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

by

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CHAPTER III

ARMENIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION

Migration has played a major role in the historical development of the Armenian people, who have continuously moved throughout their history in search of economic enrichment or political freedom, or to avoid persecution. In many cases they have had no choice, as during the Byzantine Period or, more recently, during the World War I dispersions; while in other cases, such as the movement to India and Southeast Asia , it was entirely voluntary. Armenian migration to Australia, which combines elements of both voluntary and involuntary migration, represents only one of the more recent movements of the Armenians who, although moving in the direction of Australia for the last three centuries, have only established a firm foothold here since World War II.

Armenian migration to Australia, which follows the overall patterns of immigration to this country (see Appendix II), can be divided into two phases: migration prior to World War II and migration since World War II. Each phase can also be divided into two relatively distinct periods. The first phase consists of the "pioneer" period before World War I, when only the occasional individual or family arrived, and the inter-war period which witnessed the settlement of Armenian refugees. The two periods of the second phase cover migration from 1945-62 and migration from 1963 until the Armenian Survey. This particular division of post-War migration is based on a profound change which occurred in 1963 in both the nature and volume of Armenian migration to Australia.

This chapter will examine, in the context of the above phases, the origins of the Armenian migrants, the major patterns of their movement to Australia, the nature of their migration and the principal characteristics of the immigrants.

ORIGINS OF THE ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS

The Armenian Survey respondents were born in 25 different countries, held 25 different nationalities and were living in a total of 43 countries at the time of their migration to Australia (Table 3.1). The majority originated in the Middle East, mostly in the Arab countries, while smaller numbers came from countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas.

The great majority of the Survey respondents had their roots in Turkey, as indicated by the fact that just under two-thirds of their fathers had been born there. Thirteen per cent of the respondents themselves had also been born in Turkey. Thus, half of the respondents were very probably the children of refugees from Turkey during the World War I period, while a tenth of them had likely been refugees themselves.

Eighty per cent of the respondents who came from Arab countries had fathers who had been born in Turkey, compared with 10 per cent of those from the non-Arab Middle East, excluding Turkey. Those from Europe and North America also had their roots in Turkey, while those who migrated from countries in Asia had predominantly originated in Iran, or in one of the Iranian community's satellite colonies in India or Southeast Asia.

The respondents were predominantly urban dwellers, with migration from the major source countries originating principally in the largest cities of these countries. Fifty-eight per cent of the respondents were residing in capital cities at the time of migration, and a further 23 per cent were living in other major cities.

ESTIMATE OF AUSTRALIA'S ARMENIAN POPULATION IN 1976

There are no official statistics available on the Armenians in Australia, either first or later generations, as the information which would be necessary to separate them out of the national statistics has yet to be collected on the censuses or in immigration surveys. The most common criteria for distinguishing ethnic or immigrant group members in the population,

Table 3.1

Origins of the Australian Armenians

Region/Country	Place of Birth		Citizenship Held on Arrival		Place of Last Residence		Fathers Born in Turkey		Born in Urban Area[1]		Lived in Urban Area[1] at Time of Migration	
	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]
Arab Middle East												
Egypt	(255)	29	(223)	25	(270)	30	(216)	80	(247)	92	(264)	98
Syria	(88)	10	(88)	10	(59)	7	(53)	90	(54)	92	(58	98
Lebanon	(79)	9	(97)	11	(118)	13	(97)	82	(100)	85	(106)	90
Jordan (+ Israel)	(82)	9	(92)	10	(87)	10	(72)	83	(77)	89	(84)	97
Iraq	(27)	3	(30)	3	(24)	3	(12)	50	(23)	96	(23)	96
Other Arab ME	(9)	1	(15)	2	(37)	4	(24)	65	(35)	95	(20)	54
Sub-Total	(540)	61	(545)	61	(595)	67	(474)	80	(536)	90	(555)	93
Non-Arab Middle East												
Turkey	(119)	13	(23)	3	(19)	2	(18)	95	(18)	95	(19)	100
Iran	(147)	17	(122)	14	(104)	12	(4)	4	(95)	91	(99)	95
Armenia (+ USSR)	(9)	1	(15)	2	(13)	1	(8)	62	(12)	92	(13)	100
Sub-Total	(275)	31	(160)	18	(136)	15	(30)	22	(125)	92	(131)	96
South, East and Southeast Asia												
India	(24)	3	(24)	3	(40)	4	(2)	5	(36)	90	(37)	93
Indonesia	(11)	1	(0)	0	(19)	2	(0)	0	(17)	90	(18)	95
Other Asia	(8)	1	(0)	0	(16)	2	(3)	19	(15)	94	(16)	100
Sub-Total	(43)	5	(24)	3	(75)	8	(5)	7	(68)	91	(71)	95
Europe and North America	(23)	3	(53)	6	(59)	7	(37)	63	(56)	95	(57)	97
Other Countries	(8)	1	(107)[3]	12	(24)	3	(17)	71	(20)	83	(22)	92
Total	(889)[4]	100	(889)	100	(889)	100	(563)	63	(805)	91	(836)	94

[1] Urban is taken to be a city with population of 10,000 or more.
[2] All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.
[3] Includes 98 "stateless".
[4] Total number of respondents in Armenian Survey.

such as nationality, birthplace, parentage or "origin", are obviously of no use in determining who is Armenian due to the diversity of their backgrounds. Consequently, any estimate of the number of Armenians in Australia in 1976 must be arrived at by non-official means.

Estimates can be derived from a number of different sources: (1) the membership of Armenian churches, clubs and organizations; (2) a listing of Armenian surnames in telephone directories; (3) the number of Armenian households listed in Mirzaian's *Directory of Armenians in Australia* (Mirzaian, 1976); (4) the Armenian Survey; (5) a combination of the above. Most of these sources, if taken alone, would not provide a valid estimate. For example, the official membership of Armenian churches, clubs and organizations is likely to represent only the more active participants in the community and probably misses those who are less active or not involved in formal organizations. The officers of these organizations, on the other hand, usually quote a figure much larger than the official membership, saying that the larger number includes those persons who participate occasionally in social events. These estimates are often inaccurate for a variety of other reasons: first, they may include persons who have left the country or died or, as found in a number of cases, they may count a person more than once where he has recently changed his address; second, they may include persons who are only part-Armenian and do not consider themselves Armenian, or who are not Armenian but who occasionally associate with these organizations; third, they may be calculated on the basis of erroneous assumptions concerning family or household size.

Two estimates influenced by these drawbacks are those of Mirzaian (1966: 51; 1975: 44-45). From personal contact, telephone directories, church records and personal knowledge, Mirzaian arrived at a figure of approximately 1,200 "families"[1] living in Australia in 1966, amounting to almost 6,000 individuals distributed as follows:

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[1] Mirzaian equates families with households.

Place	No. of Households	No. of Individuals
Sydney	800	4,000
Melbourne	300	1,500
Adelaide	20	100
Perth	20	100
Brisbane	6	30
Canberra	3	15
Mt. Gambier, S.A.	3	15
Other Australia	37	185
Total	1,189	5,945

In 1975 he estimated that Sydney alone had 1,400 "families" which he equated with 7,000 individuals. He calculated this figure by first assuming that the number of families in Sydney had increased by 600 due to the arrival of large numbers after 1966 and then multiplied the number of families by an assumed family size of five. No empirical information beyond what was collected in 1966 contributed to his determination of this estimate (Mirzaian, 1975: 44-45), although his general knowledge of the community was very good.[1] This estimate seems too high for both the number of households and the actual number of Armenians in Sydney.

A listing of those persons with Armenian surnames or Armenian-sounding surnames found in telephone directories also provides an invalid estimate as not only is it restricted to those households on the telephone, but also it is open to discrepancies caused by the inclusion of non-Armenians whose surnames have the distinctive *-ian* ending of most Armenian names. Mirzaian's directory (Mirzaian, 1976), which contained many names taken directly from the various Australian telephone directories, had a substantial number in this category. It also, not unnaturally, under-reported members

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[1] Father Mirzaian, priest of the Apostolic Church, has resided in Sydney since 1957, is intimately familiar with all aspects of the Armenian community, has travelled throughout Australia and has met Armenians in most of the larger Australian cities. Also, he was instrumental in fostering Armenian immigration to Australia and in helping new migrants to settle here.

of faiths other than the Armenian Apostolic Church, especially Armenian Catholics.[1]

The Armenian Survey, although having used all the above-mentioned sources to determine the Sydney Armenian population, cannot in itself be used to determine the overall Australian Armenian population as it collected no information on Armenians outside Sydney. Nevertheless, by combining the Armenian Survey data with the number of households given in Mirzaian (1976) a reasonably good baseline estimate of Australia's Armenian population in 1976 can be derived. In arriving at this estimation the following assumptions were made: that the Sydney Armenian Survey population of approximately 1,200 households is both a good estimate for Sydney and is representative of Australia's Armenian population in general; that the average household size of 3.7 from the Armenian Survey holds for all Armenian households in Australia; that the numbers of households given for other Australian cities by Mirzaian are of the same quality as those listed for Sydney. This last assumption serves to reduce the number of households by the percentage of discrepancies (20 per cent) noted in Mirzaian's directory for the Armenians of Sydney.

Based on these assumptions and the number of Armenian households listed by Mirzaian (1976) the Armenian population of Australia for 1976 is estimated as follows:

Place	No. of Households	No. of Individuals
Sydney	1,200	4,440
Melbourne	300	1,110
Adelaide	66	244
Brisbane	3	11
Tasmania	2	7
Canberra	12	44
Total	1,583	5,856

[1] This slant towards members of the Apostolic Church became evident during the fieldwork period of the Survey.

These figures must be considered to be a minimum estimate as they omit some persons of Armenian origin not in contact with the communities; the true population is almost certainly larger. However, it is quite unlikely that the population could be anywhere near the figure of 20,000 commonly quoted by leaders of the Armenian community.

In a recent discussion (July 1979) with members of the Church Council of the Apostolic Church in Sydney and with Father Mirzaian it was mentioned that around 80 to 85 Armenian families had arrived in Sydney since the Armenian Survey, or approximately 300 - 400 people. Even considering that these figures represent only half of those who arrived and that natural increase has been substantial, a current estimate would still be only around 7,000 individuals; certainly 10,000 would be a very generous upper limit for the total Armenian population of Australia.

THE FIRST MIGRATION PHASE: MIGRATION PRIOR TO WORLD WAR II

"The Pioneers": Migration Prior to World War I

Although a few Armenian merchants or agents for trading houses were the first to arrive in Australia in the nineteenth century, it was not until the gold rush period of the 1850's that Armenian settlement took place. During this period a number came from the Armenian trading centres of Constantinople, India and Southeast Asia. The news of the gold discovery had spread very rapidly to these communities, where it was disseminated by a number of Armenian journals and periodicals, such as the *Azgazer Araratian* (Patriot of Ararat), published in Calcutta, and the *Ousoumnaper* (Intelligentsia), published in Singapore. The editor of this Calcutta journal, Mesrop Thaghiadian, took the view that migration to Australia in search of gold was not only very risky, but also not very wise since the Armenians already had positions of importance and influence in Calcutta. Consequently, he actively discouraged any mass exodus to Australia. The publisher of the Singapore journal, on the other hand, felt that Australia, with its vast economic potential, held great prospects and advocated the transfer of all Armenians in the East to Australia (Mirzaian, 1966: 50 ; 1975: 43; Price and Mirzaian, 1976: 20-21). No such mass migration eventuated, although a

number came, including the publisher of the Singapore journal himself. He and another Armenian named Malcolm, a native of New Julfa, Iran, settled in Melbourne where they tried to establish an Armenian community. At this time there were apparently enough Armenian immigrants residing there for Malcolm to hold Armenian church services at Port Phillip. However, the community never became firmly established and, presumably, most of these Armenians either left or gradually became assimilated[1] (Mirzaian, 1966: 50; 1975: 44). A few did not. For instance, the Thomas family, with two young daughters who had been born in Batavia (present-day Djakarta) settled in Melbourne in 1868 where they remained until well into the twentieth century. Another, Thaddeus Apcar, who had been born in Singapore in 1847, arrived in Australia in 1864. After moving about Victoria and New South Wales for nearly 20 years he eventually settled in Sydney where he became a dealer in wines. Apcar apparently never married as he was still single in 1916 when he applied for an old-age pension.

Another Armenian who came to Australia during the gold rush period was Housep Muradian. Muradian, who had been born in Asia Minor, spent some nine years at sea prior to arriving in Australia. After moving about Victoria and New South Wales for some years, he eventually settled in the small mining town of Yambulla, situated some 20 miles southwest of Boydtown on the New South Wales-Victoria border. He had been on the gold fields from the very early days of the gold rushes and, after settling in Yambulla, became one of its leading citizens and married a local girl. In Yambulla he owned a store, a billiard room, a hairdressing salon, a newsagency, a circulating library and also had interests in a number of the gold mines in the area. According to his obituary, which was published in a local country weekly in 1913, Mr Muradian "filled a large place in the history of Yambulla" (Mirzaian, 1966: 36-37).

A number of other Armenians arrived after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 and the Turkish massacres of 1894-97. In 1897 a Turkish Armenian from the province of Sivas, Haroutian Balakian, arrived in Melbourne, via Constantinople and London, where he established himself as an importer. Other Armenians from Sivas followed him to Melbourne after World War I. In 1900, Mehran Pezekian, an Armenian from Kayseri, Turkey, migrated to Australia

[1] According to Father Mirzaian (1975: 44) most of the Armenians of the gold rush days left again after it was over.

via Egypt. After living for a time in Melbourne and Tasmania he eventually settled on a farm at Red Hill, Victoria. A few others from Kayseri came later.

In addition to these small migrations there were a number of individuals who migrated from other Armenian communities in Turkey and elsewhere. John Salerian, a native of Talas, Turkey (near Kayseri), arrived in Western Australia in 1910 after spending some time in Egypt. He eventually settled in farming. Bocas Kuchukian, who moved from Thrace to Batum, Russia, after the 1894-97 massacres, came to Australia in 1911 and, after moving about Queensland and New South Wales, settled in Melbourne. A few more settlers arrived from the communities of India and Southeast Asia during this period (Price and Mirzaian, 1976: 22).

The 1901 Australian census recorded a total of 12 "Armenian Catholics" for Australia, six in New South Wales and six in Victoria.[1] It is highly likely that not only were these probably Apostolic Armenians, rather than Catholics, but also many other Armenians went unreported due to the somewhat confused census categories of the time. A further complicating factor was that most of the Armenians who migrated to Australia had Turkish, Russian or Persian birthplaces and nationalities since Armenia was divided among these three countries throughout this period. By the start of World War I it is estimated that the Armenian population of Australia numbered no more than a hundred, with about 30-40 in both Melbourne and Sydney and a few scattered in other parts of Australia (Price and Mirzaian, 1976: 22).

The Inter-war Period

The First World War, with the accompanying massacres, deportations and dispersions of the Turkish Armenians, led to a second small wave of Armenian migration to Australia. From about 1918 until the start of World War II a number of individuals and families arrived, three-quarters of whom had originated in Turkish Armenia and had either been deported or forced out

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1 Australian censuses after 1901 made no note of Armenian religion.

during the War years. Most of these were from the westernmost Turkish Armenian provinces of Sivas and Kharput, although a few originated in other parts such as Cilicia and the Istanbul area. All of them suffered the difficulties of refugees in exile and about half were young people who were orphaned during the War period. As refugees, all had spent time in one or more of the Middle Eastern or European countries before eventually migrating to Australia. For example, Garabed Gaidzkar, who was born in a small town west of Kayseri was deported with his parents in 1915 when he was 17 years old. They left their town on three donkeys, taking with them only what they could carry, and headed towards Deir-el-Zor in Syria. After months of gruelling and dangerous travel, they reached the town of Mesken, northwest of Deir-el-Zor, where they met a Turkish officer from their home town. He advised them not to continue to Deir-el-Zor but to stop at Ragga, if at all possible. They managed to do this by bribing an Arab to smuggle them into the city, where they remained for the rest of the War years. After the War they moved first to Aleppo and then to Iskenderun in Cilicia, where they remained until 1923 when the family migrated to Egypt. Becoming disappointed with their life in Egypt, the family again sought to migrate, this time to the U.S.A. Learning that the quota system meant a long wait, Garabed Gaidzkar wrote to an Australian Red Cross worker he had met in Beirut and requested assistance in obtaining an entry visa to Australia. Within a few months this was issued and he migrated to Australia, followed a year later, in 1925, by his parents and an orphaned Armenian girl they had selected to be his wife (Mirzaian, 1966: 120-121).

Other accounts of the situations of Armenians prior to their migration to Australia are equally complex. Marie Kurdian, who had been placed at the age of six in an orphanage in Prussa, Turkey, was deported with others in 1915 to the desert region around Deir-el-Zor. A year later, aged 16, she married an Armenian and, for the next eight years, as displaced persons, they moved about the Middle East, finally arriving in Greece. In 1924, on a Nansen passport, she and her husband migrated to Australia (Mirzaian, 1966: 119).

There were others who were somewhat luckier. For example, Sarkis Ohanian was taken to Aleppo while still a baby, when his parents were forced

out of Adana, Turkey, in 1922. Arriving unmolested, the family prospered and Sarkis was able to receive an education and learn a trade before being sponsored by his uncle to migrate to Australia in 1937 (Mirzaian, 1966: 122).

During these years a few Armenians came also from Europe, the New Julfa community in Iran and from the trading colonies in Asia. Peter Zacaian, an Armenian from Isfahan, spent a number of years in India, followed by 20 years in Singapore and Malaya, before migrating to Australia in 1918. After living for various periods in a number of New South Wales towns, he eventually settled as manager of an hotel in Leeton, New South Wales, where he applied for Australian naturalization in 1935. Similarly, John Fairness, also of Isfahan, lived for a time in both France and Canada before arriving in Australia in 1938 and establishing himself as a merchant.

