

Socio-cultural interaction of Arab
immigration groups with Australian host
society (Jordanian migrants - case study)

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy

Kais Al-momani

University of Technology, Sydney

August 2008

Certificate of Authorship/ Originality

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature

Kais Al-momani

DEDICATION

To my wonderful parents for their amazing love and support and all my fantastic brothers and sisters for their encouragement and faith in me

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people I need to thank and acknowledge. The thesis would never have been written without the help of the following.

First and foremost, I want to thank the Jordanian community in Sydney who spoke with me and allowed me to include their letters. Although names cannot be used I thank you for your time and trust. I also wish you well for the future.

I am indebted to Dani Dados-Lima, John Cochrane, Lorraine Shannon and Raya Massie for their friendship, comments and editing abilities. Katherine Carroll, Suyin Hor, Elisa Impara, Wafa Chafic, Astrid Lorange, Amy Chen, James Stuart, Maen Takruri, Mohammad Hatab, Mohamad Momani, Mohamad Al-Jaafari, Akram Al-Sukkar, Mohammad Al-Shboul and Juleigh Slater have all been invaluable colleagues throughout my time at UTS.

I thank my supervisor Devleena Ghosh for sharing with me her extensive knowledge of the field and for her clear and constructive feedback which guided me through the whole process and enabled me to produce the best work possible - thank you very much.

Love and thanks to my wife Nour for her amazing support, for tirelessly proofreading the thesis from its first incarnation to the final document and for giving unfailing support and encouragement. Thank you

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	III
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	IV
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
LIST OF TABLES	IX
ABSTRACT	X
THESIS INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	15
MIGRATION AND ITS RESEARCH	15
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	15
1.1 DEFINING MIGRATION.....	15
1.2 A MOVING WORLD: IMMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION	20
1.3 MIGRATION STUDIES WITH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	21
1.3.1 REVIEW OF MIGRATION STUDIES	21
1.3.2 MIGRATION NETWORKS	25
1.3.3 MIGRATION AND ETHNICITY	28
1.3.4 DIASPORA.....	32
1.4 ASSIMILATION OR ACCULTURATION	34
1.5 BEYOND ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION: ADAPTATION	38
1.6 CONCLUSION.....	41
CHAPTER TWO	43
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK – A LITERATURE REVIEW	43
2.0 BRIEF HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION.....	43
2.1 FROM CONVICTS TO ETHNICS.....	44
2.2 CHANGES IN AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY	47
2.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.....	50
2.4 AUSTRALIAN MULTICULTURALISM	52
2.5 ARABS IN AUSTRALIA	57
2.6 ASPECTS OF ARABIC MIGRATION STUDIES IN AUSTRALIA	58
2.7 IDENTITY AND VALUES FOR ARABS IN AUSTRALIA.....	64
2.8 STEREOTYPES OF ARABS IN AUSTRALIA.....	65
2.9 THE JORDANIANS IN AUSTRALIA	66
2.10 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	68
2.11 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	70
2.12 INTERVIEW QUESTION.....	70
2.13 INTERVIEW SITUATION	70
2.14 METHODOLOGY.....	71
2.14.1 RECRUITMENT	72
2.14.2 CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF INFORMANTS.....	73
2.14.3 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS.....	73
2.14.4 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES	74
2.14.5 CASE STUDY	74
2.14.6 ETHICAL ISSUES	74
2.15 CONCLUSION	75
CHAPTER THREE	76
ASPECTS OF JORDANIAN MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA	76
3.0 INTRODUCTION.....	76
3.1 REASONS FOR IMMIGRATION	77
3.2 JORDAN (THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN)	79
3.3 THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN JORDAN	80

3.4 THE JORDANIAN-BORN COMMUNITY (AUSTRALIA)	80
3.4.1 AGE AND SEX	81
3.4.2 QUALIFICATIONS	82
3.4.3 EMPLOYMENT	83
3.4.4 CITIZENSHIP	84
3.4.5 LANGUAGE	84
3.4.6 RELIGION.....	85
3.4.7 ANCESTRY	86
3.4.8 MEDIAN INCOME	87
3.4.9 ARRIVAL	87
3.5 SOCIAL RELATIONS OF MIGRATION: THE SHAPING OF JORDANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN SYDNEY.....	88
3.6 BACKGROUND OF ARABS AND JORDANIANS IN AUSTRALIA	88
3.7 ARAB PRESENCE IN AUSTRALIA	89
3.8 JORDANIAN PRESENCE IN AUSTRALIA	93
3.8.1 THE AUSTRALIAN – JORDANIAN SOCIETY	94
3.8.2 CULTURAL TRADITION OF JORDANIANS IN AUSTRALIA.....	95
3.9 SETTLEMENT	96
3.10 ASPECTS OF JORDANIAN MIGRATION	97
3.10.1 COMMUNITY BUILDING	97
3.10.2 NEW NETWORKS	100
3.10.3 MAINTAINING LINKS WITH HOME	100
3.10.4 SUCCESS, AND THE FEAR OF FAILURE	102
3.11 ECONOMIC LIFE	105
3.12 SOCIAL LIFE.....	109
3.13 FAMILY LIFE FOR JORDANIAN CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS IN AUSTRALIA.....	116
3.14 CONCLUSION	119
CHAPTER FOUR.....	120
ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION: SOCIAL INTERACTION OF JORDANIANS IN AUSTRALIA	120
4.0 INTRODUCTION	120
4.1 ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION.....	121
4.2 CULTURAL CHANGE	123
4.2.1 LANGUAGE	132
4.2.2 RELIGION.....	134
4.2.3 FAMILY LIFE	137
4.3 TRADITION AND CHANGE	139
4.3.1 FAMILY VALUES.....	140
4.3.2 MARRIAGE	142
4.3.3 LANGUAGE.....	143
4.3.4 LANGUAGE BARRIER.....	145
4.3.5 NATIONAL BELONGING	146
4.3.6 RELIGION.....	147
4.4 NEGOTIATION AND EXCHANGE	147
4.4.1 WORK.....	148
4.4.2 RESIDENCE	149
4.4.3 DISCRIMINATION	149
4.4.4 ISOLATION	151
4.5 HYBRIDITY IN THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION.....	152
4.6 A JORDANIAN WEDDING IN SYDNEY	157
4.7 CONCLUSION	160
CHAPTER FIVE.....	162
SOCIAL MOBILITY WITHIN ETHNIC COMMUNITY	162
5.0 INTRODUCTION.....	162
5.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	162
5.2 CLAIMING MEANING IN COMMUNITY FORMATIONS.....	166
5.3 OCCUPATION	168
5.4 INCOME	169

5.5 EDUCATION	171
5.6 BECOMING AUSTRALIAN: EXPERIENCE OF LIFE	173
5.7 A SUCCESSFUL IMMIGRANT MAN IN SYDNEY FROM JORDAN	175
5.8 MAJED: FROM JORDAN TO SYDNEY: A LONG WAY TO GO.....	179
5.9 SOCIAL ORGANISATION	181
5.10 VISITING PATTERNS	182
5.11 PATTERNS OF FRIENDSHIP.....	183
5.12 CONCLUSION	184
CHAPTER SIX.....	186
JORDANIANS AND ANTI-ARAB DISCRIMINATION IN AUSTRALIA.....	186
6.0 INTRODUCTION.....	186
6.1 COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP IN THE PLAYGROUND OF DIFFERENCE	187
6.2 THE ARAB EXPERIENCE OF AUSTRALIA.....	190
6.3 DISCRIMINATION AND THE ARABIC-SPEAKING COMMUNITY	192
6.4 FOLK-DEVILS	193
6.5 FROM STEREOTYPES TO DISCRIMINATION.....	194
6.6 REPORTS ON ANTI-ARAB DISCRIMINATION	195
6.7 COMMUNITY RESPONSES.....	198
6.8 DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCED BY JORDANIAN INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS	208
6.9 TARGETED COMMUNITIES: CREATING ENEMIES IN OUR MIDST.....	212
6.10 CONCLUSION	217
CHAPTER SEVEN	218
CONCLUSION.....	218
7.0 INTRODUCTION.....	218
7.1 REFLECTIONS	221
7.2 POPULATION HIGHLIGHTS	222
7.2 PROCESSES AND SETTLEMENT OUTCOMES.....	223
7.3 THE STUDY WITHIN MIGRATION DEBATES.....	225
7.4 FROM SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERACTION TO MIGRATION EXPERIENCES	225
7.5 INTERACTION WITH THE HOST SOCIETY	227
7.6 IDENTITY AND BELONGING	227
7.7 INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY	229
7.8 GENERATIONAL CONFLICT	229
7.9 STEREOTYPES AND CIVIL RIGHTS.....	231
7.10 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	231
APPENDICES	233
APPENDIX 1 HALAL FOOD CERTIFICATE.....	233
APPENDIX 2 INTERVIEW QUESTION.....	235
APPENDIX 3	236
BIBLIOGRAPHY	237

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Settler arrivals in Australia: October 1945-June 2005	11
Figure 2: The Jordanian-Born Community (Australia).....	81
Figure 3: Age	82
Figure 4: Level of Qualifications	83
Figure 5: Occupation.....	84
Figure 6: Language spoken at home	85
Figure 7: Religion	86
Figure 8: Ancestry.....	87
Figure 9: Year of Arrival.....	88

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Arrivals by birthplace for North Africa and the Middle East	12
Table 2: Populations born in the Middle East 1986 and 1996	91
Table 3: Nationality or citizenship of people from the Middle East granted certificates of Australia citizenship	92

Abstract

Immigration has had a substantial impact on the Australian population over the past four decades. During this period there has been a significant change both in the number of new arrivals and the origins of these settlers.

The Jordanian community, as one of the smallest ethnic groups in Australia, is represented in almost every state in Australia. The first significant Jordanian immigration to Australia occurred in the 1970s. Since then Jordanian immigration to Australia has increased, especially after 1991 because of the Gulf crisis and because the Jordanian government began sending students to Australia to continue their studies. Also, a significant number of Jordanians became Australian permanent residents and thereby contributed to the fast growth of the established Jordanian community in Australia.

This thesis shed lights on the Jordanian groups that immigrated to Australia along with issues relating to the Australian Jordanian community, which is now not only one of the smallest communities in Australia but also one of the most recognisable. The thesis draws an historical and contemporary picture of Jordanians in Australia, including those who stayed in this country after completing their study. This research investigates a wide range of factors, such as the pull and push that drove the population movement from Jordan to Australia. It also investigates the various factors that have interacted with each other to influence the Jordanians' decision to migrate to Australia.

The study reveals that Jordanian migrants in Australia have often made a smooth transition in their lives in their new country. While the dynamics between migrants from the Middle East and the rest of Australian society has faced many challenges both before and after the event of September 11, 2001, Jordanian immigrants continue to adapt economically and culturally to Australian society and life-style.

Furthermore, Jordanian students in Australia are likely to be skilled migrants and to apply for migration status after completing their studies because they believe that Australia will continue to grow faster than other Western countries, and their stay in Australia will help their family back home.

This study offers convincing evidence that Jordanian immigrants play a very important, albeit modest role, in promoting business in Australia. Most of the people whom I interviewed have their own business and this study sheds light on the dynamics of small business ownership, the contribution of Jordanians to this field and its cultural significance to Australian society.

Finally this study concludes with some recommendations for further studies associated with Jordanians inside and outside Jordan.

Thesis Introduction

Ravenstein's essay, 'The Laws of Migration' (1898), which conceptualised migrant motivation in terms of push-pull factors¹ led theorists to search for, on the one hand, the many factors that have encouraged generations of both individuals and groups to migrate and on the other hand to concentrate and highlight the relationship between sending and receiving countries (Taylor, 2000, pp. 901-903).

The developments in transportation and communications in the last century led to a proliferation of literature in which migration has been conceptualised within a world systems theory² framework. This approach again emphasises global connections particularly in relation to labour supply and demand with migration interpreted as a product of a global capitalist system.

Australia is known for being one of the world's most multicultural countries and Sydney as perhaps the most multicultural of cities. Long-established Sydneysiders and newcomers alike can trace their roots to the four corners of the world (Jupp, 1984).

For centuries, people and whole communities have been moving around the globe (Cohen, 1996). These, sometimes massive, movements were induced by various motives – the need for better lands for crops; a desire to explore new lands; the necessity to move for survival, or to escape natural disasters, as well as war and political conflict.

The previous century and the beginning of the present one have witnessed an unprecedented and continuous increase in both voluntary and involuntary mass migrations from different regions of the world. These can be characterised as an ongoing flow (Suarez-Orozco, 2005).

¹ Ravenstein primarily focussed on internal migration.

² World systems analysis, developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in the 1970s and early 1980s, treats the world as a single entity. He viewed the capitalist world economy in terms of a core and periphery, characterised by a clear division of labour and unequal development. From a migration perspective, this inequality prompted flows from the periphery to the core (Taylor, 2000, pp. 901-903).

Changes have occurred not only in the numbers and origins of people moving across the globe; but the nature of immigration has changed dramatically and consequently had a huge impact on the whole global community. As Nash, Wong and Trlin (2006) state, “The movement of people (voluntary and forced) across borders is an international phenomenon, an expression of globalization with implications for national, economic and political stability and cultural identity” (p. 346).

There is no doubt that immigration has become a global issue and has given rise to difficulties all over the world. An example of such an effect is illustrated by the so-called process of ‘brain-drain’ in which highly qualified Jordanians come to Australia to continue their studies and, because of employment shortages in skilled areas, seek to obtain better pay or a wider career choice.

Thus, immigration has become an issue of significant importance not only for countries experiencing numerous waves of new settlers, but also for those who lose this cultural capital in increasing numbers due to job-outsourcing and emigration. Being an indispensable part of multiple, overlapping processes of globalisation, immigration simultaneously affects various regions of the world (Suarez-Orozco, 2005).

With immigration becoming more and more of a global issue, new forms of identity production become salient not only for immigrants themselves, but also for the members of host communities affected by exposure to different cultures and new worldviews. Resnik (2006) suggests that local communities cannot ignore the impact of the global process of identity production which is introduced by immigrants in their struggle for acknowledgement and social inclusion. She states that, “one of the main characteristics of our time is the instability of identities and the continuous invention of new/old identities. Traditions and ethnic identities are deconstructed and reconstructed. Immigrants ... participate in the dynamic of identity production” (Resnik, 2006, p. 585).

