N=)	% ²	Suburb	Respon- dent (N=)	% ²
<u>Arab Middle East</u>																			
Egypt	270	030	(80)	30	007	(46)	17	030	(44)	16	Matraville	(66)	24	Marrickville/ Hillsdale ³	(22)	8	Hillsdale	(20)	7
Syria	59	039	(48)	81	039	(44)	75	039	(43)	73	Willoughby	(34)	58	Willoughby	(33)	56	Willoughby	(35)	59
Lebanon	118	039	(46)	39	039	(45)	38	039	(40)	34	Willoughby	(30)	25	Willoughby	(32)	27	Willoughby	(20)	17
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	039	(34)	39	039	(32)	37	039	(26)	30	Willoughby	(23)	26	Willoughby	(12)	14	Willoughby	(13)	15
Iraq	24	039	(5)	21	014/039 ³	(5)	21	014	(9)	38	Chatswood	(3)	13	Cammeray/ Willoughby/ Fairfield ³	(3)	13	Fairfield	(5)	21
Other Arab ME	37	039	(16)	43	039	(9)	24	039	(12)	32	Willoughby	(9)	24	Willoughby	(4)	11	Chatswood	(6)	16
Sub-Total	(595		(229)	38		(181)	30		(174)	29		(165)	28		(106)	18		(99)	17
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>																			
Turkey	19	039	(12)	63	039	(9)	47	039	(13)	68	Willoughby	(11)	58	Willoughby	(7)	37	Willoughby	(7)	37
Iran	104	039	(43)	41	039	(40)	38	039	(28)	27	Willoughby	(19)	18	Lane Cove/ Ryde ³	(15)	14	Chatswood	(18)	17
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	039	(4)	31	039	(6)	46	039	(6)	46	Willoughby	(3)	23	Chatswood	(4)	31	Willoughby	(3)	23
Sub-Total	136		(59)	43		(55)	40		(47)	35		(33)	24		(26)	19		(28)	21
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>																			
India	40	027	(10)	25	027	(8)	20	037	(12)	30	Cammeray	(7)	18	Chatswood	(5)	13	Killarney Hts.	(6)	15
Indonesia	19	036	(7)	37	039	(5)	26	039	(9)	47	Kings Cross/ Potts Pt. ³	(3)	16	Chatswood	(4)	21	Chatswood	(8)	42
Other Asia	16	036	(2)	13	024/036 ³	(2)	13	037	(3)	19	Kings Cross	(2)	13	Kings Cross	(2)	13	Elizabeth Bay/ Harbord ³	(2)	13
Sub-Total	75		(19)	25		(15)	20		(24)	32		(12)	16		(11)	15		(16)	21
<u>Europe and North America</u>																			
Other Countries	24	039	(8)	33	039	(8)	33	039	(7)	29	Naremburn/ Willoughby ³	(3)	13	Chatswood/ Willoughby ³	(3)	13	Willoughby	(4)	17
Total	889		(326)	37		(271)	30		(267)	30		(220)	25		(152)	17		(151)	17

¹ The following L.G.A.s are equated with the following shires in Metropolitan Sydney:

LGA	Shire	LGA	Shire	LGA	Shire	LGA	Shire
030	Randwick	039	Willoughby	007	Botany	014	Fairfield
027	North Sydney	036	Sydney	037	Warringah	024	Manly

² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

³ Where two or more suburbs or LGA's are given it means that each had same number of respondents.

generally the smaller ones - those from Iraq, Turkey, Soviet Armenia, South, East and Southeast Asia and Europe and North America and, with one or two exceptions, are those with relatively high socio-economic status. Since it is not known what influence group size has on the tendency to concentrate, it must be assumed that much of this increasing concentration is due to socio-economic factors.

In conclusion, it can be said that the maintenance of areas of Armenian settlement concentration in Sydney, especially those north of the Harbour, is complex. The dispersion of the members of some country groups is today being effectively offset by the increasing tendency towards concentration of others. Moreover, those groups showing an increase in concentration are doing so for a number of reasons, principally in order to receive the social support of kinsmen, other Armenians and Armenian institutions, because of socio-economic factors, or a combination of these.

The degree of segregation and concentration of the Sydney Armenians has tended to stabilize at a relatively high level. This strongly indicates that they are far from being residentially assimilated and are unlikely to become so in the foreseeable future, although most can be considered to be residentially adjusted today.

RESETTLEMENT IN SYDNEY

Changes in residential location are indicative of changes in the relationships of immigrants to each other and to the host society, as well as changes in the individual immigrant's personal affairs or his social position (Allen, 1971: 69). For this reason, a detailed examination of the Armenian resettlement process in Sydney can help to show both the manner in which Armenians have adjusted residentially and the role of their intra-urban mobility in this adjustment. It should also aid in an understanding of the particular pattern of Armenian settlement change which, according to Burnley (1977: 147) "has implications for immigrant group integration with the wider society".

Before entering into a discussion of Armenian resettlement, two points need clarification. First, although residential changes may occur

both within cities and within countries, this discussion will be concerned only with relocations within the Sydney Metropolitan area. Second, much controversy has been generated in studies of intra-urban mobility over what actually constitutes a move. Depending upon which aspects of mobility are being examined and the kinds of data available, different criteria have been used to distinguish what is a valid move from what is not. These criteria have ranged from the distance moved to the period of time spent at the new residence to whether or not a change has taken place in the social relationship of the movers (Mangalam, 1968; Petersen, 1968). Those moves selected for examination are therefore those identified on the basis of a subjective determination of the criterion or criteria considered to be the most relevant in a particular study. A different approach is that taken by Smith (1960: 420), Zelinski (1971) and Lee (1966), who see all territorial mobility as a single uninterrupted continuum. In this view, a change of apartments within the same building is as much a move as one where the individual relocates on the opposite side of the city. Since the former change of residence may say as much about one individual's adjustment as a move of much greater distance may say about another's, this latter approach is deemed the most relevant for this discussion of Armenian resettlement.

The previous sections of this chapter examined the major trends of Armenian residential movements and the principal motivations behind these movements. They did not deal with the specific causes of individual Armenian residential changes or the factors which affected specific choices of residential locations. This section is concerned with these aspects of the resettlement process.

Why Armenians Have Changed Residences

There are basically four categories of factors which can be considered to lead to residential change: (1) life-cycle and personal factors; (2) desire to improve the physical conditions of dwellings or physical surroundings; (3) locational factors, such as place of employment, urban facilities, etc.; (4) social and occupational factors, such as occupational mobility. For immigrants, a fifth category of factors, those related specifically to their migration and immigrant status in the host society, must also be considered.

Life-cycle factors have been found to be the most important variables influencing residential change.¹ Families adjust their housing needs to changes in the life-cycle which are both voluntary, such as additional children, and involuntary, such as death of family members (Chevan, 1971). The space needed by single adults, young married couples without children and the older couples whose offspring have left home all differ from that of families with school or pre-school-aged children. Although adjustments to these varying needs take place at both ends of the family time scale, the earlier stages are the most important, as the necessity to adjust to too little space is usually more pressing than the need to compensate for too much. This pattern is reflected in the relative mobility of those at the different stages of the life-cycle, with single adults being the most residentially mobile and those with established families being the least. In large part then, the influence of life-cycle stage on residential change can be interpreted as a function of dependents - the greater the number of dependents in the household, the more likely the household will not move - since both the advantages of a stable environment for the children and the increased effort of moving with children serve to deter movement. The single adult, on the other hand, who is less likely to take on the responsibilities of home ownership, is usually more willing and able to tolerate a greater range of dwelling conditions and is more able to move on the spur of the moment.

Life-cycle stage on arrival has similarly affected Armenian residential changes. Those Armenian immigrants who have been the most mobile are those who arrived as single adults, while the least mobile were those who were married with adult children (established families) or else those who were 65 years or older (Table 4.5). One of the reasons for the lesser mobility of these latter respondents was their greater propensity to acquire their own homes as quickly as possible. They were generally not interested in changing residences any more than was absolutely necessary. This is shown by the fact that only 53 per cent of those under 30 at time of migration purchased homes within five years of arrival, compared with 83 per cent of those over 30.

¹ Simmons (1968: 636) has stated that within a moderately growing city more than 50 per cent of the intra-urban mobility results from the changing housing needs generated by the life cycle.

Table 4.5

Armenian Residential Mobility by Life-Cycle Stage on Arrival

Life-Cycle Stage ¹	N= ²	Residential Mobility in Sydney								Average Number of Moves
		No Move		One Move		Two Moves		Three or More Moves		
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	
Dependent Children (0-14)	16	(0)	0	(3)	19	(6)	38	(7)	44	2.4
Single Adult	313	(11)	4	(46)	15	(82)	26	(174)	56	3.0
Married, No Children	62	(0)	0	(14)	23	(22)	36	(26)	42	2.5
Married, Dependent Children	306	(9)	3	(90)	29	(136)	44	(71)	23	2.0
Married, Adult Children	137	(9)	7	(51)	37	(53)	39	(24)	18	1.7
Old Age (65+)	15	(4)	27	(3)	20	(4)	27	(4)	27	1.7
Total	849	(33)	4	(207)	24	(303)	36	(306)	36	2.4

¹ $\chi^2 = 127.9344$, $df = 15$, sign. at .0001 level.

² Excludes those respondents who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

In addition to their life-cycle stage, however, another factor affected their space requirements. This was the serial migration of family members or other close relatives. Earlier arrivals often moved to larger accommodation in anticipation of the arrival of family members. Once these later arrivals obtained jobs and became adjusted to life in Australia, they often moved out to their own residences, causing the earlier migrants to move back to smaller and less expensive accommodation.

These, and the other factors which have led to residential changes, are well-illustrated by the specific reasons the interviewees gave for all changes of residence in Sydney between arrival and the time of the Survey (Table 4.6). As just indicated, a number of these reasons can be considered unique to migrants, especially during the initial stages of their adjustment. For example, 13 per cent of the moves were made in order to establish residences after an initial stay with relatives or friends, or in a migrant hostel. These moves can be assumed to have been expected by these individuals as part of the normal course of their settlement and establishment in Australia. For those who moved for more room, half were preparing for the arrival of family members - in most cases their parents. All of those needing less room had been sharing accommodation costs with relatives or friends who moved elsewhere, making the accommodation too expensive. Most of those who moved because of changes in their personal affairs, did so because they got married and were establishing their own households. In a number of cases, however, moves were stimulated by changes in the personal affairs of other household members and not in the affairs of the individuals who moved. For example, in one case the daughter in a family married and her husband moved into the family household. As there was limited room available, one of the unmarried adult sons was required to move out and obtain his own accommodation. In another case a respondent's daughter married and moved away. The respondent then moved to a smaller and cheaper flat. After two years the daughter was divorced and the respondent moved with the daughter into larger accommodation. The following year the daughter remarried and the respondent again moved into smaller and cheaper accommodation.

The very large number of moves (33 per cent) which were made because individuals were buying or building a house were, in reality, made for a

Table 4.6

Principal Reasons for Residential Changes in Sydney

Reasons	No. of Times Reason Was Mentioned by 97 Interviewed Respondents (All Residential Changes in Sydney)	% ¹ of Total Number of Replies
Established own residence after initial stay with friend/ relations or in a migrant hostel	37	13
Forced to move	21	8
For more room	36	13
For less room	5	2
Change in personal affairs (marriage, divorce, birth of children)	23	8
For better quality accommodation	10	4
Bought/built own house or flat	93	33
To be closer to relatives, friends or other Armenians	13	5
To be closer to work	6	2
Moved outside Sydney	14	5
Other	21	8
Total Number of Replies	279	100

¹ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

number of other reasons as well, such as needing more room because of an expanding family, to establish a separate household or for better quality accommodation.

An additional incentive for purchasing or building a home was the psychological and social value derived from home ownership. Warner and Srole (1960: 99) first noted this when they stated that the "purchase of a house ... in the case of ethnic groups may be interpreted as an indication of the degree to which roots have been struck in the society". The Sydney

Armenians were quite conscious of these social and psychological benefits as they often equated home acquisition with being successfully established in Australia. This probably accounts for the fact that by the time of the Survey, 80 per cent of the respondents were owners or buyers of houses or flats in Sydney. The acquisition of a house often had significant side-effects however, which caused changes in both the internal and external relationships of families. The desire to acquire a house as soon as possible often required wives who had never before worked outside the home to find employment in Australia and often caused immigrants to move considerable distances away from primary settlement concentrations to areas of the city where reasonably priced housing was available.

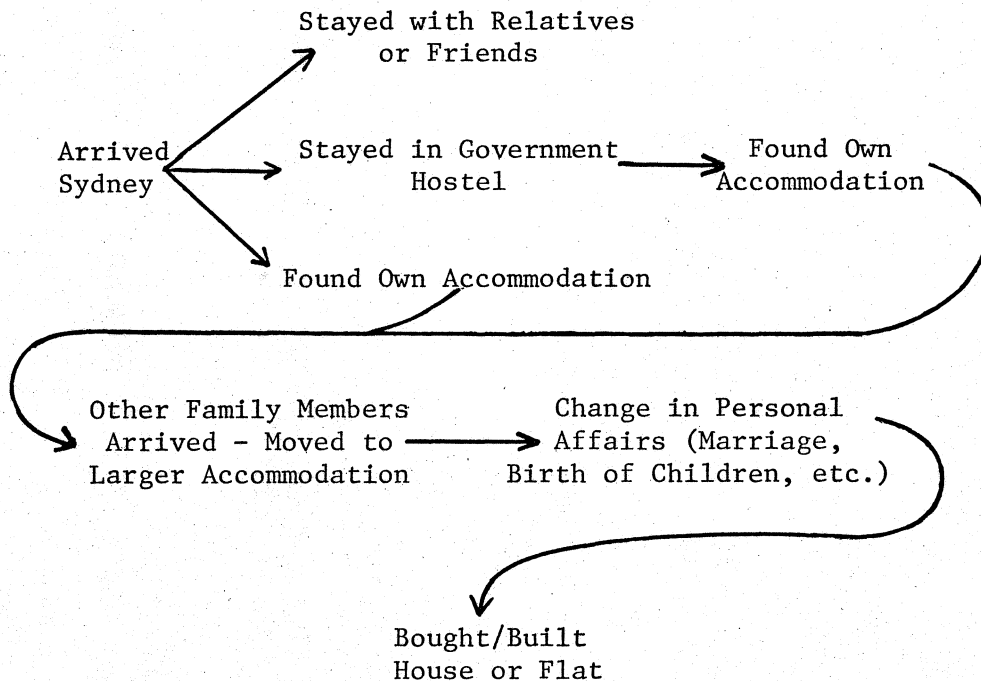
Private home acquisition has also been important with respect to the residential "stability" of the Armenians, although it does not significantly affect the level of mobility when duration of residence in Sydney is taken into account. For example, for those interviewees who have owned a house/flat in Sydney, 76 per cent of all their residential changes were made prior to the purchase of their first home. Although a quarter moved at least once after purchasing their first home, the sum of these later residential changes accounts for only 14 per cent of all the residential moves of the interviewees.