Although information is only available on 18 Armenian immigrants for this period,[1] there were undoubtedly many more whose settlement went unnoticed and unrecorded. An examination of the characteristics of these Armenians and their migration should give an idea of the settlement and adjustment of Armenians in Australia during the inter-war years. Of these immigrants, 15 arrived in the decade immediately following the end of the War, while the other three came in 1937-38. Two-thirds are known to have settled in Melbourne, half of whom had relatives living there before their arrival. Four others settled in Sydney; two of whom were sponsored by friends already living there. Consequently, a good portion of the known migration during this period appears to fall into the category of chain or family migration.[2] Nine of these 18 immigrants were single on arrival (one female, eight males) of whom only three (including the female) eventually married Armenians. Three of the others married British women, while a fourth

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1 Mirzaian (1966: 33, 118-124) gives information on seven families for this period (13 individuals). Price and Mirzaian (1976: 23) mention two more individuals and the Armenian Survey found the other three.

2 Chain migration, as defined by MacDonald and MacDonald (1964: 82) is "that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants". Also see Price (1963: 121, 161-174; 1969: 210-212; 1970: 187-188) for discussions of the chain migration process.

married an Australian-born Lebanese. Two of these immigrants never married. The propensity to marry non-Armenians in Australia can probably be attributed to the unavailability of eligible Armenian girls during this period, a fairly common occurrence with very small immigrant groups (Price, 1963: 259; 1970: 193). In contrast, of those who were married before migrating to Australia, all had married Armenians. The educational level of the male immigrants appears to have been fairly high, with over half of those for whom information is available having had some tertiary education. This is reflected in their occupations in Australia. Seven managed to establish their own businesses, dealing primarily in Persian carpets, import-export and retail sales. Another was a merchant and the other three worked as a hotel manager, a salesman and a stationhand. It also appears that the majority became naturalized Australian citizens, most during the 1930's.

It seems, then, that between the Wars Armenian migration was small. This was due, in large part, to the great distances involved in migrating to Australia from the Middle East or Europe, and the general lack of knowledge about Australia. These two factors made it a highly unlikely choice for most Armenians, especially since they were required to pay their own passage. A good illustration of the knowledge of Australia held by Armenians at this time was given by a young Armenian immigrant who, upon receiving his father's consent to migrate to Australia, was provided with money for a return journey "in view of the possibility of Australia perhaps not being sufficiently civilized a place for white men to live there" (Mirzaian, 1966: 121). Thus, although the Australian Armenian population increased during this period, it was still too small to constitute anything like a viable community; nor was it large enough to support those institutions and activities which were common features of established Armenian settlements elsewhere.

THE SECOND MIGRATION PHASE: POST-WORLD WAR II MIGRATION

General

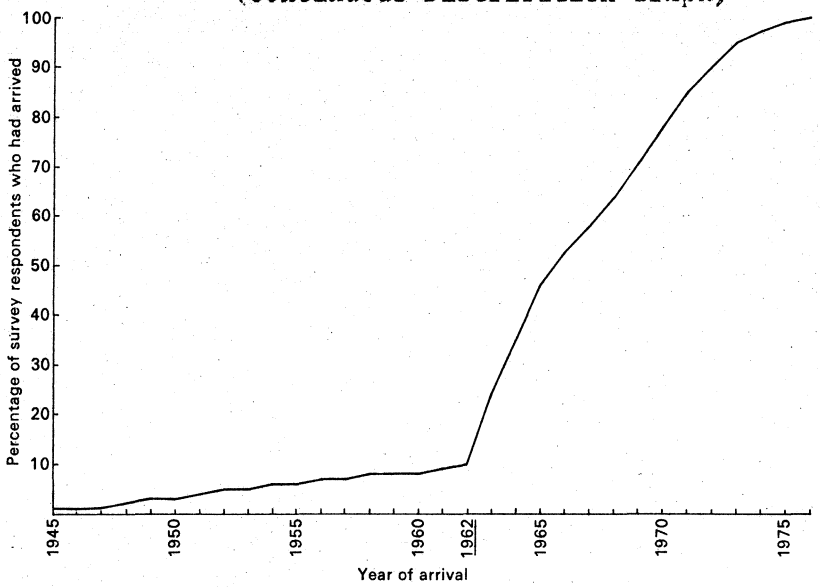
Armenian post-War migration differed greatly from earlier migration, not only in volume but also in its characteristics. For the first time

migration "streams" became discernable with substantial numbers of Armenians coming from the same source communities. The fact that these streams originated from widely differing sources and began at different times, resulted not only in substantial fluctuations in the numbers arriving each year, but also in significant differences in the characteristics of the migrants themselves. Those Survey respondents who settled in Australia during the post-War years came from 43 countries worldwide, 99 per cent from countries of the Armenian Diaspora, and were responding to different situations and conditions which were prevalent at different times. As a consequence, the motivations behind Armenian migration to Australia were equally diverse.

This post-War migration can be divided into two distinct periods. The first, from 1945-62 witnessed a substantial increase in the numbers arriving and the consequent establishment of an Australian Armenian "community". It was also characterized, in the first half of the period, by considerable migration from countries in Southeast and East Asia. The second period, from 1963-76, saw a tremendous upsurge in the numbers arriving, with a ten-fold increase in the Armenian population during this 13 year period (see Figure 3.1). The majority of these latter migrants came from the Middle East, while migration from Asia had essentially ceased by 1962. By 1976 Armenian immigration had decreased to a relatively low level.

Figure 3.1

Post-War Armenian Immigration
(Continuous Distribution Graph)



THE EARLY POST-WAR PERIOD: 1945-1962

Migration from Southeast Asia: General

The immediate post-War years were characterized by Armenian migration from Southeast and East Asia, with two-thirds of the immigrants during the first five years after the War coming from this region. In actual numbers this migration was quite small, as were most of the communities from which these migrants came.

Although the Southeast Asian Armenian communities thrived before World War II, the devastation wrought by the War and the accompanying Japanese occupation - followed by very unsettled conditions after the War - made many Armenians in these communities uneasy. This state of affairs was exacerbated by the rise of nationalistic governments in many of these countries when they achieved independence shortly after the War. In a number of instances, Armenians were forced out of influential positions because of their former close association with the European colonial administrators. As conditions worsened, many sought refuge in the more stable Western countries.

Migration from Indonesia

The Armenian community of Indonesia was the principal source of Armenian immigrants from Southeast Asia. This community, originally established by New Julfa Armenian merchants, was centred in the city of Batavia until the 1920's, when Surabaya assumed the role of the religious, social, educational and national centre of the Indonesian Armenians. At its largest, the Surabaya community numbered around 600 to 700 persons.[1]

The Indonesian Armenians maintained strong ties with both New Julfa and Calcutta. Even as late as World War II, over half had been born in New Julfa, while almost all of their parents had been Iranian-born. However, of those who eventually migrated to Australia, nine-tenths had spent most of their lives in Indonesia.

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[1] This figure was obtained from an interviewee who had resided in Surabaya during this period.

A good number of the Iranian Armenians who had settled in Indonesia followed the same path as relatives or family members who had migrated there earlier. Typically, this consisted of first going to Calcutta to receive an education in the Armenian College there, followed by movement to Indonesia to join relatives or Armenian trading firms and eventually marrying and settling down. For example, Armen Apcar, who was born in New Julfa in 1912, was sent at the age of 14 to the Armenian College in Calcutta. After completing school he joined his brothers who were engaged in business in Java, where he remained until after the War. Another example is Sarkies Martin, born in 1899 in Jew Julfa, who, when aged 16, was sent to the Armenian College in Calcutta. After completing his education in 1919, he left to join relatives in Indonesia where he worked as an hotel and club manager. The particular migration pattern exhibited by these two individuals was followed by approximately two-thirds of the Indonesian Armenians who eventually migrated to Australia, while most of the others had migrated direct to Indonesia from Iran.

The Indonesian Armenian community began to decline shortly before the outbreak of World War II, when a number of the Armenians emigrated because of the impending War. Those who remained suffered greatly at the hands of the Japanese, as almost all were interned for the duration of the War, losing property, health and, in a number of cases, their lives. The termination of hostilities did not greatly improve conditions for these Armenians as the Indonesians became extremely nationalistic, looking with disfavour upon the European and other Caucasian elements within their country. This resulted, especially after Indonesia was granted independence, in much of their communal property being confiscated and in many Armenians being forced out of positions they had held under the Dutch Colonial Government. As a result of these measures, and both for reasons of personal safety and to regain the freedom to conduct their businesses without extensive government restrictions, there was a general exodus of the Armenians. Most went to Holland, as they held Dutch nationality, while a smaller number migrated to Australia.[1]

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[1] The Armenian Survey found 18 respondents who came from Indonesia during this period and who, with their families, account for a total of 48 people. Father Mirzaian (1966) gives information on another seven families who were not covered in the Survey. These account for another 22 people and give a combined figure of 70 individuals known to have arrived from Indonesia during this period. The true figure is probably somewhere between this figure and 100.

Today it is estimated that there are only around 10 Armenians remaining in Indonesia.[1]

With the exception of those who migrated to Australia immediately after the War, for health reasons or because they had lost their means of livelihood, the Indonesian Armenians who migrated during the remainder of this period did so because they saw their prospects for the future declining with the departure of the Dutch and there were no longer educational opportunities in Indonesia for their children. In the words of two of these migrants:

> "Things were going bad in Indonesia. The Dutch were being kicked out. I knew Indonesia was finished, and there weren't any prospects for my children in Indonesia for education".

> "There was no future there for me and would have been no future for my kids. Most European companies were being taken over by Indonesians and economic conditions were failing. Independence was imminent".

Although none of those who came to Australia felt impelled to leave or that direct pressure had been applied to force them out, as far as they were concerned Indonesia no longer held a future for them after the Dutch withdrew. Moreover, as the size of the Armenian community declined due to emigration, so did the community's social life, removing that incentive to remain.

Those Indonesian Armenians who came to Australia did so purposefully. All apparently possessed a good knowledge of Australia and the Australian way of life, and many had previously made visits here. Although most were impressed by the stable political conditions prevailing, the favourable economic situation was the greatest attraction of Australia as a place to settle permanently.

Migration from Other Southeast Asian Countries

A number of other Southeast Asian Armenian communities also

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[1] This estimate was provided by an Armenian interviewee who recently visited Surabaya.

contributed a few migrants to Australia during this period. One such community was in Burma, an old colony which had developed early in the seventeenth century, probably because of its proximity to the large Calcutta community. Armenians in Burma had been instrumental in the early expansion of trade and had developed thriving colonies in Mandalay, Syriam and Rangoon. In the 1920's most of those in Mandalay and Syriam moved to Rangoon, which remained the principal Armenian settlement in Burma until after World War II.

During the War, many of the Armenians of Rangoon lost everything and fled to India. Not all returned after the War, with the consequence that the community continued to decline to the point that by 1960 less than 50 individuals remained. Even at that time many of the younger ones were leaving or planning to leave for countries where there were opportunities and better future prospects (Hovanessian, 1962: 37-38). Although the information is scanty, what is available indicates that only the occasional Armenian migrated direct to Australia, while most went initially to the United Kingdom, a number eventually remigrating to Australia.

The third principal Southeast Asian community which contributed a few immigrants to Australia was in Singapore. Like that of Burma, this community had been a prosperous and thriving trading colony during the nineteenth and early twentiety centuries. It maintained close and continuous contact with the community in Indonesia and during World War II its members suffered a similar fate, resulting in most leaving in the immediate post-War years. One of those who immigrated to Australia at that time was Mackertich Hacobian, who had been born in New Julfa in 1885. After finishing his primary education in 1902 he accompanied his parents to Calcutta where he completed his secondary education at the Armenian College. While on a vacation to Singapore, his father instructed him to join his brothers in Surabaya, where he remained until 1930, when he moved to Singapore. At the outbreak of World War II, Hacobian joined the intelligence department engaged in postal censorship. He remained in this job until the Japanese invasion, when he and his family were interned in the Changi Gaol in Singapore for the rest of the War. During this period he lost his only daughter and his youngest son. At the termination of hostilities, Hacobian, with his wife and eldest son, left Singapore for Australia by government transport and eventually settled in Sydney.

Those few Armenians who remained in Singapore after the War continued to play a prominent role in the colony's life until its independence in 1965. In fact, in the establishment of Singapore as an independent state, Armenians played an important part, making their administrative and political talents available at the highest levels (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19). One such individual was Walter Martin, who had been born in Singapore in 1900. After attending school in both Singapore and England, he joined his father's firm until the Depression caused it to close in 1934. At this time he went to the United States where he studied radio engineering, graduating in 1936. He then returned to Singapore and worked as a driving instructor until 1941 when he was appointed the first Civilian Driving Licence Testing Officer. From 1942 until 1945 Martin and the other members of his family were interned by the Japanese. Following liberation he and his wife spent a period of recuperation leave in Perth, Western Australia, returning to Singapore in 1947 to resume his former position. Upon retiring in 1957, Martin and his wife settled permanently in Perth.

Scattered throughout other parts of Southeast Asia were small groups of Armenians, although none of these can be considered to have been communities. A few resided in Saigon, Manila and Bangkok, where they were engaged in trade or other commercial pursuits (Hovanessian, 1962: 40-41). Their contribution to Australia's Armenian population was minimal.

Migration from China

During this period Armenians also came from China, from communities located principally in the cities of Harbin and Shanghai. These communities consisted largely of former refugees from Armenia and Russia who fled to the Far East during and after the Russian Civil War of 1917-20. Prior to this time there were, at the most, only 10 to 15 Armenians living in Harbin and none in Shanghai, while by 1920 the number in Harbin had grown to around 500 and in Shanghai to about 120. The majority of these settlers were engaged in business, primarily as small shopkeepers or cafe and restaurant owners, and the social life of the community was quite active.

In 1947 the Armenians of Harbin and Shanghai, who now numbered around 900, began to leave as a result of the Chinese Civil War. It has been

estimated by one Armenian who lived in Harbin at this time that approximately 50 per cent of these Armenians returned to Russia, another 35 per cent went to the Americas and the remaining 15 per cent migrated to Australia. Today, no Armenians are known to reside in Harbin or Shanghai.

One who came to Australia from China was Vagarsh Tsitsaghiantz, who was born in 1896 in the Armenian enclave of Karabagh in the Caucasus. He received no formal schooling and, at the age of 13, he set out for Harbin to join his older brother who ran a fur shop there. During World War I he was drafted into the Russian Army and sent to fight the Turks in the Caucasus, where he remained until the Russian Civil War broke out in 1917. At this time he left the Caucasus to rejoin his brother in Harbin. Between 1917 and 1922 he worked as a salesman, travelling between Harbin and a number of Siberian towns. On one of these trips he met and married an Armenian girl, who had also come from the Karabagh region. They settled in Harbin until 1941, when the family moved to Shanghai where they ran a boarding-house. In 1952 Tsitsaghiantz and his wife, who were being forced to leave by the Chinese Communists, followed their married daughter who had migrated to Sydney a year earlier.

The migration of these Chinese Armenians in no way resembles that of the Southeast Asian Armenians, except that the changing political situation was the principal factor precipitating their migration. With the Armenians in China, however, there was a much greater element of compulsion and their migration was more of a refugee movement. Nevertheless, migrants from China continued to arrive throughout the period 1949-60.

This movement was not kin-group or even family oriented since only one respondent who came during this period had relatives in Australia before migrating. Five of the eight respondents, however, had friends in Australia and were sponsored by these friends.

Migration from the Middle East

During the immediate post-War years Armenian migration from the Middle East was limited to the occasional arrival of a single family or

individual. Starting in the early 1950's, however, the numbers arriving increased substantially, although this migration was not constant as it had been from Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, for the period 1951-62, over half the total Armenian arrivals came from the Middle East, notably Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan, compared to only a third from the Southeast Asian countries.

In actual numbers this migration was still quite small. The Armenian Survey found 36 respondents who came during this period, representing 86 individuals, with almost equal numbers coming from the above three Arab countries. Mirzaian (1966) gives information on another 39 individuals, placing the minimum number known to have migrated to Australia during this period at 125. Thus, when compared to Southeast Asian migration, that from the Middle East was substantially greater, although the migration streams were smaller and the migration itself more sporadic. As the migration from the Middle East during this period was only a prelude to the massive influx which was to follow after 1962 and no major migration streams are discernable, no attempt is made here to examine the principal source communities. This migration will be discussed only in general terms with occasional references being made to individual countries.

Following World War II the rise of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East resulted in untenable, or at least uncomfortable conditions for many Armenians. Carrying vivid memories of the Turkish massacres, they were very sensitive to political events or changes which might again put them at risk. Consequently, during this period Armenians began leaving in search of what they considered safer or more stable surroundings in Western countries.

Although none of those who came to Australia during this period felt compelled to leave, there was a general concensus among them that the situation for non-Arabs in the Middle East was changing for the worse. This feeling is expressed in the following statements:

> "Things were turning against the Armenians. They [the Arabs] were claiming that the Armenians were dealing with the Israelis and were espionage agents. When Egypt and

> Syria joined together in Damascus they jailed 40 Armenians as espionage agents. The day after, when I went to work, I was hit with rotten tomatoes and spat upon. These were people I had worked with and known for years. I swore I would never live in an Arab country again".
>
> "The political life was bad. I was not a part of that life. If you were a Christian you had a problem getting a job. This started about 1948-50. I wanted to leave the Arab countries".
>
> "I wanted to leave because of Moslem fanaticism. Nasser had an effect on the Arabs. Whatever you had wasn't yours. I wanted to live in a Christian country".

Most of these migrants had originally intended to go to the United States. The U.S. quota system, with the consequent long wait, proved very discouraging. Also, in some cases the situation was complicated by the fact that different family members held different citizenships - a situation not uncommon because of the World War I dispersions and the sustained Armenian movements between various Middle Eastern countries. In such instances, different family members fell under different country quotas, with consequent different waiting periods. For example, one family from Jordan originally applied for entry to the United States, only to find that the father came under the Turkish quota, while the remainder of the family was required to apply under the Jordanian quota. Because the father had to wait much longer for a visa, the family abandoned its attempt to go to the United States and came to Australia instead.