The concept of identity, as understood within this research, is derived from a social constructionist perspective (Burr, 1995). Gergen (1991) suggests that a person’s identity is constructed through various interactions and relationships with others, as well as with the immediate environment. This particular environment includes not only the individual and community around them, but also the particular spatial and historic milieux in which a person finds herself or himself. Identities are given (certain)

meanings within particular temporo-spatial frames and bear markers of the shared systems of social norms, beliefs and traditions characteristic of the culture around us. This idea of 'here and now' means that, depending on the various circumstances, as every event and experience in a person's life is involved, as well as the wider processes in society, identity is subject to change and identity constructions bear the traces of ever-changing life (Gergen, 1991). We reflect the histories of our culture(s), enacting them through our identities, and carry our cultural flags and symbols, passed to us by our predecessors, which we, in our turn, pass on to our successors (Liu et al., 2005; Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Thus, identity is conceptualised as a flexible and unstable concept which undergoes continuous deconstruction and reconstruction, as well as being part of a global process of identity construction (Resnik, 2006). This becomes very clear in the case of immigrants who learn how unstable their identities are 'the hard way' – through the process of leaving their habitual cultural environment which provided them with validation of their sense of being, and of losing this sense in new lands. These new cultural systems of meaning usually lacked the same resources that immigrants relied on in their homeland as material for identity construction (Maydell-Stevens, Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Sampson (1989) argues that the ownership of socio-cultural resources, essential for identity construction, lies with the community, which accumulates and continuously re-produces these resources. Consequently, immigrants have to go through a learning process of familiarising themselves with the local socio-cultural environment in order to be able to construct or re-construct their identities, re-claiming their ownership of the available resources (Rapoport, Lomsky-Feder & Heider, 2002). During this process they have to face negative labelling (Elias, 2005), and stereotypical constructions already in existence in the host society (Pearson, 2005).

Australia has often been regarded as a nation of immigrants, from European settlement starting in 1788, through waves of immigration in the mid-19th century brought on by gold discoveries, to arrivals from a very broad range of nations since the 'White Australia' policy was relaxed after World War II (Schofield, 1995). In this sense Australia is very similar to other advanced capitalist societies, such as the United States of America, Canada, and New Zealand. All have relied heavily on immigration to supplement natural population growth. Furthermore, the post-1945 immigration programs have changed the face of Australian society. Because these immigrants have

come from such a diverse range of countries, spanning all corners of the globe, today Australia is one of the most ethnically diverse nations. So the story of Australian people is a story of immigration and diversity. While Australia has attracted immigrants from around the world, the dynamics between new immigrants and Australian society at large has faced many challenges over Australia's short history.

Furthermore, immigration has been a major force in Australian life and development. Over a long period, immigration to Australia has been an essential accompaniment to development, which means that the long term prospects for immigration to Australia have been seriously challenged (Castles et al. 1998).

Both Sydney and Melbourne have traditionally received the majority of immigrants. However, their relative positions have altered over time: while Melbourne was dominant in the decades immediately after World War II it has been overtaken by Sydney since the 1980s. Between 1981 and 1991 around 30% of Sydney's total growth was due to overseas immigration, whereas the comparable figure for Melbourne fell to around 18% cent (Murphy, 1995).

Most of those who immigrated to Australia from English-speaking backgrounds came within the last 200 years. Circumstances often dictated that many came alone and awaited the day when their children could join them. Settlement, however, often makes more demands and takes longer than anticipated, and parents and children found themselves separated for many years. Parents and children may have met again with high expectations of themselves and of each other. At the same time, many parents and most children arrived in Australia unaware of the differences between their new culture and their first culture. Many long-established Australians may also be unaware of the differences. Not surprisingly, this lack of knowledge leads to misconceptions on all sides. At the same time, the people who immigrated to Australia from non-English-speaking backgrounds are very aware of their children and the prospects of losing their original culture. Some Jordanians in this group send their children to Arabic school on Saturdays so that they can learn the Arabic language and culture.

In Australia, immigrants from the Middle East form a distinct ethnic group based on the common culture of their homeland, and its Arabic language. Like all those who pack up and leave home for a brighter future elsewhere, parents who come to Australia from

Jordan have a great deal invested in the move. Some bring their families with them. But for many others, the demands of finding work, making a home, getting settled and saving money mean setting off alone and leaving their children in the care of mothers, grandmothers, sisters, cousins and other kin. It is a practical solution, but a difficult one, for neither parents nor children knows with certainty when they are going to be together again.

The systems in place for accommodating the thousands of new arrivals in Australia during the 1940s and 1950s were haphazard. There was little allowance for cultural differences. Wherever migrants came from they were expected to integrate into Australian society. For most immigrants, especially those who arrived via assisted passages, their first home was a migrants' centre. In the late 1940s Australia could not cope with the demand and was able to offer nothing more than the most basic accommodation to new arrivals.

This thesis is a study of one of the smallest ethnic communities in Australia, that of the Jordanians. It examines the various ways in which Jordanian migrants adjust to their new life in Australia. The particular focus of the research is, firstly, to investigate the movement of Jordanians to Australia within the context of Arab immigration. The reception, integration or non-integration into Australian society of Arab immigrants is addressed in general and an overall picture of their immigration patterns and the problems which they have encountered is presented. This is followed by a detailed study, including case studies and interviews, of the Jordanian community as a subset of Australia's total Arab community. Finally, the study examines the ways in which Jordanians maintain and negotiate culture between their original home and their newly acquired host culture.

According to Ford Houlton, in the *Dictionary of Modern Sociology*, social interaction is "the basic social process represented in communication and a mutual relationship between two or more individuals. Through language, symbols, and gestures people exchange meanings and have a reciprocal effect upon each other's behaviour, expectation, and thought" (Houlton, 1969, p. 211).

This understanding of social interaction informs the aims of this research, which are to determine the level of social interaction in Australia between Jordanian immigrants,

other Arab immigrants and the host community. Questions pertinent to this research include the following: What attitudes do Jordanian immigrants in Australia tend to exhibit? Do they interact with other Arab communities and with the host community socially? What kinds of social interaction do they have? Additional questions that arise from this investigation of social interaction patterns are those concerning the nature of the economic and social life of Jordanians in Australia and their continuing relationship with or ties to their homeland.

To elucidate these areas, the thesis poses four groups of questions. First, how do Jordanians and Arabs in Australia cope with their new lives? What attitudes and beliefs do they hold concerning the new culture they face? What are the social, economic, historical and cultural factors that influence Jordanian immigrants and do they continue to adhere to these?

The second group of questions centres on the background of the Jordanians, their attitudes and the types of changes they undergo. The third group addresses the level of contact migrants have with their homeland, and the way in which parents contact their children. Finally, the most appropriate research strategies leading to a coherent methodology are investigated, along with the most appropriate strategies for researching a multicultural context.

This thesis is structured to present a comprehensive picture of the Jordanian community in Australia. Following this Introduction, Chapter One discusses migration as a concept. It defines migration and the movement of populations in multicultural societies, especially Australia. There is also a brief history of Arabic migration studies in Australia with some related studies such as migration and ethnicity, the making of multicultural Australia, stereotypes of Arabs in Australia, and a general historical background of Arabs in Australia.

Chapter Two describes the research questions and the methodology used in this study, including the theoretical framework of the study. The questions in this study deal with several hypotheses concerning acculturation and assimilation, as well as the actual history of the process of migration to Australia. The focus is on the history of Jordanian migration, their settlement and adaptation to their new way of life, as well as their relations with their home countries.

Chapter Three examines the reasons why Jordanians migrate to Australia. There are four reasons listed. A principal reason for Jordanian migration to Australia concerns the Palestinians in Jordan. Since 1948 many Palestinians have moved to Jordan and the subsequent effect on the economic infrastructure of Jordan has led Jordanians to migrate to Australia. Chapter Three also presents an overview of the Jordanian communities in Australia and explores the research tradition of social practice on which the study is based. This is followed by an analysis of issues relating to the immigration of Jordanians, their early settlement, economic and social life, including the advantages and disadvantages associated with their immigration.

Chapter Four presents the fieldwork interviews, some of which are developed into case studies. The structure of this fieldwork forms the basis for an argument on the need for a coherent body of research. A discussion of cultural change and religion then follows. This chapter also discusses the relatively successful acculturation and assimilation of Jordanian families in Australia and presents some details, taken from the interviews, about the Jordanian immigrants' lives before and after immigration to Australia. It also details some aspects of the relationship between parents and their children, in both first- and second-generation immigrants.

In Chapter Five I explore social mobility within the Jordanian community, focusing on occupation, income and education. Stories provided by Jordanian immigrants to Australia, along with explanations of their experience of an Australian way of life, are included.

In Chapter Six I discuss the ways in which Jordanians have been affected by discriminatory social practices particularly following the events of September 11 in the US. While Jordanians are often not targeted specifically for their nationality, they are nonetheless affected by the global atmosphere of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim hysteria. This chapter will examine these processes within the context of the criminalisation of a group of people seen to belong a particular ethnicity or culture and the consequent exclusionary and discriminatory practices they face.

Finally Chapter Seven presents the conclusion and summarises the experiences of Arabs and Jordanians in Australia, focusing on the struggles of the first generation, and the gradual assimilation of the second generation. It is argued that the tolerance that had

been encouraged by the Federal Government in the Australian community during the period of multiculturalism was in some instances transformed into racism and rejection following the events of September 11, 2001, and the Cronulla riots of 2005. The chapter also summarises the levels of success Jordanian immigrants to Australia have experienced, and considers the future prospects of Australian Jordanians.

The remaining sections of this Introduction provide an overview of the background to migration and the rise of multiculturalism. They examine first, the increase in migration and the growth of multiculturalism. This is followed by a brief analysis of the ways in which migrations evolve. The Introduction concludes with a short discussion on Arab migration to Australia and Jordanian migration to Australia in particular.

Although recent scholarly and policy literature has been concerned with migration of all kinds across national boundaries (Morawska, 2001, p. 47), as long ago as 1966 Garnier noted that:

Man is a mobile creature, capable of enquiring, susceptible to suggestion, and endowed with imagination and initiative. This explains why, having conceived the notion that his wants might be satisfied elsewhere, he may decide not merely on going there but also on the means by which his project can be achieved. (Garnier 1966, p.171)

Garnier's insight provides an understanding of humankind's adaptation to the environment and the creation of social and cultural worlds. It also reveals that migration has always been an important factor in the history of mankind. In this regard Byrne argued that migration is in essence a social process that is the harbinger of social change (Byrne, 1977, pp. 248-49).

Castles and Miller (1993) maintain that the principal cause of emigration is the poor socio-economic conditions that exist in the migrants' countries of origin. Migration, whether internal or external, is seen to be the only alternative to achieve socio-economic improvement or advancement.

Over the past three decades migration has increased to become a worldwide phenomenon with a concomitant rise in multiculturalism. As a multicultural country Australia has immigrants from around the world. The number of these immigrants is

growing as more people move to Australia in search of employment, political refuge, education or to be reunited with family members.

These population movements play an important role in connecting Australia with the rest of the world. Migrants bring knowledge of their culture and language to their host country and provide interpersonal networks between their original country and their new homeland. Media coverage on the number of immigrants from other countries, where they have settled and the services they require attest to the interest of long-term Australian citizens in more recent arrivals.

The description of Australia as a multicultural nation simply means that Australians are not of any one cultural background, race or heritage. Instead, Australia today possesses a wide diversity of cultural heritages and racial groups that is the result of over two centuries of immigration.

All Australians, including Indigenous peoples, can trace their origins to a past in which population movements were fluid. However, immigration to Australia is restrictive in that the nation remains selective about who may enter and, equally importantly, who may not.

Attitudes toward immigration and the development of immigration policies have evolved over the years and reflect economic, political and social issues in Australia. Recently, the Federal Government announced changes that will both decrease the number of immigrants allowed into Australia and make it more difficult for citizens or residents of Australia, Australian-born and immigrants alike, to bring family to Australia from abroad.

Well before World War II Australia was already home to people from a wide range of cultural backgrounds. However, immigration was in general restricted to people of western European culture and traditions. As a result, others were often considered 'foreigners' because their race, colour, religion, or customs were different from those of the majority of Australians.

Following the war, assimilation was regarded as the most expedient means to maintain cultural homogeneity. Public policy pressured immigrants to put aside ethnic traditions and become integrated into the ways of Anglo-Australians. Governments, schools,

churches, the media and social service agencies rallied behind the effort to Australianise immigrants. In certain respects this effort succeeded. The vast majority of immigrants learned English. Their children went to public schools, and, while racism and discrimination did exist, most carved out a place for themselves in the Australian community. But, at the same time many retained ties to family, their ethnic group, religious tradition and the culture of parents and grandparents³.

Although each migratory movement has its specific historical patterns, it is possible to generalise the ways in which migrations evolve and to find certain internal dynamics in this process. For example, most migrations start with young, economically active people. They are ‘target-earners’, who want to save sufficient funds in a higher-wage economy to improve their situation at home by buying land, building a house, setting up a business, or paying for education or dowries. Although some of these ‘primary migrants’ return home after a time, others prolong their stay or return and then remigrate. This may be because of relative success: they find living and working conditions in the new country preferable to those in the homeland. It may, however, be the result of relative failure: migrants find it impossible to save enough to achieve their aims and this necessitates a longer sojourn. As time goes on, many erstwhile temporary migrants send for spouses, or find partners in the new country. With the birth of children, settlement takes on a more permanent character, whatever the original intentions (Bohning, 1984, p. 14).

Challam claims that Sydney is the pre-eminent multicultural city in Australia, attracting various cultures of the world and reflecting its diverse cultural composition in the sheer variety of immigrants and refugee communities. Like many world cities Sydney is characterised by the large-scale cultural processes of diaspora and globalisation (Challam, 2001, p. 5).

Since 1945, 6.8 million people have come to Australia as new settlers. Australia received more than 900 000 migrants since the year 2000, compared with:

over 900 000 in the 1990s

³ This thesis has focused on nuclear family formations as these tend to be both the most visible and the most common among Jordanian immigrants to Australia. While sexual orientation also plays a role in constituting different family group formations, alternative family groupings were outside the scope and study of the thesis.

1.1 million in the 1980s

960 000 in the 1970s

1.3 million in the 1960s

1.6 million between 1946 and 1960.⁴

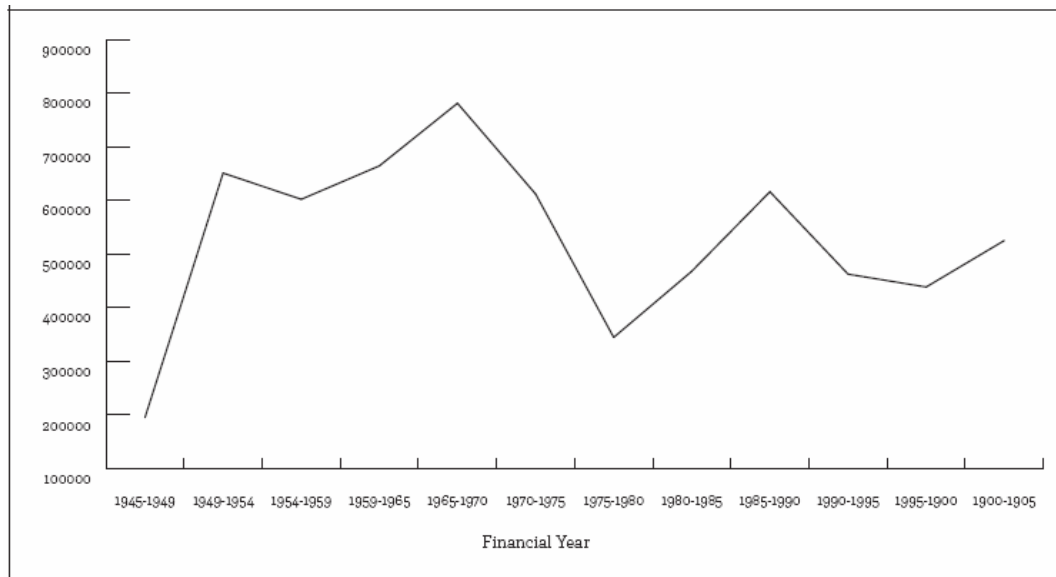


Figure 1: Settler arrivals in Australia: October 1945-June 2005

This means that among the current population of 20 million, almost one in four people was born overseas, and one in 20 was born in Asia (Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2001). This mass movement of people required new policies and by the early 1970s gave rise to the beginning of multiculturalism.