There are basically three reasons why private home acquisition leads to residential stability. First, the effort of changing residences is far greater for one who owns a dwelling than for one who rents it. Second, the legal maneuvers involved in the transfer of ownership - as well as the psychological implications of possession - serve as restraints on movement and thus inhibit further mobility. The third reason is related to the life-cycle stage at which most persons buy houses, i.e., the child-rearing stage. As mentioned earlier, households with established families have much more incentive not to move than do single persons or couples without children.

The ideal pattern of Armenian residential change in Sydney, derived from all the moves made by the interviewees since arrival, illustrates the importance of private home acquisition in the Armenian residential adjustment process (Diagram 4.1). Although the individual patterns are infinitely more

Diagram 4.1

Sequence of Typical Residential Change of Sydney Armenians



complicated than the flow chart would indicate, this sequence of residential changes accounts for two-thirds of all the residential moves made by the interviewees. The great variety in the individual mobility patterns can best be illustrated by the following accounts of the movements of two Armenians who came from Egypt within three years of each other:

Armen arrived in Sydney from Egypt in 1964 and initially stayed in the Matraville Migrant Hostel. After a few weeks he moved into accommodation which he found for himself in the suburb of Dulwich Hill and remained there until the owner of the house died, requiring him to move. He found other accommodation in Dulwich Hill until his parents arrived, when he obtained a place for them and himself in the nearby suburb of Marrickville. A few years later he married and established a residence in Earlwood where he and his wife lived until he bought a house in Belfield. He eventually sold this house and moved to another he had built in Earlwood.

Hagop came to Sydney from Egypt in 1967 and stayed for a period at the Villawood Migrant Hostel. He then moved to a rented flat in Glebe, where he was living in 1976.

Two other kinds of factors appear to have influenced Armenian residential changes - their occupational and social mobility since arrival. The more occupationally mobile have also tended to be the more residentially mobile, indicating that occupational changes are likely to cause residential changes, or at least to accompany them (Table 4.7). This is especially true for those who have improved their occupational status since arrival, moving from blue collar to white collar jobs.

Table 4.7

Relationship of Occupational Mobility
to Residential Mobility

Number of Residential ¹ Moves in Sydney	N=	Average Number of Job Changes in Sydney
0	5 ²	0.0
1	12	1.1
2	32	1.9
3	16	2.4
4	13	2.5
5	9	2.7
6	6	4.8
7	2	3.5
8	2	7.0
Total	97	2.2

¹ Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient $R = +.99772$.

² Four held only one job and one held no job after arrival.

Social mobility is closely related to occupational mobility, especially for the Armenian immigrants. As will be shown in the next chapter, the higher the level of education the greater the recovery of pre-migration occupational status. Since it was the more educated white collar workers who suffered the greatest occupational status dislocation upon

arrival in Australia, it was these same immigrants who were the most occupationally and socially mobile; those with only a primary education or no education have changed residences an average of 2.2 times compared with 2.6 times for those with tertiary education.

Although the average number of residential changes of the different country groups varied substantially - from a high of 3.5 for the Indonesian Armenians to a low of 1.7 for those from India - residential mobility was not found to be statistically significant with respect to country of origin. Most of the differences noted are assumed to be attributed principally to the immigrants' different periods of residence in Sydney, a factor which was highly correlated with their mobility (Table 4.8).

Other factors, such as the desire to improve the physical conditions of their dwellings and locational aspects such as workplace, were relatively unimportant in causing Armenian residential changes. As will be shown later, however, these are important considerations in the residential selection process.

The conclusions which can be drawn from this discussion of Armenian residential mobility are that: first, the immigrant's life-cycle stage on arrival has greatly affected the number of moves made in Sydney, although the act of migration itself has meant that a certain level of mobility was inevitable for most Armenians before residential adjustment was achieved; second, most Armenian residential mobility has followed a pattern which, with the exception of the first move, is very similar to that found for intra-urban mobility in general; third, private home acquisition, which is closely tied to the individual's life-cycle stage, is a critical factor in Armenian residential adjustment, not only in the eyes of the immigrants themselves, but also with regard to residential stability; fourth, occupational and social mobility are generally correlated with spatial mobility, leading to the assumption that the former have served to stimulate the latter; fifth, other background characteristics do not appear to have any significant influence on Armenian intra-urban mobility, especially when duration of residence in Sydney is taken into account.

Table 4.8

Residential Mobility by Length of Residence in Sydney

Length of Residence ¹ in Sydney	N=2	No Move		One Move		Two Moves		Three or More Moves		Average Number of Moves
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	
0-4 Years	132	(17)	13	(46)	35	(47)	36	(22)	17	1.7
5-9 Years	287	(11)	4	(72)	25	(110)	38	(94)	33	2.2
10-14 Years	355	(5)	1	(79)	22	(123)	35	(148)	42	2.5
15 or More Years	72	(1)	1	(14)	19	(23)	32	(34)	47	2.7
Total	846	(34)	4	(211)	25	(303)	36	(298)	35	2.3

¹ $\chi^2 = 61.6660$, df = 9, sign. at .0001 level.

² Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

The Selection of New Residences

Knowing where Armenians have settled, why they have changed residences and how mobile they have been does not fully explain their pattern of resettlement in Sydney - in particular their selection of new residences. This information is important in understanding not only the continuation of Armenian residential concentrations but also the means by which Armenians are progressively dispersing from areas of primary settlement.

One of the principal generalizations derived from studies of intra-urban movement is that most residential moves are of short distances, usually within familiar territory and away from the city centre (Johnston, 1969b; Simmons, 1968: 640). This is largely due to the "search" procedures employed in locating a new home, which are generally more important in determining the selection of a new residence than are the reasons for leaving the old. The process of searching for and selecting a new home depends upon two main factors - the intended mover's knowledge of the city and the location of available housing considered suitable at the time of the intended move. This first factor determines what has been described as the perceptual image, or "mental map" of the urban area held by the intended mover and which is built up over time from personal experience (Adams, 1969; Johnston, 1971a). It is usually locationally specific for only the area within a short distance of the residence and is largely responsible for the preponderance of short distance moves, as the householder usually has more knowledge of his immediate area (Lynch, 1960; Tilley, 1967). It has been suggested that in some cases these "mental maps" may relate to much larger areas, such as entire sections of cities (Brown and Moore, 1970: 7-8), situations which can also be assumed to result in intra-urban moves of greater distances.

These mental maps are derived from several different sources of information: (1) information gathered during journeys to work, which is likely to be limited by the fact that such trips are probably no more than a link between two areas; (2) information from shopping trips or other such journeys, which is considered more important than that from the first source as it is usually more extensive in nature; (3) information gained from personal and recreational contacts (Clark, 1969: 39). As far as selection

of a new residential location is concerned, the third source of information is generally considered the most important. For example, Rossi (1955: 161), in his Philadelphia study, estimated that almost 50 per cent of all housing units were obtained through personal contacts. Thus, since there is a tendency for contacts at short distances to be repeated and so reinforce the importance of nearby locations, this source of information has been considered particularly influential in restricting most residential moves to short distances.

The Armenians have followed a different pattern. Although only 18 per cent of the interviewees obtained information about their current residences from personal contacts, most of those who had moved previously had received such help with earlier residential selections. Thus, the role of personal contacts in locating a new residence appears to have declined in importance with subsequent relocations, while other sources of information apparently have become more significant. For example, 46 per cent of the interviewees obtained their present residences through real estate agents (only one being Armenian), another nine per cent learned of them from non-personal sources such as newspapers, while a full quarter found them simply by chance, such as seeing them advertised on the way to work.

This decline in the importance of personal contacts in residential selection has been accompanied by a general increase in the range of Armenian residential moves. For example, 46 per cent of all first residential changes took place within the local government area in which the immigrant was living, compared with 36 per cent of all second moves. This was equally true of the smaller areal units, such as C.D.'s and suburbs, indicating that, in general, the range of Armenian moves was increasing with each subsequent residential change (Table 4.9).

This increase in the range of later moves may reflect the immigrants' growing familiarity with a much larger area of the city or may be closely related to their immigrant status. Being recently arrived in Sydney, the bulk of the Armenians could be considered to have much less interest in the areas in which they live and not to have developed strong attachments to their surroundings. This, combined with the fact mentioned earlier that they

Table 4.9

Mobility in Sydney: Residential Moves Within
Different Sized Areas of Sydney

Urban Areas	Residential Moves					
	First Move ¹		Second Move ²		Last Move ³	
	(N=)	% ⁴	(N=)	% ⁴	(N=)	% ⁴
Census Collector's District (CD)	(49)	10	(15)	5	(14)	5
Suburb	(138)	28	(70)	23	(64)	22
Local Government Area (LGA)	(224)	46	(106)	36	(109)	38
Major Area ⁵	(407)	84	(249)	84	(234)	81
N= ⁶	486		298		289	

¹ Includes those who have moved only once or twice.

² Includes only those who have moved twice.

³ Includes only those who have moved more than twice.

⁴ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

⁵ See footnote 1, page 150 for a delineation of the three major areas of Sydney.

⁶ Does not include those who gave no answer.

are an urban people accustomed to living in large cities, to maintaining social networks in this type of environment, and to minority group status, would serve to make movements of greater distances in Sydney neither formidable nor threatening. At the same time, however, other factors, including the "search process", can still be considered to have limited the range of these moves, especially once the immigrants were settled in the general area of Sydney in which they wanted to live.

Another factor which has been commonly found to constrain moves within the same neighbourhood or general area is the requirement, voluntary or involuntary, of living near relatives or friends, near people of similar origins or interests, or of having access to certain social institutions. This has been termed the "social environment" by Simmons (1968: 643), who stated that it was one of the three aspects of location which was of most importance in selecting a new residence. Cultural aspects are also included here as they have been shown to emphasize movements within sections of cities and are considered especially important to minority group movements (Simmons, 1968: 642).

The social environment has already been shown to be important to settlement and resettlement of Armenians in North Sydney. It has also been significant in limiting the range of Armenian residential moves in general. Overall, 38 per cent of those immigrants who initially resided with relatives or friends continued to live in the L.G.A. of their first settlement, compared with 27 per cent of those who had not resided with friends or relatives (Table 4.10). All of the former group have moved within a radius of 10 km of their first residence while 63 per cent of the latter group have moved more than 10 km.

Table 4.10

Influence of Initial Residence on Range of Future Movements

Initial Residence in Sydney	N= ¹	Presently Live in L.G.A. of First Residence		Presently Live in Major Area of First Residence ³	
		(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²
Migrant hostel	95	(16)	17	(64)	67
With relatives already living in Sydney	394	(153)	39	(322)	82
With friends already living in Sydney	89	(31)	35	(68)	76
With other Armenian family already living in Sydney	34	(12)	35	(25)	74
Found own lodgings	186	(57)	31	(131)	70
Other	6	(2)	33	(3)	50
No answer	2	(1)	50	(2)	100
Total	806	(272)	34	(615)	76

¹ Only includes those for whom first and present residence are known.

² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

³ See footnote 1, page 150 for a delineation of the three major areas of Sydney.

The importance of the location of relatives and friends in the decision to select a particular residence is further emphasized by the fact that the majority of the Survey respondents felt it was important to live "near" their relatives (63 per cent) and friends (58 per cent). Other aspects of the social environment were not rated so highly. Forty-six per cent felt it was important to live near, or in, concentrations of Armenians, while even fewer felt it was important to live in the general vicinity of their church (39 per cent) or close to Armenian clubs and social institutions (33 per cent).

Clarification is necessary here of what is meant by residing "near" or "in the vicinity of" these various aspects of the social environment, as the definition assumed would almost certainly affect the range of the residential moves. For example, for some Armenians it meant living next door or on the same street, while for others it meant living within a 30 minute drive by car. For most, however, its meaning appears to have changed over time. During the initial period after arrival in Sydney it generally implied the immediate vicinity of relatives, friends, and so on. As time passed and they became more adjusted to life in Australia, and more familiar with their surroundings, "nearness" was interpreted to mean "easy access by car". There was common acknowledgement by the interviewees that they wanted to be closer to relatives and friends when they first arrived but later, especially after obtaining a car and driver's licence, it was no longer so necessary, or, in some cases, even desirable. Distance, in itself, was then not seen as a great hindrance to continued social contact and it does not appear to have adversely affected the frequency of their social interaction with relatives or friends. Nevertheless, there has been a growing reluctance on the part of many Armenians to maintain social contacts in other areas of Sydney when access is not considered convenient. This is especially true for those living north and south of the Harbour, who view crossing the Sydney Harbour Bridge as a major obstacle to social intercourse. The importance of this factor in determining choice of residential location - especially with regard to aspects of the social environment - is emphasized by the fact that few of the interviewed respondents had relatives or friends who resided on the other side of Sydney Harbour.

The importance of the various aspects of the social environment in the residential selection process differed for the various country groups. Those who came from Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iran had the greatest proportions who felt it important to live near relatives, friends and other Armenians. The Lebanese Armenians were the only group who felt it was important to live near Armenian shops, clubs and other social institutions. The significance of this "Armenian Orientation" on both the initial settlement and later movements of these groups is well-illustrated by the proportions who continue to live in the major area of initial residence (Table 4.11). The country groups mentioned above account for five of the six groups which exhibited the greatest propensity to remain within the major area of initial settlement. Moreover, the sixth group, those from Soviet Armenia, manifested these same characteristics but for reasons other than having a strong "Armenian Orientation", i.e., because of their small numbers and the recentness of their arrival.

Those country groups which were the least Armenian orientated - the Indonesian and European Armenians - were also those with the smallest proportions still residing in the major area of first residence.

Thus, their initial place of residence in Sydney, whether or not they first lived with relatives or friends, and how much importance they gave to other aspects of the social environment have all been very influential in determining the range of most of their residential moves.