In general, these migrants had only a rudimentary knowledge of Australia when they decided to migrate here, most of which they had learned in school. The principal reasons they gave for migrating to Australia were that it was too difficult to get a visa to the United States and Australia was the only developed Western Christian country accepting migrants at the time. The economic situation in Australia was not generally known, nor did it have much influence on the decision to migrate. As illustrated above, it was largely the political factors which dominated the decisions to leave while the choices of where to go were limited.

Chain migration and family reunion played a major role in Armenian migration from the Middle East at this time. Of the 36 Armenian Survey respondents, 21 had relatives living in Australia, another 10 had friends and 30 were sponsored migrants.

Migration from Europe

Migration from Europe was infrequent. Although the majority came in the period 1949-52, half from Northern Europe and half from Southern and Eastern Europe, there was nothing which could be termed a migration stream. The Armenian Survey found 13 respondents who came from six European countries, giving a total of 30 individuals, while Mirzaian (1966) provides information on another 29 individuals who came from five countries. Therefore, it may be assumed that the total number who arrived from Europe during this period was considerably less than 100 individuals.

Because of the small numbers involved and the fact that they came from nine different countries, it is not possible to provide more than a general picture of migration from Europe for this period.

With the exception of those born in Europe, the majority of these migrants had only lived there for a short period. Only one of the eight respondents who was born outside Europe had spent most of his life there, while only three of Mirzaian's nine had done so. The other seven Survey respondents had lived in Europe for less than 10 years. A number of this latter group were refugees or displaced persons as a result of World War II, while some were refugees for the second time, having earlier fled Turkey. For example, Bedros Gemjian, who was born in Kerkaghai in Turkey, fled with his family to Greece when the Kemalist movement started in 1922. Settling in Athens he established a business and married in 1938. During the German occupation of World War II he lost everything and so decided to migrate to Australia after the War. Another was Aram Gasparian, who had been born in Sivas, Turkey, in 1898. During World War I he fought for a time against the Turks before fleeing to Greece. Here he remained for a while before moving on to Germany where, during the Second World War, he was compelled to work for the Germans. After the War he made his way to Italy, where he lived

in a refugee camp before finally migrating to Australia (Mirzaian, 1966: 77, 135). It is significant to note that only three of the 13 respondents held the citizenship of a European country when they migrated to Australia and only four came from their country of birth. The three with European citizenship were British nationals who had previously migrated to Britain from one of her colonies. Of the remaining 10 , seven were stateless.

Although a number of these migrants were refugees or displaced persons and the majority had been very mobile, chain migration or family reunion was still a prominent feature of their movement to Australia. Eleven respondents had friends or relatives in Australia before they decided to migrate and eight were eventually sponsored to come.

POPULATION ESTIMATE OF ARMENIANS IN AUSTRALIA IN 1962

Although it is not possible to determine the exact number of Armenians who resided in Australia by the end of this period, it is nevertheless possible to arrive at an estimate. In the Armenian Survey there was a total of 89 respondents who arrived during this period, broken down by region of orign as follows:

Region	Number of Respondents	Number of Individuals	Percentage
Far East (inc. China)	32	86	38
Middle East	36	86	38
Europe	13	30	13
Other	8	22	10
Total	89	224	100

Mirzaian (1966) gives information on another 31 Armenians and their families who were not covered in the Survey. The reasons for their non-inclusion are varied: a number were quite old at their time of arrival in Australia and died long before the Survey;[1] 12 had settled in Melbourne and were not included in the Survey; a number of those who were

[1] Eight of the 31 were over 50 years old at the time of arrival in Australia.

included in the Survey refused to answer the questionnaire. Counting their family members, these 31 Armenian families account for another 90 individuals who arrived during this period. Although these Armenians cannot be assumed to represent a random sample, as they were generally the more prominent members of the community in Australia, they do help to provide a better picture of the volume of Armenian immigration.

It can therefore be said with some certainty that the *minimum* number of migrants who arrived in the 1945-62 period was 314, although in reality the figure was probably higher, possibly in the vicinity of 400. A rough approximation of the size of the Australian Armenian community in 1962 can therefore be placed at 500.

THE LATER PERIOD: 1963-1976

General

By 1963 Armenian migration from Southeast Asia and East Asia had ceased, as had the existence of most of the communities from which this migration sprang. After this time significant numbers of Armenians began to arrive from India, although this migration stream was relatively small when compared with the great influx from the Middle Eastern countries, especially Egypt. Between 1963 and 1976 89 per cent of the Survey respondents came from this region, four-fifths from the Arab countries. In all, Armenians migrated to Australia from 34 different countries during this period.

Migration from India

The largest and most prosperous Armenian community east of Iran was that of India (Basil, 1969; Kaloustian, 1947-48; Kurkjian, 1964: 469-470). By the turn of the twentieth century this community numbered approximately 15,000, half of whom lived in Calcutta, the centre of Armenian life in India. The majority of these Armenians were involved in commerce or the hotel trade, with shellac and jute, from which burlap is made, being the most lucrative export markets in which they were engaged (Hovanessian, 1962: 32-34).

Community and social life were very active until after World War II. Besides the Church, the Calcutta community had a college, a girls' school, an alms house, a social club and an athletic union. The rugby and soccer teams of the Armenian community were considered to be among the best in Calcutta (Basil, 1969: 212).

Although starting before the War, it was not until the post-War period that the rapid decline of the Armenian community began. By 1947-48 the numbers of Armenians remaining in India had dwindled to only 2,000-3,000 (Kaloustian, 1947-48: 258). This was due to a variety of reasons: several European firms were able to take over Armenian trading and shipping concerns; some Armenians intermarried and were assimilated with Europeans or Eurasians and, especially after India and Pakistan gained independence, the former influential positions in government service and trade which they had held were lost to the native populance (Hovanessian, 1962: 33-34; Kaloustian, 1947-48: 258; Lang and Walker, 1976: 19). The Armenian population nevertheless remained fairly steady at around 2,000 until the late 1950's. In the period between 1957 and 1964, however, about 500 members of the Calcutta community migrated to England, while, after 1964, due to increased restrictions placed on migration to England, substantial numbers of Armenians began migrating to Australia. It has been estimated that by 1971 over 500 had left to settle in Australia, although this figure is almost certainly too high. Nevertheless, this emigration left a community of only about 300, causing a near total cessation of Armenian community life due to sheer lack of numbers.

Most who migrated to Australia left India because they, as well as other Westernized minorities, were either being forced out of their former positions or were being restricted in their advancement. Many Western firms were being nationalized and the Westerners who had held the more important positions were being replaced by Indians. For the young Armenian in India the future appeared to hold few opportunities if he remained.

For the respondents from India Australia was generally their first choice as a place to settle, and most had a good knowledge of the country before they decided to come. They all knew it was an English-speaking

country, a factor of much importance since they all spoke English very well and many spoke only English. They also knew that Australia had a good climate, which made it more attractive than the other major choice, England, and that it had a strong economy and ample job opportunities.

Family reunion and chain migration were also of major importance, largely in the context of the migration of extended families. Only a couple of the Indian Armenians had no relatives or friends in Australia before migration while over three-fourths were sponsored to come and stayed with friends or relatives for a period after arrival.

Half of these migrants were Iranian by birth while three-fourths had Iranian-born parents. Only a few had parents born in India while just under half of the migrants themselves had been born there. Nevertheless, nine-tenths had lived most of their lives in India before migrating to Australia.

Migration from the Middle East: The Socio-Cultural Context

In general terms the Middle East may be considered a single "culture area",[1] comprising North Africa south to the Sudan, Southwest Asia north to (and including) most of the Caucasus and Russian Turkestan, Afghanistan and Pakistan (Patai, 1971: 47-52; Schorger, 1958: 3). This area roughly coincides with those regions in which Islam predominates. Although this religious profession, in itself, is not the most significant aspect, it is the most obvious "indicator" of those areas where complexes of economic, social, linguistic and political traits survived after their dispersion from Arabia in the period following Muhammed's "Hijra". Those Islamic areas not geographically contiguous are necessarily excluded from this culture area, since they lie outside the orbit of intensive intercommunications and interchange made possible by continuous land routes, and therefore developed cultural complexes markedly different from those of the Middle East.

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[1] In the simplest sense a culture area consists of a region demarcated by the demonstration that the ways of life of the populations within it more closely resemble each other, at the level adopted for investigation, than they do the ways of life of other populations, contiguous or distant (Schorger, 1958: 3).

A second principal distinguishing criterion for this culture area is its socio-cultural pattern, characterized by the presence of two main population categories, each with a typical ecological adjustment of its own - nomadic tribes, which inhabit the deserts and steppes, and settled groups, concentrated in those regions suitable for agricultural cultivation. These two categories can be further subdivided into a spatial continuum of cultural areas - true nomadic, semi-nomadic, agricultural and urban - a pattern of social structure that consistently recurs through the Middle East (Patai, 1971: 41-43).

In this pattern of social structure can be discerned three "cultural types" of population based on three discreet and fundamental occupational entities: pastoral nomads, sedentary agriculturalists and urban specialists. Members of each of these categories share economic, social, political and ideological similarities across lines of linguistic, political and religious differentiation (Schorger, 1958: 6). In other words, the degree of social distance is often much greater between categories within the same country or region than between the same categories in different countries or regions. An urban specialist in Cairo generally has more in common with an urban specialist in Amman than either has with fellow countrymen engaged in pastoral or agricultural pursuits.

The fact that members of a particular category share similar environments and possess similar characteristics is of particular relevance to a consideration of the Middle Eastern Armenians, since almost all are urban specialists. This category is economically based on trade, processing industries, political administration and the provision of specialized personal services such as the medical and legal professions and, with the exception of areas where Western influences have been *very* strong, the trade and processing industries in particular are characterized by individual or kin-group ownership and administration. Overall, urban specialists comprise approximately 15 per cent of the total Middle Eastern population, although this percentage varies considerably from one region to another and has been steadily increasing since World War II (Ibrahim, 1975: 29-45).

This does not mean that each population category has a homogeneous socio-cultural environment. The Middle Eastern culture area consists of

any number of cultural sub-areas, distinguished in terms of significant differences in material culture, religion and language; aspects which are often accompanied by differences in economy, social and political organization and the arts (Patai, 1971: 62-72; Schorger, 1958: 4). The number of sub-areas which can be distinguished is a subjective judgement, based on the specific distinguishing criteria selected. For this study it is necessary to divide the Middle East into only two sub-cultural areas, the Arab Middle East and the non-Arab Middle East. The reasons for making this broad division are that: first, the historical development of the Armenian communities in the Arab countries was similar, while at the same time differed from that of the communities in the non-Arab countries; second, the events and changes which took place in the various Arab countries and which led to Armenian emigration differed significantly from those which precipitated emigration from the non-Arab Middle East.

Not all the Armenian communities in the Middle East contributed large numbers of migrants to Australia after 1962. With the exception of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iran, which together accounted for 70 per cent of the migration for this period, no other country was responsible for more than seven per cent. Nevertheless, for a comprehensive understanding of migration from the Middle East during this period, it is necessary to examine in detail not only the principal sources of migrants but also a number of the smaller communities. This detailed examination will be followed by a general summary of the overall characteristics of Armenian migration to Australia and of the migrants themselves.

Migration from Egypt

Armenians were known in Egypt as early as the Roman period, even holding high office in many Egyptian governments, but it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that they formed a separate and prospering community (Hovannisian, 1974: 22; Murphy, 1958: 23-50; Shaw, 1964: 130). From this time they filled the positions of middlemen in the Egyptian political, economic and cultural relations with the West and monopolized the tobacco and shoe industries and a significant portion of the international trade (Murphy, 1958: 51). Because of their general affluence, the Armenian

colonies in Cairo and Alexandria evolved during this period into Armenia centres of social, literary and political expression.

The situation of the Armenian community in Egypt was not greatly altered by the influx of refugees during the First World War. Because of the distances between Egypt and the Turkish Armenian provinces, Egypt received few refugees compared to the provinces of Western Asia, although the Armenian population doubled to about 30,000 (Murphy, 1958: 51; Simpson, 1939: 460). A community of this size, however, was still too small to be very noticeable, especially since most of these Armenians resided in the large cities of Alexandria and Cairo. They did not enter into popular Egyptian consciousness because of their relatively small numbers, the necessity for them to adjust rapidly to the Arab-Islamic environment and to acquire fluency in the local dialect, and the fact that the wealthy established community assisted them with jobs and accommodation (Murphy, 1958: 221). There was consequently no prejudice exhibited against the Armenian refugees by the local population and no objections were made to their becoming naturalized Egyptians. Nevertheless, considerable numbers remained stateless.[1]

The economic pursuits of the majority of the Armenians were centred in the commercial and specialized vocations, with more than 80 per cent of the adult male population engaged in service professions, administrative positions, wholesale and retail trades and skilled crafts. Less than five per cent were unskilled labourers and less than two per cent owned land or farmed (Hovannisian, 1974: 22). Armenian community life, as elsewhere, centred on the Armenian Apostolic Church and to a lesser extent, the Armenian Catholic Church, with each having its own means for controlling the civil, judicial, educational, fiscal and ecclesiastical affairs of their respective communities.

The general prosperity of the Egyptian Armenian community continued throughout the World War II period and, following the War, resulted in only a few thousand persons answering the call for repatriation to Soviet Armenia.

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1 It has been estimated that Egypt still contained around 5,000 stateless Armenians at the time they began migrating to Australia. Twenty-one per cent of the respondents from Egypt were stateless.

The repercussions of this emigration on the Egyptian Armenian community were therefore slight and did not impair the maintenance of the Armenian language journals, parochial schools and other organizations which made for a viable community. The Egyptian Revolution of 1952 had a different effect. Although during the first decade of republican government the Armenians, in contrast to other Western-oriented minorities, were not forced to leave Egypt and suffered even less discrimination than the native Copts, after Syria's withdrawal from the United Arab Republic in 1961 their situation began to deteriorate[1] (Dekmejian, 1972: 82-84; Murphy, 1958: 52, 211, 386; Rondot, 1969: 222-223). The Nasser government issued a series of radical decrees expropriating most large enterprises, including a number of Armenian-owned factories and many corporations and banks in which Armenians held high posts. Moreover, exporters, importers and retailers who were dependent on foreign trade began to suffer from a number of newly introduced measures, such as the imposition of a state monopoly on international trade, a progressive income tax and an employee profit sharing plan (Abdul-Malik, 1968: 87-166; Hovannisian, 1974: 23-24; Issawi, 1963; O'Brien, 1966).

The restrictions on trade and private enterprise, the likelihood of greater State regulation of their community and business affairs, and the resultant pessimism regarding the opportunities for the younger generation spurred substantial emigration of Egypt's Armenians. This situation became even worse in late 1961 with the beginning of open persecution of Egypt's Christian population, as described in the following article published in the *Melbourne Sun* (November 23, 1961: 4):

> "*Christians Flee Nasser's Purge*
>
> London, Wed. President Nasser's purge of Big Business and the rich has turned into a persecution of Christians in Egypt, the Daily Mail reported today.
>
> It said hundreds were fleeing to Beirut by air and sea and their plight was recognised by UN authorities in Beirut as a major refugee problem.

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1 The most severe strains in Egyptian domestic politics occurred between 1961 (the breakup of the union with Syria) and 1967 (the third war with Israel) (Choucri, 1977: 6).

> In almost every case the refugees had had their property, bank accounts, businesses and even jewelry confiscated.
>
> Many of the Christians had been given three days to get out. Others, the report said, had fled before the police called.
>
> The report said the persecution was quickly denuding Egypt of its elite and professional classes. The majority of those arriving in Beirut were doctors, surgeons, lawyers and accountants. A UN official was quoted as saying 'This is a terrible thing. The refugees are making their way here by any route they can take.'"

With the situation deteriorating for the Armenians, a major part of the community desperately sought to emigrate at this time. The specific destinations chosen were largely dependent on those countries willing to accept them. Brazil had begun accepting migrants in 1958-59, but this was confined mainly to stateless persons. Only a few Armenians migrated there. In 1959-60 Canada opened its doors to the wealthier, more educated Armenians, resulting in almost all the middle and upper class Armenians going there. Those who remained were therefore those who did not want to migrate, who were unable to migrate, or those who were generally less educated and less well-off.[1]

Before 1963 a few Armenians and their families had managed to migrate to Australia, although they were only a small fraction of the number who had applied to come. This was apparently due to the fairly stringent entry requirements since they were considered to be non-Europeans. In 1962, however, the Australian Government instituted a special one year pilot scheme designed to allow entry to a large number of unsponsored Armenian migrants from Egypt (Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council Agendum, No. 18/1962). It should be noted that this scheme was *specifically* for Armenians and not for Egyptians in general, although greater numbers of non-Armenians were

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[1] The Armenians who migrated to Australia readily recognised this fact and were quick to point out that Australia received the "lower-class" Armenians while the "cream" of the community went to Canada.

also beginning to be allowed to come from Egypt.[1] To quote one Armenian migrant who came under this "Armenian Emigration Scheme", "You had to prove you were Armenian, all your documents, birth certificate. You had to be an Armenian before you could even put in an application".