The White Australia policy ended officially in the mid-1970s, and the overwhelming majority of white migrants coming to Australia gave way by the mid-1980s to increasingly diverse immigration patterns, including large numbers of people from Arab and Asian countries.

The recent history of Arab migration to the western world has started to attract the attention of scholars. Although serious research on this topic has been conducted since

⁴ Department of Immigration and Citizenship Key Facts in Immigration, Fact Sheet 2. At <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/02key.htm> (viewed 28 December 2008).

the 1980s, the amount of published material dealing with this topic remains limited. The migration experience of Arabs in Australia has received even less attention, owing to their small numbers and low profile. A number of individual communities such as the Lebanese have been studied but others, including Australia's small Jordanian ethnic group, have not. Ghassan Hage's research is the most prominent example of writing on the complex and paradoxical history of Arab migration to Australia and its subsequent intercultural ramifications from the late 1970s to the present (Hage, 2002).

Immigrants from Arab countries, including the Jordanian community, have been faced with disruptions to their sense of ethnic identity. The second generation in particular is the critical point from which to examine the processes of ethnic identity formation and acculturation. This generation is the first in their families to spend the majority of their life in Australia. Issues of identity, language, economic mobility, ethnic community and intermarriage become fundamental areas of adaptation for the second generation.

As mentioned, Jordanian-born immigrants, although one of Australia's smaller immigrant groups, have seen steady growth in the last two decades, averaging more than 100 arrivals per year in the period 1991 to 1996.⁵ The census in 2001 recorded 3,350 Jordanian-born people in Australia. This shows an increase of 18% from the 1996 census.⁶ Also, in the census of 2001 the distribution by state and territories reveals New South Wales as having the largest number of Jordanians with 2,390 followed by Victoria 430, Western Australia 240, and Queensland 150. Table one below shows the arrival of settlers in Australia from North Africa and the Middle East. It indicates that Jordanian immigrants are one of the smallest groups in Australia.

Table 1: Arrivals by birthplace for North Africa and the Middle East

Settler arrivals by birthplace	1996-97 to 2006-07										
	1996 97	1997 98	1998 99	1999 00	2000 01	2001 02	2002 03	2003 04	2004 05	2005 06	2006 07
North Africa & The Middle East											
North Africa											
Algeria	25	35	32	25	59	34	36	29	28	27	16
Egypt	414	310	358	360	423	354	551	736	857	812	756
Libya	15	15	8	12	18	9	19	24	18	20	19
Morocco	26	24	25	31	18	24	41	39	41	45	49

⁵ Canberra: Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Research and Statistics Unit, 1999.

⁶ Canberra: Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Research and Statistics Unit, 1999.

Sudan	365	430	566	594	1145	1078	2775	4591	5654	3783	2513
Tunisia	6	11	11	5	9	6	22	5	4	9	10
North Africa nfd	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	851	825	1001	1027	1672	1506	3444	5424	6602	4696	3363
The Middle East											
Bahrain	24	20	9	12	13	21	22	14	32	28	34
Gaza Strip & West Bank	6	5	16	24	15	22	4	16	5	5	11
Iran	822	693	525	797	907	600	819	843	966	897	1077
Iraq	1966	1793	1510	1673	1629	1372	2819	1903	1936	2425	2213
Israel	137	142	126	105	114	169	253	318	383	322	327
Jordan	190	112	138	121	180	118	156	189	237	201	152
Kuwait	99	123	106	197	107	58	128	95	92	137	120
Lebanon	1019	1107	944	1226	1498	1100	1613	1293	1447	1286	1390
Oman	14	11	14	12	13	14	16	11	21	29	25
Qatar	12	12	10	9	18	17	7	13	11	14	27
Saudi Arabia	118	70	42	48	54	51	61	54	87	67	88
Syria	150	171	166	182	214	176	227	211	231	239	240
Turkey	741	635	521	513	423	617	729	707	624	526	334
United Arab Emirates	57	63	49	54	50	121	200	161	219	240	243
Yemen	17	7	12	18	18	13	25	38	9	6	22
Middle East nfd	-	-	5	13	17	25	27	31	59	35	24
Total	5372	4964	4193	5004	5270	4494	7106	5897	6359	6457	6327
Total North Africa & the Middle East	6223	5789	5194	6031	6942	6000	10550	11321	12961	11153	9690

Sources: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online
http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/pdf/emigration_0607.pdf (Viewed on 1 February 2008).

This growth in the number of Jordanian immigrants to Australia increases the need for research on this group, not only to understand the role of this community but also its future contribution to Australian society. In general, Australians have little explicit knowledge of Jordan and its people or of the Jordanian immigrants in Australia, as there is little published information available, even from the Australian Bureau of Statistics. However, from the late 1980s and early 1990s the Australian Government and Australian universities encouraged international students to study in Australia and Jordan responded to these opportunities because of the low educational costs in Australia compared to those of the USA and UK ('English-speaking countries' are considered to be the most attractive to Jordanians who wish to attain a university degree). Also, at this time the Australian Department of Immigration introduced new arrangements whereby foreign students could apply for permanent residency upon completion of university studies in Australia. This made it easier to apply for and gain permanent residency in a shorter time.

In summary, existing studies of Arabs in Australia in general were examined to set the context for the study of Jordanians in Australia since the 1970s. Border migration literature has shaped the concept of this work to test the interactions between the communities by using qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the participants' narratives and constructions, and the understanding of contemporary Jordanian migration to Australia as well as migration studies in general.

Chapter one

Migration and its research

*Understanding Australia's ethnic composition is about understanding where the people of Australia come from, their ethnic origins. This can be helpful in discussions about immigration, population and national identity as the country looks to the year 2000 and beyond. (Siew-Ean Khoo and Charles Price, *Understanding Australia's Ethnic Composition*, 1996)*

1.0 Introduction

Migrants who by definition live in a country different from that in which they grew up tend to substitute the monocultural view of the world they were born into with one that is broader. Their new cultural view implicitly involves a plurality of cultural connections. It is these connections and the resulting relationships between individuals and communities that constitute the framework of this thesis.

This chapter focuses on the theoretical resources available for the study of immigration. It discusses the available literature on migration and ethnicity and engages with anthropological, sociological, historical and political approaches to the study of migration networks and ethnic communities. It also draws on the field of migration studies in general, with a particular emphasis on concepts such as diaspora, assimilation and acculturation in the study of ethnic communities in diverse societies.

1.1 Defining Migration

The terms 'migration' and 'immigration' are often used interchangeably (Adler, L. L. et al 2003, p 31). Migration is sometimes differentiated from immigration as being movement within the same country. Immigration, on the other hand, usually involves crossing borders. Superficially, they can be distinguished by considering the perspective of movement. The Hutchinson Encyclopedia (1996), describes emigration as movement from a country 'of origin' and immigration as the '[more or less permanent] movement to a [host] country'.

The *World Migration* defines states that “[m]igration is the movement of a person or group of persons from one geographical unit to another across an administrative or political border, wishing to settle definitely or temporarily in a place other than their place of origin” (IOM. 2003, p. 9). Similarly, Faist defines migration as “a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence, usually across some type of administrative boundary” (2000, p. 18). While not explicitly stated in either of these definitions, there is often an assumption that the movement across the boundary must be ‘significant’ or involve some sort of minimum distance (Hall. 2002, p. 4).

Whereas migration may be cyclical or seasonal and migrants may return home for periods of time, immigrants – often referred to as ‘migrants’ in Australia – move voluntarily from one country to live permanently in another. Immigration has been described as “the act of leaving one’s country to settle in a foreign country” (Sackmann et al., 2003, p. 2). Immigrants are portrayed as choosing particular social relationships and belonging to groups with a collective identity as a consequence of their permanent relocation from their country of origin and subsequent settlement within minority communities. From this broadly interpreted difference, a number of further ascriptions can be deduced concerning the capacity of different categories of immigrants to assimilate and integrate (Sackmann et al., 2003, p. 2).

As a phenomenon migration has a long history and there are numerous reasons for human migration. Some migrate to be reunited with their loved ones while others are in search of adventure. Throughout history, however, with the exception of circumstances where people are forced to migrate and thus become refugees, the primary motivation has always been economic opportunity. The flow of populations is brought about by people’s desire to escape poverty in their country of origin and seek improved life opportunities that enable them to fulfil basic needs. Recently, many professional people, for example, from countries which have recently joined the European Union (EU), have migrated because better opportunities have presented themselves elsewhere.

Aside from economic reasons, migration may be the product of a variety of historical circumstances. For example, in Arab countries, political motives were probably the strongest motivation during the period of domination by the Ottoman Empire (1453-1821). Until the 19th century, migration remained regional. From the early 19th century, however, citizens of the former Ottoman Empire left their native Arab countries for the

Americas, Australia and other migration havens (Bottomley, 1979, p. 14). Forced migration has also been historically salient and includes circumstances where people leave their homeland to avoid starvation as, for example, during the Irish famine in the 1840s, or to escape untenable family situations. Some migrate to avoid revolution and war, while others seek to escape religious or political persecution. In addition, many immigrants were brought to new lands against their will, as slaves, as for example to the Americas and the Caribbean.

After World War II, immigrants started to travel in huge population currents to cities where there were a greater number of job opportunities (Toro-Morn, 2004, p. xiv-xxxi). People tended to move not individually, but in groups, as for example, when many inhabitants of the same Greek villages migrated to Australia (Grassby, 2000). Their departure often had considerable consequences on social and economic circumstances in their area of origin. Even now, immigration is not simply an individual choice but one in which communal freedom is often considered above individual freedom. In a country of immigration, such as Australia, where settlement is closely linked to employment opportunities and is almost always concentrated in industrial and urban areas, the impact on the receiving communities is considerable. For instance, vast changes have occurred on the world population map with significant variations in the general distribution of local, national and global communities. According to the United Nations Population Division of 2002, the *International Migration Report*, global migration has increased from the beginning of the 1990s until 2000. This report revealed that in 2000 there were 175 million people residing in a country other than their original country of birth, and that the number of migrants had increased twofold since 1975. Also, the report showed that 56 million immigrants resided in Europe, 50 million in Asia, and 41 million in North America. Moreover, immigration has a profound influence on population structure as it affects existing differences in age, types of employment, education levels (primary, secondary, post-secondary and tertiary), gender and class. The subject of immigration has attracted the interest of many scientists and researchers, especially in the period following the industrial revolution of the 19th century. Numerous studies were undertaken in western communities on human movements between cities and territories, or movements that crossed country borders. Studies carried out in England include those by Riverstone, Longstaff and Ogle; in Germany by Von Mayer, Bowcher, Wolff and Hansen; in Australia by Ballod and Rauchberg; in

France by Ievasseut, Turguen, Meline and Usquin, and in the USA by Weber (Bergel, 1955, p. 220). These studies focus on description rather than on analysis; moreover, they are directed towards population research for demographic purposes.

According to Lucas et al. (1980, p. 111), the process of movement involved in migration and immigration can be summarised under three variables: where a person comes from, where they are going and where they end up. However, this process of movement also involves how a person travels; the length of time they are away; why they left, the relationships they maintain with their place of origin while they are away; and how far they are from their place of origin.

Szabo (1996, p. 63- 67) describes movement as being of two types:

1. Push – need to leave in order to survive
2. Pull – attracted to new way of life

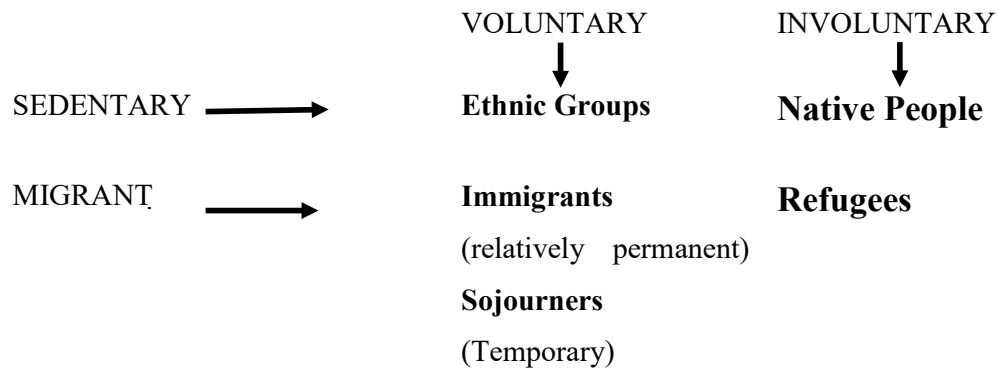
When a person is deciding to leave his or her country of origin a combination of ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors determine where to go, how to go and for how long. Push factors include political unrest, war, persecution, famine, social upheaval, lack of opportunities and lack of infrastructure. The presence of these elements in a given society constitutes reasons that might push, or propel, individuals or communities to migrate. On the other hand, pull factors include economic prosperity, political stability, professional opportunities and labour shortages in a given country that encourage people to immigrate there. According to Madden and Young (1993), traditional push and pull factors tend to emphasise economic reasons for population movement, such as the potential for higher earnings and the avoidance of economic hardship, while neglecting other possible factors such as political instability in the country of origin.

Economic migration is the most common cause of population increases in some parts of the world, with people moving between countries to obtain improved economic opportunities and a better life for themselves and their families through employment prospects and increased income. Betts (1996) argues that:

Economic theory predicts what will make people migrate to areas where incomes are higher. However, income differentials cannot explain migration decisions when work is scarce and there are few immediate labour market gains for moving.