However, the reasons they gave for choosing particular residences differed depending upon whether or not the residential changes entailed moves of short or long distances. For example, those who moved *into* West Sydney from other areas considered the location of suitable housing to be more important than the location of relatives in the selection of a residence. This differed from those who moved *within* this area, who considered the location of relatives to be the most important consideration. In South Sydney, location of workplace was more important for the selection of residences, especially for those who moved into this area, while the location of relatives was the most important consideration in the residential selections of those who moved into North Sydney. Overall, however, the three most common

Table 4.11

Proportions of Country Groups Which Presently
Reside in Major Area of First Residence

Region/Country of Last Residence	N= ¹	Reside in Same Major Area of Sydney as That of First Residence	
		(N=)	% ²
<u>Arab Middle East</u>			
Egypt	244	(183)	75
Syria	54	(52)	96
Lebanon	107	(82)	77
Jordan (+ Israel)	80	(62)	78
Iraq	22	(16)	73
Other	33	(21)	64
Sub-Total	540	(416)	77
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>			
Turkey	17	(12)	71
Iran	92	(86)	93
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(11)	85
Sub-Total	122	(109)	89
<u>South, East, and Southeast Asia</u>			
India	39	(28)	72
Indonesia	18	(6)	33
Other Asia	11	(8)	73
Sub-Total	68	(42)	62
<u>Europe and North America</u>	52	(31)	60
<u>Other Countries</u>	23	(17)	74
Total	805	(615)	76

¹ Includes only those whose first and present residences are known.

² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

reasons given for choice of present residences, in order of importance, were: work location (37 per cent), location of relatives or friends (21 per cent) and the availability of suitable housing (11 per cent). According to Simmons (1968: 643), these are the three aspects of location which are of greatest importance to most people in selecting a new residence.

The principal significance of the Armenian pattern of residential selection - with respect to their residential assimilation - lies in the way it affects the concentration and dispersion of the Sydney Armenians. As they become better adjusted to life in Australia and more familiar with their new surroundings they appear to conduct a wider search for new residences, with less consideration being given to factors related to their immigrant status and more to factors of intra-urban moves in general, such as workplace. This leads not only to longer range moves, and consequently greater dispersion, but also, over time, to a more even distribution of Armenians in areas where they settle.

At the same time these residential selection criteria serve both to limit the range of many of the moves and to introduce directionality into the movement trends. For example, low and medium income families who wish to purchase their own homes as close as possible to their relatives in Willoughby, often move only as far as necessary to obtain housing they can afford. Since the closest less expensive housing is generally found in areas to the west, such as Ryde, most moves tend to be in this direction.

The limitations on the range of most residential moves also helps to maintain the principal Armenian concentrations, as well as leads to the development of second settlement concentrations in adjacent areas, with Armenian settlement tending to become less dense with increasing distance from the main concentrations. In this respect, then, Burgess' model of gradual dispersion outward from areas of core settlement has some limited application, but only with the important qualification that, for the Armenians, middle distance suburbs assume the functions of inner city areas and movement is more sectorial than zonal.

FUTURE SETTLEMENT TRENDS AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

As in the past, the future pattern of settlement of the Armenians will depend upon the arrival of new immigrants and the resettlement of the old. The last chapter indicated that Armenian migration to Australia has tended to increase in the period since the completion of the Survey, due to the deteriorating conditions in the Middle East, especially in the Levant area and, more recently, in Iran. Although some of these latest arrivals may have come as unsponsored refugees, it is more likely that they migrated to Australia to join family members or relatives already here. Consequently, most of the recent settlement may be assumed to have taken place in those places where individuals from the same source countries were living in 1976, increasing the Armenian residential concentration of these areas. This newer immigration is felt unlikely to alter the pattern of resettlement however. Movement to the western suburbs will continue as more young Armenians enter the child-rearing stages, although future immigrants may also settle in these areas as accommodation is generally cheaper there. The small flow of Armenians from South to North Sydney due to the "gravitational" and socio-economic attraction of the North Shore can also be expected to continue, at least in the near future.

In addition to the trends derived from past movements, intentions concerning future movements have been obtained from interview information concerning: the kinds of areas in which they would prefer to live; the suburb of Sydney in which they would settle if given the choice; whether they intend to move again, and, if so, when and where they plan to move. It was found that almost half of the interviewees preferred to live in the middle distance suburbs of Sydney, while one-third preferred the outer suburbs (another 13 interviewees preferred rural areas and six preferred small towns). The kind of area they preferred closely matched the specific suburb in which they would choose to settle permanently. Sixty per cent gave middle distance suburbs, just north or south of the Harbour, while the remaining 40 per cent chose outer suburbs. Over three-quarters of those interviewed preferred the North Sydney area,¹ particularly the suburbs of

¹ This figure is very likely too high since interviewees from the North Shore area are over-represented in the sample.

Chatswood, Willoughby, French's Forest, Northbridge and Castlecrag. All of these are relatively high status suburbs.¹ In South Sydney, the preferred suburbs were those in the Maroubra area, while in West Sydney, only the suburb of Fairfield was preferred.² In 40 per cent of all the cases, the preferred suburb was that in which the respondent was living at the time of the Survey.

The attributes of the preferred suburbs which were deemed to be the most important by the interviewed respondents were those of location (56 per cent), especially being near the sea, near the city centre, near the centre of the Armenian community or near relatives. Twenty-seven per cent gave other attributes as the principal attractions of these suburbs. The most common ones were that they were nice, clean areas, quiet areas and prestigious areas.

Forty per cent of the interviewees indicated that they planned to change residences sometime in the future, while five respondents were undecided about whether they would move again. Of those who intended to move, four-fifths said they would move within the same major area of Sydney. This figure was almost identical to that found for all past moves, but differed depending on the area in which the respondent was living. Eighty-seven per cent of the intended movers in North Sydney indicated they would remain within this area, compared with only half of the intended movers in both South and West Sydney.

Sixty-one per cent of the intended movers stated that, if at all possible, they would move to their preferred suburb, which entailed a move away from the city centre. Half planned to move within two years, while a tenth stated they probably would not move for five years or more. About a sixth did not specify a time period but said they would move again when they got married, had children or when their children left home.

¹ In Congalton's (1961) ranking of Sydney suburbs, with 'A' being the highest status and 'D' the lowest, all of these preferred suburbs except Castlecrag are classified as 'B'. Castlecrag is the only 'A' suburb preferred.

² Maroubra is classed as a 'B' status suburb while Fairfield is the only 'C' class suburb given by the Armenians as a preferred place in which to settle.

The indications which can be drawn from these stated intentions and from past trends concerning the future patterns of Armenian settlement and resettlement are as follows:

- (1) In both North and South Sydney future movements will occur mainly in two directions. Those in the child-rearing stages of the life cycle and in the lower socio-economic groups will tend to settle in greater numbers in the more western suburbs of these areas, while those who have entered the higher socio-economic groups will tend to concentrate to an even greater extent in the more eastern suburbs.
- (2) As in the past, most residential changes will occur within the same major area as present residence, especially those which take place in North Sydney.
- (3) The choices of future residential locations will be decided largely on criteria which influence the metropolitan population as a whole. The Armenians' migrant status and ethnic identity will progressively play a lesser part in determining specific choices of residences, although certain attributes - especially country of origin - will continue to influence the general area of future settlement. This can be expected to lead to both greater dispersal and a more even distribution of Armenians in all settlement areas.
- (4) The major part of the Armenian population will continue to reside in North Sydney and the proportion settling there will probably increase slightly over time. The Armenian population in West Sydney is also likely to increase but, as in the past, it is unlikely to become very large. The population of first generation Armenian immigrants residing in South Sydney will decline very slightly over time, as immigrants move to West Sydney or to the North Shore.

- (5) Unless there is a much larger influx of new Armenian immigrants than is occurring at present, the settlement pattern at the time of the Survey is unlikely to change significantly in the foreseeable future. With four-fifths of the immigrants either owning or presently buying their own homes and only two-fifths intending to change residences again, residential stability has been largely achieved. Consequently, the majority of the Sydney Armenian population must be considered to be residentially adjusted today.

The fact that the Armenians, as a group, are largely residentially adjusted does not necessarily mean that they have also become residentially assimilated. The opposite is closer to the truth. Because the Armenian settlement pattern has become stabilized, significant residential concentrations will undoubtedly continue in Sydney for some time - almost certainly for the tenure of the first generation immigrants. Residential assimilation on a large scale will probably only occur with subsequent generations.

CHAPTER V

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Occupational adjustment is probably the most significant part of the immigrant's adjustment process, as it is not only crucial for his physical survival but is often a prerequisite for his successful adjustment in the other spheres of the host society (Martin, 1965: 47; Zubrzycki, 1964b: 73). An immigrant can be considered to be adjusted occupationally when he is employed in the receiving society at work which takes full advantage of his training and skills and the rewards which he receives for his work - in income, recognition and status - are in proportion to his capacities (Zubrzycki, 1964b: 89).

Occupational adjustment is often equated with "economic absorption", which is defined by Borrie (1959: 101) as "the immigrant's capacity not only to secure employment on arrival in his new country but also to sustain his employment". The former, however, takes into account the immigrant's skills and overseas work experience, and whether or not he is satisfied with his job situation in the host country; while the latter pertains only to the acquisition and retention of some kind of employment. Thus, he may be economically absorbed while not being occupationally adjusted.

Neither occupational adjustment nor economic absorption necessarily results in "economic assimilation",¹ i.e., the distribution of the immigrants throughout the occupational structure of the receiving society in the same proportions as the overall host population. This is especially true for first generation immigrants. Because migration is often selective with

¹ This process is similar to Eisenstadt's "institutional dispersion", which is assumed to lead to the "integration" of immigrants in the political and cultural organizations of the receiving society (Eisenstadt, 1952a; 1952b; 1954), and to eventually culminate in their "structural assimilation" (Gordon, 1964: 70-71, 81; Richmond, 1969: 267; Richmond and Verma, 1978: 11).

respect to occupations and the occupational structure of the country of origin frequently differs significantly from that of the host society, it is possible for immigrants to become adjusted occupationally - by obtaining the same or similar work as done overseas - without the group becoming economically assimilated. Although both occupational adjustment and economic assimilation generally entail occupational changes after arrival in the receiving country, with respect to the former process such changes are viewed in relation to the immigrants' pre-migration occupations, while in the latter the concern is with the degree of "convergence" of their occupational distribution with that of the host society.

Changes in occupations which lead to the distribution of immigrants throughout the occupational structure of the host society are referred to as their occupational mobility. It is the one condition which makes possible their occupational adjustment and eventual economic and structural assimilation (Zubrzycki, 1968a: 39). There are two basic kinds of occupational mobility, horizontal and vertical. Horizontal mobility is simply the geographical change of work-place. Vertical mobility, the movement upward or downward within a given occupation, or to a higher or lower ranked occupation, is that occupational change which can lead to both occupational adjustment and economic assimilation (Taylor, 1968: 66). If such mobility is hindered or prevented from taking place an immigrant may be relegated to the occupational status he obtained at time of arrival. Where occupational change is allowed, the motivation for such change is often two-sided - the desire to "recover" the occupation held prior to migration, in cases of downward mobility, and the desire to obtain a higher status occupation. Frequently, migrants suffer occupational displacement on arrival, principally downward mobility (Burnley, 1972b: 128; Jaunzems and Brown, 1972: 56; Johnston, 1965b: 217; Richmond, 1967 : 53-62; Rogg, 1971: 479; Taft, 1965: 36). Sometimes this is only temporary, as shown for the North African Jewish migrants in Montreal (Weiermair, 1971), who, after a short period of readjustment, recovered their former occupations. In other cases there may be a more permanent dislocation, with the migrants relegated to lower positions than those held before migration (Richmond, 1969: 267). Related to the latter are cases where migrants tend to concentrate, either involuntarily or voluntarily, in certain occupations in the

host society. Although, like downward displacement, this situation is influenced to a large extent by the backgrounds of the immigrants, the form of their migration and the environment of their settlement (Choi, 1975: 93), it may also be caused by legal restrictions, such as happened with the Chinese immigrants in Australia who were legally tied to their sponsors and only admitted on the condition that they remain in the occupational categories which they first entered (Choi, 1975: 86-91). Such immigrants were denied full choice of employment which severely restricted their occupational mobility.

Even in cases where job acquisition and occupational mobility of immigrants is not legally restricted it can still be influenced by a number of other factors:

- (1) The migrant's proficiency in the use of the dominant language of the receiving country. Although this probably has a greater impact during the early years of settlement (Weiermair, 1971: 11), by influencing whether or not they are able to find satisfactory jobs (Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1976: 19), failure to learn the dominant language has been shown to persist in limiting the variety of jobs open to immigrants (Martin, 1965: 15; Richmond, 1969: 267). In this way it has led to the perpetuation of ethnic concentrations in certain occupations.
- (2) The educational and occupational qualifications held on arrival and whether or not retraining or additional training in the receiving country is required. Often qualifications may be discounted, at least initially, as they may not be recognized by the professional bodies, trade unions or employers in the receiving country. They may also be important determinants of the immigrants' attitudes towards their work situations and of their later employment mobility (Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1976: 12; Richmond, 1967 : 59-61, 141-143).

- (3) The immigrant's pre-migration occupation. Those formerly in professional or managerial positions, where acquaintance with local conditions and techniques in the receiving country are usually essential, may encounter greater difficulties in obtaining their former occupations than immigrants in lower status blue collar jobs where such knowledge is not required (Moldofsky, 1975: 44; Richmond, 1969: 267-268).
- (4) The immigrant's age at arrival in the host country. Occupational change has been found to be easier for younger than for older migrants (Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1976: 26; Jaunzems and Brown, 1972: 56), and age at arrival has been shown to be especially significant with regard to initial employment (Moldofsky, 1975: 44; Weiermair, 1971: 11).
- (5) The presence of discrimination against migrants by employers, government agencies, including employment agencies, and by labour unions (Richmond, 1969: 267).
- (6) The extent to which established immigrants employ newer arrivals of the same ethnic background (Choi, 1975; Weiermair, 1971).

It is obvious that many of these factors are interrelated. For example, white collar workers generally have higher occupational qualifications, are more educated and probably are older at arrival than blue collar workers. At the same time it is the white collar workers who are more likely to have difficulty obtaining recognition for their overseas qualifications.