The reasons for the implementation of this scheme are somewhat hazy. It appears that it was adopted for humanitarian reasons and because of political pressure on the Australian Government applied both from within Australia and indirectly from the United States Government through the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (I.C.E.M.) in Geneva. An organization entitled A.N.C.H.A. (American National Committee for Homeless Armenians), which had been established after World War II by an American Armenian, George Mardikian, to help resettle Armenian displaced persons in Europe, received United States Government recognition and backing under President Eisenhower and enlarged its scope to assist Armenian refugees worldwide (Atamian, 1955: 403-405; Mardikian, 1956: 263-312). When the Armenians' position in Egypt began to deteriorate and many wanted to leave, A.N.C.H.A. became actively involved in attempting to find countries which would accept them. Australia was a likely candidate because of its active immigration programme and its extensive dealings with I.C.E.M., which was assisting in the resettlement of Egyptian refugees. For these reasons I.C.E.M. apparently approached the Australian Government to take a large number of Egyptian Armenians.[2] In 1962 the Australian Minister for Immigration made a request to the then Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sir Garfield Barwick, to allow a special policy for Armenians as a national group, in view of the fact that the Armenians did not have an independent country and consequently most were citizens of their countries of residence. As eligibility for entry to Australia was based on nationality, special consideration for the Armenians was believed to be needed, a situation reminiscent of that of the Syrians half a century earlier (see Appendix II).

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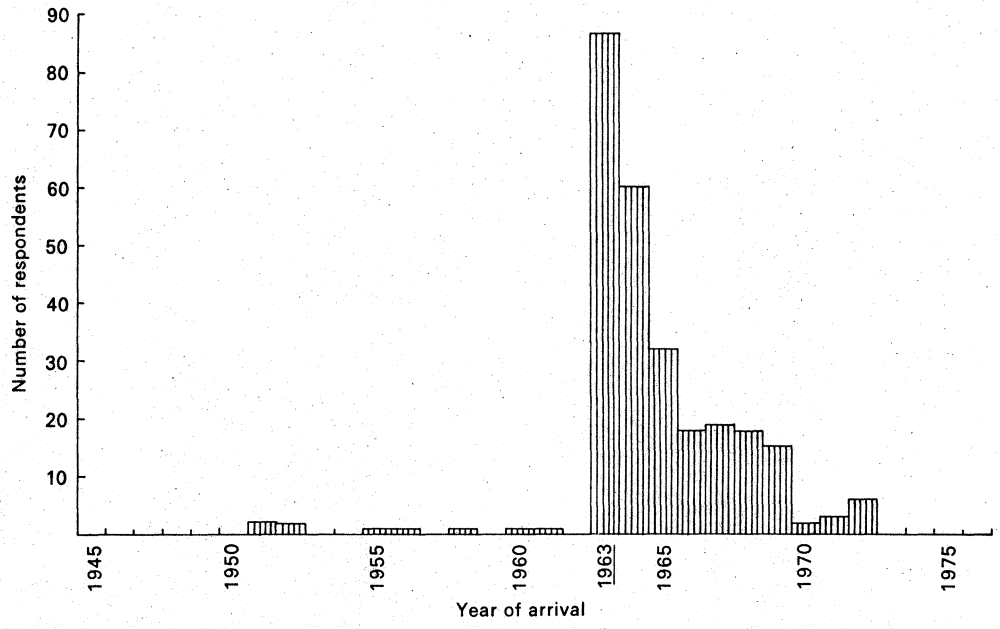
1 The immigration of settlers born in Egypt was about double that of settlers with UAR nationality. This suggests that a large portion were persons born in Egypt of Greek, Italian, Maltese or Armenian descent who did not acquire Egyptian citizenship (Price and Pyne, 1970: 35).

2 Personal communications with Mr. J. Dempsey, Australian Department of Immigration.

No official policy was adopted, although the government did implement the one year scheme. The results of this scheme are easily observed in the very steep rise in the numbers of Egyptian Armenians arriving in 1963, as shown in Figure 3.2, followed by the very rapid fall in

Figure 3.2

Arrival of Egyptian Armenians 1945-1976



in the numbers arriving in the following years. Throughout this period the Egyptian Government in no way restricted Armenian emigration, although the migrants were allowed to take with them only a fraction of their assets. By 1967 the exodus of these Armenians reduced the Egyptian community to less than half of its former size of 40,000. Since 1967 the community has continued to dwindle and today there are no more than 10-12,000 Armenians remaining in Egypt. The community, however, is again prospering in the more relaxed atmosphere cultivated by President Sadat (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19).

Of those Armenians who came to Australia, most sought to emigrate from Egypt because of the changing political situation with its accompanying discrimination against Europeans and other non-Moslems. In most cases there was no direct pressure placed on the Armenians to leave. However, once the exodus began, the momentum of this movement became in itself a force for emigration. The following remarks are illustrative of the reasons why these Armenians wanted to leave Egypt:

"Although we were Egyptians by nationality we were not Arabs. I wanted better opportunities for my children. I saw no future for me and my children to live and advance ourselves".

"It was getting harder and harder everyday - politics and things. For Christian people it was hard to find everything to live. I thought it would be better if I leave Egypt. They started hating the Europeans, the Christian people. You were never considered Egyptian, we were always the Europeans. If you were stateless you had to go each year to get a license to get a job. Because we had the best of everything they had to save their own people. In 1960 and 1961 they started with the Europeans and so before it becomes our turn we said we were moving".

"The mass exodus of Armenians swept you up. In Egypt we were very close so you were moved along".

Discrimination was strongest in the job market. Many Armenians who had held good jobs were suddenly replaced by Egyptians and the latter were given preference in new job openings. For the Armenians and their children the prospects for the future looked progressively bleak, making emigration their primary consideration and the destination of secondary importance.

Approximately four-fifths of those who migrated to Australia had originally wanted to migrate to countries other than Australia, primarily to Canada, while a few had preferred to go to the U.S.A. or Brazil. The principal reasons they did not migrate to these other countries were that they, or members of their families, were not accepted or else they had a long wait because of the quota system. Another factor which greatly influenced migration to Australia, even in cases where prior acceptance to Canada was received, was the climate. This is well illustrated by the following remarks:

"A quota [for the U.S.A.] was too hard to get. I applied to Canada, Brazil and Australia and was accepted by all three. I chose to come to Australia because of the climate".

"I sort of thought, well, Canada is a cold country. That was mainly my choice, the weather. Its a cold

> country and later on my mother-in-law and the whole family will be coming and its going to be a bit hard for these old people in a cold, freezing country like Canada. So I thought, well, Australia is again a Commonwealth country, like Canada, better weather, more towards Egyptian weather so I thought, go there".
>
> "Brazil was only open for stateless people. They stopped before a decision [on my application] was reached. Canada was my second choice but it was too cold. Australia was the only place left".

A third factor which became more important in the period after 1964 was the presence of relatives or friends in Australia. In 1963 less than half of the Armenians from Egypt had friends or relatives or both in Australia before they migrated and only about a quarter were sponsored migrants. By 1967, however, less than five per cent of those migrating to Australia had neither friends nor relatives here while over three-quarters were sponsored. Thus, in the period after the termination of the Armenian Emigration Scheme the major part of Armenian migration was kin-group or primary group oriented, with 60 per cent of the respondents being sponsored by relatives or family members and almost all the married migrants coming as family units. This kin-group orientation indicates that from 1965 onwards the primary purpose of most of this migration was the reconstitution of Armenian families and family life in Australia, although the uncertain situation in Egypt continued to stimulate emigration of Armenians until the early 1970's.

There was a general lack of knowledge about Australia on the part of most of these migrants, which would account for the fact that few had initially considered Australia as a possible destination. However, most knew that the climate was similar to Egypt's, it was an "English" country, it was a Christian country and there were jobs available. The principal sources of this information, for those who came in 1963-64, were the Australian consular/immigration authorities in Egypt, while from 1965 most obtained their information from friends and relatives in Australia. Thus, it appears that those who came in 1963-64 actively sought out official sources of information, which is in line with the earlier discussion on their reasons for emigrating, while the later arrivals came as chain migrants.

In most respects, these migrants represented a good cross-section of the Armenian community of Egypt, with the exception that they were predominantly of Turkish refugee stock. This is what would be expected in a mass or refugee movement. With regard to the heavy concentration of Turkish refugee stock it can be hypothesized that, since the established Egyptian community was generally wealthier and more educated they were probably those who migrated to Canada, leaving the more recent arrivals and their children to migrate to Australia.

Migration from the Levant Countries: General

The Arab countries of the Levant, namely Syria, Lebanon and Jordan (including Israel) contributed the second largest number of Armenians to Australia. The Armenian communities of these countries had much in common, due to their similar backgrounds and developments and a fairly high degree of social intercourse and movement between them. It was quite common for members of the same extended family to live in Armenian communities in different countries in this area and to visit each other frequently, maintaining close contact. In addition, substantial intermarriage occurred between the various communities which served both to strengthen old ties as well as establish new ones. In recent times, however, the political changes or events which have occurred in the various countries of this region, especially since the advent of the state of Israel, have led to differential movements between these communities as well as to migration out of the region.

Migration from Syria

Bordering the Armenian homeland the Syrian Plains were colonized by Armenians before the Christian Period. During the Arab conquests many thousands of Armenians either fled or were deported to Syria, mainly from the Cilician area. Early in its history the city of Aleppo became an important trading centre for the whole Levant, drawing still more Armenians and becoming the main Armenian community in Syria. Aleppo has held this pre-eminence in Syrian Armenian life until the present day (Churchill, 1970: 647-648; Clarke and Fisher, 1972: 141; Hourani, 1970: 16; Sanjian, 1965: 1-59, 87-92, 147-153, 260-273).

During the deportations of 1915 the Armenian population of Aleppo swelled with refugees (Fedden, 1947: 257), followed by additional large influxes of Armenians in 1921-22 when the French abandoned Cilicia, and in 1939 when they relinquished Alexandretta to Turkey (Gracey, 1931). Although many of these exiles eventually migrated to other countries, a fair number - estimated at around 50,000 - stayed and established a self-contained Armenian quarter, known as Nor Guigh (New Village), on the outskirts of Aleppo.[1] Many of the refugees who had earlier settled in the mountains and countryside also began to congregate in oasis towns, such as Jarabbis, Deir-el-Zor, Al-Hasaka and Al-Qamishiya, where they established churches and Armenian schools. By the end of World War II there were approximately 85,000 Armenians living in the Aleppo district alone (Torrey, 1964: 65), most of whom had taken Syrian nationality (Simpson, 1939: 445).

Although the Armenians in Syria were initially disliked and not welcomed by many Syrians (Fedden, 1947: 257; Hourani, 1970: 15), especially because of their entry into the tight job market, they generally supported the Syrian struggle for independence which intensified at the end of World War II (Longrigg, 1958: 138-139, 144, 160-161, 164, 286; Hourani, 1970: 16). Consequently, the government of the new Syrian republic left the Armenians to handle their own internal affairs and did not interfere with their political societies, though these were not officially recognized (Hourani, 1970: 16; Hovannisian, 1974: 26).

This situation began to change when the United Arab Republic came into existence in 1958. The Arab failures in Palestine and the resultant growth in militant extremist ideologies of Arab Nationalism led to the promulgation by the Syrian Government of harsh doctrinaire policies during the 1960's. This culminated in the government's suppression of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Dashnaks), accusing it of committing espionage for the Western powers (Dekmejian, 1976: 29). In the wake of the arrests and harrassment of those Armenians suspected of being involved,

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[1] The pattern of forming distinct Armenian areas like the one in Aleppo appears to be fairly typical where Armenians have settled in large numbers in Middle Eastern cities. Within these districts, however, Armenian society was further divided by religion, income and, in some cases, language (Baer, 1970: 632; 1976: 94; Churchill, 1970: 660).

the military government outlawed the Armenian press and sharply curtailed all cultural and political associations. The Armenian schools were placed under direct State control, Arabic was made the compulsory language of instruction in all subjects except religion and all courses in Armenian history, literature and culture were technically eliminated.

Pressure was also put on the prelates of the Apostolic Church to leave the country, while the Catholicos of Cilicia, the Patriarch of all Syrian Apostolic Armenians, was prevented from entering the country because of suspected sympathies with the West (Hovannisian, 1974: 27).

These harsh measures precipitated the emigration of thousands of Armenians from Syria in the 1960's, many illegally. A substantial number of these fled to Lebanon. For the 135,000 to 170,000 who remained, the situation began to improve in the 1970's, resulting in a revitalization of the entire Syrian Armenian community (Bullard, 1961: 453; Dekmejian, 1976: 29; Hovannisian, 1974: 25-28; Issawi, 1970: 269). As in the past, the majority of these Armenians live in Aleppo province, although there are sizeable contingents in Damascus and other large towns (Clarke and Fisher, 1972: 141). They are mainly an artisan community and have almost a monopoly of certain trades, although some are engaged in medicine and hotel management (Fedden, 1947: 52; Hourani, 1970: 16; Lang and Walker, 1976: 19).

Generally, the members of this community have adopted the path of political assimilation, while preserving their own faith and culture and a very separate identity (Clarke and Fisher, 1972: 141; Hourani, 1970: 16). Blatant manifestations of their communal spirit, however, continue to arouse official opposition.

Migration of Armenians from Syria to Australia before 1960 was very rare, although considerable migration of Syrians took place during the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries (see Appendix II). Beginning in 1964 the number of Armenian immigrants from this country increased significantly and the flow remained relatively constant until 1973. At no time throughout this period, however, could it be considered large scale migration.

Most Armenians left Syria because they felt threatened by the events which accompanied the rise of Arab nationalism. There was less tolerance towards the separate religious minorities, combined with direct pressure from the government to assimilate to the dominant Moslem Arab society. However, unlike the situation in Egypt, there was no concerted attempt to force the Armenians and other Christians to leave the country. The following remarks illustrate the feelings of the Syrian Armenians who emigrated during this period:

> "I left because of the political situation at the time. It was an indecisive situation. I didn't know where the country was headed. The government was nationalizing businesses and I was afraid they might nationalize ours. I used to listen to the radio every night to find out what the government would do. I could not go to bed and sleep peacefully".

> "Syria was not my mother country. I didn't want to get mixed up with the Moslem people. I wanted to get mixed up with Western people. If you want to live there you must live like them and talk like them - speak perfect Arabic".

> "There was always trouble between Moslems and Christians. You were not secure - not free".

Many Syrian Armenians found haven in Lebanon during this period since the government and population were half Christian. Although not commonly stated, the initiation of compulsory military service by the Syrian Government was also a very strong incentive for young male Armenians to leave Syria for Lebanon. Many, however, did not apparently find the situation in Lebanon a great improvement as Lebanese citizenship was generally denied them. In the words of one Syrian Armenian migrant who fled to Lebanon in 1952 to escape military service:

> "I wanted to leave [Lebanon] because of the system of government and living there. There were no rules - it was a lawless country. I never liked the manner in which Moslems lived. I would have come to Australia earlier but could not get Lebanese citizenship. The government would not give citizenship to newcomers because the balance had changed to the Moslems' side. They used to give citizenship to anyone in Lebanon after

> five years. It was in the constitution but the Christian Government knocked this off to keep Moslems from taking power. The Syrians then came out and said you were exempt, if born between so and so dates, from military service or prosecution. So I went back and got a passport".

Almost all of the Armenians who migrated from Syria wanted to go to Australia, although as a rule they knew very little about the country except that there were job opportunities and it was politically stable. The principal, and often only, sources of information on Australia were relatives or friends who had migrated earlier. Less than a fifth knew no one in Australia before they decided to migrate while 70 per cent were sponsored by relatives or friends.

Migration from Lebanon

Armenians have long sought asylum on Mount Lebanon from religious persecution (Hitti, 1951: 37). In the eighteenth century, Armenian rite monks, harassed by the Apostolic Church, organized a monastery in the mountains of Lebanon, gathering around them other non-Arabic speaking Uniate families. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Armenians in Lebanon had organized themselves into ethnically distinct congregations and were initiating aggressive educational programmes. During this same period, the Armenian population increased markedly due to the influx of refugees from the massacres of 1894-97 and 1909 (Hovannisian, 1974: 29). Simpson (1939: 444) placed the number in Beirut at the time at 750.

The bulk of the Lebanese Armenian community was formed primarily by four successive waves of immigration:

1. The Armenian survivors of the 1915 genocide who had settled in Cilicia under French protection fled to Syria and Lebanon in 1921, when France relinquished control of Cilicia to Turkey. This brought to the Syria-Lebanon area about 200,000 Armenians.
2. The entry of the Turkish forces into the Sanjak of Alexandretta prompted another 45,000 Armenians to flee to Syria and Lebanon between 1937 and 1939.

3. The Arab-Israeli War of 1948 resulted in thousands of Armenians from Palestine migrating to Lebanon.

4. The union of Syria and Egypt in 1958 prompted large groups of Armenians to move to Lebanon from the neighbouring Arab countries.

From 1932 to 1970 the Armenian population of Lebanon increased from about 39,000 to around 180,000 (Hamalian, 1974: 72; Lang and Walker, 1976: 14). Of this total, 110,000 are concentrated in the Bourj-Hammond and Dora quarters of Greater Beirut, while other large groups are found in the Ashrafieh and Zokak-el-Blat quarters. The only rural area where Armenians are an almost absolute majority is the old refugee community of Anjar in the Beqaa, an area settled largely by refugees from the seven Armenian villages of Musa Dagh (Turkey). A different situation exists in Beirut, which was settled by refugees gathered from many different towns and villages throughout Turkey.

As in Syria, the Armenians who arrived in Lebanon during and after World War I were not made welcome by the native-born population, both because they were foreign in language and customs and because of the inevitable economic tension which developed between the destitute Armenian immigrants, willing to work for starvation wages, and the existing population. This tension reached a danger point in Beirut on at least one occasion before World War II (Hourani, 1970: 15). Following World War II and up to the recent Lebanese civil war which began in 1975, there was a change for the better. This was in large part due to the governmental system, with representation based on sectarian lines, which made it possible for the three Armenian religious communities to fit into the political structure (Hamalian, 1974: 72; Hourani, 1970: 15). Such a system also allowed each confessionally distinct community internal self-government in all socio-cultural aspects of life, making Lebanon an almost ideal setting for the Armenians (Dekmejian, 1976: 29; Hovannisian, 1974: 30). Indeed, Lebanon became a second homeland for the dispossessed Armenians, allowing them not only to prosper economically but also to develop their own institutions and to maintain an autonomous existence (Churchill, 1970: 660).