For economists, movement in these circumstances seems ‘irrational’. It becomes apparent that people do not migrate solely to look for paid work, they also want to move to a country with political rights and a welfare safety net, hoping for a better life for their children and to be near family and friends. These immigration outcomes seem strange only if we expect contemporary immigration to be like that of 1950s and 1960s, a period when these economic aspirations could be met and breadwinners could find well paid work. (Betts, 1996, p. 19-24)

McLeod (1989) argues that it is possible to distinguish human migration from synonyms such as exodus, journey, movement, shift, travel, trek, voyage, and wandering by certain specific attributes.⁷ The first and most important of these is the notion of *living* or *settling* in another place. It implies an anticipated and geographically distinctive but also permanent change of place for a migrant. The migrant is aware of this attribute of his/her decision to change his/her existential location. Berry et al. (1987, p. 62-89) classify migrants into five different groups in regard to mobility and willingness to migrate:



The migrant is a movable person who deliberately and consciously decides to change his/her place of living. Refugees, like immigrants, are first-generation arrivals in a host region whose need to migrate has been forced upon them. The term ‘sojourners’ is applied to temporary migrants who reside for a specific purpose (study, job, etc.) and for a limited period of time and who intend eventually to return to their countries of origin (Berry et al., 1987, p 62-89). The term ‘ethnic group’, as used by Smith, (1987),

⁷ listed in the *Collins Thesaurus*

refers to persons belonging to generations subsequent to the original migration, who exhibit and identify themselves with the social and cultural heritage of their ancestors. This distinction is made in relation to native people whose cultural heritage is regarded as being that of the country itself.

1.2 A Moving World: Immigrants and Immigration

Migration has increasingly become a worldwide phenomenon and the past three decades have witnessed the rise of ‘multicultural’ countries like Australia, with statistics indicating that almost one quarter of its population comes from culturally diverse backgrounds. (Since 1947 more than 6.7 million people have arrived in Australia as migrants. Currently persons born overseas constitute nearly 22% of the Australian population (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2002). As a social phenomenon, immigration started to have a serious effect on the social structures of several countries during the industrial revolution, as well as after the World War I and II. In the 19th and 20th centuries, there were successive waves of mass migration. Following the slave trade from Africa to the ‘New World’ and the movement of indentured labourers from Asia, massive movements of political and economic refugees from Europe occurred in the 19th century, with people being described as ‘voluntary’ migrants. The second half of the 20th century witnessed huge numbers of immigrants and refugees from non-western nations, particularly Africa, Asia and Latin America moving to western nations such as America, Canada and Australia (Al-Issa, 1997; Rice, 1999; Schofield, 1995).

At the present time, a million people each year attempt to move to another country making migration an integral and inevitable part of global social and economic development (Carballo & Nerukar, 2001). This situation is in some regions largely driven by poverty, pushing more people to seek opportunities elsewhere in first world countries.

Within the context of global movements of people migration is usually analysed as a function of state policy in the sending and receiving countries. Thus, despite their sponsorship and support of thousands of migrants, independent, voluntary, religious and ethnic organisations have often been marginalised in international migration studies (Langfield, 2002, p 287; see also, Hage et al., 2002; David Morrissey, 1981). Additionally, countries that previously passed legislation now resort to special

descriptions to limit immigration. And the accepted rules of the destination society are checked against an immigrant's cultural characteristics. The reception and reaction to specific characteristics, such as religious background, are dependent on the cultural rules of the destination society. A migrant can either have assets in his or her curriculum vitae of identities and thereby be deemed acceptable for integration into the new community, or conversely he/she may be considered to possess undesirable characteristics that lessen the possibility of social acceptance.

The extent of the movement of people and goods across the globe has led such theorists as Arjun Appadurai, for example, to explicate this process in terms of global cultural flows. He argues that this process can no longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models nor can it be understood in terms of migration theory, traditional economic models or neo-Marxist theories of development (Appadurai, 1997, pp. 32-33). As well as adding non-human dimensions to the study of global population movements, Appadurai's global cultural flows model holds the possibility of a more critical examination of the nature of multiculturalism, the formation of multicultural states and the crisis of multiculturalism in the 21st century.

1.3 Migration Studies with Historical background

1.3.1 Review of Migration Studies

The last decade has witnessed a change in the study of immigration. In the past, immigration studies focused on the process of incorporation and assimilation of immigrants into their new country (Alba & Nee, 1997; Gordon, 1964; Portes & Rumbant, 1996). Although immigration researchers were aware that immigrants sent remittances home (for example, Pakistanis working in the Gulf states such as Kuwait) and that many of them returned there, the frame for analysing the process of immigrants' integration was one that examined their country of origin and their host country as two separate societies. New paradigms argue that immigrants redefine, but do not break, the ties to their country of origin and that they create a multiplicity of ties in different areas of social action that transcend national barriers (Faist, 2000; Glick Schiller, 2000; Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999).

A large number of innovative studies have documented the lives of immigrants in different parts of the world. These studies describe the range of links between immigrants and their country of origin, showing, among other things, how immigrants construct identities that transcend national barriers (Basch, Glick Schiller & Szanton-Blanc, 1994; Glick Schiller & Fouron, 1998), how immigrant communities participate in the life of their place of origin (Goldring, 1998; Landolt et al., 1999; Levitt, 1998; Roberts, Frank & Lozano-Ascencio, 1999; Smith, 1998), how immigrants build and conduct businesses in both their country of origin and their place of reception, and how those businesses contribute to the development of the country of origin (Faist, 2000; Portes, 1996; Portes & Guarnizo, 1999).

Studies on migration indicate that it is closely related to the notion of spaces (Pries, 1999). The most important of these is economic space in which migration is viewed as a rational decision taken for economic benefit. Another important space is geographic, in which people move because of limited space in their current context. Those who are geographically and economically disadvantaged must find a new geographical sphere for their economic enterprises.

As a geographic movement (Massey, 1987; Castles, 2003), migration refers to the situation in which an individual changes his/her original place of residency for employment reasons. But not every change of location is considered to be a professional movement. For example, according to the UN Geographic Dictionary a worker may change his residency without changing his profession⁸, and population movements can be classified into two types:

1. Changing the place of residency in the same country or moving within the same community.
2. Moving from one local community to another, while staying within regional or territorial borders.

Duncan and Hauser (1963) indicate that these circumstances reflect the functional importance of immigration. They claim that immigration as a phenomenon is an essential element in restoring population balance and coordination on the one hand, and maintaining a present regime on the other (Duncan and Hauser, 1963).

⁸ UN Geographic Dictionary

For example, in a study of Irish immigration to Sydney, Grimes (1989) questioned the assumption of a relationship between residential distribution and immigrant adaptation (Grimes, 1989, p. 105).

Furthermore, Galvin (1980, p. 155-168) in her analysis of the Italian immigrants in Newcastle argued that such indices were unreliable when applied to the first generation. She illustrates some well-known weaknesses associated with these indices, such as the influence of the area size being analysed. It is difficult to apply any specific social significance to area size in the index particularly when relying on census data and some birthplace statistics that frequently conceal significant heterogeneity in immigrant populations (Grime, 1989, p. 105).

Hall (1969) studied the origins of mass immigration in Brazil from 1871 to 1914. In the second half of the 19th century, Brazil began a long and complex process of modernisation. The transition from a traditional to modern society was particularly difficult in the southern part of the nation around Sao Paulo. Middle-class reformers sought to use European immigrants to change the social and economic structure of Brazil. A more successful group of innovators, the western planters, employed subsidised immigration to make a successful transition from slavery to free labour on their estates. Hall found that the relationship of identities to adaptation was influenced by the interaction of specific immigrant groups with particular settings.

In addition, Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, and Vedder (2001) noted that pressure to assimilate exists and immigrants are expected to be willing to adapt to the new culture. Positive outcomes, in other words, are predicted in terms of acceptance of national identity. When there is a supportive ethnic community the result is also influenced by the ways in which particular groups and individuals perceive and interpret their circumstances (Phinney et al., 2001, p. 494).

Moreover, Lenski (1977) suggested that especially among members of the middle and upper-classes where religious ties are strong, these may replace nationality. To classify the social unit created by the intersection of an ethnic group and a social class, Gordon suggests the term 'eth-class'. Thus a person's eth-class might be upper-middle-class white Protestant, or lower-middle-class white Irish Catholic, or upper-lower-class black Protestant (Gordon, 1964, p.10). According to Fichter (1971) a similar occupational and

class status appears to constitute a more effective social bond between two Catholics of different classes. This would indicate that the ethnic group is of utmost importance when the group is large. The stratification of the group usually leaves enough room to satisfy individual needs for social interaction and consequently a person's social class within the ethnic community. Peter Van der Veer (1995, p. 2) focused in *Nation and Migration* on the relationship between southern Asian nationalism, migration, ethnicity and the construction of religious identity, although he notes that nationalism and migration might be seen as opposing processes - there are "contradictions between the notion of discrete territoriality in the discourse of nationalism and the transgressive fact of migration" - migration often leads to a reinvigoration and rephrasing of national identity, frequently with important political consequences. There are several causes for this: migrants tend to be socially and culturally marginal and may thereby develop a strong cultural sensitivity as well as being forced, by the majority, into a collective identity with an ethnic or religious prefix. In ethnically segregated societies, politics is naturally most efficiently organised along ethnic cleavages.

Furthermore, in 1998, Castles studied migration as a central issue in international relations, and one of the most important issues in the domestic politics of many countries. In *The Age of Migration* he provides a global perspective on the nature of migration movements, why they take place, and their effects on various countries including Britain, the USA, Australia, Germany, Canada, and France. He shows how migration almost always leads to strong effects on economics, cultures, and political institutions, and challenges existing forms of citizenship and national identity.

Ruby (1944), also concentrates on a structural pluralism whereby an individual group remains distinct. The social ethnic unit in some cases, however, changes when ethnic boundaries are crossed through primary relationships and intermarriage. One such process is incorporated in the hypothesis of the triple melting pot, in which the new groupings are along religious lines and consist of several national identities and ethnic affiliations. Cross-cultural information is not a short cut to understanding the individual but a means of facilitating communication.

In the last century, when theories of the melting pot and cultural pluralism had declined Ruby (1944), and Will Herberg (1955), revived the melting pot and suggested that intermarriage in different ethnic groups led to combination, and inter-group unions

tended to be controlled by religious relationships. Glazer proposed in 1970 that the assimilation of ethnic group members or the “action of the melting pot” (p. 173) was dependent on characteristics of both the group itself and the intergenerational differences within each ethnic group.

1.3.2 Migration Networks

A number of studies over the past few decades have in different ways used a social networks perspective for the study of international migration.⁹ Tilly writes that, “The effective units of migration were and are not merely individuals or households but sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience” (1990, p. 84). Boyd neatly sums up much of the network approach to migration, stating, “Networks connect migrants across time and space. Once begun, migration flows often become self-sustaining, reflecting the establishment of networks of information, assistance and obligations, which develop between migrants in the host society and friends and relatives in the sending area. These networks link populations in origin and receiving countries and ensure that movements are not necessarily limited in time whether this be unidirectional or permanent” (Tilly, 1990, p. 84).

For migrants, social networks are crucial for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as providing psychological support and continuous social and economic information. Social networks often guide migrants into or through specific places and occupations. Local labour markets are sometimes linked through specific networks of interpersonal and organisational ties surrounding migrants (Poros, 2001). By way of example, Massey extensively and comparatively examined and confirmed such patterns and processes of network-conditioned migration in 19 migration communities (Massey, Goldring and Durand, 1994, pp. 1492-1533). Portes and Bach propose that migration itself “can be conceptualised as a process of network building, which depends on and, in turn, reinforces social relationships across space. Migration is a process that both depends on, and creates, social networks” (Portes and Bach, 1995, p. 10).

Furthermore, the history of immigration and settlement in different countries has shown that migrant groups tend to prefer to settle in particular locations in the initial years

⁹ (see among others Kearney 1986, Grasmuck and Pessar 1991, Portes 1995, Massey et al. 1999, Vertovec and Cohen 1999, Brettell 2000).

following arrival. Their choice of place for initial residence is largely a function of the earlier settlement networks of a particular group and include proximity to employment and other resources such as the cost of accommodation, desirability of a particular suburb or a consequence of official policy. This pattern of settlement in Australia has varied with each wave of migration, depending on such factors as the availability of affordable accommodation, migrant hostels, churches, schools, health care and job opportunities for particular culture groups (Burnley et al., 1997). Therefore residential concentrations of this nature in Australia minimise and provide support for the adjustment problems of new arrivals.

Dimensions of social position and power, such as the class status of the network, have been shown to have a considerable conditioning impact on migration processes. This has been demonstrated, for instance, by Salaff, Fong and Wong (1999). Following the work of Bott (1957), Salaff and her colleagues demonstrated how middle-class emigrants from Hong Kong¹⁰, in contrast to those of the working-class, used different kinds of networks for different purposes in arranging their movements and resettlement abroad during the period of the British handover of the colony to China. Such studies, among many, point to the varieties of firmly embedded relations and structures in migrants' networks (Portes, 1995). For example, Hong Kong emigrants mainly settled in Australia or Vancouver since both Australia and Canada have similar institutions to Hong Kong, being ex-British colonies.

Social ties in pre-migration networks are related to factors that affect which people migrate: the means of migration, the destination, accommodation, and future prospects for physical and occupational mobility. Connections with earlier migrants provide potential migrants with many resources that they may use to reduce the risks and costs of migration: information about procedures (technical as well as legal), financial support, job prospects, administrative assistance, physical attendance, and emotional solidarity (Meyer, 2001, p. 93).

Once migrants arrive in the host country, the networks they use vary considerably depending on local histories of migration, national conditions and communal socio-cultural traits. These types of networks, used by different occupational classes, have proved to be beneficial (Shah and Menon, 1999). High-level occupational groups, for

¹⁰ Most migrated to Sydney or Vancouver.

instance, rely more on networks of colleagues or organisations and less on kin-based networks than unskilled workers. The forms and characteristics of these networks may depend on friends, relatives, kin, acquaintances, and professional colleagues (Meyer, 2001, p. 93). For migrants, social networks are very important in terms of finding employment and accommodation, as well as support during and after their arrival into a new country. Social networks guide migrants into or through specific places and occupations and as Poros (2001) has demonstrated, local labour markets can become linked through specific networks of interpersonal and organisational ties surrounding migrants.

Migration is also related to transnational social space (Schiller et al., 1992). The terms 'transnational social spaces' and 'transnational communities' are often used synonymously, as if 'transnational community' were the sole form or type of transnational social space (Portes, 1996). It refers to the ideology of transmigrants who engage in clash through an informal economy and grass-roots activism (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998). For example, Lebanese business people have flourished in various parts of the globe for decades. Moreover, the sustained transnationalisation of migrant ties is often referred to as 'transnationalism' (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999). The choice of migration can be triggered by the success of other migrants, the existence of migrant communities at the destination, and recruitment by migrant families.

Anthropological studies have focused on women's work and workplaces in informal spheres such as the market, housework, and domestic care (Fazio, 2004). Feminisation is increasing in key sectors of the informal economy and so is informalisation of the economic and political processes involving migrants. Migrants seek work places where they have kin and friends. In retrospect this can appear as a step in the migration pattern towards an ultimate destination from which a migrant recurrently returns or in which they finally settle with or without family. While anthropologists have recognised the significance of networks of kinship and friendship to the process of migration, they have also paid considerable attention to and hence theorised the role of networks in the process of settlement and adaptation in the society of immigration.