Although not necessarily related to their occupational mobility, there is another factor which is crucial to the occupational adjustment of

immigrants in the host society - the migrant's own view of his new occupational situation. Zubrzycki (1964b: 80-89) has shown this to be of the utmost importance in understanding both successful and unsuccessful occupational adjustment. A migrant's feelings of satisfaction with his occupation may reflect the fulfilment, or not, of his expectations of life in the new society and not necessarily whether his former occupation, or one of higher status, is obtained. For example, Richmond (1969: 268-269) has noted that unskilled migrants from rural areas moving into an urban society may be happy to remain at the bottom of the income and occupational status ladder, and even experience a sense of relative gratification, because their living conditions are an improvement on their previous experiences. Davidson (1966: 93-95) made a similar finding for immigrants with low socio-economic backgrounds who settled in Australia. Because of the relative lack of significant economic differentials in Australia, compared with their country of origin, their economic aspirations were readily realizable. A third example is provided by Cuban refugees in the United States. Although coming from high socio-economic positions and suffering sharp downward occupational mobility they were not dissatisfied with their new work situations because of the greater personal freedom and safety they gained (Rogg, 1971: 477-479). Common to all three cases is the fact that the immigrant's sense of relative deprivation or gratification is principally determined by a comparison of his present circumstances with those prior to migration. Thus, the degree of satisfaction which an immigrant feels with regard to his occupational situation in the new country - no matter how the job he obtains compares with that held overseas - must be considered of great importance in his overall occupational adjustment.

The aim of this chapter is to examine the process by which the Armenian immigrants in Sydney have adjusted occupationally since arrival. For this reason attention is directed towards those male survey respondents who have worked both overseas and in Australia. No attempt is made to analyze the situations of those immigrants who have worked only overseas or only in Australia, with the exception of the wives of the male respondents, who are considered separately. In those cases where the respondents were widows whose husbands died after migration, their husbands' occupations are included in the various analyses. All occupations, including those overseas,

are classified by the Australian Bureau of Census and Statistics *Classification and Classified List of Occupations*. Revised: June, 1971.

The chapter will conclude with a brief summary of Armenian occupational adjustment and an examination of the degree to which the Sydney Armenians can be considered to have become economically assimilated into the Australian occupational structure.

PRE-MIGRATION OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION

Prior to their migration to Australia 84 per cent of the Survey respondents had been gainfully employed, a tenth of whom had been self-employed (see Table 5.1, Appendix IV). They were predominantly "urban specialists" employed in typical urban occupations. Only a very few had been engaged in work in the primary sector.

The pre-migration occupational distribution of the Armenian immigrants differed substantially between country and regional groups (see Table 3.9, Chapter Three). The most pronounced differences were between those early migrants from the countries of South, East and Southeast Asia and those from the other regions. The former regional groups had the largest proportions of both those self-employed and in white collar jobs,¹ while those from other regions - especially from the Arab countries - were predominantly blue collar workers in the skilled and semi-skilled trades.² The fact that the majority of the Armenians originated in developing countries in Asia and the Middle East, however, meant that when compared, in general, with their non-Armenian countrymen they were relatively more highly skilled and trained and in more favourable economic positions prior to migration.

The political and social motivations behind most of the Armenian migration meant that relatively few Armenians migrated to Australia for purely

¹ A good number of these were accountants and hotel managers.

² The principal occupations of migrants from these areas were jewellery workers, fitters and turners, auto mechanics, electricians, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors and photographers.

economic reasons. Nevertheless, the fact that they are characterized by strong aspirations for both social and economic mobility meant that any information about Australia's economic situation which they did obtain would very likely have influenced their employment expectations. This would be especially important if the information proved incorrect and led to expectations which were unrealizable once the immigrant arrived in Australia. Such a situation could easily cause dissatisfaction and adversely affect their occupational adjustment.

Only half (45/87) of the interviewed male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia received any information on occupations and employment in Australia before they emigrated, which is partially due to their mode of migration and the fact that, for many, Australia was selected as a destination almost by default. Twenty-three per cent (20/87) obtained information from official sources, such as Australian embassies or immigration officials, while 21 per cent (18/87) were given information by relatives, friends or sponsors who were residing in Australia. The former were principally the "free flow" migrants while the latter were generally sponsored or assisted migrants.

In the majority of the cases (41/45) where information was received it was found to be correct - regardless of its source - and for this reason it cannot be considered to have led to unwarranted job expectations in Australia. If anything, for the Armenians this prior information helped to prepare them for the reality they were to experience on arrival. For example, over four-fifths (40/45) of those who obtained information before emigrating stated they realized they probably would not be able to obtain their pre-migration jobs in Australia, at least initially.

Overall, the occupational situations of the Armenians prior to their migration provided them with the skills and experience necessary for obtaining suitable employment in Australia. Also, the fact that over four-fifths possessed at least a rudimentary knowledge of English before arrival must be considered to have been an added help in their search for and acquisition of jobs once they arrived.

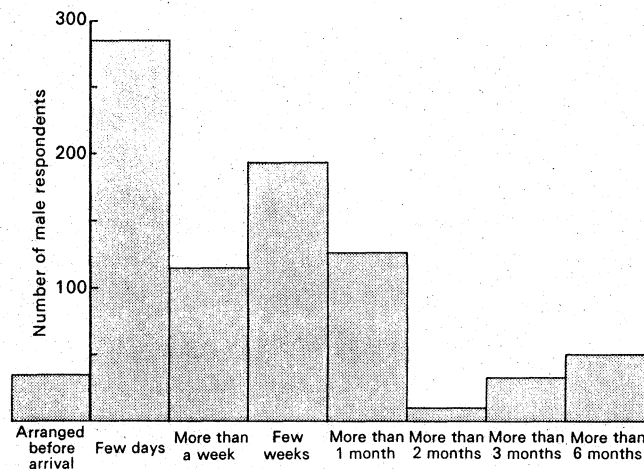
POST-MIGRATION OCCUPATIONAL SITUATION

Search for and Acquisition of Employment in Australia

The majority of the respondents considered finding employment to be their first task after arrival in Australia. Three-quarters wanted to obtain a particular kind of job - primarily the same kind of work as done overseas - or at least a job which was related to their previous work experience. Just under three-quarters of the respondents managed to find full-time employment within a month of their arrival (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1

Time Spent Searching For First Job in Australia



The amount of time it took them to obtain their first jobs in Australia was influenced by a number of interrelated factors: (1) the financial resources they had available on arrival; (2) their countries of origin (last residence); (3) the period when they arrived in Australia; (4) the size and level of institutional development of the Sydney Armenian community when they arrived; (5) whether or not they received personal assistance in finding jobs; (6) their pre-migration occupational experience.

As a migrant group which originated mainly in developing countries the Armenians were probably more fortunate financially than most immigrants when they arrived in Australia. On average, the 87 interviewed male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia arrived with approximately A\$4,000, although this figure incorporates quite a range of variation.

A fifth of these came with the equivalent of A\$5,000 or more, some with as much as A\$30,000, while a quarter arrived with less than A\$100, a few with as little as A\$10. With the exception of those from Iraq, the Armenians from the Arab countries were generally the poorest on arrival. Those from the non-Arab Middle East - in particular Iran - and those from Europe and North America were the wealthiest.

Those immigrants with ample funds available to them when they arrived had a decided advantage in their search for employment, as there was not the necessity to find work immediately. Many Armenians in this category preferred to postpone their search for employment in order to allow themselves time to adjust to their new surroundings and to become more familiar with the Australian way of life. For this reason, they tended to take longer to find jobs than did those with more limited funds available (Table 5.1). Some of the latter, however, did take a considerable time before

Table 5.1

Factors Affecting Time Spent Searching for First Job in Australia:
Financial Resources Available on Arrival

Financial Resources ¹ Available on Arrival	N= ²	Few Days		More Than One Week		Few Weeks		More Than One Month	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
Less than \$100	24	(11)	46	(2)	8	(6)	25	(5)	21
Between \$100 and \$1,000	22	(11)	50	(4)	18	(4)	18	(3)	13
Between \$1,000 and \$5,000	22	(7)	32	(1)	5	(4)	18	(10)	45
More than \$5,000	17	(1)	6	(2)	12	(5)	29	(9)	53
Total	85	(30)	35	(9)	11	(19)	22	(27)	32

¹ Combining columns 2 and 3, $\chi^2 = 14.3483$, df = 6, sign. at .05 level.

² Includes only those interviewed male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia. Excludes two who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

starting work, as illustrated by one Lebanese Armenian who, although possessing only seven dollars on arrival, did not start work for three months. Situations such as this were possible because these individuals were either

supported by relatives, or else received unemployment benefits and resided in government hostels. For most, however, neither of these situations was considered a satisfactory way to live for any longer than was absolutely necessary, which provided an added incentive for these migrants to obtain work as soon as possible.

Where the immigrants had originated was especially important with respect to the period spent searching for initial employment. In general, those from South, East and Southeast Asia - especially the Indonesian Armenians - took the longest, while those from the Arab countries were the quickest to obtain jobs (Table 5.2). The countries from which they came were also closely related to the period during which they arrived in Australia. For example, the most significant movement before 1963 came from Southeast and East Asia while the more recent arrivals have come from the non-Arab Middle East. Thus, those who arrived before 1963 were also those who took the longest to find jobs (Table 5.3).

The principal reasons why the more recent arrivals have obtained employment faster are related to the increase over time in the size of the Sydney Armenian community and its level of institutional development, although changes in Australia's economic and social climate during the period of their settlement were probably also influential. Those who arrived after 1962, when the Sydney community was already firmly established and of fair size, had access to the "Australian experience" of the earlier migrants, which served to facilitate their acquisition of employment in a shorter period of time (Table 5.4). These later migrants also received greater assistance from friends, relatives or sponsors in finding their first jobs, especially in the period from 1967 when most new arrivals came as sponsored migrants who had relatives or friends already living in Sydney (Table 5.5). This was also reflected in their country backgrounds. For example, 57 per cent of those from the non-Arab Middle East received personal help in locating their first jobs, compared with only 12 per cent of those from South, East and Southeast Asia (see Table 5.2, Appendix IV).

The sixth factor is mainly concerned with the relevance of overseas work experience to employment in Australia. Overall, the former blue collar

Table 5.2

Factors Affecting Time Spent Searching for First Job in Australia:
Region/Country of Origin

Region/Country of ¹ Last Residence	N= ²	Few Days		More Than One Week		Few Weeks		More Than One Month	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
<u>Arab Middle East</u>									
Egypt	225	(86)	38	(25)	11	(62)	28	(52)	23
Syria	53	(21)	40	(11)	21	(12)	23	(9)	17
Lebanon	104	(53)	51	(13)	13	(24)	23	(14)	14
Jordan (+ Israel)	78	(29)	37	(14)	18	(17)	22	(18)	23
Iraq	21	(9)	43	(4)	19	(4)	19	(4)	19
Other Arab ME	32	(9)	28	(3)	9	(16)	50	(4)	13
Sub-Total	513	(207)	40	(70)	14	(135)	26	(101)	20
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>									
Turkey	18	(9)	50	(3)	17	(4)	22	(2)	11
Iran	85	(25)	29	(16)	19	(19)	22	(25)	29
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(5)	39	(4)	31	(2)	15	(2)	15
Sub-Total	116	(39)	34	(23)	20	(25)	22	(29)	25
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>									
India	26	(12)	46	(2)	8	(4)	15	(8)	31
Indonesia	13	(2)	15	(0)	0	(2)	15	(9)	69
Other Asia	13	(4)	31	(1)	8	(4)	31	(4)	30
Sub-Total	52	(18)	35	(3)	6	(10)	19	(21)	40
<u>Europe and North America</u>									
	41	(15)	37	(5)	12	(7)	17	(14)	34
<u>Other Countries</u>	20	(5)	25	(3)	15	(5)	25	(7)	35
Total	742	(284) ⁴	38	(104)	14	(182)	25	(172)	23

¹ $\chi^2 = 62.2649$, df = 39, sign at .01 level.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia.
Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

⁴ Includes 17 respondents who had jobs arranged before arrival.

Table 5.3

Factors Affecting Time Spent Searching for First Job in Australia:
Period of Arrival in Australia

Period of Arrival ¹ in Australia	N= ²	Few Days		More Than One Week		Few Weeks		More Than One Month	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
Prior to 1963	62	(15)	24	(5)	8	(16)	26	(26)	42
1963-1966	330	(133)	40	(44)	13	(83)	25	(70)	21
1967-1976	355	(137)	39	(55)	15	(85)	24	(78)	22
Total	747	(285) ⁴	38	(104)	14	(184)	25	(174)	23

¹ $\chi^2 = 15.7329$, df = 6, sign. at .025 level.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia. Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

⁴ Includes 17 respondents who had jobs arranged before arrival.

workers, especially the skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, had transferable skills which did not require a good knowledge of the local Australian conditions. This allowed them to obtain work faster than the former white collar workers who often needed some retraining, or at least a period of familiarization in Australia before obtaining white collar jobs (Table 5.6). Also, other requirements for employment, such as level of English proficiency, would have been much more important for those seeking white collar jobs than for those attempting to obtain blue collar positions.

A fifth factor also needs to be mentioned, even though it was not greatly significant with respect to the acquisition of initial employment. This was the utilization of the Australian Government's Commonwealth Employment Service (C.E.S.). In all, 45 per cent (38/87) of the interviewed respondents registered with the C.E.S. upon arrival in Australia, although only a little more than a third of these eventually obtained their first jobs through this agency. The respondents who did not seek employment through the C.E.S. did not do so for the following reasons: half received help from relatives or friends in finding a job, making registration

Table 5.4

Factors Affecting Time Spent Searching for First Job in Australia:
Assistance Received in Finding Work

Assistance Received ¹ in Finding First Job	N=2	Few Days		More Than One Week		Few Weeks		More Than One Month	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
Assisted by Relatives, Friends, or Sponsors	315	(123)	39	(48)	15	(84)	27	(60)	9
Found by Self	301	(110)	37	(40)	13	(73)	24	(78)	26
Other	126	(51)	40	(16)	13	(25)	20	(34)	27
Total	742	(284) ⁴	38	(104)	14	(182)	25	(172)	23

¹ Combining columns 1, 2 and 3 and rows 2 and 3, $\chi^2 = 5.2507$,
df = 1, sign. at .05 level.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in
Australia. Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

⁴ Includes 16 respondents who had jobs arranged before arrival.

unnecessary; many felt they could find their own jobs; some were not aware
that such an agency existed to assist them.