Before the civil war of 1975 there were more than 80 Armenian schools in operation in Lebanon, including Hargazian College, the only Armenian institution of higher learning in the Diaspora which offers a curriculum leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Hovannisian, 1974: 30). In addition, Armenian enrollment in the other Beirut institutions of higher learning was consistently high, particularly in the fields of nursing, engineering and medicine.

Within the community itself there were over 20 Armenian churches, four daily newspapers and more than a dozen weekly, monthly and quarterly magazines. The Catholicos of the Apostolic Cilician See, the Patriarch of the Armenian Catholics and the President of the Union of Armenian Evangelical Churches in the Middle East all have headquarters in the Beirut area. The three major political parties - the Dashnaks, the Ramgavars and the Hunchaks - are all active in the political, cultural and athletic life of the community (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19).

In the economic sphere the Armenians have played an important, though secondary role. Their preponderance in several of the service professions is paralleled by a very active commercial sector, with Armenian merchants dealing in every line of apparel and hardware. A good fourth of the Beirut gold-bazaar is owned by Armenians, while most of the craftsmen involved in this area are also Armenian (Hovannisian, 1974: 21, 30).

The recent civil war and its continuing aftermath has therefore been a special tragedy for the Armenians, not only in Lebanon but all over the world. The well-armed Armenian militia has largely refrained from joining any of the factions, fighting only when Armenian populated areas are threatened. Nevertheless, many have been killed and wounded. According to an Armenian Dashnak spokesman, damage to Armenian property had reached $200,000,000 by September 1976. Such a situation has prompted many Armenians to leave the country and the future of the Lebanese Armenian community is uncertain.

Although a few Armenians migrated to Australia from Lebanon before World War II, substantial migration did not occur before 1964. The principal

reasons for this migration were economic, although related to wider political developments in the area. The growing strain between Israel and its surrounding Arab neighbours was very disruptive to the Lebanese economy, making it hard for many Armenians to find adequate work. This prompted a number to leave, although some left for more individual reasons such as for adventure or travel.

Only about a third of these respondents actually preferred to migrate to Australia, while over half had wanted to go to the United States, but were not accepted. Most came to Australia because it was the only country accepting migrants at the time. In general, they knew very little about the country, the only pieces of common knowledge being that plenty of jobs were available and there were opportunities to make money. The two principal sources of information were friends and relatives in Australia and the Australian Embassy in Beirut. The political situation in Lebanon, in most cases, does not appear to have had an appreciable effect on the decision to emigrate until after the 1967 War.

Two other factors which helped to stimulate this migration were the knowledge that many Armenians were migrating to Australia, which had a growing community, and over four-fifths had relatives or friends here - 60 per cent were sponsored to come.

Migration from Jordan and Israel

Until the foundation of Israel in 1948, the Armenians of Palestine and Transjordan were largely one community, with the majority residing in Jerusalem and Amman. Since that time the Armenians in Jerusalem have shifted from the rule of the Israelis to the rule of the Jordanians and back again. It is for this reason that migration from Jordan and Israel will be dealt with here as migration from one community.

The Armenian community of Jordan and Israel began with the few thousand refugees who settled in Palestine and Transjordan after World War I. These refugees quickly came together and formed a progressive community, with many eventually serving in the mandatory regime or becoming franchise holders

or representatives of foreign firms. With the British withdrawal and the turmoil accompanying the partition of Palestine and creation of Israel, the community became severely disrupted. During the Arab-Israeli War which followed Israel's creation, nearly all the Armenians in Palestine took shelter in the Armenian Quarter of Old Jerusalem (Dekmejian, 1976: 30), only to be prevented by the Israelis from returning to their homes after the 1948 armistice. Consequently, many moved from Jerusalem to Amman or to Beirut from whence, as stateless persons, most were eventually admitted to the United States in the 1950's (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19; Sarkissian, 1969: 514; Hovannisian, 1974: 25).

In 1967 the Israelis occupied the Old City, reuniting the Jerusalem Armenians with those who had remained in Haifa and Jaffa but, at the same time, severing the links between the Israeli Armenians and those in neighbouring countries. Today there are about 2,000 Armenians in Jerusalem, most of whom live in the Old City,[1] and a small community of 300 exists in Jaffa (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19). The Armenians in Israel today work primarily as craftsmen and shopkeepers.

There is very little information available on the Jordanian Armenian community, except that an active community of about 8,000 exists in Amman. Many of these Armenians are those who fled Palestine during the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli War (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19; Sarkissian, 1969: 512). They are believed to live under favourable conditions today (Dekmejian, 1976: 30).

Although the occasional migrant came from Jordan during the 1940's and 1950's there was no migration from Palestine (Israel after 1948) to Australia during these years. Starting in 1961, emigration from both Jerusalem and Amman increased sharply, reaching high levels both in 1963 and after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

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[1] Personal communication with Dr. V. Azarya of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Dr. Azarya also stated that, although the Armenians in the Old City were settled originally within the Armenian monastery as a temporary relief measure they have tended to remain even though they have had the economic resources to move elsewhere.

The principal reason Armenians wanted to leave Israel or Jordan was the unstable political situation related specifically to the conflicts between the Israelis and the Arabs. Armenians on both sides of the border saw the future as uncertain and felt unsafe, as they were a minority group caught in the middle. Those in Israel felt discriminated against by the Jews and feared what would happen should the Arabs conquer Israel, while those in Jordan felt discriminated against by the Moslems and did not want to be compelled to fight the Israelis.

Very few had originally chosen to migrate to Australia. Most had wanted to go to Canada, particularly those in Jerusalem, while those in Jordan preferred the United States. Although they encountered the same problems as other Middle Eastern Armenians in obtaining acceptance to these countries, the decisive factor which led most to migrate to Australia was the presence of relatives or friends here. Only seven per cent knew no-one in Australia before deciding to migrate, while 86 per cent were eventually sponsored to come. The average migrant knew little or nothing about Australia before migrating.

Migration from Iraq

The only other Arab country which contributed more than just the occasional migrant or family to the Australian Armenian population was Iraq. The development of the Iraqi Armenian community followed a slightly different course from those discussed for the other Arab countries, partly because of its central geographical position. Not only was Iraq affected, as were the other Arab countries, by events in Turkey and the strife with Israel, but it was also influenced by events and developments in Iran. This is aptly illustrated by the fact that a fifth of these migrants were of Iranian Armenian stock while only half had parents who had been refugees from Turkey.

The Armenian presence in Iraq dates back to the Mesopotamian period, although it was not until the seventeenth century that an Armenian community could be said to have existed there. The first settlers were remnants of the Armenians transplanted by Shah Abbas to Isfahan in 1605, who moved south and settled on the Mesopotamian Plain and in Basra. With the growth of

the maritime trade with India the Armenians of Basra attained great influence, especially in the pearl trade, while those who had settled in Baghdad were noted as being civil servants and artisans (Hovannisian, 1974: 28; Melkonian, 1949: 46). During the nineteenth century, the Baghdad community became large and prosperous enough to maintain two churches, a highly regarded professional school, a printing press and literary guild, and a girls' academy. However, during the latter part of that century, the Iraqi community declined to about 2,500 individuals (Melkonian, 1949: 47).

During World War I more than 20,000 Armenians either fled or were deported into Mesopotamia from Eastern Turkey. Most of these refugees were housed at sprawling camps at Ba'quba and near Basra and Mosul. Many eventually moved into the cities where they obtained jobs as technicians, craftsmen and minor officials in the government administration. Many of the younger, more educated Armenians managed to find work with the expanding petroleum industry. In a relatively short period of time, many educational, religious, cultural and political organizations and institutions were formed wherever Armenians were concentrated, primarily at Basra, Baghdad, Habbaniya, Kurkuk, Mosul and Zakhit (Hovannisian, 1974: 28).

Of the 20,000 who had arrived in Iraq during the World War I period, only about 10,000 remained by 1931 (Royal Central Asian Society, 1931: 104). Seven and a half thousand had left Iraq for America, while another 500 had left Basra for Abadan to join the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. By 1949 there were estimated to be 12,000 Armenian Apostolics in Iraq (Melkonian, 1949: 47-48).

Until the independence of Iraq in 1958, the Armenians maintained good relations with their Moslem neighbours. However, with the assassination of Feisal II and the overthrow of the monarchy, followed by the radical republican regime of Abd-al-Karim-Qasim, Armenian political societies, which were considered to have pro-Western tendencies, were suppressed and the Armenian Church came under close scrutiny. This unsettled many Armenians, causing some to emigrate. With the overthrow and execution of Qasim in 1963, and prior to the War with Israel in 1967, many others managed to leave, resulting in a decline of the community to less than 10,000 by the

early 1970's (Clarke and Fisher, 1972: 107; Hovannisian, 1974: 28-29). The unstable political situation in Iraq has continued until the present day, making the position of the Armenians even more vulnerable and leading many to seek asylum in Western countries whenever the opportunity presents itself. Those who remain are being forced to assimilate and the Armenian youth are becoming more fluent in Arabic than in Armenian (Hovannisian, 1974: 29).

Armenian migration from Iraq to Australia has never been substantial, and has only been significant since 1962. Nevertheless, the actual number of Iraqi Armenians in Australia is larger than the number who migrated direct from Iraq to Australia. This is due to the reluctance of many Armenians to apply for emigration *in* Iraq. In a number of cases the government has seized the property of those seeking to emigrate in order to prevent them from taking money or other assets out of the country. Consequently, many Armenians left their property intact, went to a neighbouring country ostensibly for a visit or a short stay, only to migrate once there. They then had relatives sell their property for them at a later time.

As in the other Arab countries, it was the unsettled political situation which prompted most to leave, while it was family members or friends living in Australia which led most to choose it as a destination. Over four-fifths had either relatives or friends here before emigrating and more than half were sponsored to come. The majority had a good knowledge of Australia before deciding to migrate, with the items of most interest being the political stability, the economic prosperity and a climate similar to that of Baghdad.

Migration from Other Arab Countries

Migrants also came from Kuwait, Sudan, Libya and Aden; even though Sudan was the only country which had an Armenian community (Barbour, 1961: 271-272). The combined migration from these countries was small but continuous for the decade from 1963, although there were substantial fluctuations from year to year.

There is not enough information available on these migrants to make a firm determination; however, it appears that the most common reasons for wanting to emigrate relate to being members of a Christian minority in Moslem countries. This was definitely the case for those who came from the community in Sudan, where the Armenians were very visible, being considered "whites" as well as Christians. To quote a few of the Sudanese Armenian migrants who came during this period:

> "Whites and Christians were not secure. They [the Black Sudanese] started robbing us, killing us. The Blacks started hating the Whites and Christians".
>
> "The situation was becoming worse for White people. When the British left they started giving the White people a hard time. All the Black Sudanese were Moslems and they hated the Christians. We were always criticized by the Sudanese. If they hated me after knowing me for so many years how would they treat my children whom they didn't know? They did not consider us Sudanese because we were White and Christian".
>
> "Every White was considered an enemy".
>
> "We always felt like foreigners. They nationalized firms owned by Armenians".

Although the religious problem was the reason given, the underlying cause for this emigration, as in the other Arab lands, appears to have been the unstable political situation. Religion was not so important in itself, as was the fact that it generally symbolized who was acceptable and who was not.

Only a few of these migrants came direct from their countries of birth, mostly those from Sudan, while the majority of the rest had earlier migrated from their places of birth to either Kuwait or Sudan before leaving for Australia.

The largest number of migrants came from Kuwait. They were mostly Armenians who had come from the surrounding Arab countries, principally Jordan and Syria, in search of work or to reach a place from which it was safe to emigrate. Many did not want to return to their former countries

because of the political situation and the likelihood of being drafted for military service.

From the information available, it appears that a majority of these respondents particularly chose Australia as a destination, although a number had originally wanted to go to Canada or the United States. The latter came to Australia because they were refused entry to these other countries. In general, they all had a fairly good knowledge of Australia, with the most common items of information being that Australia's climate was like the Middle East, it was an English-speaking country and there were job opportunities. Almost all had relatives or friends in Australia before migrating and half were sponsored to come.

Migration from the Non-Arab Middle East: General

The principal source community in the non-Arab Middle East was Iran, which was responsible for 13 per cent of the immigrants for this period. The other two source communities were those of Turkey and Soviet Armenia, both of which have contributed only a very small number of migrants. However, it is necessary for comparative purposes to examine the migration from all three countries.

Migration from Iran

The fact that Iran was neither an Arab country, nor a part of the Ottoman Empire, meant that its Armenian community developed along different lines from the communities of the other Middle Eastern countries and was little affected by events which occurred in the Ottoman Middle East during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although a substantial number of Armenians took refuge in Iran during World War I (Hovannisian, 1974: 20), this brought no great change in the community's position in Iranian society, nor any internal change in the community itself.

The Iranian Armenians, both in the past and today, are predominantly an urban population, living in Isfahan, New Julfa, Tehran, Tabriz, Razaijah and Rasht, where they have been important in commerce and industry. For

example, in Tehran they owned a prosperous brewery, at least until recently, and helped to run the Iranian national airways (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19). A substantial number, however, still live in rural Iranian Azerbaijan, where they are engaged in agricultural pursuits. The present Armenian population of Iran is around 200,000 (Clarke and Fisher, 1972: 71-72; Lang and Walker, 1976: 14) and constitutes the largest Christian group in Iran (Bullard, 1961: 371).

Under the Shah the Armenians were not greatly affected by the authoritarian nature of his regime (Dekmejian, 1976: 28). In fact, they enjoyed the Shah's personal favour and protection and were given substantial autonomy in all aspects of their communal life (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19). Being apolitical, and with their entrepreneurial predilections, they fitted extremely well into Iranian society (Dekmejian, 1976: 28). The recent overthrow of the Shah and the takeover by the Moslem clergy, however, has probably caused great concern for the Armenians in Iran - similar to that generated by the rise of Arab nationalism in the Arab countries following World War II. Unless this situation stabilizes it can be assumed that Armenian migration from Iran will increase substantially in the near future.

Prior to 1963, there was almost no migration direct from Iran to Australia, although a number of Iranian Armenians had migrated in earlier years via communities in India and Southeast Asia. From 1963 to 1976 there was a continuous stream of migrants, coming mainly from the Armenian communities of Tehran (77 per cent) and Isfahan (13 per cent).

Most wanted to emigrate because of the decreasing employment opportunities and the fact that they felt discriminated against because they were Christians. Although on the surface these reasons appear similar to those given by migrants from the Arab countries, in reality they are not. First of all, the declining job opportunities for Armenians were due not so much to discrimination as to the fact that the Iranians were becoming better educated and trained and were beginning to fill the positions which had been traditionally held by Armenians. This is best illustrated by the remarks of two Iranian Armenians who migrated to Australia in this period:

> "You are always known there as a Christian. You do not have the privileges of Iranians. They are becoming more educated and taking better positions. Armenians are not given positions in government. You can be an officer in the Army only up to a certain rank. Jobs which have a good future are not given to Armenians. Although I was in a good position I did not think my children would be able to get good positions".

> "Being an Armenian living in Persia I was seeing that Armenians were getting a bit of difficulty in getting higher positions. A few years ago the Armenians had always the higher positions and were respected in the market or wherever you go, but now these days it has started to go down because they [the Persians] are educated. It's their country, they can get the positions. Years ago they couldn't do that. A few years ago you couldn't find any Persian who could speak English, who could speak French. These positions were all held by Armenians. But now, these days, they are educated. The Armenians have got no place".

Being a Christian in Moslem Iran was also different from being a Christian in the Arab lands; for one reason, the Iranians were not affected by political currents generated by the rise of Arab nationalism. For the Armenians the threat was not so much one of discrimination or physical violence from the Iranian Moslems, but one of assimilation due to the increasingly close and friendly relations between the two. To quote a family who migrated to Australia in 1966:

> "The Government is Moslem. There is a problem with religion - Christians and Moslems. Moslems and Christians were starting to come together and intermarry. We were afraid that our children might intermarry with Moslems if we stayed in Iran".

In a number of cases the reconstitution of families was the motive for migration to Australia. The typical example was where parents migrated to be with children who had settled in Australia. Many of these older Armenians would not have come had their children intended to return to Iran. For example, there was a 55 year old Armenian widower whose daughter came to Australia for a visit and wanted to stay. As she was his only child he migrated also, although he did not want to leave Iran. Another was a 44 year old Armenian who sent his two eldest sons to the Armenian College in

Calcutta. When they finished school they did not want to return to Iran and instead migrated to Australia. He left Iran to join them, although again he would have preferred to stay in Iran.

Only about half of the respondents from Iran considered Australia their first choice as a possible destination, while the other half preferred to go to the United States or Canada. The principal reason the latter did not migrate to North America was that they could not obtain visas. They came to Australia instead because it was accepting immigrants and was the best choice of available destinations. Also, most (88 per cent) had friends or relations here. Seventy-two per cent were sponsored to come.

Only the occasional one knew more than a little about the country before arrival. The most common items of information were that: (1) there were job opportunities and a good economy; (2) it was a young developing country; (3) it was an English-speaking (Westernized) country; (4) the climate was good. That it was politically stable and Christian were not generally mentioned, although it can be assumed that these were also widely known. Most obtained their information from friends and relatives in Australia, while a few acquired it from official sources, such as the British Embassy in Tehran.

Migration from Turkey

Although the Turkish massacres and deportations of World War I reduced the Armenian population of Turkey to a fraction of its former size, only about 75,000 in 1927, the situation for the Armenians began to improve after the War. Except for an outbreak of violence in 1929 the Armenians in the post-War period were relatively unmolested and even occasionally looked upon with favour by their Turkish rulers. Their rights, however, which had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, were never fully respected, nor was any effort made by the other signatory powers to ensure that Turkey abided by the Treaty. This resulted in a ban on their re-settlement of their former lands. In fact, most of the areas of the former six Armenian vilayets of Eastern Turkey were declared a forbidden military zone. Only in Istanbul and a few other cities was it possible for them to

resume their communal life (Clarke and Fisher, 1972: 57-58, 72; Dekmejian, 1976: 28; Gibbons, 1925: 267-268; Lang and Walker, 1976: 15-16).