In anthropology, as in other disciplines, theories of migration have been shaped by a particular epistemology that generates a specific set of questions. For anthropology, a discipline sensitive to places but also comparative in its perspective, the focus is less on

the broad scope of migration flows than on the articulation between the places from which a migrant originates and the place to which he/she goes. This includes exploration of how people in local places respond to global processes. Equally, anthropology's focus on culture, which includes the study of interaction between beliefs and behaviour, and of social relationships, has resulted in immigration studies emphasising matters of adaptation and cultural change, forms of social organisation that are characteristic of both the migration process and the immigrant community, and questions of identity and ethnicity (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000).

Anthropologists tend to be context-specific in ethnographic endeavours and much of their theorising is idiographic. Their ultimate goal, however, is to engage in cross-cultural comparisons. While ethnographic knowledge generated by anthropology may transcend the empirical and anthropologists are interested in the who, when, and why of migration, through ethnography, anthropologists also seek to capture the experience of being an immigrant and the changes to the migrants themselves, as well as the experience of social and cultural changes resulting from leaving one context and entering another (Brettell, 2000). Brettell notes that this has led anthropologists to explore the impact of immigration on social relations between men and women, among kin, and among people from the same or different cultural backgrounds (2000, p. 4).

1.3.3 Migration and Ethnicity

The definition of ethnicity is complex and often subjective. Ashcroft et al. describe ethnicity as a term used since the 1960s to account for human variation in terms of culture, tradition, language, social patterns and ancestry, distinguishing it from the more formal and rigid boundaries of race (1998, p. 80). Others such as Sneja Gunew have always maintained that ethnicity carries connotations of both race and nation (1993, p. 8).

The relationship between ethnicity and urban life in general has not been adequately explored. Susan et al. (1987) claim that, "Sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, and historians, among others, have been intrigued by the work involved in defining and explaining the roots, content, and dynamics of changing ethnicity among various groups" (Susan et al., 1987, p. 4). While social scientists early in the 20th century predicted that ethnicity would disappear with increasing urbanisation, many urban

sociologists in the second half of the century argued that ethnicity arises only in cities. Anthropologists prefer to see ethnicity as a concept involving two or more groups in a contact situation. Thus, ethnicity can emerge not only when immigrants settle in cities, but also when the coloniser meets a tribe or when a nomadic group meets a settled population (Susan et al., 1987, p. 3; see also Yancey, Erickson, and Juliani 1976).

Immigration flows have been found to be a major factor in the development of ethnicity. These flows may result from ethnic conflict in the home country but they also may generate a new conflict with other groups in the host society. This is especially true when immigrants use their group boundaries as a means for collective action or as an instrument for social or political mobilisation (Al-Haj, 2002, p. 49-70). Once new immigrants are settled, their collective action may aim to create a cultural community in the receiving society and include bargaining for a change in their status and conditions (Banton, 1998, p. 222).

In a broad sense, ethnic identity refers to an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group (Liebkind, 1992, 2001; Phinney, 1990). Although the term is sometimes used to refer simply to one's self-label or group affiliation (Rumbaut, 1994), the concept of ethnicity itself is defined in many different ways across disciplines (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996). It is used in the present context to refer to subgroups within a larger context, such as a nation, that claim a common ancestry and share one or more of the following elements: culture, religion, language, kinship, and place of origin.

Although a few studies have been conducted specifically on ethnicity in Australia (McKay, 1985; Burnley, 1982), there is an impressive amount of literature on this topic in the United States, Great Britain and elsewhere. Theories of ethnicity centre on the following aspects: the individual versus the group; the contents of an ethnic group's identity versus its boundary; the primordial 'gut' feeling of an identity versus its instrumental expression, and ethnicity as an all-inclusive general theory versus ethnicity as a limited approach to particular problems (Banks, 1996, p. 47). A wide range of studies have examined the impact on ethnicity of a number of processes, one of which is migration.

Ethnic identity becomes salient as part of the acculturation process that occurs when immigrants come to a new society. Ethnic identity is that aspect of acculturation that focuses on the subjective sense of belonging to a group or culture (Phinney, 1990). As an aspect of acculturation, ethnic identity can be thought of in the same terms as the theoretical framework that is used to explicate acculturation. Current thinking emphasises acculturation as a two-dimensional process rather than a linear process of change which requires relinquishing a culture of origin and assimilating into a new culture (Berry et al., 1990, 1997). Two-dimensional models of acculturation, based largely on the work of Berry, recognise that the two dominant aspects of acculturation, namely, preservation of one's heritage culture and adaptation to the host society, are conceptually distinct and can vary independently (Abu-Rabia, 1997; Eisikovits, 2000; Liebkind, 1993, 1996).

Furthermore, the relationship between identity and adaptation for immigrants is likely to be moderated by a number of additional factors, such as gender, age at the time of migration, and first and second generation immigration. In examinations of gender in relation to ethnic identity, some studies have reported differences in strength between immigrant men and women in one or both of these identities (Abu-Rabia, 1997; Eisikovits, 2000; Liebkind, 1993, 1996).

The relationships among ethnic identity, gender, and adjustment may vary in terms of the age of the immigrants. For example Liebkind (1996), found that adult females have typically been seen as carriers of the culture in a new society as they are more likely to remain at home and maintain traditional practices. Younger females, particularly those from traditional cultures that are restrictive toward women, may identify with western values that allow women greater freedom. These differences may cause stress within the family.

Increased interest in ethnicity in the urban context of ethnic pluralism resulted in attention being given to the boundaries between ethnic groups, and their interaction. The emphasis placed, influentially by Fredrik Barth (2000), upon boundaries between ethnic groups represented a significant shift of interest towards salience rather than the personae of ethnicity in inter-group relations which Barth has described as "instrumentalist" (Eriksen, 2002, p. 54). Eriksen claims that Barth proposed "the simplistic view that geographical and social isolation have been the critical factors in

sustaining cultural diversity” (Eriksen, 2002, p. 54). Fredrik Barth (1970) in his edited collection *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, prefers to focus not on the cultural ‘contents’ of ethnic identity, but on the boundaries that ‘contain’ the group. Barth writes that, “Boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them, [... and] secondly, stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomised ethnic statuses” (Fredrik, 1970, pp. 9-10). However, this position has been criticised by Eriksen (2002[1993], p. 79), Anthony Cohen (1996, p.120), and Banks (1996, pp. 14-16), the latter noting that Fredrik Barth relies heavily on the enumeration of the very cultural features he claims to be rejecting. This discussion stresses the recursive nature of the relationship between ethnic boundaries and salience, and the ‘content’ of ethnic identity, suggesting that boundary, form and substance are more intimately interwoven than is sometimes suggested. Eriksen claims that “when we talk of identity in social anthropology we refer to social identity” (Eriksen, 2002, p. 60).

Generation and age at the time of immigration are also related to identity and adaptation. Immigrants generally arrive in a new country with a strong sense of their national or cultural origin and with varying degrees of willingness to adapt to the identity of their new society (Berry & Sam, 1997; Liebkind, 2001; Phinney, 1998). Subsequent generations face differing identity issues associated with their sense of belonging to their ancestral culture and to their country of settlement.¹¹ On the other hand, many immigrants to a new country first settle in a community composed of people from their native land or even their native village. They retain their old customs and acquire a limited knowledge of their new country’s culture, language, and values. In time, however, most immigrants begin to assimilate (adapt to the new culture). Those immigrants who adapt most quickly usually have a background similar to the new cultural environment¹² and much contact with the new society.

Young, Petty and Faulkner in 1980 in Australian schools focused on disadvantages in education and employment among Turkish and Lebanese youth. School experience, transition from school to work, and work experience were investigated among almost

¹¹ An Australian friend told me that when he was teaching English language he found Arab students could not follow the requirements of the English syllabus because in their Muslim school in Sydney they did not watch Australian television but that of their homeland. The teacher also thought that the students were poorly behaved because of the cultural clash between that of their country of birth and Australia.

¹² e.g. white South Africans, New Zealanders, North Americans, Canadians, and British.

100 youths in each birthplace group and then compared to the experience of Anglo-Australian youths from the same geographic areas (Young et al., 1980, p. 5). The Turkish group was drawn from Melbourne, the Lebanese group from Sydney. The study highlighted the disadvantaged position of youths arriving in Australia as teenagers. Their parents' confusion over the more informal and less disciplined Australian teaching methods emerged strongly. Both groups were found to have a high proportion of recent arrivals and hence "are experiencing the special disadvantages of new settlers" (Young, et al., 1980, p. 5).

1.3.4 Diaspora

A diaspora is a migrant community which crosses borders, retains an ethnic group consciousness and particular institutions over extended periods (Cohen, 1997, p. 9). Diaspora, an old term newly conceptualised, has attracted increasing interest from those involved in ethnic studies, cultural studies, literature, sociology, and anthropology. Diaspora as a concept can be employed to refer to displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration, or exile (Brazier and Mannur, 2003, p.1).

The notion of diaspora has been extensively used by a wide range of scholars contributing to an understanding of transnational migrants. Diaspora studies define diasporas as exemplary communities of transnational movement. The term 'diaspora' is derived from the Greek verb *speio* (to sow, to scatter) and the preposition *dia* (through, apart). This term was traditionally used for the Jewish exiled from Judea, a situation forced by Babylonian and Roman rule.

According to (Schmidt, 2006), diaspora today is used in general for anyone displaced from his/her homeland or an emigrated ethnic group, and having a minority status in the host country and at least partly keeping their ethnical identity (p. 122). Also, he stated two basic concepts for understanding the term diaspora:

- The strong concept of a homeland, often idealized.
- collective ethnical identity and group consciousness, e.g. collective memory, myths and group solidarity

It is even possible to broaden the term diaspora to a "deterritorialized social identity"(Cohen 1997, p. 173), no longer depending on a homeland as a place, but on opinions, beliefs, tastes, religion or generally values.

It is a concept used in several academic traditions (Kaya, 2005, p. 129-149). Having contemplated contemporary diasporic situations as an anticipated feature of globalisation, Vertovec (1997) states that the contemporary notion of diaspora advanced by contemporary scholars includes four different approaches.

1-The first standpoint regards diaspora as a social form (Boyarin and Boyarin, 1993; Cohen, 1997; Safran, 1991; Van Hear, 1998; Wahlbeck, 1999). Diaspora as a social form refers to transnational communities whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states.

2-The second approach conceives diaspora as a type of consciousness which emerges by means of transnational networks (Clifford, 1992, 1994; Cohen, 1997; Gilroy, 1987, 1993; Hall, 1991; Kaya, 2001; Vertovec, 1997). This approach springs from W.E.B. Du Bois' notion of 'double consciousnesses', and refers to individuals' awareness of being simultaneously 'home away from home' or 'here and there'.

3-The third approach is an understanding which regards diaspora as a mode of cultural construction and expression (Gilroy, 1987, 1993, 1994). This approach emphasises the flow of constructed styles and identities among diasporic people.

4-The fourth approach emphasises the political dimension of contemporary diasporas (Sheffer, 1986, 1995). This approach particularly addresses the importance of political relations between diaspora, homeland and country of settlement.

William Safran (1991, p. 83-93) defines diaspora as "expatriate minority communities". Safran presents a general framework for an 'ideal type' of diaspora, a 'centred' diaspora oriented by continuous cultural connections to a source and by teleology of 'return'.

- that are dispersed from an original centre to at least two peripheral places;
- that maintain a memory, vision or myth of their original homeland;
- that believe they are not fully accepted by their host country;
- that see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return, when the time is right;

- that are committed to the maintenance and restoration of this homeland; and
- whose group consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by this continuing relationship with the homeland.

Today, diaspora is used to describe various well-established communities which have experienced ‘displacement’ such as the Jewish diaspora, Chinese migrants in Southeast Asia, Americans in exile, Palestinian refugees, or the African diaspora (Clifford, 1994; Sanfran, 1991). In addition, the appeal of diaspora is related to its status as a transnational social formation since it challenges the hegemony and boundedness of the nation-state as well as pure imaginaries of nationhood (Werbner, 2002, p. 120). For example, as Paul Gilroy points out, the diasporic experience shows us that ‘race’, ethnicity, nation and culture are not interchangeable terms, and cultural forms cannot be contained neatly within the structure of the nation-state. This quality can be used to reveal an additional failing of the “rigid, pseudobiological” definition of national cultures, which has been introduced by ethnic absolutism (Gilroy, 1987, p.154). Black Britain is a diasporic culture, which derives its culture not only from Britain, but receives raw material for a creative culture from black America and the Caribbean. In other words, black culture is always made and re-made across different nations and culture (Gilroy 1987).¹³

1.4 Assimilation or Acculturation

Immigration has played a significant role in changing population structures of immigrant countries by increasing and decreasing population densities. High levels of migration have transformed the world into one in which the populations of many countries include groups drawn from other societies with quite different cultures. The relationship of diverse cultural groups to each other and the rate at which their cultures change are matters that have been of interest to sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists and other social scientists for a considerable period of time. The social processes involved in this cultural change are complex and affected by both major social structures and the informal relationships between different cultural groups (Parimal & Hamilton, 1997).

¹³ For more information see http://www.srcs.nctu.edu.tw/CSA2005/papers/0108_C3_3_Wang.pdf

Acculturation and assimilation are generally discussed together because acculturation is assumed to be a prerequisite for assimilation (see, for example, Gordon, 1964; Teske and Nelson, 1974). However, it is important to recognise the difference between the two concepts. The term acculturation appeared in the 1920s in American anthropology when researchers moved from an interest in studying and reconstructing traditional American Indian cultures to an interest in culture contact principally between indigenous and European cultures (Susan et al., 1987). In 1936, Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits defined acculturation as that which “comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Robert et al., 1936, p. 149). This definition remains generally accepted today.

Acculturation generally refers to the cognitive and behavioural changes that occur as a result of close contact between different cultures, specifically the adoption of the language and values of the dominant group (Berry, 1990, 1997). This includes *changes* in behaviour in regard to identity, attitudes, and values of an immigrant cultural group in reaction to being introduced to a new and distinct culture. Assimilation describes the process of increasing participation in the culture and values of a host society. It includes the cultural absorption of immigrants into a host society and the considerable disintegration of cultural differences. This requires immigrants to relinquish or lose their cultural identity and take on, in the sense of acculturation, the values and behaviours of the host society.

However, theories of acculturation and assimilation are often overly simplistic, and have been contradicted by ongoing research and the reality of social and economic enclaves of bilingual/bicultural immigrants in Europe and the United States. Furthermore, it appears that recent young generations of immigrants experience no conflict in retaining their ethnic identities while they prosper in the host country, learn a culture and language, and become proficient in a new cross-cultural lifestyle. The ability of immigrants to function effectively among members of mainstream society and to compete well with them in businesses, industry and academe, far from signalling a surrender of their ethnic identity suggests that ethnic communities and ethnic identities enable them to succeed (Yali, Zou, 2002, p. 254).