The relatively small fraction of the immigrants who obtained employ-
ment through the C.E.S. was also due to another factor - the attitude of the

Table 5.5

Assistance in Finding First Job by Period of Arrival

Period of Arrival ¹ in Australia	N=2	Received Help From Relatives, Friends or Sponsors		Found Job By Own Efforts		Other	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
Prior to 1963	61	(15)	25	(35)	57	(11)	18
1963-1966	332	(115)	35	(144)	43	(73)	22
1967-1976	354	(186)	53	(126)	36	(42)	12
Total	747	(316)	42	(305)	41	(126)	17

¹ $\chi^2 = 35.3656$, df = 4, sign. at .0001 level.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in
Australia.

³ All percentages are rounded to nearest whole percentage point.

C.E.S. staff encountered by many of those who did register. It was commonly reported by the respondents that the C.E.S. interviewers were not interested in their past experience and training, but only wanted to place them in low-paid manual or labouring jobs, often located in country towns or rural areas. Moreover, most stated they were repeatedly told that the kinds of jobs they were seeking were not available and that they would probably be required to work, at least initially, in a factory or other manual position. Because of this, most who registered felt they were being pushed into jobs which no-one else would accept and, consequently, many sought and obtained work by other means. The following remarks are illustrative of this:

"I was very disappointed [with the C.E.S.] because they never made any effort to try and help you get a job in a major city. Every time we went to the employment office they used to say to us 'You want a job, you go

Table 5.6

Factors Affecting Time Spent Searching for First Job in Australia:
Prior Occupational Experience

Occupation Prior ¹ to Arrival	N= ²	Few Days		More Than One Week		Few Weeks		More Than One Month	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
White Collar ⁴	326	(115)	35	(42)	13	(80)	25	(89)	27
Blue Collar ⁵	379	(157)	41	(54)	14	(97)	26	(71)	19
Total	705	(272) ⁶	39	(96)	14	(177)	25	(160)	23

¹ Combining columns 1, 2 and 3, $\chi^2 = 7.8843$, $df = 1$, sign. at .005 level.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia. Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

⁴ Includes professional, technical, administrative, executive, managerial, clerical and sale workers.

⁵ Includes primary sector workers, tradesmen, process workers, labourers, transport workers, service, recreational workers and the members of the armed forces.

⁶ Includes 17 respondents who had jobs arranged before arrival.

and do some fruit picking or tobacco or stuff like that'. We were very disappointed. They knew we weren't that type of people who came for fruit picking or digging ground. We were tradesmen, some of us were well-educated people" (40-year-old Egyptian Armenian who arrived in 1963).

Factors Affecting Occupations Entered in Australia

The principal determinant of the occupations Armenians entered in Australia was their pre-migration work experience, although other factors - especially age at arrival, proficiency in English and educational attainment - seem to have influenced the degree of occupational displacement which initially occurred, as well as the extent of later occupational recovery and upward mobility.

Overseas work experience was especially important with regard to the acquisition of jobs in the same occupational categories as those jobs held overseas (Table 5.7). This was true regardless of whether the migrants possessed formal qualifications. In a significant number of cases, however, previous work experience was discounted because it was not "Australian experience" - experience obtained from working in Australia. The dilemma encountered by these Armenians of not being employed and allowed to obtain Australian experience because they did not first possess such experience was invariably perceived to be little more than an attempt on the part of native-born Australian employers to ensure that native-born Australians received first choice of jobs. A good example is that of an Egyptian Armenian who had worked as a photographer overseas. Although he had good references from two former employers showing that he had worked for eleven years as a professional photographer, prospective employers in Australia were only concerned with his "Australian experience". He could not understand why they totally ignored his previous experience and finally concluded that they did not want to hire him because he came from a Middle Eastern country. Eventually, however, he managed to obtain a job as a photographer, but because of this earlier experience with what he considered to be job discrimination, he stated he would not encourage others to come to Australia "because their skills would probably not be recognized by the Australians".

Table 5.7

Influence of Pre-Migration Job Experience on Occupation Entered in Australia

Pre-Migration Occupational Category	N ¹	Occupational Category of First Job in Australia																					
		Professional, technical & related workers		Administrative, executive & managerial workers		Clerical workers		Sales workers		Farmers, fishermen, hunters, timber- getters & related workers		Miners, quarrymen, & related workers		Workers in transport & commun- ications		Tradesmen & process workers		Labourers ³ (NEC)		Service, sport, recreation workers		Armed forces	
		(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²
Professional, technical & related workers	73	(34)	47	(0)	0	(7)	10	(6)	8	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	3	(12)	16	(10)	14	(2)	3	(0)	0
Administrative, executive & managerial workers	42	(5)	12	(2)	5	(10)	24	(6)	14	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	2	(11)	26	(6)	14	(1)	2	(0)	0
Clerical workers	83	(1)	1	(1)	1	(36)	43	(1)	1	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	2	(26)	31	(13)	16	(3)	4	(0)	0
Sales workers	127	(3)	2	(0)	0	(8)	6	(23)	18	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(56)	44	(35)	28	(2)	2	(0)	0
Farmers, fishermen, hunters, timber-getters & related workers	4	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	25	(0)	0	(1)	25	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	50	(0)	0	(0)	0
Miners, quarry- men, & related workers	2	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	50	(1)	50	(0)	0	(0)	0
Workers in transport & communications	20	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	5	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(5)	25	(14)	70	(0)	0	(0)	0
Tradesmen & process workers	303	(1)	0	(0)	0	(3)	1	(4)	1	(0)	0	(1)	0	(0)	0	(217)	72	(73)	24	(4)	1	(0)	0
Labourers (NEC) ³	5	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(3)	60	(2)	40	(0)	0	(0)	0
Service, sport, recreation workers	45	(1)	2	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	4	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	2	(7)	16	(15)	33	(19)	42	(0)	0
Armed forces	3	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	33	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	67	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0
Total	707	(45)	6	(3)	0	(66)	9	(43)	6	(1)	0	(1)	0	(6)	1	(340)	48	(171)	24	(31)	4	(0)	0

¹ Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia. Excludes those who did not answer.² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.³ Separated from Tradesmen, Process workers because of special relevance to Armenian occupational adjustment.

Apart from this perceived discrimination relating to "Australian experience", and possibly the attitude encountered by those who registered with the Commonwealth Employment Service, job discrimination in Australia does not appear to have significantly influenced either the occupations Armenians have entered or their later occupational mobility. However, for a number of those who did experience job discrimination, or felt they had been discriminated against, this experience has continued to affect their feelings of satisfaction with life in Australia.

In general, Armenians who worked in blue collar positions overseas, especially as skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, had the least difficulty in adapting occupationally in Australia. This is well-illustrated by the fact that 72 per cent of the male Survey respondents in the Trades/Process Workers occupational category obtained their first jobs in this category in Australia. Also, because little or no retraining was necessary for the majority of these immigrants and the fact that most blue collar jobs did not require extensive dealings with the Australian public, neither their educational attainment overseas nor their fluency in English were particularly important in the acquisition of jobs in Australia (Table 5.8). Thus, the former blue collar workers were able to adjust relatively rapidly after arrival.

The white collar workers were not so fortunate. Although generally more proficient in English, more educated and with higher occupational qualifications than blue collar workers, they suffered greater initial occupational displacement. Only 44 per cent managed to obtain white collar positions on arrival in Australia, only 29 per cent in the same occupational categories as their jobs overseas. Often their overseas qualifications were not recognized and, even when they were, their lack of "Australian experience" proved a considerable obstacle to re-entering their former occupations. However, for most, this displacement was only temporary, especially for the younger Armenians who underwent retraining or additional training in Australia.

For these white collar workers, educational attainment was especially important with respect to the recovery of their pre-migration occupations.

Table 5.8
Factors Affecting Jobs Entered in Australia (%)¹

Factors	N=2	Occupations																	
		Professional, technical and related workers			Administrative, executive and managerial workers			Other white collar workers			Tradesmen, production and process workers			Labourers (NEC)			Other blue collar workers		
		P.M. ³	F.O. ⁴	P.O. ⁵	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.
<u>Level of Education</u>																			
No formal schooling	16	6	6	6	0	0	0	44	31	31	31	38	50	0	19	6	19	1	6
Primary	194	1	1	0	2	0	1	15	3	15	68	58	58	0	33	18	14	6	8
Secondary	276	7	4	5	6	0	4	37	19	37	39	50	38	1	22	8	9	5	8
Tertiary	94	38	21	33	7	1	7	32	23	32	16	34	22	1	14	0	5	6	5
Total	580	10	6	8	5	0	3	29	15	29	45	50	43	1	24	10	10	6	8
<u>English Proficiency at Arrival</u>																			
High	192	17	12	13	9	1	7	38	33	43	25	36	27	1	11	4	8	8	9
Medium	158	9	6	11	4	0	3	26	10	30	46	54	41	1	27	8	4	3	8
Low	151	4	1	1	2	0	1	24	3	21	56	57	56	1	35	14	14	3	7
None	83	7	1	4	1	0	0	7	0	5	70	58	59	0	33	23	14	8	10
Total	584	10	6	8	5	0	3	29	15	29	44	50	42	1	24	10	10	6	8
<u>Age at First Arrival in Australia</u>																			
0-19	16	0	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	25	75	50	56	0	44	13	13	6	6
20-29	216	12	6	11	2	0	4	25	13	29	51	46	42	1	31	8	9	5	7
30-39	173	12	8	11	3	1	3	33	12	29	40	50	35	1	21	13	12	8	9
40-49	125	8	5	2	12	1	4	32	21	28	38	50	48	1	18	10	10	5	8
50-59	54	7	4	4	6	0	2	33	20	32	41	54	48	0	20	11	13	2	4
60 or more	8	0	13	0	0	0	0	50	13	25	50	75	50	0	0	0	0	0	25
Total	592	10	6	8	5	0	3	29	15	29	44	50	42	1	24	10	10	5	8
<u>Improvement in English Proficiency since Arrival</u>																			
Fluent on arrival	194	17	12	13	9	1	7	38	33	43	25	36	27	1	11	4	8	8	10
Improved	295	6	2	5	2	0	1	23	4	22	57	57	51	0	33	14	10	5	8
Did not improve	94	7	7	9	4	0	3	32	9	21	48	55	48	2	27	11	6	2	9
Total	583	10	6	8	5	0	3	29	15	29	44	50	42	1	24	10	10	6	8

¹ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked overseas and in Australia and who held at job at the time of the Survey. Excludes those who did not answer.

³ P.M. = Pre-migration occupation.

⁴ F.O. = First occupation in Australia.

⁵ P.O. = Present or most recent occupation.

In general, the higher the level of education the greater the recovery (Table 5.8). Those with tertiary education showed the greatest occupational recovery while those who obtained tertiary education in Australia easily became upwardly mobile.

For the older white collar workers, especially those over 40 years of age at arrival, occupational displacement in Australia has often assumed a more permanent nature (Table 5.8). This "age effect" appears due to two principal reasons: first, these immigrants were either not able or not inclined to seek the retraining or additional training needed to re-enter their former occupations; second, many prospective employers were apparently reluctant to employ in white collar positions older individuals who had no local experience.

Although encompassing many of the other factors already discussed, the origins (countries of last residence) of the Armenian immigrants also appear to be significantly related to the jobs entered in Australia and to the extent of their later occupational mobility (Table 5.9). Of particular interest is the considerable occupational displacement of white collar workers which initially occurred for all country groups - with the exception of the Indian Armenians and those from Other Asia - and the large increase in the numbers entering unskilled labouring jobs. By the time of the Armenian Survey considerable occupational recovery had taken place for most country groups except those of the non-Arab Middle East.

Although there is not enough evidence for a firm determination, there are indications that the immigrants' countries of origin may also have influenced their choice of occupations in Australia because of the values of the different societies, or, alternatively, because of the particular relationships the Armenian minorities had with their larger societies. For example, it was commonly mentioned by respondents that Egyptian Armenians always tried to obtain government jobs because they liked the security which these jobs afforded them. Armenians from Lebanon and Syria, on the other hand, were felt to be more adventurous and more likely to go into business for themselves. Iranian Armenians were portrayed as being more "choosy" in the kinds of work they accepted, since they did not migrate to Australia just to make more money. The impressions gained from the interviewed

Table 5.9

Factors Affecting Jobs Entered in Australia: Country of Last Residence (%)¹

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=2	Occupations																	
		Professional, technical and related workers			Administrative, executive and managerial workers			Other white collar workers			Tradesmen and process workers			Labourers (NEC)			Other blue collar workers		
		P.M. ³	F.O. ⁴	P.O. ⁵	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.	P.M.	F.O.	P.O.
<u>Arab Middle East</u>																			
Egypt	181	10	7	11	3	0	3	39	15	33	40	53	38	1	18	6	7	7	10
Syria	43	0	0	5	2	0	0	14	2	16	70	51	65	2	47	14	12	0	0
Lebanon	79	6	3	3	3	0	3	27	10	20	49	46	49	0	35	17	15	6	9
Jordan (+Israel)	66	9	5	9	3	0	2	21	9	33	56	49	47	0	33	5	10	5	5
Iraq	17	18	12	12	6	0	0	18	18	18	53	59	59	6	12	12	0	6	0
Other Arab ME	26	15	4	4	12	0	8	19	31	35	46	50	42	0	8	4	15	8	8
Sub-Total	412	9	5	8	4	0	3	29	13	28	49	50	45	1	26	8	9	6	8
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>																			
Turkey	17	0	0	0	0	0	6	41	0	12	47	71	41	0	29	35	12	0	6
Iran	70	14	4	6	6	1	3	30	13	22	36	53	44	1	26	16	6	3	10
Soviet Armenia (+USSR)	8	38	0	13	13	0	0	0	0	13	50	75	50	0	13	0	0	13	25
Sub-Total	95	14	3	5	5	1	3	29	9	19	39	58	44	1	25	18	12	3	11
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>																			
India	22	9	18	18	27	5	9	36	55	55	23	23	18	0	0	0	5	0	0
Indonesia	5	20	0	0	20	0	0	40	40	40	0	20	40	0	40	0	20	0	20
Other Asia	8	13	13	13	13	0	13	50	25	63	0	25	0	0	38	13	25	0	0
Sub-Total	35	11	14	14	23	3	9	40	46	54	14	23	17	0	14	3	11	0	3
<u>Europe and North America</u>																			
Europe and North America	35	23	17	11	0	0	6	23	14	29	37	40	31	3	11	11	14	17	10
Other Countries	15	0	0	0	7	0	0	33	27	53	53	53	33	0	20	13	7	0	0
Total	592	10	6	8	5	0	3	29	15	29	44	50	42	1	24	10	10	5	8

¹ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.² Includes only those male respondents who have worked both overseas and in Australia and who held a job at the time of the Survey. Excludes those who did not answer.³ P.M. = Pre-migration occupation.⁴ F.O. = First occupation in Australia.⁵ P.O. = Present or most recent occupation.

respondents and from other contacts with Armenians in Sydney tend to support these suggestions.