The World War II period, with its accompanying revival of Pan-Turkism, brought a change for the worse. The Armenians were once again subjected to burdensome and discriminatory taxes. Those who refused to pay the taxes were sent to Eastern Turkey and forced to labour in quarries and on roads. This period also saw the Turkish annexation of the Sanjak of Alexandretta, which resulted in another flood of Armenian refugees into the Arab lands (Lang and Walker, 1976: 15).

Since World War II the situation has improved, especially for those in Istanbul. Many have managed not only to make a good living but also to prosper and live quite comfortably, provided that they abstain from political activity. Armenians in the remote villages, however, are still being driven out. Most make their way to the Patriarchate in Istanbul. In general, Armenians are still considered second-class citizens in Turkey today (Jordan, 1978: 847, 851).

Only one serious outbreak of fanaticism has taken place since 1945. In September 1955 mobs formed and riots took place in Istanbul, accompanied by the looting and destruction of the property and shops of the Armenians and other minorities (Lang and Walker, 1976: 15). Today the Armenians are still a prominent part of Turkey's commercial life, although there has been a gradual reduction in the commercial prerogatives they previously enjoyed (Dekmejian, 1976: 28).

The official Turkish census of 1960 gave a national total of 52,756 primary Armenian speakers, 37,280 of whom reside in the Istanbul area. This was followed by the Mardin province with 10,232, the Kastamonu region with 1,204 and Sivas with 565. No other Turkish province had more than 500 primary Armenian speakers, while Van, once the heartland of Turkish Armenia, recorded only two (Lang and Walker, 1976: 16). This sparcity of Armenians in the interior is further illustrated by the fact that today there exist only three Armenian Churches in these areas (Jordan, 1978: 847).

Significant migration from Turkey to Australia did not start until the late 1960's. Most of these migrants wanted to leave Turkey because of the insecurity they felt in being Armenians in a country which had massacred Armenians - in a number of cases, the relatives of these migrants. Also, many felt that the fighting between the Turks and Greeks in Cyprus might lead to a backlash against other Christians in Turkey.

Most specifically chose Australia as a destination, although many had also considered migrating to Canada. Australia was selected for reasons similar to those given by Armenians from the Arab countries, that is, the climate was better and it was accepting migrants. The majority knew relatively little about Australia before deciding to migrate. The presence of friends or relatives had a major influence on this migration, as two-thirds were sponsored by one or the other.

Migration from Soviet Armenia

Before World War I only a minority of the Armenians lived in Transcaucasia. The majority (71 per cent) of these were peasants, although only half actually worked their own land. Of all the ethnic groups in Transcaucasia, the Armenians had the largest indigenous middle class, consisting of traders, professionals and industrial employees, and were the most urbanized. They were also the most widely dispersed, although two-thirds resided in Erevan Province (Pipes, 1959: 44-46).

The 30 years preceding the First World War constituted a period of peace, prosperity and growth, during which the population increased by natural means as well as immigration. The period between 1914 and 1926, however, was one of war, genocide and conquest, in the course of which the Armenian population declined - even though several hundred thousand refugees fled to the Russian Caucasus. According to Soviet estimates, the Armenian population of Transcaucasia declined by 500,000 between 1914 and 1920; 200,000 due to the Turkish and, presumably, Communist massacres and 300,000 from other causes, mostly famine and disease. As a result of these losses the demographic gains made before the War were entirely wiped out. In 1926

there were approximately 1,300,000 Armenians in Transcaucasia, of whom 744,000 resided in Soviet Armenia (Pipes, 1959: 48-49, 55).

In 1917 the Armenians took advantage of the Russian Revolution to establish an independent state. The internal situation in this new republic was wretched and the problems brought by the War - the total lack of outside assistance and the influx of destitute Turkish Armenian refugees - doomed it to failure. In 1920, under threat of invasion and annihilation by the Turks, the Republic was taken over by the Soviets who merged it with Georgia and Azerbaijan into a single Transcaucasian Federation in 1922. This federation, which was designed to wipe out local patriotism, lasted until 1936 when the three republics once again emerged as separate entities (Lang and Walker, 1976: 12).

Inclusion in the U.S.S.R. met with a certain amount of opposition from the Armenians, first because of the excesses they suffered at the hands of the newly established Soviet Regime[1] and later because of the Soviet policies which went against Armenian traditions and values (Lang, 1970: 290; Matossian, 1962: 214-217). In spite of these negative features the economic and social life of the Soviet Armenians made great progress, both before and especially after World War II.[2] The Soviet leadership under Stalin purposely set out to make Armenia a showplace and a mecca for the Armenian Diaspora all over the world and, following World War II, there was an active campaign to attract Armenians from abroad, with promises of special concessions and privileges (Lang and Walker, 1976: 13). This led to thousands migrating there, many of whom sorely regretted their decision because of the harsh conditions prevailing immediately after the War. By the 1950's, however,

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1 Shortly after taking over the Armenian Republic the Soviets stripped the Armenians of all food and possessions. These excesses and the general despair of the population soon provoked an uprising which deposed the local Soviet Regime. It was put down, however, and Soviet control restored (Lang and Walker, 1976: 12; Matossian, 1967: 67).

2 This economic and cultural resurgence of Soviet Armenia provoked acute dissentions in the Armenian Diaspora. The Dashnaks regarded the Soviet Union as an enemy only slightly better than the Turks, while others viewed Soviet Armenia as the only hope for preserving the national ethos (Lang and Walker, 1976: 13).

economic growth and an improvement in social conditions made Soviet Armenia much more attractive, resulting in more Armenians coming from Turkey, Persia and Lebanon. By the middle 1960's, more than 100,000 emigres from abroad had taken up residence in Soviet Armenia.

Today the Armenians comprise 88 per cent of the population of Soviet Armenia and this percentage is increasing because of the growing tendency of Soviet Armenians to concentrate in the Republic. Moreover, this population is becoming more urbanized and industrialized. The capital city of Erevan not only contains most of the industry, but also a third of the entire population of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, which numbered 2,790,000 in 1975 (Lang and Walker, 1976: 13).

The Armenians are somewhat privileged when compared to other Soviet nationalities. Not only do they enjoy a reasonably high standard of living, a health service highly acceptable by Middle East standards and excellent education facilities, they also enjoy the exceptional opportunities for promotion in the U.S.S.R., since they can compete freely for jobs in a vast labour and economic market. Moreover, the Armenian language is the first official language in the Republic, along with Russian, which makes Soviet Armenia the only region in the world where official business is conducted primarily in the Armenian vernacular.

The Armenian Church has continued to function in Soviet Armenia and even holds a privileged position in the eyes of the Soviet leaders because of its unifying role in the political sphere. Also, the Holy See at Etchmiadzin remains the spiritual centre for all Armenian Apostolic worshippers throughout the world. However, during the years of Soviet rule, the influence of the Church in Soviet Armenia has grown weaker.

Soviet influence has also been prevalent in transforming family and village life. The traditional extended family has disappeared, women now take a more active part outside the home and kin loyalties have been largely supplanted by loyalties to Soviet institutions. The collective has taken over the role of the traditional Armenian village organization. However, in the domestic sphere male dominance has persisted to a large extent

and the traditional division of labour between the sexes has survived (Matossian, 1962: 213).

The Armenian national consciousness has also survived. The Armenians of Soviet Armenia are becoming more nationalistic, not less, as the years go by. In recent times this strengthening of national feeling has caused certain manifestations of unrest within the Republic (Dadrian, 1967: 70-71).

The Armenian Survey found only 12 respondents who came from the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and one from elsewhere in the U.S.S.R., 10 of whom arrived since 1973. With the exception of one who had been born in Armenia, they all exhibited similar backgrounds and characteristics. They migrated to Soviet Armenia after World War II and two-thirds were children of former Turkish Armenian refugees who had fled to other Middle Eastern or European countries during or after World War I. Three-quarters had lived most of their lives in Armenia in urban areas and all held Soviet Armenian citizenship.

With the exception of one respondent, who had only a friend in Australia and was not sponsored, all had relatives here before migrating and all were sponsored by these relations.

Migration from Other Regions

Migration from Europe and North America

Although migration from Europe and North America increased substantially after 1962 its volume was never large. Two-thirds of the respondents from these areas came from Northern Europe, principally the United Kingdom and Germany, while a tenth came from countries of Southern and Eastern Europe. The rest came primarily from the United States. Two-thirds of all these migrants, however, originally came from Middle Eastern countries, principally Turkey, Iraq, Egypt and Jordan, and only a fifth had actually been born in Europe or North America. Another small number had been born in South or Southeast Asia - in India, Burma or Indonesia - from whence they migrated to the U.K.

Unlike migrants from other regions, almost half of these Armenians were financially assisted while only 40 per cent were sponsored. This high proportion of assisted and low proportion of sponsored migrants is directly attributable to the fact that many held the citizenship of a European country at the time they migrated and were therefore eligible for one of the many Australian immigration schemes. This was especially true for those who held British nationality and were living in the U.K. All of these had migrated to Britain from her territories or colonies but, finding the weather not to their liking, remigrated to Australia as British immigrants.

Migration from Other Countries

Half of the migration which originated in other countries came from non-Arab countries in Africa, principally Ethiopia, while a few respondents came from Cyprus, South America and Asia. There was nothing which could be termed a migrant stream from any of these countries and only Cyprus, Ethiopia and Brazil had functioning Armenian communities (Lang and Walker, 1976: 19; Simpson, 1939: 42, 461-462).

Like those who migrated from Europe, the majority had originally come from the Middle East and over half were of Turkish Armenian stock. At the time of migration a third were still citizens of Middle Eastern countries, while only a fifth held the citizenship of the country from which they migrated to Australia.

Although less than half were sponsored to come, four-fifths had relatives or friends in Australia prior to migration.

OVERVIEW OF ARMENIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

Introduction

The previous sections of this chapter have shown that Armenian migration to Australia from the different countries and regions and over the various periods of time has been characterized by substantial differences. It is therefore a complex phenomenon which does not lend itself to easy

generalizations. Nevertheless, it does manifest certain *common* features whose examination can aid in understanding the Armenian "migration process". This section will provide this broad picture of Armenian migration to Australia, covering those aspects which not only determined the particular character of this migration but also were to be important factors in the migrants' later settlement and adjustment.

Motivation for Migration to Australia

The causes of Armenian emigration, or the "push" factors, comprised a heterogeneous array ranging from physical threats to the spirit of adventure. Seldom was there a single factor which could be said to have prompted the emigration of individuals or families, but rather there were a number of inextricably related causes. Those which exerted the greatest influence on the decision to migrate were determined by the individual's personal values and attributes, which varied from migrant to migrant. Nevertheless, four broad categories, or levels, of "push" factors have been identified with respect to this emigration, ranging from societal/environmental factors, which tend to influence everyone in society, to those which are unique to certain individuals[1] (Table 3.2). These categories are not mutually exclusive, in that factors at a higher level are often linked to factors at lower levels. For example, some of the Armenian immigrants viewed the unstable political situations in their previous countries as threatening and wanted to leave before these situations got worse. For others, the principal reason for leaving was that family members, relatives, friends and other Armenians were leaving and they did not want to remain. To this latter group the political situation was considered of secondary importance if, indeed, it was perceived as having any direct influence on their decision to leave. However, in reality this second group was also being influenced by the political situation as it was one of the factors motivating the family members, relatives and other Armenians to leave. Consequently, on the higher level the political situation could be considered the underlying "cause" of both migrations while on the individual or family

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[1] Petersen (1958: 258) recognized these different levels of motivation when he stated "Few attempts are made to distinguish among underlying causes, facilitative environment, precipitants and motives".

Table 3.2

Causes of Armenian Emigration

Broad Category	Specific Causes Given	Number of Times Mentioned By 97 Interviewed Respondents	%[1] of Sample[2]	%[1] of Total Number of Replies
I. Societal/Environmental Factors	1. Political Instability/ Insecurity:	28	29	18
	2. Discrimination:			
	Religion	20	21	13
	Employment	5	5	3
	Race	2	2	1
	Other	4	4	3
	(Total)	31		20
	3. Deteriorating Economic Situation:	29	30	19
	4. War or the Likelihood of War with Israel:	11	11	7
	5. Nationalism of Host Population:	7	7	5
	Sub-Total of Replies	106		70
II. Primary Group Factors	1. Concern for Children's Future:	15	15	10
	2. To Join Other Family Members:	9	9	6
	3. "Mass Behaviour" - Family, Friends, Other Armenians Leaving:	6	6	4
	Sub-Total of Replies	30		20
III. Personal or Individual Factors	1. Adventure:	4	4	3
	2. More Personal Freedom:	4	4	3
	3. For Better Climate:	2	2	1
	4. Dislike of Moslems or Moslem Way-of-Life:	2	2	1
	Sub-Total of Replies	12		8
IV. Selective Factors	1. Job Required Move:	3	3	2
	2. Forced to Leave:	1	1	1
	Sub-Total of Replies	4		3
	Total Replies	152		101

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

[2] Because some members of the sample mentioned more than one reason the % of sample is given only for specific causes.

levels these Armenians wanted to emigrate for very different reasons.

The specific causes for emigrating which were given by the interviewed respondents indicate that the principal underlying stimuli for most of their migration were the sweeping political changes which took place in the colonial and developing countries in the wake of World War II. These changes unsettled and, in many cases, dislodged the Armenians from their previously secure social and economic positions in countries from Indonesia to Egypt, resulting in their losing the generally favoured status held up to this time. In many respects Armenian emigration can be viewed as a "barometer" of political change in these areas.

Of secondary importance were primary group factors, principally concern for their children's future. The personal/individual and selective factors accounted for relatively little emigration.

The desire, or even readiness, to emigrate does not, in itself, induce migration. The availability and characteristics of potential destinations must be taken into account, as well as the prospective migrant's knowledge of these destinations (Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1970: 11). These are usually referred to as the "pull" factors of the migration process.

The items of information about Australia of most concern to the interviewees dealt with the social/political environment and, to a lesser extent, the physical environment. Knowledge of the economic situation in Australia, although reasonably widespread, was less than either of the former. However, the two items of information most often mentioned were Australia's climate and the fact that ample employment opportunities were known to be available (Table 3.3).

The source of information on possible destinations is also thought to influence the selection process. Most of the migrants received some information from both "non-personal" sources, such as schools or government agencies, and from "personal" sources such as relatives and friends. About two-thirds of those interviewed received most of their information from this latter source. However, the extent of the individual interviewee's knowledge

Table 3.3

Knowledge of Australia Before Deciding to Migrate

Broad Category	Specific Item of Information Known	Number of Times Mentioned By 97 Interviewed Respondents	%[1] of Sample[2]	%[1] of Total Number of Replies
I. Physical Environment	1. Climate:	41	42	15
	2. Geography of Australia:			
	Mainly Urban Population	2	2	1
	Has Large Cities	1	1	-
	Agricultural	7	7	3
	Small Population	8	8	3
	Other	24	25	9
	(Total)	42		16
	3. Appearance of Country:	6	6	2
	Sub-Total of Replies	89		33
II. Social Environment	1. Political Factors:			
	Free Country	5	5	2
	Democratic Country	1	1	-
	Politically Stable	13	13	5
	Regulated Life	2	2	1
	English-Style Political System	12	12	5
	Safe and Secure	2	2	1
	(Total)	35		14
	2. English-Speaking:	10	10	4
	3. Westernized Country:	6	6	2
	4. Young Country:	12	12	5
	5. English Life Style:	5	5	2
	6. Low Crime Rate:	1	1	-
	7. What Australians are Like:			
	Friendly	7	7	3
	Unfriendly	1	1	-
	Lazy and Drunk	1	1	-
	Illiterate	1	1	-
	(Total)	10		4

.../contd.

Table 3.3 (contd.)

Broad Category	Specific Item Information Known	Number of Times Mentioned By 97 Interviewed Respondents	%[1] of Sample[2]	%[1] of Total Number of Replies
	8. Christian Country:	11	11	4
	9. Country Like America:	1	1	-
	10. Kind of Educational System:	3	3	1
	11. Has Social Service:	1	1	-
	12. Has Beaches and Gambling:	1	1	-
	13. No Discrimination:	1	1	-
	14. Backward Country:	2	2	1
	Sub-Total of Replies	99		37
III. Economic Environment	1. Plenty of Job Opportunities:	26	27	10
	2. Prosperous Country:	10	10	4
	3. Good Standard of Living:	1	1	-
	4. Good Economy:	6	6	2
	5. Level of Wages:	3	3	1
	6. Can Make Money:	4	4	2
	7. Good Economic Future:	6	6	2
	8. Could Buy House Easily:	6	6	2
	9. Children Could Make Living:	1	1	-
	10. Abundance of Everything:	3	3	1
	11. Can Buy Luxuries:	1	1	-
	12. Can Work and Study at Same Time:	2	2	1
	Sub-Total of Replies	69		26
IV. Individual Interests	1. Has Aborigines	1	1	-
	2. Country is Clean and Healthy:	1	1	-
	3. History of Australia:	5	5	2
	4. No Black People:	1	1	-
	Sub-Total of Replies	8		3
	Total Replies	265		99

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

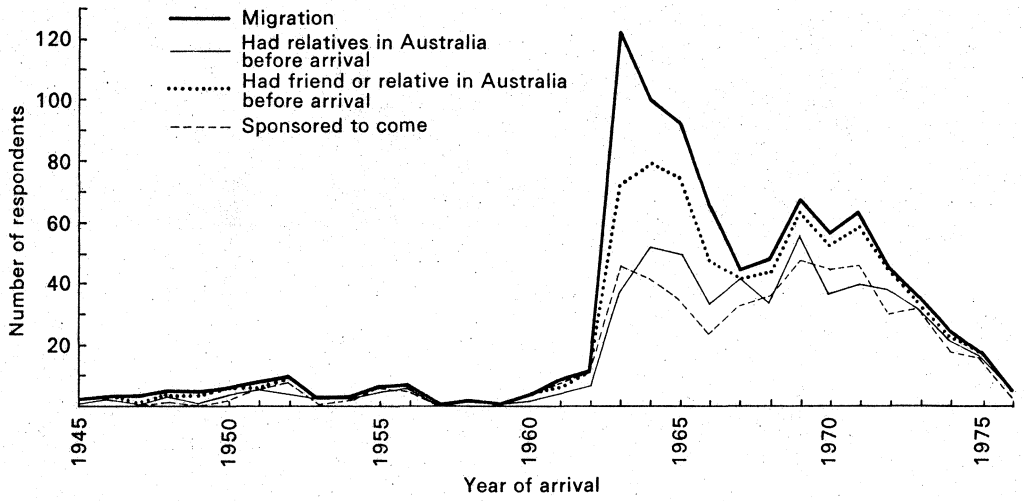
[2] Because some members of the sample mentioned more than one item of information, % of sample is given only for specific items of information.

of Australia - based on his or her own evaluation - appears unrelated to the source of information and neither appear to have been very influential in the selection of Australia as the preferred destination. In fact, the "information flow" seems to have played only a secondary role in the decision to migrate to Australia rather than elsewhere, which partially explains why over half of those interviewed had not selected Australia as their first choice of destination (Table 3.4).