In fact, confusion among various formulations of assimilation in the early sociological literature has often been noted (Gordon, 1964). This problem remained unresolved until Milton Gordon's definition of assimilation in *American life* (1964) provided a systematic dissection of the concept. His multi-dimensional formulation has proven attractive in part because it readily lends itself to operationalisation and hypothesis formulation that is suitable for middle-range research. Although Gordon outlined seven dimensions in all, the critical distinction in his conceptual scheme lay between acculturation and what he termed "structural" assimilation, by which he meant the entry of members of an ethnic minority into primary-group relationships with the majority group (Gordon, 1964, p. 80). This distinction, and its emphasis in particular on the character of an individual's primary-group affiliation, suggests one of the limitations of Gordon's scheme, namely, that it is oriented to a micro-sociological account of assimilation and not conceptually integrated into larger social processes. The assimilation and acculturation perspective, however, commonly known as the melting pot approach, espouses a functionalist notion of the necessity of cultural adjustment for new immigrants to survive in the host society. Moreover, Gordon's theory of assimilation claimed intermarriage was an important stage in the acceptance of a new group into a host society (Gordon, 1964, p. 80).

This interpretation has been questioned by Newman who suggested that high rates of intermarriage may not necessarily be a valid indicator of assimilation into the culture of a host society (Newman, 1973, pp.162-163). He proposed an alternative explanation that focused on the role of "social contact and shared social space" (Newman, 1973, pp.162-163) rather than shared culture and argued that an increase in intermarriage rates may not necessarily lead to a change in culture. Instead ethnic intermarriage may be explained by "a trade-off theory" in which groups with significant resources are assumed to be in a better position to attract potential marriage partners than those without. Bottomley made a similar point when she argued that "identity is formed by social processes; crystallised during the early years of life, it is maintained and modified by social relations" (Bottomley, 1979, p.119). Given this, the influence of birthplace must be interpreted in conjunction with these social experiences, although as Gordon argued adoption of the 'cultural patterns' of a host society typically come first and are inevitable. His discussion claims that these patterns extend beyond the acquisition of the

English language, to include outward emotional expression and personal values (Gordon, 1964, p. 79). He distinguished intrinsic cultural traits, those that are vital ingredients of the groups' cultural heritage to be "exemplified by religion and musical tastes, from extrinsic traits, which tend to be products of the historical vicissitudes of the groups' adjustment to the local environment" and thus are deemed less central to group identity (Gordon, 1964, p. 79). The distinction would seem to imply that a group in making more or less necessary accommodations to the host society readily surrenders extrinsic traits, but the implications for intrinsic traits are less clear. Gordon did not expect fundamental religious identities to be renounced as a result of acculturation.

In essence, Gordon defined a cultural standard that represented the direction and eventual outcome of acculturation – the middle-class cultural patterns of largely, white Protestant Anglo-Saxon origins, which he also described using Joshua Fishman's term, the "core culture" (Gordon, 1964, p. 72). This was an understanding of acculturation as a largely one-way process, apart from institutional religion, in which the minority group adopted the core culture. In Gordon's view the core culture remained basically unchanged by this absorption. Gordon only acknowledged the possibility of change at the margins: minor modifications in cuisine, recreational patterns, place names, speech, residential architecture, sources of artistic inspiration, and perhaps other peripheral areas (Gordon, 1964, p. 100).

Consequently, the terms 'acculturation' and 'adaptation' are used somewhat interchangeably in most literature on immigration. In contrast to Robert et al.'s definition of acculturation that emphasised results, Henry, Tabor, Matis, & Rees provide a definition of "a process of adaptation and change whereby a person or an ethnic, social, religious, linguistic or national group integrates with or adapts to the cultural values and patterns of the majority group" (Henry, Tabor, Matis, & Rees 1995). Adaptation, however, is seen as the initial process of immigrant settlement, which may or may not lead to acculturation or integration.

In 1977 Alba and Nee noted that Gordon's concept of culture had been critiqued as static and overly homogenous. As noted above, Gordon assumed that acculturation involved change on the part of ethnic groups in the direction of middle-class Anglo-American culture, which itself remained largely unaffected except for possible minor modifications. An obvious disadvantage of Gordon's view is that American culture

varies greatly by locale and social class; acculturation hardly takes place in the shadow of a single, middle-class cultural standard. What Gordon's theory lacked, they argued, was a more differentiated and syncretic conception of culture and a recognition that American culture was and is more mixed, much more an amalgam of diverse influences that has continued to evolve (Alba & Nee, 1997, p. 7).

Alba and Nee (1997) remain enthusiastic defenders of classical assimilationism. They believe that assimilation should be viable for contemporary immigrants because it worked so well in the past for turn-of-the-century immigrants. However, they also argue that there are adverse effects brought about by contemporary structural changes that classical assimilationism is unable to anticipate. Firstly, the continuously high rate of mass immigration has constantly replenished ethnic communities and thereby limited the host society's 'breathing space' for absorbing and integrating immigrants. This has been a major roadblock to assimilation. Secondly, the growing hourglass economy, with knowledge-intensive, high-paying jobs at one end and labour-intensive, low-paying jobs at the other, has removed several rungs of the mobility ladder that are crucial to enable immigrants with little education and few job skills, to start from the bottom and climb up. Thirdly, the distinctive skin colour of many new immigrant groups, especially those deemed phenotypically black may exert a powerful influence on the pace of assimilation. Alba and Nee consider diverse outcomes to be simply differences in the speed of assimilation and attribute them to variations in pre-migration as well as post-migration human capital characteristics, spatial distribution, co-ethnic populations, group size, and continual mass migration. Despite inter-group differences, Alba and Nee expect that, given sufficient time, contemporary immigrants will come to resemble other Americans and be assimilated into the American middle-class through intermarriage, residential integration, and occupational mobility.

1.5 Beyond Assimilation and Acculturation: Adaptation

Assimilation of immigrant groups in the host society is a multidimensional process involving change in many life areas, such as labour, market, success, marriage, and fertility (White, 1993). Social interaction as a whole tends to increase with socio-economic gains and spatial mobility is closely associated with social mobility. The assumption is that the more economic resources at one's disposal, the greater choice one has with respect to residential location. Yet the process of residential assimilation

extends beyond the social mobility of individuals. Structural conditions such as the nature of migration, the intensity of social networks and available employment opportunities shape the strength and kind of ethnic identification and solidarity and thus the paths of integration which an immigrant group may take. This is especially relevant to the study of immigration and self-segregation (White, 1993). Many new immigrants initially settle in communities with a high concentration of residents from the same country of origin, a process often guided by the social ties inherent in chain migration.

The persistence of cultural differences between ethnic groups in some cultural and social areas, as well as preferential ties with the originary culture, appears to rely on acceptance of a sense of cultural differentiation within the context of one broad social system. Such a notion of cultural differentiation recognises the right of each ethnic group to be different as long as it does not threaten the unity of the whole social system.

One common sense view of the matter is that an immigrant is assimilated as soon as he has shown that he can 'get on in the country'. This implies among other things, that the immigrant is able to establish a place in the community on the basis of individual merits. In other words, members of the community consider him/her as one of the group because of the social and cultural characteristics he/she exhibits. In turn the immigrant also thinks of him/herself as such. An assimilated person or group then exhibits no cultural traits that may set them apart. The melting pot hypothesis promoted by Alba and Nee, however, implies and assumes perfect assimilation as a complete integration with every immigrant or at least his descendants growing into the cultural image of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

In contrast, earlier definitions of assimilation did not assume the erasure of all ethnic culture or characteristics. Rather they depicted a process that brought immigrants within the realm of mainstream American society (Alba and Nee, 1997). However, the concept of assimilation slowly changed and the term came to represent a linear progression or process through which immigrants discarded old-world traits and adopted 'American' ones (Gordon, 1964; Lieberman, 1980; Rumbaut, 1997; Sowell, 1981). Warner and Srole (1945) developed an idea of assimilation in which the foreign-born and their offspring must acculturate and seek acceptance among native-born Americans as a prerequisite for social and economic advancement (Harker, 2001, pp. 969- 1004).

Total assimilation or acculturation, however, rarely takes place in real life. Instead there is a sequence of actions in which an immigrant's role structure may emerge and develop in several directions. The determinants of these directions are believed to include the social and cultural background of the immigration, as well as that of the recipient community, and the similarities and differences between the two. It is assumed that people coming from societies that had experienced a process of inter-group relations would find it easier to accept others and assimilate. It is also believed that such societies exhibit a more favourable atmosphere for newcomers.

In response to the shortcomings of the ethnic pluralist approach of the 1960s and 1970s, the bicultural/pluralist approach has tackled the 'cultural adjustment' question on the basis of the existence of a dialectical relationship between the host and native cultures (Mohammad, 1997, p. 613). Advocates of biculturalism contend that identification with and adoption of both the American and the native cultures results in healthier adjustment in immigrants compared with complete assimilation (Mohammad, 1997, p. 613. See also, Buriel et al., 1980; Conzen et al., 1992; Szapocznik, Kurtinez and Fernandez, 1980). There are significant variables that contribute to the maintenance of cultural diversity (as opposed to cultural homogeneity) in a host country that are worth keeping in mind when examining the arrival of new immigrants. These include social and political conditions (Mohammad, 1997). Furthermore, Trueba (1999) suggests that immigrants manage to acquire and maintain different identities that coexist and function without conflict in different contexts simultaneously. In a sense, migrants function inter-culturally.

Higham (2001) has developed various ways to deconstruct the acculturation experience. These include regarding diversity and assimilation as complementary processes that suggest 'pluralistic integration'; preserving traditions combined with assimilation and amalgamation, and shaping the host and the immigrant culture simultaneously. Berry identified four ways of coping with identity issues among immigrants (Berry, 1986).

1. Assimilation - relinquishing one's original cultural identity and moving to adopt that of the larger dominant society.
2. Integration - combining components from the culture of origin and the absorbing culture.

3. Rejection - self-imposed withdrawal from the dominant culture.
4. Deculturation - striking out against the dominant culture accompanied by stress and alienation (a sense of 'not here and not there').

Berry (1990, 1997) proposed that the acculturation strategies adopted by acculturating individuals are central factors moderating the adaptational outcomes (Berry, 1990, 1997). Numerous other reasons, however, are assumed to influence adaptational outcomes including moderating factors prior to migration (e.g. age, gender, personality, cultural distance from host society) coping strategies employed by the acculturating individual, experiences of prejudice and discrimination, social support and contextual factors like demography, immigration policy and ethnic attitudes of the receiving society (Berry, 1990).

Berger (2004) stated that:

The process of adjustment to the new culture is long and complex. It usually lasts years and for many immigrants may last a lifetime. Two processes occur simultaneously, one with respect to the culture of origin and the other with respect to the absorbing culture. (Berger, 2004, p. 11; see also, Birman and Tyler, 1994)

In other words the social acceptance of immigration within one's culture of origin affects adjustment to the new culture.

The concept as defined here remains too abstract to translate into empirical indicators. Moreover, the emphasis here is on cultural factors involved in the process of acculturation which, as shown in a later chapter, is only one phase of assimilation. The concept of assimilation needs to be redefined to take into account the specific sub-processes implied, including such sub-processes as identification, and amalgamation. Structural as well as cultural assimilation and other sub-processes are specified with reference to the research carried out with the Jordanian community in Sydney.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the concept of immigration within an overview of migration studies and the historical background to migration networks, ethnicity, diaspora, and assimilation or acculturation. Further, it has examined the literature on migration and

ethnicity and the various applications of anthropological, sociological, and political approaches available for the study of migration networks and ethnic communities.

In the next chapter, I present an overview of migration to Australia and the various government policies that have influenced and overseen the process. Further, I examine Arab migration and Jordanian migration in particular, with an emphasis on the specific factors that influence migrants to leave Jordan. The indicators used in carrying out the research with participants from the Jordanian community in Sydney are then presented.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework – A Literature Review

2.0 Brief History of Australian Immigration

As stated previously, Australia has immigrants from around the world and their number continues to grow as more people move to Australia in search of work, safety, education or to be reunited with family. Apart from the Gulf States (which have high foreign population rates due to guest workers) and Luxembourg (with 38.1% of its population foreign-born, mostly Portuguese), Australia, Israel, New Zealand and Canada have the highest percentage of foreign-born residents (respectively 22.2%, 37.4%, 22.5% and 18.9%). Immigration has produced 50% of the population growth in Australia and Israel since 1946 and 1948 respectively. According to Castels in *The Age of Migration*, Australia is currently one of the three most popular destinations in the world for immigrants. On a global scale, Castels argues that Australia has a relatively open immigration policy that has encouraged permanent migration and often fully supported the United Nations in the resettlement of refugees (Price, 1981).¹⁴

In the 19th century, Australia, Canada and the United States were also strong magnets for immigrants, offering employment and land, as well as the possibility of religious and political freedom. Jupp has indicated several reasons including a decline in the birth rate and an increase in industry and urbanisation, for sustained immigration to Australia in the period from 1830-1890 (Jupp, 2004, pp. 7-10). The notion of Australia as ‘terra nullius’ or ‘no one’s land’, while completely failing to recognise the presence of Australia’s indigenous population, further promoted an idea of spaciousness and plenty that attracted people to migrate to Australia. Furthermore, from 1890-1924 Australia was sold in many countries as the ‘Land of Opportunity’ with more available jobs and religious freedom rivalling countries such as America and Canada. From 1968 until the present day, there have been various reasons inducing immigrants to come to Australia. They include the attraction of democracy and equality for citizens, factors which migrants aspire to no matter where they originate from.

¹⁴Also for more information about refugee policy, see Maley, William, 2002e. ‘Refugee Policy: Towards a Liberal Framework’, *Policy*, 18, 3, Spring, 37–40.

The waves of migration to Australia reflect late 19th century movements which were caused by similar social, economic and political conditions in the late Ottoman Syria and spread out to a number of destinations: Australia, Canada, the USA, New Zealand, Europe and parts of West Africa (Issawi, 1992, p. 30). Although Australia has played only one part in the great global population movements that were a prominent feature of the 20th century (Collins et al., 2000), immigration has played and continues to play an integral role in shaping Australian society and culture. An examination of the history of immigration is a telling reminder that it does not follow a set course; rather, it is the result of decisions made by real people in response to the world around them. War, civil disorder, and dramatic economic highs and lows have generated these movements in various parts of the world.

Although the first wave of migrants to Australia came from English-speaking countries, by the early 1960s immigrants from non-English-speaking countries comprised the greater proportion of new settlers. While immigrants have made enormous contributions to the culture and economy of Australia (Collins, 1991), their settlement involved great difficulty. At times, Australia, like many receiving countries, restricted immigration in an attempt to maintain a more homogeneous society in which the population shared similar ethnic, geographic, cultural, and religious backgrounds (Carey, 1996). Although some immigration laws have been relaxed, many newcomers of different backgrounds still face challenges in gaining acceptance, and the steady stream of people coming to Australian shores has also had a profound effect on the Australian character.

2.1 From convicts to ethnics

According to Jupp in 1991:

The existence of Australia had been known to the Europeans since the early seventeenth century and possibly to the Portuguese a century earlier, it had not proved very interesting to its Asian neighbours. Chinese sailors were probably familiar with it, as important sea voyages of discovery were made by Chinese in the early fifteenth century. The same is possibly true for Arab explorers, whose influence reached as far as Indonesia and the Philippines. (p. 41; see also McIntyre, 1972)

In 1788, Australia had a population of approximately 300,000. This population was comprised exclusively of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders who already had regular contact with the Papuans, Indonesians, and also Chinese, as mentioned above (*The Australian Encyclopædia*, 1988).