Ethnic employment in Australia also needs mentioning here, even though it has had a negligible effect on both the occupations Armenians have entered and on their later occupational mobility. Eighty-four per cent (73/87) of the interviewed respondents worked for native-born Australians at their first jobs, while 65 per cent (57/87) worked *only with* native-born Australians. Another 12 per cent (10/87) worked with a variety of other immigrants while three respondents were employed by other Armenians at their first jobs. At the time of the Armenian Survey only three of these interviewees were employed by Armenians and only one was working with other Armenians.

This low rate of ethnic employment among Armenians is partially due to the recency of the bulk of their migration, which means that very few have resided in Australia long enough to have become established in businesses which can offer substantial employment to fellow Armenians. It is also due to the fact that many Armenians do not particularly want to work for, or with other Armenians. Thirty-one per cent (27/87) of those interviewed stated emphatically that they did not want to work around other Armenians, while only six per cent (5/87) stated that they did. The majority did not really care if they did or not. The most common reasons given for not wanting to work with Armenians were that they were too "argumentative" and "could never agree about anything".

By the time of the Armenian Survey the occupational distribution of the Sydney Armenians was approaching its pre-migration configuration (Table 5.10). This is indicative not only of considerable occupational recovery but also of the fact that occupational mobility has tended to compensate for the more permanent occupational dislocations. Most of this movement has been upward and appears to be directly linked to improvement in English proficiency since arrival.

The greatest improvement in English proficiency has occurred among the blue collar workers (78 per cent), who have also been the most upwardly

Table 5.10

Occupational Distribution of the Sydney Armenians:
Pre-Migration, First, and Most Recent Jobs¹

Occupations	Pre-Migration Occupations		First Occupation in Australia		Occupation at Time ² of Armenian Survey	
	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	(61)	10	(35)	6	(47)	8
Administration, Executive and Managerial Workers	(29)	5	(2)	0	(19)	3
Clerical Workers	(68)	12	(54)	9	(71)	12
Sales Workers	(106)	18	(33)	6	(100)	17
Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Timbergetters, etc.	(4)	1	(1)	0	(1)	0
Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers	(2)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0
Workers in Transport and Communications	(17)	3	(6)	1	(23)	4
Tradesmen, Production, Process Workers	(263)	44	(293)	50	(251)	42
Labourers (N.E.C.) ⁴	(5)	1	(143)	24	(59)	10
Service, Sport and Recreation Workers	(34)	6	(25)	4	(21)	4
Armed Forces	(3)	1	(0)	0	(0)	0
Total	(592)	100	(592)	100	(592)	100

¹ Includes only those male respondents who have worked overseas and in Australia and also held a job at the time of the Survey.

² For those retired it includes their last position.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

⁴ This category was separated from the Tradesmen/Production/Process Workers because of its significance for understanding Armenian occupational adjustment.

mobile with 27 per cent entering white collar positions since arrival. This movement has been the most pronounced for those who had at least an adequate knowledge of English when they arrived. Although initial difficulty with English has not prevented movement out of blue collar occupations and into white collar ones, such difficulty does seem to have slowed down this movement. In contrast, improvement in English proficiency appears to have had a negligible effect on the upward mobility of former white collar workers, possibly because they were generally quite proficient in English at time of arrival. It has, however, facilitated the occupational recovery of those initially displaced in Australia.

The importance of English proficiency to both job acquisition and occupational mobility was readily recognized by the Armenians themselves. Lack of proficiency was also seen as a major cause of the occupational dislocations which occurred on arrival, especially the downward displacement. In no case encountered was the Armenian immigrant disgruntled by this. In fact, it seems only to have led to a strong determination on his part to learn the language, or to improve his English proficiency as soon as possible. For most, the language was seen as the key to obtaining a higher status job in Australia. A good example is provided by a Syrian Armenian who arrived in 1966. Although he had studied English at school in Damascus he had never used it. When he received his acceptance to migrate to Australia he again started studying English but knew that he would not be proficient enough by the time he arrived to obtain his old job as an accounts clerk. His first job in Australia was that of a process worker in a battery factory, which he took because of his "problems in English". During the first three months that he lived in Sydney and worked at this job he studied and read English while at work and attended English classes at night-school. He also used every opportunity to practise his English with his fellow workmates. By the end of this period his English fluency was sufficient to allow him to obtain a clerical job in the accounts section of a large Sydney department store.

Because of its importance with respect to both occupational recovery and mobility, English language proficiency must also be considered one of the prime determinants of Armenian economic assimilation since, as

found by the Australian Population and Immigration Council's Survey (1976: 21), the more fluent that immigrants become, the more likely they are to occupy the same kinds of jobs as native-born Australians with the same education and qualifications.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND EMPLOYMENT STABILITY IN AUSTRALIA

Because migration frequently results in occupational displacement in the host country, occupational adjustment usually entails a number of job changes after arrival. Those 87 interviewed male respondents who had worked both overseas and in Australia had held a total of 267 different jobs between their time of arrival and the time of the Armenian Survey, or, an average of 3.1 jobs per respondent. If the 22 Survey respondents who held only one job since arrival are discounted, the average number of jobs of those who changed jobs in Australia is 3.8, meaning that those who were occupationally mobile have typically changed jobs three times since arrival.

Although the average number of jobs an interviewee held in Australia tended to increase with his length of residence, at least for the first decade after arrival, *most* job changes have occurred during the early years of settlement. For example, within the first year of arrival 47 per cent (41/87) of the interviewed respondents changed jobs at least once while 18 per cent (16/87) did so two or more times. This was in contrast to the job changes which occurred during the year preceding the Armenian Survey when only 10 per cent (9/87) of these respondents changed jobs.

A similar finding was made with respect to job duration. Most interviewees have been in their present positions for longer than they spent in their first jobs. For example, only about a quarter spent five or more years in their first jobs in Australia, while half have spent at least five years in their current or most recent jobs.

The length of time an Armenian remained in his first job in Australia depended on the job category he entered and on his age at arrival (Table 5.11). Also, the higher the status of the occupational category and

Table 5.11

Factors Related to Duration of First Job in Australia

Factors	N= ¹	Less Than 1 Year		Between 1 and 4 Years		Five or More Years	
		(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²	(N=)	% ²
<u>Occupation Entered on Arrival³</u>							
Professional, Technical, and Related Workers/ Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	15	(5)	33	(2)	13	(8)	53
Other White Collar Workers	12	(4)	33	(3)	25	(5)	42
Tradesmen, Process Workers	45	(22)	49	(15)	33	(8)	18
Labourers (N.E.C.)	8	(6)	75	(1)	13	(1)	13
Other Blue Collar Workers	7	(4)	57	(1)	14	(2)	29
Total	87	(41)	47	(22)	25	(24)	28
<u>Age at Arrival⁴</u>							
Under 30	31	(18)	58	(7)	23	(6)	19
30-39	25	(16)	64	(4)	16	(5)	20
40-49	13	(3)	23	(5)	38	(5)	38
50 or More	18	(4)	22	(6)	33	(8)	44
Total	87	(41)	47	(22)	25	(24)	28

¹ Includes only those 87 interviewed male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia.

² All percentages are rounded to nearest whole percentage point.

³ Combining columns 1 and 2 and rows 3, 4 and 5 $\chi^2 = 8.29$, df = 2, sign. at .025 level.

⁴ Combining rows 3 and 4, $\chi^2 = 12.0745$, df = 4, sign. at 0.025 level.

the older the immigrant, the less likely he was to change jobs (Table 5.12). The younger immigrants, especially those under 30 at arrival, have been much more mobile.

Other factors do not show such clear-cut correlations with job change, with the exception of country of origin. Those from the Levant countries have been the most mobile occupationally, while those from Europe and North America and South, East and Southeast Asia have been the least (Table 5.13). As the former are predominantly blue collar workers while almost half of the latter are professional and white collar workers, these country patterns are obviously related to the above findings for job stability and occupational status.

Eighty-seven per cent of all job changes were voluntary. The great majority occurred for the following reasons: for more money (17 per cent); to obtain a more attractive position (14 per cent); because the immigrant moved to another place for a time (13 per cent); because they simply did not like the jobs they were doing (14 per cent). Another 10 per cent of the job changes occurred because the immigrant left to start his own business while 12 per cent of the changes were for idiosyncratic reasons, such as "being restless" or just "wanting a change" (see Table 5.3, Appendix IV).

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS CHANGE AND JOB SATISFACTION

Changing jobs can also mean changes in the "status" which particular occupations afford to individuals. Such status changes can be very important in determining whether or not an immigrant's expectations about employment in Australia are fulfilled. This, in turn, can be assumed to affect his job satisfaction and, ultimately, his occupational adjustment.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, occupational displacement is a common occurrence for immigrants and is frequently "downward", with the status of the occupations obtained in the host country being lower than those previously held in the countries of origin. It is generally assumed by researchers that this downward mobility, if it becomes permanent,

Table 5.12

Factors Related to Number of Jobs Held in Australia

Factors	N=1	One Job		Two Jobs		Three Jobs		Four or More Jobs		Total of All Jobs Held	Mean Number of Jobs Held
		(N=)	%2	(N=)	%2	(N=)	%2	(N=)	%2		
<u>Occupation Entered on Arrival³</u>											
Professional, Technical, and Related Workers/ Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	15	(8)	53	(3)	20	(1)	7	(3)	20	35	2.3
Other White Collar Workers	12	(6)	50	(1)	8	(1)	8	(4)	33	28	2.3
Tradesmen, Process Workers	45	(8)	18	(13)	29	(12)	27	(12)	27	128	2.8
Labourers (N.E.C.) ⁴	8	(0)	0	(3)	38	(0)	0	(5)	63	44	5.5
Other Blue Collar Workers	7	(0)	0	(1)	14	(1)	14	(5)	71	32	4.6
Total	87	(22)	25	(21)	24	(15)	17	(29)	33	267	3.1
<u>Age at Arrival⁴</u>											
Under 30	31	(5)	16	(10)	32	(3)	10	(13)	42	120	3.9
30-39	25	(6)	24	(2)	8	(6)	24	(11)	44	80	3.2
40-49	13	(3)	23	(4)	31	(3)	23	(3)	23	32	2.5
50 or More	18	(8)	44	(5)	28	(3)	17	(2)	11	35	1.9
Total	87	(22)	25	(21)	24	(15)	17	(29)	33	267	3.1

¹ Includes only those 87 interviewed male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia.

² All percentages are rounded to nearest whole percentage point.

³ Combining rows 1 and 2 and rows 3, 4 and 5, $\chi^2 = 14.7753$, $df = 3$, sign. at .005 level.

⁴ Category separated from Tradesmen/Process Workers category because of significance for Armenian occupational adjustment.

⁵ Combining rows 3 and 4, $\chi^2 = 11.85$, $df = 6$, not sign. at .05 level.

Table 5.13

Occupational Change by Country of Last Residence

Region/Country of Last Residence	N= ¹	Total Number of Jobs in Australia	Mean Number of Jobs in Australia
<u>Arab Middle East</u>			
Egypt	23	72	3.1
Syria	5	14	2.8
Lebanon	13	58	4.5
Jordan (+ Israel)	11	45	4.1
Iraq	2	4	2.0
Other Arab ME	5	9	1.8
Sub-Total	59	202	3.4
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>			
Turkey	3	6	2.0
Iran	10	27	2.7
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	1	2	2.0
Sub-Total	14	35	2.5
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>			
India	3	4	1.3
Indonesia	3	5	1.6
Other	2	7	3.5
Sub-Total	8	18	2.3
<u>Europe and North America</u>			
	4	6	1.5
<u>Other Countries</u>			
	2	6	3.0
Total	87	267	3.1

¹ Includes only those interviewed male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia.

will cause the immigrants to be dissatisfied with their occupational situations and this dissatisfaction will then serve as a hindrance to their successful adjustment and ultimate assimilation. Such an assumption is based on an underlying value judgement concerning occupational status change; that is, upward mobility, or at least stability, is good and pleases the immigrant, while downward mobility is bad and generally displeases him. On the aggregate scale this may indeed be so, however, it does not take into account significant individual differences. For example, one immigrant may be satisfied to retain his pre-migration occupational status after migration, while another may be dissatisfied unless he attains a higher status occupation than that held before migration. A third case is where the immigrant is satisfied with a job of lower status because other aspects of the job, such as working conditions or money, are much better in the new country. Thus, to say that the recovery of former occupational status is *always* a prerequisite for successful occupational adjustment may, in fact, be greatly oversimplifying the reality of the situation. For this reason it is necessary to examine status dislocation in conjunction with the individual immigrant's feelings of job satisfaction in order to determine the true impact such change has on his occupational adjustment.

To investigate occupational status change, it is first necessary to rank occupations against one another in relation to their status. In the Australian literature this has been done in a number of ways. Broom and Jones (1969: 650-658) developed a "prestige scale" for Australian occupations based on the 1961 Australian Census categories, where they classified occupations into six groups which were ranked from high to low status as follows:

- Professional, technical workers
- Managers, workers on own account
- Clerical workers
- Skilled workers
- Semi-skilled workers
- Unskilled workers

Their scale was later modified in the Immigration Survey conducted by the Australian Population and Immigration Council (1976: 28-29) into four

principal groupings in order to take account of the overlapping status ranking in such categories as skilled, semi-skilled and clerical. In the present study, however, the original scale of Broom and Jones is considered the more relevant as it takes into account status differences which are perceived by the Armenian immigrants. A good example is the perceived difference between a semi-skilled process worker and a clerical "office" worker, occupations which were considered of almost equal status by the Council. Most Armenians would agree that office work is not only more preferable but also carries more status than the former position since it is a "clean desk job". To the Armenian immigrants, who appear to be, in general, very status conscious, such distinctions are important and therefore must be considered relevant to any consideration of their occupational status changes.