Besides being an available and suitable destination, the other main attraction of Australia was the presence here of friends, relatives or family members. In fact, the availability of Australia as a possible place to settle largely depended upon having someone already living here who could serve as a sponsor. With the exception of the period 1962-64, when there was a large influx of unsponsored Armenian immigrants who had neither friends nor relatives in Australia, the great majority of the movement can be described as either family reunion or chain migration, with most Armenians migrating under the auspices of kinship and sponsored by friends, relatives or family members (Figure 3.3). The purpose of most of this movement was

Figure 3.3

Mode of Migration



the reconstitution of extended families and primary groups in Australia, as shown by the fact that, with the exception of those who came as unsponsored migrants in the 1962-64 period, the great majority of those who sponsored relatives and friends had themselves been sponsored by relatives and friends.

Table 3.4

Motivation for Migration: Information Flows

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=[2]	Extent of Knowledge of Australia Before Migrating								Most Information Obtained From[1]				Australia First Choice Destination			
		Very Much		Fair Amount		A Little		Nothing		Personal Sources		Non-Personal Sources		Yes		No	
		(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]
Arab Middle East																	
Egypt	25	(1)	4	(6)	24	(14)	56	(4)	16	(9)	36	(12)	48	(6)	24	(19)	76
Syria	6	(0)	0	(1)	17	(4)	67	(1)	17	(4)	67	(1)	17	(6)	100	(0)	0
Lebanon	13	(1)	8	(3)	23	(7)	54	(2)	15	(7)	54	(4)	31	(5)	38	(8)	62
Jordan (+ Israel)	11	(1)	9	(1)	9	(6)	67	(3)	27	(6)	55	(2)	18	(1)	9	(10)	91
Iraq	2	(1)	50	(1)	50	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	50	(1)	50	(1)	50	(1)	50
Other Arab ME	5	(2)	40	(2)	40	(1)	20	(0)	0	(2)	40	(3)	60	(3)	60	(2)	40
Sub-Total	62	(6)	10	(14)	23	(32)	52	(10)	16	(29)	47	(23)	37	(22)	35	(40)	65
Non-Arab Middle East																	
Turkey	3	(1)	33	(0)	0	(2)	67	(0)	0	(3)	100	(0)	0	(2)	67	(1)	33
Iran	14	(1)	7	(2)	14	(11)	79	(0)	0	(12)	86	(2)	14	(7)	50	(7)	50
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	1	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	100	(0)	0	(1)	100	(0)	0	(1)	100	(0)	0
Sub-Total	18	(2)	11	(2)	11	(14)	78	(0)	0	(16)	89	(2)	11	(10)	56	(8)	44
South, East and Southeast Asia																	
India	4	(1)	25	(2)	50	(1)	25	(0)	0	(2)	50	(2)	50	(4)	100	(0)	0
Indonesia	5	(5)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(4)	80	(1)	20	(5)	100	(0)	0
Other Asian	2	(0)	0	(0)	0	(1)	50	(1)	50	(1)	50	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	100
Sub-Total	11	(6)	55	(2)	18	(2)	18	(1)	9	(7)	64	(3)	27	(9)	82	(2)	18
Europe and North America	4	(1)	25	(2)	50	(1)	25	(0)	0	(4)	100	(0)	0	(2)	50	(2)	50
Other Countries	2	(1)	50	(0)	0	(1)	50	(0)	0	(1)	50	(1)	50	(2)	100	(0)	0
Total	97	(16)	16	(20)	21	(50)	52	(11)	11	(57)	59	(29)	30	(45)	46	(52)	54

[1] Only principal source of information.
[2] All interviewed respondents.
[3] All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

Consequently as the pool of those who wanted to join family and friends in Australia decreased in size, both the volume of migration and the number arriving as sponsored migrants declined.

Although there were significant differences between country and regional groups, overall, more than four-fifths of all the Survey respondents had friends, family members, or relatives in Australia before migration, while 58 per cent were sponsored to come - three-fourths by relatives or family members and the other fourth by friends. Almost all of those sponsored stayed with relatives or friends on arrival, and about half of all the respondents eventually sponsored others to come (Table 3.5).

The family reunion and chain migration processes are often thought to work only between the country of origin and the country of destination for a particular migrant stream. In the case of the Armenians they also apparently operated laterally between the various countries of origin, since not only were there kinship ties between different Armenian communities, but also substantial movements. Such connections served two purposes: first, they facilitated the spread of knowledge about Australia, especially the fact that Armenians were settling here and it contained a functioning Armenian community; second, increased migration from one community led to increased migration from other communities, for example, Egyptian Armenian immigrants sponsoring relatives from Jerusalem. This helps to explain the sudden upsurge in migration from almost all the Middle Eastern source countries which took place during the early 1960's.

The prior mobility of the Armenians can also be considered to have influenced their propensity to migrate to Australia.[1] Only from four source countries, all of them in the Arab Middle East, did more than half the respondents migrate direct to Australia from their places of birth. Overall, only 45 per cent migrated from their places of birth while a tenth

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1 Petersen (1958: 263) considers prior emigration to be the "principal" cause of emigration. Others (Goldstein, 1958; Rogers, 1969: 13) have shown that previous migratory behaviour is one of the more important migration differentials.

Table 3.5a

Chain Migration and Family Reunion

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Friends/Relatives in Australia[1] before Arrival						Stayed with Friends/Relatives[1] on Arrival					
		Friends		Relatives		Neither		Friends		Relatives		Neither	
		(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]
Arab Middle East													
Egypt	270	(53)	20	(151)	56	(65)	24	(14)	5	(110)	41	(146)	54
Syria	59	(13)	22	(34)	58	(12)	20	(10)	17	(29)	49	(20)	34
Lebanon	118	(28)	24	(71)	60	(19)	16	(23)	20	(58)	49	(37)	31
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(24)	28	(56)	64	(7)	8	(8)	9	(39)	45	(40)	46
Iraq	24	(6)	25	(13)	53	(4)	17	(4)	17	(11)	46	(9)	38
Other Arab ME	37	(10)	27	(25)	68	(2)	5	(1)	3	(16)	43	(20)	54
Sub-Total	595	(134)	23	(350)	59	(109)	18	(60)	10	(263)	44	(272)	46
Non-Arab Middle East													
Turkey	19	(4)	21	(10)	53	(5)	26	(5)	26	(11)	58	(4)	21
Iran	104	(24)	23	(68)	65	(12)	12	(15)	14	(47)	45	(42)	40
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(1)	8	(12)	92	(0)	0	(0)	0	(12)	92	(1)	8
Sub-Total	136	(29)	21	(90)	66	(17)	13	(20)	15	(70)	51	(46)	34
South, East and Southeast Asia													
India	40	(6)	15	(29)	73	(5)	13	(6)	15	(21)	53	(13)	33
Indonesia	19	(0)	0	(16)	84	(3)	16	(1)	5	(9)	47	(9)	47
Other Asia	16	(7)	44	(7)	44	(2)	13	(4)	25	(4)	25	(8)	50
Sub-Total	75	(13)	17	(52)	69	(10)	13	(11)	15	(34)	45	(30)	40
Europe and North America	59	(15)	25	(36)	61	(8)	14	(5)	9	(28)	48	(26)	44
Other Countries	24	(5)	21	(13)	54	(6)	25	(3)	13	(13)	54	(8)	33
Total	889	(196)	22	(541)	61	(150)	17	(99)	11	(408)	46	(382)	43

[1] This table does not include those cases where no answer was given or for which the answer could not be determined.

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

Table 3.5b

Chain Migration and Family Reunion

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Sponsored Migrant?[1] Yes (N=)	Yes %[2]	No (N=)	No %[2]	Sponsor was :[1] Friend (N=)	Friend %[2]	Relative (N=)	Relative %[2]	Other (N=)	Other %[2]	Sponsored Others[1] to Come Yes (N=)	Yes %[2]	No (N=)	No %[2]
Arab Middle East															
Egypt	270	(106)	39	(162)	60	(12)	4	(84)	31	(10)	4	(126)	47	(140)	52
Syria	59	(41)	70	(17)	29	(9)	15	(29)	49	(3)	5	(32)	54	(26)	44
Lebanon	118	(73)	62	(43)	36	(13)	11	(58)	49	(2)	2	(57)	48	(60)	51
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(76)	87	(11)	13	(23)	26	(43)	49	(9)	10	(45)	52	(40)	46
Iraq	24	(13)	54	(8)	33	(2)	8	(10)	42	(1)	4	(15)	63	(8)	33
Other Arab ME	37	(21)	57	(16)	43	(5)	14	(16)	43	(0)	0	(16)	43	(20)	54
Sub-Total	595	(330)	55	(257)	43	(64)	11	(240)	40	(25)	4	(291)	49	(294)	49
Non-Arab Middle East															
Turkey	19	(13)	68	(6)	32	(3)	16	(10)	53	(0)	0	(13)	68	(6)	32
Iran	104	(75)	72	(27)	26	(22)	21	(52)	50	(1)	1	(49)	47	(50)	48
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(12)	92	(1)	8	(0)	0	(12)	92	(0)	0	(6)	46	(7)	54
Sub-Total	136	(100)	74	(34)	25	(25)	18	(74)	54	(1)	1	(68)	50	(63)	46
South, East and Southeast Asia															
India	40	(29)	73	(11)	23	(9)	23	(19)	48	(1)	3	(17)	43	(22)	55
Indonesia	19	(13)	68	(6)	32	(3)	16	(10)	53	(0)	0	(8)	42	(11)	58
Other Asia	16	(6)	38	(10)	63	(4)	25	(2)	13	(0)	0	(9)	56	(7)	44
Sub-Total	75	(48)	64	(27)	36	(16)	21	(31)	41	(1)	1	(34)	45	(40)	53
Europe and North America	59	(27)	46	(32)	54	(5)	9	(20)	34	(2)	3	(26)	44	(31)	53
Other Countries	24	(11)	46	(12)	50	(2)	8	(8)	33	(1)	4	(12)	50	(12)	50
Total	889	(516)	58	(362)	41	(112)	13	(373)	42	(30)	3	(431)	48	(440)	49

[1] This table does not include those cases where no answer was given or for which the answer could not be determined.

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

had moved three or more times before eventually settling in Australia (Table 3.6).

Not only did the prior mobility of the Armenians from the different source countries vary, but also the patterns of their movements. These patterns, by country of birth, can be described as follows:

Egypt - The major part of the movement was internal and was characterized by movements from other areas of Egypt, including Alexandria to Cairo. Movement out of Egypt was largely in the North African area, principally to Libya and Sudan, and generally resulted in return movement to Egypt.

Syria - There was very little internal movement. The major portion of the movement out of Syria was to Lebanon, especially to Beirut.

Lebanon - There was very little internal movement. Movement out of Lebanon was scattered, although the majority of the moves were confined to the Middle East. Even the most mobile movers tended to return to Beirut.

Jordan (and Israel) - The principal pattern of movement was from Jerusalem to Amman.

Iraq - There was general internal movement towards Baghdad with most of the movers settling there either initially or after having resided outside the country for a period.

Iran - There was a great deal of internal movement, primarily from Isfahan to Tehran. For those who moved out of Iran the principal pattern was movement from Isfahan to Calcutta and then to Surabaya, Indonesia. There was also substantial migration from South and Southeast Asia either back to Iran or to Western countries.

Turkey - The Turkish Armenians exhibit the most complex patterns of movement. Most of the movers originated in one of three areas, the Istanbul area, Cilicia, or Sivas Province. Those from Istanbul, some of the most recent migrants to Australia, had mainly moved within the Middle East, although a number had been labour migrants in Europe. Those who originated in Cilicia moved mainly to Syria and thence to Beirut. The majority of those from the Sivas Province either

Table 3.6

Characteristics of the Migrants: Prior Mobility by Place of Birth

Region/Country of Birth	N=	Migrated to Australia[1] From Place of Birth[2]		Moved Only Once[1] Before Migrating to Australia		Moved 3+ Times[1] Before Migrating to Australia	
		(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]	(N=)	%[3]
Arab Middle East							
Egypt	255	(185)	73	(53)	21	(7)	3
Syria	88	(39)	44	(31)	35	(7)	8
Lebanon	79	(53)	67	(8)	10	(10)	13
Jordan (+ Israel)	82	(23)	28	(36)	44	(8)	10
Iraq	27	(8)	30	(10)	37	(1)	4
Other Arab ME	9	(5)	56	(2)	22	(1)	11
Sub-Total	540	(313)	58	(140)	26	(34)	6
Non-Arab Middle East							
Turkey	119	(15)	13	(40)	34	(29)	24
Iran	147	(41)	28	(67)	46	(18)	12
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	9	(0)	0	(3)	33	(1)	11
Sub-Total	275	(56)	20	(110)	40	(48)	17
South, East and Southeast Asia							
India	24	(12)	50	(4)	17	(4)	17
Indonesia	11	(4)	36	(1)	9	(4)	36
Other Asian	8	(0)	0	(5)	63	(0)	0
Sub-Total	43	(16)	37	(10)	23	(8)	19
Europe and North America	23	(7)	30	(12)	52	(1)	4
Other Countries	8	(4)	50	(2)	25	(0)	0
Total	889	(396)	45	(274)	31	(91)	10

[1] This table does not include those cases where no answer was given or for which the answer could not be determined.

[2] City of birth. If respondent moved to another city in same country it is counted as a move.

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

migrated directly to, or eventually ended up in Cairo. One other pattern which is quite prevalent with respect to earlier migration from Turkey was considerable movement to Greece followed by remigration to Egypt.

A number of these patterns follow the general trend of movement throughout the Middle East since World War II - that is, movement from other parts of the country to the capital city, especially in those countries where the capital city has primacy (Choucri, 1977: 8; Ibrahim, 1975: 34-38). For the Armenians, it was not only the attraction of urban areas which stimulated their movement but also the increasing development of the Armenian communities in these capital cities. For this reason, the larger communities tended to grow even larger due to the influx of Armenians from the outlying areas. Also, much of the movement across national boundaries was from one of these major communities to another.

It can be assumed that this prior mobility had a conditioning effect on much of their later migration to Australia. Also, the fact that substantial emigration from many of the major source countries did not commence until an Armenian community was known to be firmly established in Australia, must be considered to have influenced the decision of many respondents to migrate here.

Characteristics of the Migration and the Migrants

Migration Finance

Although a substantial number of the Survey respondents were sponsored by the government, especially those from Egypt, only eight per cent actually received any assistance with their passage. Almost all of these were living in European countries at the time they migrated, indicating that they probably came under one of the European migrant schemes. The 92 per cent who paid their full fares and the fares of their families were often required to liquidate most or all of their assets. This factor was very important with regard to their adjustment in Australia (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7

Characteristics of Armenian Migration to Australia

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Migration Finance[1]				Migrating Unit[1]				Planned to Settle Permanently[1] in Australia					
		Assisted		Unassisted		Individual		Family		Yes		No		Undecided	
		(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]
Arab Middle East															
Egypt	270	(7)	3	(262)	97	(115)	43	(154)	57	(260)	96	(0)	0	(4)	2
Syria	59	(1)	2	(57)	97	(22)	37	(36)	61	(54)	92	(0)	0	(3)	5
Lebanon	118	(5)	4	(113)	96	(78)	66	(39)	33	(97)	82	(1)	1	(18)	15
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(6)	7	(81)	93	(47)	55	(38)	44	(80)	92	(1)	1	(4)	5
Iraq	24	(1)	4	(23)	96	(9)	38	(14)	58	(20)	83	(0)	0	(3)	13
Other Arab ME	37	(1)	3	(36)	97	(18)	49	(18)	49	(31)	84	(2)	5	(3)	8
Sub-Total	595	(21)	4	(572)	96	(289)	49	(299)	50	(542)	91	(4)	1	(35)	6
Non-Arab Middle East															
Turkey	19	(3)	16	(16)	84	(4)	21	(15)	79	(18)	95	(0)	0	(1)	5
Iran	104	(1)	1	(103)	99	(33)	32	(68)	65	(62)	60	(6)	6	(30)	29
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(1)	8	(12)	92	(1)	8	(12)	92	(13)	100	(0)	0	(0)	0
Sub-Total	136	(5)	4	(131)	96	(38)	28	(95)	70	(93)	68	(6)	4	(31)	23
South, East and Southeast Asia															
India	40	(0)	0	(40)	100	(20)	50	(18)	45	(35)	88	(0)	0	(2)	5
Indonesia	19	(2)	11	(17)	90	(9)	47	(10)	53	(16)	84	(1)	5	(2)	11
Other Asian	16	(7)	44	(9)	56	(3)	19	(13)	81	(13)	81	(1)	6	(2)	13
Sub-Total	75	(9)	12	(66)	88	(32)	43	(41)	55	(64)	85	(2)	3	(6)	8
Europe and North America	59	(33)	56	(26)	44	(25)	42	(33)	56	(44)	75	(5)	9	(8)	14
Other Countries	24	(5)	21	(19)	79	(13)	54	(11)	46	(19)	79	(0)	0	(5)	21
Total	889	(73)	8	(814)	92	(397)	45	(479)	54	(762)	86	(17)	2	(85)	10

[1] This table does not include those cases where no answer was given or for which the answer could not be determined.
[2] All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

Structure of the Migrating Unit

The structure of the migrating unit, defined as the composition of the social unit making the move (Choldin, 1973: 166) was predominantly that of the nuclear family. Just over half (54 per cent) of the Survey respondents migrated in such units and in no migrant stream did more than two-thirds of the respondents arrive outside these units. Only 10 per cent of the married respondents came separately from their families, and in two-thirds of these cases they were reunited with their families within a year.