The Aborigines, being hunter-gatherers did not construct towns and villages but had semi-settlements in parts of Tasmania and along the major river systems in the country (Philip, 2003, pp. 51-105; also see Robson, 1966).

Australia now has a population of around 21.3 million with 22% born overseas and an additional 30% born into families where at least one parent was born overseas (ABS, 2001). However the total population descended from Aboriginal people at the latest available estimate is 455,026 persons (In the 2006 Census - 2.3% of the total Australian population reported they were of Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander origin). This represents an increase of 29% since the 1996 Census (352,970 Indigenous people). This growth reflects natural population increase (the excess of births over deaths) and other factors, including improvements in data collection methods and people newly identifying their Indigenous origin in the Census.

Most of those who arrived in Australia from English-speaking countries between 1788 and 1868 came as convicts, with the largest number coming from London and Lancashire (Jupp, 1991). The majority of those transported were described later as labourers (men) or domestics (women) (Jupp, 1991). Many early immigrants were illiterate as there was no national education system in England at the time.

In the 18th century Britain was concerned by its increasing crime rate which was partly attributable to the effects of the Industrial Revolution and population movement to the cities. British prisons were overcrowded and to resolve the issue the government sought a penal colony which could also serve as a strategic settlement (McRae, 1985).

Britain, therefore, began to transport convicts to Australia as well as small numbers of independent settlers. With the growth of the Australian colonies and the establishment of a pastoral industry, a need for labour encouraged new migrants to choose Australia as their new country as they were experiencing an employment shortage in their home country (McRae, 1985). Many people made their fortunes by providing professional,

commercial and entertainment services to the growing population, while others became gold-diggers in the gold rushes that resulted in the growth of cities such as Melbourne.

In addition, Chinese were among the ethnic groups who began arriving in 1851 attracted by the prospect of wealth and by 1858 there were more than 40,000 in Victoria. They were described as ‘foreign plunderers’ and ‘a threat to moral standards’ they were treated harshly and at times violently by British settlers (McRae, 1985).

Moreover, most convicts and individual immigrants were men. This led to a serious gender imbalance in the colonies and frustrated the establishment of a permanent and prosperous society based on family life as an alternative to the convict system (Jupp, 1991, p. 10; Welch, 1996).

Until World War II, migration to Australia throughout the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century was overwhelmingly dominated by people from Britain and Ireland. Throughout this period they constituted around 80% of overseas born residents (Camm & McOuilton, 1987, p.143). At the end of the War, a policy of “populate or perish” was adopted in an effort to strengthen Australia’s economy (Camm & McOuilton, 1987, p.143). The Australian government saw migrants “as potential soldiers, as potential workers and as a potential market” (Cohen &Black, 1976).¹⁵ Passage permits and assistance programs were developed¹⁶ to help displaced people from Europe who found their way to Australia mainly from Britain due to an assortment of reasons including a housing shortage in Holland, bomb damage in Germany, and huge poverty in the south of Italy (<http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/02key.htm>)

Migrants from the UK, however, remain the largest single source group from European countries, although immigrants from New Zealand have overtaken them since the late 1980s. From 1947, Australia began a major immigration program designed to increase the immigrant population by 1% per year. With falling numbers coming from the United Kingdom and Ireland as the economies of these countries recovered from World War II, the immigration program was opened up to a wide range of European countries: to

¹⁵ Barry Cohen & David Black, *Twentieth century Australia*, Perth, Carolls Pty Ltd, (1976, p.103). ‘Populate or perish’ refers to Australian fears about self-defence after Japan’s bombing of Darwin and shelling of Sydney and Newcastle during WW II.

¹⁶ After WW II an agreement was made with the United Kingdom that British migrants to Australia only had to pay a \$20 fare (commonly referred to as a 10 pound Pom). The rest of the fare was shared between the Australian and British governments, Cohen &Black, *ibid.*,(1976, p. 59).

northern and central Europe during the 1950s; to southern Europe (mainly Greece and Italy, and later [the former] Yugoslavia) from the late 1950s; to the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East during the 1960s and 1970s.

2.2 Changes in Australian Immigration Policy

Immigration to Australia has involved a high degree of state action and control. This controlled immigration started with the convict settlements in 1788 and continued until 1947 to boost the depleted population caused by the losses¹⁷ sustained during World War I and II, as well as the persistent decline in fertility that began in the 1920s (Schofield, 1995). Only in the middle of the 19th century, and then for a very short period of time, was there free and uncontrolled immigration to Australia. This was in response to the discovery of gold and the consequent economic expansion that came to an end with the depression of the 1890s (Jupp, 1984).

In 1901, following Federation, the Australian Commonwealth Federal Government enforced a White Australia Policy to keep out or repatriate Chinese, Japanese, and Kanaka workers who had worked in the Australian gold fields or sugar cane plantations in the 19th century. To enforce this policy, undesirable migrants were subjected to a dictation test in any European language. If the person passed one test, he/she was forced to take another one until he/she failed (Cohen & Black, 1976, pp.188-192).

At the conclusion of World War II, the White Australia Policy and the preference for British immigrants continued. The 'Displaced Persons' immigration program from other parts of Europe (Price, 1945, p. 25) lasted for six years and was an important turning point, reflecting a significant shift in immigration policy in Australia. Refugees came to be regarded as basic labourers who could play a major part in the workforce and were allocated to those sectors which failed to attract Australian-born labourers in adequate numbers (Jupp, 1984). In the mid-1950s another wave of immigrants, who were not sponsored by the Australian Government, started arriving from Italy, Greece, Malta, the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Yugoslavia (Jupp 1984). Their labour was essential to the prosperity and expansion of many industries such as the steel, motor, clothing,

¹⁷ Losses in terms of numbers were low for WW I and WW II for Australia. Fertility rate began to drop in the 1960s with the invention of the pill. For more information see, Schofield, T. (1995). The Health of Australians of Non-English-speaking Background: Key Concerns. *Australian Journal of Public Health*. Vol. 19, No.2, pp. 117- 118.

textile and footwear industries (Jupp, 1984). Refugees from Indochina arrived in the 1970s in the aftermath of the Vietnam War.

For most immigrants, especially those who arrived on assisted passages, their first home were a migrants' centre. By the late-1940s Australia was unable to cope with the demand and could only offer the most basic accommodation to new arrivals. However, what Australia did have in abundance were former military camps. Constructed rapidly in the early 1940s to accommodate Australian and American service personnel, they now stood empty all over the country. Soon dormitory-style huts were crudely divided into basic accommodation for families. The toilets and the showers were separate, usually a considerable distance from the bedrooms (Scott, 2000, p. 27).

When Britain and Western Europe became more prosperous and joined the European Common Market, immigration from these nations to Australia decreased. At the same time, Eastern Europeans were not permitted to emigrate under Communist government rule (Norman, 1986). To maintain the White Australia Policy, Australia realised it would have to subsidise more British migrants (the 'ten pound Poms'). Many migrants of British origin also started to arrive from New Zealand. New Zealanders now constitute the third largest overseas-born group in Australia after those born in Britain and Ireland (Jupp, 1984).

The newly-elected Whitlam Labor Government replaced Australia's long-standing White Australia Policy with a non-racially based immigration policy. The Labor Party committed itself to a broader pool of source countries for immigration. This was combined with an intention to reduce immigration markedly. A high rate of population growth was no longer the objective of this government. The economic costs and the benefits of immigration started to be assessed carefully as pressure rose for demands for social welfare, education, housing and other social services. In consequence access to Australia became more selective and was tied to labour demands and family reunions. Preference was given to migrants with superior qualifications, skills, experience and ability to communicate well in the English language (Jupp, 1984, pp. 2-13).

Australia began to expand its economic and political links with Asia and as a result, it became difficult to exclude well-qualified Asians from immigrating. The Australian Government actively sought to assure Asian governments that the White Australia

Policy was abolished (Shahwan-Akl, 2001, p. 9; see also Rivett, 1975). In the 1970s, wars and political unrest in different regions of Asia and the Middle East created an influx of immigrants from Cambodia, Vietnam, the Philippines, China, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and most recently, East Timor (Jupp, 2001). From the mid-1970s until the early 1980s, Australia opened its doors to many Vietnamese and Indo-Chinese refugees. These large numbers of refugees were the result of the Vietnam War and conflicts elsewhere in the former Indo-China. They brought with them tensions and conflicts of almost three decades of war and the concomitant psychological scars. However, they lacked the educational and occupational attributes which had been required of the carefully selected immigrants preceding the Asian influx. The arrival of the Southeast Asian refugees prompted some concern that the immigration intake was no longer 'balanced'. Suggestions of a return to the open discrimination policy were voiced and hostility towards immigrants started to re-emerge.

Immigration by Southeast Asian refugees was augmented during the 1980s and 1990s by policy changes aimed at attracting immigrants with designated skills from Southeast Asia and Latin America (Forrest, Poulsen & Johnston, 2003, pp. 499–510; see also Jupp, 2002a). At this time, immigrants were also arriving from the Middle East. With the beginning of the civil war in Lebanon in 1975, 12,000 Lebanese people fled to Australia. Unlike the predominantly Christian Lebanese who migrated prior to 1970, many of these new arrivals were Muslims who settled in Sydney and Melbourne and added to the growing cultural and ethnic diversity of late 20th century Australian life (Sherington, 1990). This not only led to substantial demographic changes but also altered the dynamics of intercultural interaction in Australia. In 1982, the government created a more powerful Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs which was committed to non-discriminatory selection procedures for immigration. A growing acceptance of cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity emerged. Multiculturalism started to be seen as a positive force in contrast to assimilation and integration. Although there was a reduction in immigration overall in the 1970s, there was also an increase in migration to Australia from Asia, Indo-China, Central and South America, Lebanon and Turkey. A rapid rise in immigration occurred in the 1980s and new source countries emerged such as the Philippines, Malaysia, Hong Kong and South Africa (ABS, 1990). While immigration from diverse cultures has contributed much to Australian society,

mostly in education, understanding and difference, immigration is nevertheless still criticised for failing to provide an appropriate form of social cohesion in Australian society (Hage, 1998; Castles, Stephen, and Ellie Vasta, 1996).

2.3 Characteristics of Migration to Australia

From the late 1940s through to the late 1960s the hegemony of the Anglo-Celtic immigrant stream began to wane and since that time in Australia no specific group or source area of immigrants to urban areas (such as the African-Americans in the United States) has especially stood out (Jupp, 2002b). In fact, there is a multiplicity of birthplace groups, each amounting to up to 2% of the urban populations. The result has been one of 'ethnic layering' of people from many places (Jupp et al., 1990). The exception is those born in the UK, despite the bulk of UK emigration to Australia tailing off during the 1950s and 1960s and declining noticeably after 1971 (Jupp, 1988, p. 416). In the 2006 Census, those born in England had declined to 4.3% of the total Australian population.

Furthermore, Australia has never typically displayed the polarisation between business migrants and low-skilled, low-paid (e.g. guest worker) migrants often referred to in the related literature (Bouvet, 2007, pp. 16- 23). Instead, there are five main categories: business and skilled migrants (e.g. nurses, IT workers, teachers and certain trade categories); refugees; family reunion; and others. The fifth category consists of New Zealanders who have unrestricted entry. The result is an immigration program dominated by business, skilled (independent) and family reunion migrants. Over the years 1996–2001, the first two categories accounted for 46% of migrants with refugee migrants constituting 14% (Birrell & Rapson, 2002, p. 15).

Both the southern European migrant streams of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, along with the refugee migrant streams of the later 1970s and subsequently, are associated with the low-skilled, low-paid, manufacturing employment section of the workforce according to reports from the Bureau of Immigration Research. A questionnaire survey of the migrant workforce in 1990 (Bureau of Immigration Research, 1990) shows that arrivals from Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia and Lebanon were highly concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Other occupational backgrounds, however, prior to the migration of those who arrived in Australia during 1988/89 (Bureau of Immigration

Research, 1990), shows a concentration of later refugee streams — from Lebanon, Vietnam and components from Sri Lanka and China — in the semi-skilled and unskilled sectors. Those from the major southern European countries were still over-concentrated in less-skilled occupations, but rather less so than in the early 1970s. The second generation descendants of southern European-born parents, however, are noted for their upward occupational mobility (Birrell & Khoo, 1995, p.10).

Because immigrants came to Australia with widely varying levels of education and training, and some with limited knowledge of English, schools, hospitals, employers and landlords had to learn to work with their students, patients, workers, and renters in new ways. Hall writes that “the problem of identity seems to recur in any attempt to rearticulate the relationship between subjects and discursive practices” (Hall, 1996, pp. 2-3). Dissonant perceptions about the way a person looks are common: he/she may look different but speak the English language with an Australian accent, or may look ‘Australian’ but speak no English. In this case, for schools, especially those with small enrolments, the need to provide English-language instruction to non-English speaking students added new burdens to budgets already stretched thin. Medical providers had to add interpreters at additional cost. Courts, too, had to find translators to accommodate non-English speakers.

Both Sydney and Melbourne have traditionally dominated settlement destinations, receiving the largest number of immigrants in respect to all Australian locations. Between 1996 and 2001, 61% of arrivals settled in one of these metropolitan areas (ABS, 1991). Their relative positions have altered over time: while Melbourne was dominant in the decades immediately after World War II, it has been overtaken by Sydney since the 1980s.¹⁸ Between 1981 and 1991 around 30% of Sydney’s total growth was due to overseas immigration, whereas the comparable figure for Melbourne fell to around 18% (Murphy, 1995). Currently, the intake of migrants in Sydney is twice that of Melbourne.¹⁹ This proportion holds true for all entry categories apart from the humanitarian (refugee) intake. These figures also demonstrate Sydney’s advantage over Melbourne in terms of the acquisition of both skilled and business migrants. Such

¹⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (1991). Census of Population and Housing Data. Canberra: AGPS

¹⁹ In 1947 Sydney was 97% British but now is only approximately 50% as Sydneysiders have moved or retired to Queensland. (displacing the Anglo-Saxon population which migrated to Queensland to work or retire.

skilled and business migrant streams are consistent with Sydney's role as Australia's emergent world city especially with respect to increasing business links with Asia from where the great majority of business migrants originate. In the 2006 Census migrants made up 31.7% of Sydney's population.

2.4 Australian Multiculturalism

Today, Australia is one of the world's most multicultural countries, with more than 22.2% of the population having been born overseas (Census, 2006), and more than 23.6% having parents born overseas (Hugo, 2002, p. 291-320). Currently, the number of migrants arriving fluctuates according to Australia's need for skilled workers and business people. Immigrants also still continue to be admitted under the categories of family reunion and refugees (Ferguson & Browne, 1991; Minas et al., 1996). Thus the present immigration policy is based not only on the state of the Australian economy but also upon social and humanitarian criteria.