There are three principal types of occupational status change: change to another job of equal status, referred to as "career stability"; change to a job of lower status than that previously held, downward or "retrogressive" change; change to a job of higher status, upward or "progressive" change. There are, however, many variations on these types. Taking the immigrants' jobs just prior to migration and their first and current jobs in Australia, the Australian Population and Immigration Council (1976: 30) identified 13 categories which not only distinguished the direction of occupational status change between these three jobs, but also the actual degree of such status change. Their survey found that the largest single category - 47 per cent of all migrant family heads - consisted of those who underwent no significant occupational change either on arrival in Australia or since. The next largest category (13 per cent) were those who suffered downward mobility on arrival and have remained at the same level as their first occupations in Australia. These findings have been supported by those of the "Borrie Report" (National Population Inquiry, 1975: 130), where it was stated: "In short, comparing the *arrival* and *census* statistics immigrants seem to have remained for the most part in the occupational groupings in which they were classified on arrival".

The third largest category (10 per cent) in the Council's Immigration Survey was that of initial downward mobility on arrival, followed by status

"recovery" to that of the pre-migration occupation. Only 19 per cent of the migrant family heads at the time of the Council's Immigration Survey remained in jobs of a lower status than their pre-migration occupations.

The Armenians show basically the same patterns of status change as those found in the Council's survey, but with some notable differences (Table 5.14). First, only about a third of the Armenian Survey respondents retained their former occupational status at arrival and remained in these status categories. Sixty-four per cent of these were in the skilled trades category. Seventeen per cent suffered permanent downward mobility at migration, remaining at the level entered on arrival, while another 14 per cent, who initially worked at a lower status job, later recovered their former status. A quarter of those respondents who lost status on arrival had failed to regain their status by the time of the Armenian Survey, while 30 per cent of the respondents still held lower status jobs than their pre-migration ones. Those who underwent the greatest retrogressive change were in the professional (47 per cent) and managerial (71 per cent) categories, while those in the skilled category (18 per cent) experienced the least.

Of the 30 per cent who suffered retrogressive change, over two-fifths had changed to jobs only one occupational status level below their pre-migration occupations, while a fifth had taken jobs which were three status levels or more below their previous positions. Forty-four per cent of this retrogressive movement was from white to blue collar jobs, 34 per cent blue to other blue collar occupations and 23 per cent between white collar categories. It is significant to note that just over half of the change from white to blue collar status categories represented movement from the managerial category to the skilled and semi-skilled categories, reflecting the fact that many craftsmen who had been self-employed overseas had reverted to being wage-earners on arrival in Australia (Table 5.15).

A fifth of the respondents actually improved their occupational status by the time of the Armenian Survey, although only seven per cent had done so on arrival. Three-quarters of this change consisted of former blue collar workers entering white collar jobs, principally skilled craftsmen going into business for themselves.

Table 5.14

Occupational Status Change of Armenian Immigrants

Occupational Status Change Category	Sub- Categories	Overseas Occupation	First Full- time Job in Australia	Job at Time of Armenian Survey	Armenian Survey Respondents		Council's Immigrant Survey ³	
					N=1	%2	N=4 (000's)	%2
Progressive Change	1.				6	1	3.1	1
	2.				21	4	23.7	8
	3.				52	9	20.4	7
	4.				6	1	1.2	-
	5.				40	7	5.4	2
Sub-Total					125	21	53.8	17
Stable Change	1.				8	1	9.4	3
	2.				199	34	146.8	47
	3.				80	14	32.1	10
Sub-Total					287	48	188.3	60
Retrogressive Change	1.				3	1	1.5	-
	2.				37	6	10.0	3
	3.				28	5	14.2	5
	4.				98	17	42.2	13
	5.				14	2	3.5	1
Sub-Total					180	30	71.4	23
Total					592	100	313.5	100

(contd.)

Table 5.14 (contd.)

- ¹ Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia and who held a job at the time of the Survey. Excludes those who did not answer.
- ² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.
- ³ See Australian Population and Immigration Council (1976: 30).
- ⁴ Immigrant family heads who worked both overseas and in Australia.

Table 5.15

Occupational Status Change

Pre-Migration Occupational Status	N=1	Occupational Status Categories																								Percentage of Total %4
		Professional				Managerial				Clerical				Skilled Manual				Semi-Skilled				Service, Unskilled				
		F.O. ²		P.O. ³		F.O.		P.O.		F.O.		P.O.		F.O.		P.O.		F.O.		P.O.		F.O.		P.O.		
		(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4	(N=)	%4			
Professional	61	(27)	44	(32)	53	(2)	3	(9)	15	(9)	15	(9)	15	(7)	12	(3)	5	(5)	8	(4)	7	(11)	18	(4)	7	10
Managerial	95	(4)	4	(3)	3	(4)	4	(25)	26	(16)	17	(23)	24	(28)	30	(25)	26	(18)	19	(10)	11	(25)	26	(9)	10	16
Clerical	87	(1)	1	(7)	8	(2)	2	(13)	15	(36)	41	(43)	49	(20)	23	(13)	15	(9)	10	(5)	6	(19)	22	(6)	7	15
Skilled Manual	251	(1)	0	(3)	1	(2)	1	(31)	12	(2)	1	(11)	4	(170)	68	(160)	64	(20)	8	(16)	6	(56)	22	(30)	12	42
Semi-Skilled	53	(1)	2	(0)	0	(0)	0	(8)	15	(3)	6	(7)	13	(15)	28	(15)	28	(10)	19	(9)	17	(24)	45	(14)	26	9
Service, Unskilled	45	(1)	2	(2)	4	(0)	0	(8)	18	(3)	7	(4)	9	(5)	11	(11)	24	(2)	4	(2)	4	(34)	76	(18)	40	8
Total	592	(35)	6	(47)	8	(10)	2	(94)	16	(69)	12	(97)	16	(245)	41	(227)	38	(64)	11	(46)	8	(169)	29	(81)	14	100

¹ Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia and held a job at the time of the Survey. Excludes those who did not answer.

² F.O. = First job in Australia.

³ P.O. = Present or most recent job.

⁴ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

These changes in occupational status appear to be significantly related to the immigrant's country of origin (last residence). The greatest progressive change has occurred among those from the Arab Middle East and South, East and Southeast Asia, while those from the non-Arab Middle East have experienced the least. At the same time, those who came from the non-Arab Middle East and South, East and Southeast Asia suffered the greatest retrogressive change while those from the Arab countries suffered the least (Table 5.16).

Similar patterns are apparent in the changes which have occurred since arrival in the progressive and retrogressive categories for most country and regional groups. The indications from the "career stability" categories, however, are that the Armenians from regions other than the Arab Middle East have had a greater tendency to remain in the occupational categories entered on arrival. Although for some, such as those from South, East and Southeast Asia, this may be attributed to the fact that their initial jobs in Australia were of higher status, the evidence suggests that the Armenians from the Arab countries have indeed been the most upwardly mobile.

It can be assumed that a good part of the differences between country, and especially regional groups is attributable to when they settled in Australia, as their length of residence here would have a direct influence on their recovery of former occupational status. Retrogressive change tends to decrease with increased duration of residence, while progressive change increases (Table 5.17). It is interesting to note, however, that with the exception of those who improved their occupational status on arrival, relatively little progressive change occurred for the first decade after arrival. The reason for this is clear. It was during these first years that the immigrants improved their English proficiency, obtained local experience and became more familiar with their surroundings, and also possibly benefitted from Australian education or occupational training.

Occupational status change which has occurred *since* arrival has actually been much greater than is indicated by a comparison of pre-migration and present occupations. Most has been either career stability or progressive

Table 5.16

Relationship of Country of Last Residence to Occupational Status Change¹

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=2	Progressive Change		Stable Change		Retrogressive Change	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
<u>Arab Middle East</u>							
Egypt	181	(47)	26	(90)	50	(44)	24
Syria	43	(11)	26	(21)	49	(11)	26
Lebanon	79	(14)	18	(38)	48	(27)	34
Jordan (+ Israel)	66	(16)	24	(37)	56	(13)	20
Iraq	17	(3)	18	(9)	53	(5)	29
Other Arab ME	26	(4)	15	(13)	50	(9)	35
Sub-Total	412	(95)	23	(208)	50	(109)	26
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>							
Turkey	17	(3)	18	(6)	35	(8)	47
Iran	70	(8)	11	(33)	47	(29)	41
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	8	(0)	0	(4)	50	(4)	50
Sub-Total	95	(11)	12	(43)	45	(41)	43
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>							
India	22	(6)	27	(9)	41	(7)	32
Indonesia	5	(1)	20	(1)	20	(3)	60
Other Asia	8	(2)	25	(2)	25	(4)	50
Sub-Total	35	(9)	26	(12)	34	(14)	40
<u>Europe and North America</u>							
	35	(6)	17	(18)	51	(11)	31
<u>Other Countries</u>							
	15	(4)	27	(6)	40	(5)	33
Total	592	(125)	21	(287)	48	(180)	30

¹ Change here is taken to be that between overseas occupational status and status of occupation at time of Armenian Survey.

² Includes only those male respondents who have worked overseas and in Australia. Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to nearest whole percentage point.

Table 5.17

Occupational Status Change by Duration of Residence in Australia

Duration of ¹ Residence	N= ²	Progressive Change		Stable Change		Retrogressive Change	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
0-4 Years	88	(16)	18	(37)	42	(35)	40
5-9 Years	195	(34)	17	(96)	49	(65)	33
10-14 Years	275	(63)	23	(142)	52	(70)	25
15 or More Years	34	(12)	35	(12)	35	(10)	29
Total	592	(125)	21	(287)	48	(180)	30

¹ $\chi^2 = 13.1412$, df = 6, sign. at .05 level.

² Includes only those male respondents who worked both overseas and in Australia and had a job at the time of the Survey. Excludes those who did not answer.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

change. Very little retrogressive change, with the exception of those in the professional category, has taken place (see Table 5.4, Appendix IV). Thus, as far as occupational status change is concerned, the Armenian immigrants have been very upwardly mobile since arrival and the present indications are that they will continue to be so in the future. At the same time, however, and in line with the findings of other migration studies, the greatest number of these first generation Armenian immigrants have tended to remain in, or to eventually recover their pre-migration occupational status.

How is this occupational status change related to their job satisfaction in Australia? Much of the initial downward change did not come as a surprise, since 60 per cent of the interviewed respondents knew before arrival that they might be required to take positions of lower status, lower pay, or both, on arrival. Most, however, viewed such change as only temporary. By the time of the Armenian Survey, over half (51/87) deemed their occupational status to be higher than that overseas, while only a fifth

(17/87) felt that their occupational status had fallen. Thus, a much greater proportion of the Armenians saw their current occupational status as being higher than the actual changes in occupation status would indicate. This situation can be partially explained by the fact that many equated their occupational status, or at least part of this status, with their level of income. For example, if one could make more money at the same job in Australia, he saw this as a rise in his occupational status. One example of this is the case of a Jordanian Armenian who worked as a photographer both in Jordan and in Australia. Because he was able to work as much as he wanted in Australia and to earn considerably more money - something which had not been possible for him in Jordan - he felt his occupational status had risen.

Those who deemed their present jobs of lower status than those held overseas (17/87) felt this way because: they had been self-employed overseas but were only wage earners in Australia; they had been managers or supervisors overseas while in Australia they were not in positions of responsibility; or, they were currently earning much less money than they had done prior to migration. Nevertheless, there was no consistent relationship found between perceived status loss and feelings of job dissatisfaction. Over half (10/17) of those who felt their present jobs were of lower status than those held overseas were still satisfied with these jobs, while six of the nine interviewees who were dissatisfied with their current jobs felt their status had fallen. The other three who were dissatisfied actually perceived of their occupational status as having risen. Thus, although a significant relationship does exist, job dissatisfaction cannot be solely attributed to loss of occupational status. For some it appears to be related to dissatisfaction with other aspects of their life situation. For example, one of these respondents had recently undergone a divorce and was finding it difficult to maintain two households on his present salary. This led to dissatisfaction with his job situation even though he saw his occupational status as being much higher than it had been overseas. For others, this dissatisfaction was apparently due to their failure to achieve a higher occupational status than that prior to migration.

For the interviewees in general, those who have resided the longest in Australia are the most satisfied with their current jobs. For instance, 98 per cent of those who have lived in Australia for 10 or more years are satisfied with their current jobs compared with only 80 per cent of those who have lived here less than 10 years. This coincides with an increase over time in those who feel their occupational status has risen and a corresponding decrease in the proportion who perceive their status as having fallen (Table 5.18).

Table 5.18

Immigrants' Views of Their Occupational Status Change
by Their Duration of Residence in Australia

Duration of ¹ Residence	N= ²	Status Has Risen		Status Has Fallen		Status Has Remained the Same	
		(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³	(N=)	% ³
0-4 Years	11	(4)	40	(3)	30	(3)	30
5-9 Years	34	(16)	53	(6)	20	(8)	27
10-14 Years	44	(26)	68	(7)	18	(5)	13
15 or More Years	10	(5)	56	(1)	11	(3)	33
Total	87	(51)	59	(17)	20	(19)	22

¹ Combining rows 1 and 2 and rows 3 and 4, $\chi^2 = 6.4692$, $df = 2$, sign. at .05 level.

² Includes only those interviewed male respondents who have worked both overseas and in Australia.

³ All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

Overall, therefore, job satisfaction does appear to be positively related to occupational status recovery and progressive change in Australia, regardless of the immigrant's position in the status hierarchy. Eighty-eight per cent (62/70) of the interviewees who either recovered or improved upon their overseas occupational status felt satisfied with their current employment.

Intentions towards changing jobs in the future were also related to satisfaction with current employment. Eight of the nine interviewees who were dissatisfied with their current jobs intended to change jobs, compared with 17 of the 78 respondents who were generally satisfied. The large majority of those planning to change jobs hoped to go into business for themselves.

WIVES' WORKFORCE PARTICIPATION

Another aspect of immigrant occupational adjustment, and one which is not often considered in studies of occupational adjustment, is the participation of the wives of male immigrants in the workforce. Where this aspect has been considered the principal concern has frequently been either their contribution to the workforce or else the influence of such participation on their assimilation (Appleyard, 1963; Johnston, 1977: 80-82).

In general, the labour force participation rates of women immigrants in Australia are considered higher than those of Australian-born women. The "Borrie Report" (National Population Inquiry, 1975: 16) found that in the female population aged 15 years and over, 41.6 per cent of the overseas-born, compared with only 35.8 per cent of the Australian-born, were employed. These figures were comparable to those for married women determined at the time of the 1973 labour force survey conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, which found rates of 35 per cent for the Australian-born and 44 per cent for the overseas-born married women. This latter figure was considerably lower than the overall participation rate of 58 per cent for the wives of immigrants which was found by the Council's Immigration Survey of 1973 (Australian Population and Immigration Council, 1976: 25).