Most of those who had married prior to migration had well-established families when they arrived in Australia. Only three per cent had been married less than one year and 21 per cent less than five years, while 42 per cent had been married for 16 or more years. These characteristics are also depicted in the age structure of the respondents on arrival. Only eight per cent were under 20 years old while 61 per cent were over 30. As could be expected, those migration streams with the highest percentages of married respondents also had the greatest numbers in the older age groups (Table 3.8).

It does not appear that marriage, the presence of dependent children or the age of the family head deterred, to any noticeable extent, the migration of Armenians to Australia. With the possible exception of age, these characteristics indicate a fairly normal immigration situation (Encel *et al.*,1972: 62).

Permanent Settlement in Australia

With the exception of those Armenians who came from Iran, at least three-fourths of each country group migrated with the idea of settling permanently, while the overall percentage in this category was 86 per cent. Only two per cent, mainly those from Europe and Iran, migrated to Australia with the idea of remaining only temporarily, while another 10 per cent, predominantly from Iran and Lebanon, were initially undecided about settling. The high percentage of those who intended to remain permanently can be assumed to be due, at least in part, to the fact that many of these migrants

Table 3.8

Characteristics of the Migrants:
Age Structure, Conjugal Status and Life-Cycle Stage on Arrival by Last Country of Residence

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Age Structure[1]												Conjugal Condition[1]				Family Life-Cycle Stage of Those Married[1]							
		0-14		15-19		20-29		30-49		50-59		60+		Married		Single		No Children		Dependent Children		Adult Children		Old Age	
		(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]	(N=)	%[2]
Arab Middle East																									
Egypt	270	(8)	3	(21)	8	(81)	30	(116)	43	(29)	11	(15)	6	(154)	57	(116)	43	(18)	7	(84)	31	(44)	16	(5)	2
Syria	59	(2)	3	(1)	2	(18)	31	(32)	54	(3)	5	(3)	5	(39)	66	(20)	34	(2)	3	(27)	46	(8)	14	(1)	2
Lebanon	118	(2)	2	(5)	4	(55)	47	(45)	38	(5)	4	(6)	5	(52)	44	(66)	56	(5)	4	(38)	32	(8)	7	(2)	2
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(1)	1	(6)	7	(37)	43	(30)	34	(11)	13	(2)	2	(43)	49	(43)	49	(5)	6	(26)	30	(10)	12	(1)	1
Iraq	24	(0)	0	(0)	0	(4)	17	(17)	71	(3)	13	(0)	0	(19)	79	(5)	21	(2)	8	(13)	54	(2)	8	(1)	4
Other Arab ME	37	(0)	0	(2)	5	(13)	35	(14)	38	(7)	19	(1)	3	(19)	51	(17)	46	(3)	8	(10)	27	(6)	16	(0)	0
Sub-Total	595	(13)	2	(35)	6	(208)	35	(254)	43	(58)	10	(27)	5	(326)	55	(267)	45	(35)	6	(198)	33	(78)	13	(10)	2
Non-Arab Middle East																									
Turkey	19	(0)	0	(0)	0	(0)	0	(14)	74	(4)	21	(1)	5	(17)	90	(2)	11	(0)	0	(12)	63	(5)	26	(0)	0
Iran	104	(1)	1	(8)	8	(20)	19	(53)	51	(15)	14	(6)	6	(79)	76	(25)	24	(12)	12	(41)	39	(24)	23	(2)	2
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(0)	0	(0)	0	(2)	15	(7)	54	(2)	15	(2)	15	(12)	92	(1)	8	(0)	0	(8)	62	(4)	31	(0)	0
Sub-Total	136	(1)	1	(8)	6	(22)	16	(74)	54	(21)	15	(9)	7	(108)	79	(28)	21	(12)	9	(61)	45	(33)	24	(2)	1
South, East and Southeast Asia																									
India	40	(0)	0	(2)	5	(10)	25	(16)	40	(7)	18	(5)	13	(26)	65	(13)	33	(2)	5	(12)	30	(10)	25	(2)	5
Indonesia	19	(1)	5	(1)	5	(4)	21	(7)	37	(5)	26	(1)	5	(11)	58	(8)	42	(5)	26	(3)	16	(4)	21	(0)	0
Other Asia	16	(1)	6	(0)	0	(4)	25	(8)	50	(3)	19	(0)	0	(13)	81	(3)	19	(4)	25	(6)	38	(3)	19	(0)	0
Sub-Total	75	(2)	3	(3)	4	(18)	24	(31)	41	(15)	20	(6)	8	(50)	67	(24)	32	(11)	15	(21)	28	(17)	23	(2)	3
Europe and North America	59	(0)	0	(2)	3	(18)	31	(31)	53	(4)	7	(4)	7	(37)	63	(22)	37	(5)	9	(21)	36	(8)	14	(2)	3
Other Countries	24	(0)	0	(1)	4	(9)	38	(10)	42	(4)	17	(0)	0	(13)	54	(11)	46	(1)	4	(10)	42	(3)	13	(0)	0
Total	889	(16)	2	(49)	6	(275)	31	(400)	45	(102)	11	(46)	5	(534)	60	(352)	40	(64)	7	(311)	35	(139)	16	(16)	2

[1] This table does not include those cases where no answer was given or for which the answer could not be determined.
[2] All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

were prevented from returning to their former countries of residence. On the other hand, those who did not intend to settle permanently, or who were undecided, came mainly from those countries which did not prevent or hinder them from returning.

Being married and arriving in a family unit also had some influence on the respondent's intention to remain, as 88 per cent of the married migrants planned to settle permanently compared to 82 per cent of those who were single. There were also twice as many single as married migrants who were undecided.

Education and Occupations of the Migrants

The educational and qualification levels of those respondents from the Middle Eastern regions were similar while these, in turn, differed substantially from those of the other regions (Table 3.9). Within each region, however, there were considerable fluctuations between country groups. Overall, 61 per cent of the Survey respondents had completed some secondary schooling and 17 per cent had tertiary education, with the average number of years of formal schooling for males being 9.4.

This fairly high level of education, especially in comparison to Middle Eastern peoples, is reflected in the occupations the respondents held prior to migrating to Australia. Thirty-eight per cent were in professional or other white collar jobs while 34 per cent were skilled tradesmen. With the exception of those from Egypt, the greatest percentages of those from the Arab countries were in the skilled trades, while in the groups from the other regions the greatest numbers were white collar workers.

Seventy-six per cent of the respondents held no formal qualifications when they arrived in Australia. This figure, however, does not give a true picture of the skill level of these Armenians. In most of the Middle Eastern countries trades were primarily learned "on-the-job" while apprenticed to a tradesman. No formal ticket, certificate, or licence was issued upon completion of the training - one simply went to work on one's own. For these reasons a consideration of only formal qualifications is somewhat misleading.

Table 3.9

Characteristics of the Migrants: Socio-Economic Status at Arrival by Country of Last Residence [1]

Region/Country of Last Residence	N=	Educational Attainment of Migrants: Primary [2] (N=)	% [10]	Secondary [3] (N=)	% [10]	Tertiary [4] (N=)	% [10]	Qualification Level of Migrants on Arrival [5]: None (N=)	% [10]	Technical (N=)	% [10]	Tertiary (N=)	% [10]	Pre-Migration Occupations: Professional, etc. [6] (N=)	% [10]	Tradesmen [7] (N=)	% [10]	Service [8] (N=)	% [10]	Other [9] (N=)	% [10]
Arab Middle East																					
Egypt	270	(68)	25	(129)	48	(58)	21	(188)	70	(30)	11	(35)	13	(118)	44	(80)	30	(11)	4	(9)	3
Syria	59	(36)	61	(22)	37	(1)	2	(56)	95	(3)	5	(0)	0	(7)	12	(33)	56	(0)	0	(6)	10
Lebanon	118	(66)	56	(36)	31	(13)	11	(101)	86	(5)	4	(8)	7	(33)	28	(54)	46	(14)	12	(1)	1
Jordan (+ Israel)	87	(34)	39	(40)	46	(10)	11	(77)	89	(2)	2	(5)	6	(27)	31	(41)	47	(8)	9	(2)	2
Iraq	24	(9)	39	(10)	42	(4)	17	(19)	79	(2)	8	(2)	8	(9)	38	(10)	42	(0)	0	(0)	0
Other Arab ME	37	(8)	22	(21)	57	(6)	16	(28)	76	(3)	8	(3)	8	(14)	38	(14)	38	(2)	5	(0)	0
Sub-Total	595	(221)	37	(258)	43	(92)	15	(469)	79	(45)	8	(53)	9	(208)	35	(232)	39	(35)	6	(18)	3
Non-Arab Middle East																					
Turkey	19	(17)	89	(1)	5	(1)	5	(18)	95	(0)	0	(1)	5	(8)	42	(8)	42	(0)	0	(2)	11
Iran	104	(27)	26	(60)	58	(12)	12	(81)	78	(11)	11	(6)	6	(44)	42	(28)	27	(3)	3	(7)	7
Soviet Armenia (+ USSR)	13	(4)	31	(3)	23	(4)	31	(9)	69	(1)	8	(1)	8	(5)	38	(4)	31	(1)	8	(0)	0
Sub-Total	136	(48)	35	(64)	47	(17)	13	(108)	79	(12)	9	(8)	6	(57)	42	(40)	29	(4)	3	(9)	7
South, East and Southeast Asia																					
India	40	(1)	3	(25)	63	(9)	23	(23)	58	(4)	10	(7)	18	(22)	55	(6)	15	(1)	3	(1)	3
Indonesia	19	(2)	11	(11)	58	(4)	21	(15)	79	(0)	0	(2)	11	(10)	53	(2)	11	(0)	0	(1)	5
Other Asia	16	(2)	13	(5)	31	(6)	38	(8)	50	(1)	6	(4)	25	(11)	69	(0)	0	(3)	19	(0)	0
Sub-Total	75	(5)	7	(41)	55	(19)	25	(46)	61	(5)	7	(13)	17	(43)	57	(8)	11	(4)	5	(2)	3
Europe and North America	59	(13)	22	(18)	31	(21)	36	(32)	54	(5)	9	(16)	27	(20)	34	(15)	25	(4)	7	(1)	2
Other Countries	24	(8)	33	(13)	54	(2)	8	(21)	88	(1)	4	(2)	8	(7)	29	(10)	42	(0)	0	(1)	4
Total	889	(295)	33	(394)	44	(151)	17	(676)	76	(68)	8	(92)	10	(335)	38	(305)	34	(47)	5	(31)	3

1 Tables do not include those cases where no answer was given or the answer could not be determined.
2 Includes respondents with 8 years or less of formal education.
3 Includes respondents with 9 to 12 years of formal education.
4 Includes respondents with 13+ years of formal education.
5 Excludes those not in work force. Percentages are proportions of all respondents.
6 Includes those in the Professional, Technical, Administrative, Clerical and Sales Workers.
7 Includes Process-workers, and Labourers.
8 Includes Service, Sport, Recreational Workers and Protective Services.
9 Includes Agricultural Workers, Miners, etc., Transport and Communications.
10 All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole percentage point.

Although there are no means by which to compare the education attainment and qualification levels of these Armenians with those who did not emigrate, it is reasonable to assume that the respondents' relatively high level of education contributed to their propensity to migrate, since they were probably well aware of different opportunities and alternative places of residence or settlement. Also, the large percentage of Armenians in white collar jobs supports the proposition that migration for the Armenians tended to be selective with respect to higher status occupations, no matter what the occupational structure of the source community.

Religion

Ninety-two per cent of the respondents were members of one of the three Armenian Churches - 79 per cent were Armenian Apostolics, 10 per cent were Armenian Catholics and three per cent were Armenian Evangelicals. In addition, three per cent were classed as other Protestants and one per cent were Roman Catholics. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Armenian Catholics are almost certainly underrepresented; they are probably closer to 13 per cent of the Sydney Armenian population. Also, there may have been more Roman Catholics and Protestants but, as they are outside the Armenian Churches, it is probable that their contact with other Armenians is very limited, if there is any contact at all, and by being a member of one of these other churches, they are probably more absorbed into Australian life. Both of these factors would increase their chances of having been excluded from the Survey and they too may be underrepresented.

Languages

The Armenians have traditionally been thought to possess an affinity for languages since throughout recorded history they have served as middlemen and interpreters. This ability to speak other languages, however, can be attributed to the fact that often they have had to learn other languages in order to survive. Of the Armenians who came to Australia, less than two per cent spoke only one language upon arrival while more than 70 per cent spoke three or more. Twenty-five per cent spoke five or more. The principal languages spoken were: Armenian (93 per cent), English (81 per cent), Arabic (65 per cent), French (40 per cent), and Turkish (42 per cent). In all,

the Armenians who migrated to Australia spoke a total of 35 different languages.

THE NATURE OF ARMENIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA: VOLUNTARY MIGRATION OR A REFUGEE MOVEMENT?

> "Traditionally, international migration has been divided into voluntary or planned transplantation and involuntary or forced migration, comprising refugees, displaced persons and forced labourers. However, voluntary migration is not always so voluntary. It is at times difficult to determine whether an individual emigrates of his own free will or because of anxieties over anticipated persecution which may, or may not, materialize. Psychologically, a voluntary migrant may be as much a refugee as an involuntary migrant" (Weinberg, 1955).

Although "involuntary migrant" and "refugee" are often used synonymously, to the sociologist the former term is much broader and encompasses not only those persons generally referred to as refugees but all persons expelled or forced to flee their home community, no matter what term is used to describe them (Beijer, 1969: 17). This broad sociological definition is adopted partly because of the confusion which continues to surround the term "refugee" (David, 1969: 71). Although generally applied to individuals who left their homeland under certain pressures - political, social, economic or religious in nature - whether or not such flight is deemed voluntary or involuntary is often only a matter of personal perception, even where the individual made a voluntary decision to leave. Accepting this view, the difference between the voluntary immigrant and the refugee is really more a matter of degree than type (Bernard, 1976: 267-269).

An examination of the most common differences associated with these two kinds of movement, however, can aid in an understanding of the nature of Armenian migration to Australia. There appear to be five basic differences: (1) immigrants generally come from the relatively disadvantaged classes or groups who have had less opportunities and fewer rights - economically, socially and politically - while refugees usually represent all classes of a given society, or, where they may be only an ethnic, political, racial or religious segment of the population, they are usually representative of all

grades and classes within that segment; (2) immigrants are usually concentrated in one or more age groups and occupational categories, while refugees are usually from all age groups, both sexes and all educational and occupational levels and categories (although in modern times the higher levels predominate); also, refugees have generally had more schooling and more professional training than immigrants; (3) immigrants often have friends or relatives who preceded them and told them about the new country, even though the information acquired was often unreliable or at best partial, while refugees usually have no time to acquire any information at all; (4) immigrants usually migrate with the intention of settling while refugees, at least initially, considered their moves only temporary; (5) the volume of migration of immigrants is generally small in scale, while refugee movement is usually large-scale or mass migration.

Putting the characteristics of the Armenians who migrated to Australia in this framework it is obvious that in some ways they resemble refugees while in others, immigrants. A consideration of the causes of most of the Armenian migration, however, places it within the sociological definition of "involuntary migration", even though 92 per cent of the respondents stated that they were not forced to leave. This kind of migration can therefore best be described by what Petersen (1958: 261), in his typology of migration, referred to as "impelled" migration - involuntary migration in which the migrants retain some power to decide whether or not to leave. The smaller number who came because of personal or individual reasons would thus be "free" migrants, to again use Petersen's (1958: 263) term for voluntary immigrants.

FUTURE ARMENIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

After 1971 Armenian immigration declined steadily to the point where, by 1976, it represented only a handful of new arrivals. Since that time, however, it has apparently increased significantly due to a new flow of migrants from the Middle East, primarily from Lebanon and Iran. Although the actual number who have arrived is not known, it has been estimated by leaders of the Sydney Apostolic Church to be around 40 families per year.

The principal reasons for this new influx of Armenians from the Middle East are clear. The Lebanese situation is still very unstable and the Armenians, especially recently, have suffered great casualties and property losses in the sectarian fighting in and around Beirut. As this situation is far from being resolved, Armenian emigration from Lebanon is likely to continue for some time.

The situation in Iran is not only more recent but also of much greater concern to the Armenians there. Besides severely disrupting the economy, the Moslem fervour being displayed throughout Iran places the Christian Armenian minority in a position reminiscent of the Egyptian Armenians during the late 1950's and early 1960's. For similar reasons it is likely that Armenians will continue leaving Iran, and probably in even greater numbers, in the foreseeable future.

Increased emigration from these two countries will almost surely mean increased Armenian migration to Australia. However, the characteristics of this movement will probably resemble past Armenian immigration, in that most will consist of the chain migration of sponsored migrants. Thus, unless large numbers are accepted as unsponsored refugees, it is felt that no large increase in the Australian Armenian population is likely in the foreseeable future.