The rate of labour force participation by the wives of the Survey respondents falls midway between the lower and higher rates for the immigrant women given above. For those ever-married, 47 per cent were working full time at the time of the Armenian Survey, while another two per cent were working part time. Considering only currently married women, the participation rate for full-time employment increases to 53 per cent. The following

discussion will deal principally with this latter group, as the main concern here is the workforce participation of those presently married.

There was a tendency for greater workforce involvement of Armenian married women during the early years of settlement when the immigrants were becoming established (Table 5.19). For example, 62 per cent of those in

Table 5.19

Labour Force Participation of Armenian Wives
by Duration of Residence in Australia

Duration of ¹ Residence	N= ²	Employed Full Time		Not Employed	
		(N=)	%	(N=)	%
0-4 Years	97	(60)	62	(37)	38
5-9 Years	233	(126)	54	(107)	46
10-14 Years	332	(172)	52	(160)	48
15 or More Years	55	(19)	35	(36)	66
Total	717	(377)	53	(340)	46

¹ $\chi^2 = 10.8107$, df = 3, sign. at .025 level.

² Includes all wives of male respondents for whom information was available.

Australia for less than five years were working full time compared with only 35 per cent of those who have resided for 15 or more years. The most common reason given for this was economic necessity. It was often difficult, or even impossible, for many of the families to live solely on the earnings of the husband, at least for the first few years after arrival. Another important reason for their greater workforce participation during this period was the strong emphasis placed on private home acquisition. Almost a quarter of the currently employed wives were working in order to help the family buy a house or flat - a fact which helps to explain why so many Armenian families have been able to purchase homes so soon after arrival.

The backgrounds of the wives and their husbands have also been influential. In traditional Armenian society, as in most of the Middle Eastern societies, married women did not usually work outside the home. Also, the husband generally made most major decision, including whether or not the wife was allowed to work. Thus, wives who have come from such societies, or who are married to men from such societies, are considered more likely to have lower participation rates in Australia than those who originated in countries where working wives were more acceptable. Table 5.20 indicates that for Armenian wives in Australia this is definitely the case. Those born in Arab countries, or who have husbands from these countries, generally have the lowest labour force participation rates, while those from other regions generally have much higher rates. Two notable exceptions, however, are the rates for those women born in Turkey and Indonesia. In both cases the low workforce participation is due to the fact that a significant proportion of the women are of advanced age.

Other background characteristics were also found to be influential with respect to wives working in Australia. One of these was whether or not they had worked prior to migration and factors related to this. Fifty-two per cent of the wives of the interviewed respondents had worked overseas, as had 23 per cent of their mothers. There was a definite correlation found between wives working and whether or not their mothers or their husbands' mothers had worked outside the home. Of those 19 Armenian wives who had mothers who had worked, 15 had also worked prior to migration. This compared with 17 out of the 19 wives whose mothers-in-law had worked outside the home. In all, three-quarters of the wives who had worked overseas had mothers or mothers-in-law who had worked outside the home.

The importance of this previous work experience is shown by the fact that over half of those who have worked in Australia also worked overseas, while the majority of those who have *not* worked here had never worked overseas - nor, for that matter, had their mothers or mothers-in-law.

Seventy per cent of the married women worked before marriage, compared to 87 per cent who have worked since marriage. Eight out of 10

Table 5.20
Armenian Wives Workforce Participation

Region/Country	Participation Rate by Wife's Birthplace ¹		Participation Rate by Husband's Last Place of Residence	
	(N=) ²	Rate ³	(N=) ²	Rate ³
<u>Arab Middle East</u>				
Egypt	(204)	56	(227)	49
Syria	(72)	38	(53)	40
Lebanon	(60)	47	(92)	49
Jordan (+ Israel)	(73)	47	(76)	45
Iraq	(19)	53	(22)	50
Other Arab ME	(6)	50	(27)	48
Sub-Total	(434)	50	(497)	47
<u>Non-Arab Middle East</u>				
Turkey	(62)	28 ⁴	(17)	77
Iran	(92)	63	(80)	69
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	(10)	60	(9)	78
Sub-Total	(164)	56	(106)	71
<u>South, East and Southeast Asia</u>				
India	(25)	80	(27)	82
Indonesia	(7)	27 ⁴	(12)	33
Other Asia	(10)	40	(13)	23
Sub-Total	(42)	62	(52)	56
<u>Europe and North America</u>				
	(30)	67	(42)	64
<u>Australia</u>	(29)	45	Not applicable	
<u>Other Countries</u>	(5)	60	(20)	55
Total	(704)	53	(717)	53

¹ Wives' country of last residence was not obtained.

² Includes all wives for whom information was available.

³ Percentage of all wives who were working full-time.

⁴ These proportions are low, partly because the women have been longer in Australia and are older.

of those who did not work after marriage were from Arab countries while the remainder came from Indonesia. Of those who have worked full time in Australia just under half have worked *only* in Australia. This increase in labour force participation in Australia, however, has been largely confined to the initial period following migration.

Even though the situation of many Armenian immigrants in Australia was such that their wives had to work to help support the family or to help purchase a home, these were not the only reasons Armenians wives have gone to work (Table 5.21). Many have sought employment because they were bored or lonely staying at home. This was especially true for those women without children or other family and friends in the local vicinity with whom they could spend time during the day. Also, a number of others have worked simply to earn extra spending money.

The reasons wives have sought to work in Australia also appear to have changed over time. Once the families become established, their personal situations or their desire to earn extra spending money have become the principal reasons for working. Also, after working for a time, many of these women have preferred to continue doing so rather than to revert to being housewives. For many, paid employment has brought with it a new-found sense of independence which they do not wish to relinquish. For these reasons many have gone to work, or have continued to work, even though their husbands have opposed them doing so.

Thirty-seven per cent of the male interviewees were opposed to their wives working while 29 per cent were either favourably disposed or else did not really mind if they worked or not (Table 5.22). The reasons the husbands opposed their wives working reflect a wide range of attitudes. They also seem to have changed over time, a fact which can be attributed primarily to two reasons. First, unlike the Middle East and some of the other areas from which the husbands have come, there is no stigma attached to husbands in Australia who have working wives. Second, many of the husbands who initially had no choice but to allow their wives to work have gradually become reconciled to them working. Nevertheless, many husbands still oppose their wives working, a fact which helps to explain why the wives' labour

Table 5.21

Principal Reasons Wives Have Worked in Australia

Reasons Given	N= ¹	% ² of Total
(1) Economic Necessity:		
Sustain living standard	1	1
Money needed for family	2	2
Could not live on one income	18	22
Sub-Total	21	26
(2) Help in Buying House:	20	24
(3) Wife's Personal Situation:		
Bored staying at home	5	6
Get away from routine	5	6
Lonely	1	1
Just wanted to work	4	5
Did not have children	3	4
Sub-Total	18	22
(4) Extra Money:		
To buy luxuries	1	1
Sustain social life	2	2
To be able to buy what you want	1	1
Live at better standard	2	2
Just to have more money	4	5
Sub-Total	10	12
(5) Other:	1	1
Total	70	100

¹ All wives of interviewed respondents (male) who were working full-time at time of Survey. Excludes those who did not answer.

² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

Table 5.22

Husbands' Attitudes Towards Their Wives Working

Attitude	N= ¹	% ² of Total
<u>Opposed to Wives Working:</u>		
(1) Wife should stay at home and look after children/family/husband	18	24
(2) Don't like it at all	7	9
(3) Feel ashamed	2	3
(4) It is not our custom	1	1
Sub-Total	28	37
<u>Transitional:</u>		
(1) Can/should work when does not have young children	13	17
(2) Don't like it but have got used to it	3	4
(3) Don't mind if she does certain kind of work	1	1
(4) Prefer not if can afford	9	12
Sub-Total	26	34
<u>Feel Favourable About Wife Working:</u>		
(1) Women should have to work	1	1
(2) It is better, she helps to pay off the house	1	1
(3) It is good for her. She is self-sufficient, has someone to talk to, is not bored, etc.	8	11
Sub-Total	10	13
<u>Other:</u>		
(1) Don't mind	9	12
(2) It is up to her	2	3
(3) Never thought about it	1	1
Sub-Total	12	16
Total	76	100

¹ All married male respondents who answered.

² All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

force participation declines after the establishment period and why those who continue to work are principally those who have had prior working experience overseas.

Most of the wives who worked overseas had done clerical jobs or had worked in the skilled trades. At the time of the Armenian Survey, the greatest number still worked in clerical occupations (36 per cent), with the next largest number working in service and unskilled positions (28 per cent). Sixteen per cent worked in the skilled trades; 10 per cent held professional or managerial positions.

Since arrival, wives have undergone considerable occupational change, primarily from manual jobs to white collar jobs, especially from the trades to the clerical occupational category. Thus, like their husbands, they have been quite occupationally mobile in Australia.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Due to their urban origins and the relatively less developed state of most of their native lands, few of the Armenian immigrants were in primary occupations prior to immigration. They concentrated mainly in the skilled and semi-skilled trades and in white collar occupations, especially in small-scale management, commercial and clerical pursuits. Also, most had the advantage of possessing at least a minimal knowledge of English before arrival. On the whole, they consisted of some of the more qualified and educated people of the countries from which they came.

Initially, a large proportion of their first jobs in Australia were unskilled manual and labouring jobs which were often not very well-paid and of low status. By the time of the Armenian Survey, however, three-quarters of the male respondents had changed employment at least once and most had managed to either re-enter their former occupations, or, in many cases, to obtain positions of higher status. Therefore, considering the relatively short time span that the bulk of the Armenians have resided in Australia, they have adjusted to the local economic situation quite rapidly.

The speed of their occupational adjustment was largely determined by their pre-migration occupations. Those in blue collar jobs - especially those who were tradesmen and labourers - made a more rapid adjustment in Australia than did the ones who had previously held white collar positions. The skills of the former were much more readily adaptable to the local Australian conditions and other factors - such as English fluency - were not as crucial in acquiring work as they were in the higher status positions.

Four-fifths of the male respondents were satisfied with their present jobs and few of these intended to change jobs. Although most had either retained or regained their overseas occupational status, a number were still satisfied even though their occupational status had fallen. At the same time some of those who had improved upon their occupational status were dissatisfied with their current jobs. In both cases job satisfaction was strongly influenced by other aspects of their lives in Australia.

The wives of the male immigrants have shown greater participation in the labour force in Australia than overseas. Most of this was during the early years of settlement and was in aid of helping the family to become established more rapidly. Those who have continued to work are generally those who worked outside the home prior to migration.

Armenian Economic Assimilation in Sydney

A comparison of the occupational distribution of the Sydney Armenians with those of other ethnic groups and the overall Sydney population gives an indication of the degree to which the Armenians are becoming economically assimilated. At the time of the Armenian Survey the Sydney Armenians were considerably overrepresented in the Tradesmen, Production Process Workers and Labourers category and the Sales category, while they were significantly underrepresented in the Administrative, Executive and Managerial category (Table 5.23). However, compared to other immigrant groups in Sydney they are found to be generally more assimilated than those from Southern Europe but less than those from Northern Europe. Likewise, with respect to the similarity of their occupational distribution to that

Table 5.23

Occupational Distribution of Selected Ethnic Groups (Males) in Sydney, 1976¹

Occupations	Armenians ²	UK and Ireland	Germany	Nether- lands	Italy	Greece	Yugo- slavia	Total Overseas- born	Australian- born	Total Population
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	10.2	12.5	11.7	10.9	2.8	1.4	2.3	10.0	12.1	11.5
Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers	3.1	11.8	13.3	14.3	6.4	6.6	2.3	9.5	10.8	10.4
Clerical Workers	9.7	8.6	6.8	6.9	2.7	1.6	1.6	6.6	11.9	10.2
Sales Workers	17.6	6.9	4.8	6.7	6.2	12.1	1.8	6.2	6.5	6.4
Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Timbergetters and Related Workers	0.1	1.0	1.2	2.4	2.9	0.6	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.5
Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Workers in Transport and Communication	4.1	6.5	4.9	6.4	5.1	6.1	3.8	5.6	7.8	7.1
Tradesmen, Production, Process Workers and Labourers (N.E.C.)	48.1	42.4	49.1	43.0	64.5	59.2	79.1	50.6	36.6	41.1
Service, Sport and Recreation Workers	3.1	6.1	4.8	5.4	5.9	9.0	4.2	6.3	5.2	5.5
Armed Forces	0.0	1.9	1.5	1.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.9	1.8	1.5
Occupation inadequately described or not stated	3.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	3.2	3.3	3.4	2.7	5.6	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Source for all except Armenians is 1976 Commonwealth of Australia Census data on Sydney Statistical Division.² Distribution of all Armenian respondents who were employed at time of Survey.

of the Australian-born population, they fall midway between the immigrant groups from these two areas (Table 5.24).

Table 5.24

Occupational Dissimilarity of Selected Ethnic Groups (Males)
in Sydney, 1976¹

Ethnic Group	Index of Dissimilarity ² to Overall Sydney Population	Index of Dissimilarity ² to Sydney's Australian- born Population
Armenians	18.3	22.7
UK and Ireland	5.4	8.8
Germany	11.1	15.0
Netherlands	7.4	11.2
Italy	25.3	30.0
Greece	27.4	32.1
Yugoslavia	38.1	39.5
Total Overseas-born	10.4	15.2
Australian-born	4.8	N/A

¹ Based on the distributions of these ethnic groups presented in Table 5.23.

² Index of Dissimilarity (ID) = $\frac{1}{2} [\sum_a |P_{2a} - P_{1a}|]$, where P_{2a} equals the proportion of population "2" in category (area) "a" and P_{1a} equals the proportion of population "1" in category "a". $\sum_a$ stands for summation over "a" categories.

Since their settlement in Sydney, the Armenians' occupational distribution has increased in similarity to that of the overall Sydney population. For example, the Index of Dissimilarity for their first occupations in Australia was 31.1, compared to 18.3 for their present jobs. Much of this change, however, is not due to the influence of the Australian economic environment but to their occupational recovery since arrival. This is indicated by the fact that the Index of Dissimilarity for their pre-migration occupational distribution was only 14.2.

All indications for the future are that the continued movement from blue collar to white collar positions - specifically from trades to managerial jobs - will further serve to smooth out the differences in the occupational distributions between the Armenians and the overall population. Consequently, the Armenians of Sydney appear to be well on their way to becoming economically assimilated.