Frank Devine wrote in *The Australian* (1994, p. 11) that, "the birth of the concept of multiculturalism can be traced back to the writings of Horace Kallen²⁰, who advocated a policy of 'cultural pluralism' in 1915 when he attacked assimilation and the melting-pot theory, and instead proposed that America should become a 'commonwealth of ... nationalities', ignoring the potential threats to the ideal of a unified society" (Craig, 1999).

Australia accepted multiculturalism as a policy for immigrants in response to changes in cultural demography in 1970 (Jayasuriya, 1990, pp. 50-63). According to Grassby, multiculturalism was a policy designed to embrace Australians from all backgrounds and ensure a fair go for all people in Australia (Grassby, 2000, p. 28). Also, as James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta state,

Multiculturalism is both a feeble acknowledgement of the fact that cultures have lost their moorings in definite place and an attempt to subsume this plurality of cultures within the framework of a national identity. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p. 7)

²⁰ An Inventory of the Horace M. Kallen Papers. Retrieved September 21, 2000, from the World Wide Web: <http://www.huc.edu/aja/Kallen.htm> (Accessed 23 April 2007)

Australian multiculturalism reflects the cultural and ethnic diversity of Australia as a result of migration. The early history was dogged by insularity; there has been a significant transformation and Australia is now more tolerant of people with diverse origins. A 1997 ANOP poll²¹ indicated that 78% of Australians felt that multiculturalism had been good for Australia. After the events of 9/11, Anglo-Celtic tolerance of Muslim and Arab communities waned with fears of terrorism, exacerbated by the Bali bombings, gang rapists, the insulting comments of the former Sheik Taj al-Hilali, at the Lakemba mosque in Sydney, and the Cronulla beach riots in Sydney. Under the former Howard Government the Australian citizens Mamdouh Habib and David Hicks who had been sent to Guantanamo Bay received little governmental support. This situation was echoed in the mishandling of the Haneef affair on the Gold Coast in 2007.²²

Multiculturalism is based on the assumption that all Australians should have an overriding and unifying commitment to Australia that supersedes all else (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p.166). Philip Ruddock in 1997 explained multiculturalism as “asking new immigrants to be committed to Australia and to accept its way of life”. This means all people in Australia must accept Australian values and English as a national language, as well as freedom of speech and religion. However, these values that Philip Ruddock and the Department of Immigration have asked the people to follow are already in existence and accepted in modern societies. For example, a Jordanian is bound by fundamental democratic principles stipulated in their constitution as rule of law, and has individual rights and liberties in Jordan.

On the other hand, Loring M. Danforth stated in *The Age* (1994), that “Multiculturalism, with its emphasis on community languages and ethnic media, promotes the development of these ethnic identities and impedes the development of a strong Australian national identity” (p 28).

²¹ <http://edoz.com.au/cwcc/docs/publications/media/desc12.html> (Accessed 23 April 2007).

²² Mohamed Haneef, an Indian Muslim doctor, was accused of aiding terrorists, and left Australia upon cancellation of his visa amid great political controversy. He was arrested on July 2, 2007 at the Brisbane Airport, Australia on suspicion of terror-related activities. Haneef's ensuing detention became the longest without charge in recent Australian history, which caused great controversy in Australia and India. Public outcry over the incident was further increased when the Australian Government denied Haneef the presumption of innocence, along with the Australian Federal Government's actions in his case.

Australian multiculturalism is meant to be a system in which people respect and recognise Australia's cultural diversity. Justin Healey claimed that "Australia has been enriched by its cultural diversity. It has made a dynamic and outward looking nation that is better equipped to take its place in an increasingly internationalised world" (2005, p. 3). Public policy in Australia attempts to manage the consequences of the diversity brought about by multiculturalism. It acknowledges the right of all Australians first, to cultural identity – the right within limits to express their cultural heritage in such areas as religion and language; and social justice, the right to equality of treatment and opportunity, regardless of race, language, religion and gender; and of course the place of birth.

Despite the diversity in studies of ethnic minorities in Australia, the fact remains that most investigations undertaken with first generation immigrants have veered away from the popular melting pot hypothesis. Europeans first advanced this hypothesis, which was popular at the turn of century when early immigrants to America sought a place of safety in the new world where ethnic discrimination would have no hold. In general, the assimilation and acculturation perspective, commonly coined as the melting pot approach, espouses a functionalist notion of the necessity of cultural adjustment for new immigrants to survive in the host society. According to those who advocate this approach, assimilation and acculturation is a uni-linear process of adaptation and adjustment for new immigrants (Gordon, 1964; Park and Burgess, 1921).

In the 1950s, the Australian Government officially used the term 'assimilation' to describe its policy for immigrants arriving in Australia. This was an attempt to give new immigrants a basic understanding of how to become an Australian. It meant an allegiance to all that Australia stood for and provided ways to become an active participant in, and potentially contribute to politics and civic involvement. Furthermore, these new people could apply for Australian citizenship under the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948 once they had lived in Australia five years and could speak English.

In 1960, Labor leader, Arthur Calwell, suggested that Australia should refer to migrants as 'new Australians'. The suggested reforms included streamlining the application process but this had little effect and even in the 1960s only about half of those eligible applied for citizenship. According to Jordens, Zappala and Castles, this low uptake rate

was because Australian citizenship was seen as a “status based on British ethnicity and culture” (Jordens, 1995; Zappala and Castles, 1998). As such, it was entirely foreign to newcomers from Europe and superfluous to those from Britain. They argued that the uptake of citizenship improved dramatically in the 1970s because official policy shifted towards multiculturalism with its explicit recognition of the acceptability of cultural difference.

As Ang and Stratton state, “one problem with the discourse of multiculturalism as it has been constructed in Australia [is that] it is incapable of providing a convincing and effective narrative of Australian national identity because it doesn’t acknowledge and engage with a crucial concern in the national formation’s past and present, namely that of ‘race’” (1998, p. 27). The multiculturalism policy and the ideological ‘commonsense’ notions that underpinned it argued that despite the apparent post-war shift from ‘phenotype to culture’, racial difference remained a more absolute marker of national exclusion than cultural or ethnic distinctions. In consequence, European migrants had to wait longer than British migrants to gain entitlement to Australian citizenship and other non-European peoples were debarred from claiming the title ‘Australian’ until much later (Stephenson, 2003).

The policy of multiculturalism is usually applied to non-Anglo-Celtic ethnic groups, to the exclusion of other groups in Australia (Jayasuriya, 1990, pp. 50-63). When multiculturalism appeared in the 1970s in Australia, ethnicity was not the only issue of cultural and social importance in a diverse society, but one which has political consequences as groups mobilise around ‘ethnic communities’ and as governments increasingly seek to structure social policy around cultural differences (Tabar, Noble, and Poynting, 2003, p 267-287).

People with a different cultural background do not share an equal status with people from a British background. The historical construction of hegemonic myths of white settlers has been used to justify practices of appropriation and exploitation of other people (Stasiulis and Yuval_Davis, 1995, p. 6). As Moallem and Boal note, the discourse of multiculturalism “homogenizes ethnic groups” and fails to address the specificity and particularity among and within groups (Kaplan et al., 1999, p. 256). Further, multiculturalism has become a divisive political issue that continually resurfaces in national debates (Hage, 1998, p. 240). For example, Jupp argues that, in

the context of the term multicultural, Australia is not a plural society since “it does not contain two or more distinct ethnic communities living in relatively insulated enclaves” except in the Northern Territory (Jupp, 1986, p. 94). Further, Jupp’s argument presents a critique of multiculturalism which Castles claims is “a minority voice in public discourse” among scholars and ordinary people who do not accept multiculturalism as a national identity for Australia (Castles 2000, pp. 89-90). This minority position has, however, possibly misrepresented social acceptance. Alastair Davidson commented that the policies of Australian multiculturalism were never extended to include citizenship because they did not incorporate legal, political, and ethical voices of non-English speaking background immigrants which under the myth of Anglo-Celtic supremacy “requires a continuing silencing of the migrant voices” (Davidson, 1997, p. 77). Also, Castles notes that the social and political institutions remain based on Anglo-Saxon models and do not take into account the values and experiences of people of different background (Castles, 2000, pp. 106-107). He also claims that Australian multiculturalism is not yet a fully developed strategy allowing for participation by all nor has it led to fundamental changes in the most powerful institutions of the state and economy. For example, Jordanian immigrants remain economically marginalised. So multiculturalism as practised is not so far removed from the earlier policy of assimilation (Moran, 2005, pp. 168-193).

When Australia celebrated Australian multiculturalism on 21 March (Harmony Day) John Howard announced this provided “an opportunity for our community to state there is no place in Australia for racism and bigotry”.²³ The message was that communities in Australia need to harmonise with the values of mainstream society to be regarded as Australian.

So multiculturalism is subject to the efforts made by the government in power and its interpretations of the concept. To date there is no better alternative that is perceived as effective for integrating immigrants into the mainstream community as individuals and as citizens. Kalantzis argues that multicultural citizenship is the most effective way to achieve social cohesion in Australia, and calls for Australian multiculturalism to

²³John Howard, Celebrating a Remarkable Achievement Harmony Day, 21st March 2001 statement. For more information please see, Kalantzis, Mary, ‘Australia Fair; Realities and Banalities of Nation in the Howard Era’(pdf 613 Kb), *Overland*, No.178, pp. 5-21.

develop into a full civic pluralism and post-national community (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000, pp. 99-110).

2.5 Arabs in Australia

The history of Arab migration to western countries in modern times has only recently started to attract the attention of scholars. Although there has been significant progress in serious research on this topic since the 1980s, the amount of comprehensive published material dealing with it is still not extensive. It is particularly interesting that this notable absence comes at a time when a significant amount of material dealing with representations of the Arab presence in Australia, particularly in the media, continues to emerge (Poynting et al., 2004). The best-known exception has been that of Ghassan Hage whose work has delved into this complex and paradoxical history and its subsequent intercultural ramifications from the late 1970s to the present, particularly in its Lebanese form (Hage, 1998). More recently, Paul Tabar (2005) has also made significant contributions on the history of Lebanese migration to Australia. As the work of Hage and Tabar indicates, however, the single most significant contribution on the history of Arab migration to Australia has been work on the various Lebanese communities, their long migration histories and their post-civil war influx. However, relatively little has been written on more recent Arab communities in Australia such as the Jordanians, who are the subject of this study.

The Arabs are a diverse people and in Australia may be Christian or Muslim. They include Syrians, Lebanese, Egyptians, Palestinians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Yemenis and North Africans (Algerians and Moroccans), and Emiratis and other Persian Gulf Arabs. Arab Australian communities exemplify the contributions an ethnic group can make when it has access to the economic and political life of its host country.²⁴

From the earliest settlements in the industrialised north and west to those in the southwest and west of Australia, Arab Australians have played an important part in building communities and institutions in most of the major cities of Australia. They excel in diverse professions and in the public service. Most importantly, they play a significant role in the small business sector of many cities, for example, running

²⁴ Non-Arab Muslims in Australia include Turks, Kurds, Iranians, Berbers, Afghanis, Bosnians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Fijians, Indonesians, Somalis, and Sudanese.

convenience stores. Arab Australians may be doctors, lawyers, teachers, elected officials and entertainers. They may be auto workers in Melbourne, grocers and investment bankers in Sydney and petroleum engineers in Western Australia.

Arab immigration to Australia began over 100 years ago (Batrouney, 1985, pp. 38-41). According to Abu Hani²⁵ many Arabs in Australia have assimilated into mainstream Australian life. He gives the example of his son who married an Australian Anglo. Abu Hani tells me that his son is now more Australian than Arab.

Anthropology has concentrated on studying the influences and the social and cultural problems resulting from immigration by considering it as a phenomenon that plays an essential role in changing the community. For example, Morsy (1998) who is concerned with the history of Arab migration to Australia presents an overview of the Arabic community and its social, religious, political and educational organisation. Her research also covers the achievements of Arabic people in Australia in different fields such as sport, business and literary studies, and shows their participation in the mainstream Australian way of life.

2.6 Aspects of Arabic Migration Studies in Australia

Furthermore, Arab people were among the first people to immigrate to Australia. As Bilal Cleland²⁶ (2002, pp. 1- 21) mentioned in his article ‘Muslims in Australia,’ Arab people have been in Australia since 1791 as “there were at least eight convicts who arrived in Australia after 1813 who may have been Arab or part Arab” (see also Jupp, 2001; James Hugh Donohoe, 1986). Afghan cameleers arrived in Australia in the 1860s to open up the country’s interior with camel trains (hence the Adelaide-Darwin train, The Ghan) (Stevens, 2002). Muslim Malay divers in the 1870s worked in the pearling industry in Western Australia. As they were considered Europeans, Albanian Muslims were allowed to settle in Australia in the 1920s and 1930s. Between 1967 and 1971, 10,000 Turks were invited to Australia and settled in Sydney and Melbourne. Lebanese Muslims arrived in large numbers after the Lebanese civil war in 1975 (Jupp, 2001).

The existing studies on Arab immigrants in Australia or America are historical and sociological. Historical investigations are mainly oriented towards the study of

²⁵ One of the Jordanian immigrants I interviewed.

²⁶ www.icv.org.au/history3.shtml

immigration and the conditions of the Arab communities, such as those by Mohammed Abed, and Al-Rhman Al-Badri (1972) and Mohammed Ashrnoby (1968). There are also a few studies which discuss immigration from a sociological standpoint (Assiate, Hamad Abed, and Al-Maqsoud, 1972). The results of these studies (excluding that of Mahjoub 1975), were not built on a comparative base, which means they did not consider individual cultures when examining changes in immigrant traditions. However, the studies that examined immigration from a sociological viewpoint are comparative ones and discussed demographics. Although demographic studies are strongly related to anthropological studies, the earlier studies did not deal with social, cultural and economic issues of immigration, but rather with fertility, birth, death, population density and the influences of these population shapes (Rabai'ah, 1984, p. 35).

Most of the literature in English dealing with Arab world migrations and settlements in Australia has focused on specific national origin groups particularly the Lebanese but also including the Palestinians (Asmar, 1994), and the Egyptians (Price & Pyne, 1970). The first and, to date, the only comprehensive history covering immigration to Australia from a given Arab country is that of Batrouney and Batrouney (1985). It is only in the 1990s that we find scholarly works focused on an Arab minority community in Australia (Abu Duhou & Tees, 1992; Asmar, 1992), and most recently (Hage, 2003; Poynting et al., 2004).

Studies written by Arab immigrants in the USA and Australia include Samir Khalaf's study of the background and causes of Lebanese/Syrian immigration to the United States before World War I (Hooglund 1987, 17-35), as well as kinship, emigration and trade partnerships among the Lebanese communities in West Africa by Fuad Khuri in 1967.²⁷ The latter discusses the kinship structure of the Lebanese community in West Africa and its resemblances to the communities from which they originated in Lebanon. It also shows the extent to which kinship ties promote emigration, and the kind of trade partnerships normally practised by a community in Ouagadougou (Upper Volta), and the Shi'ite Muslim community in Maghurata Sierra Leone, (Batrouney & Batrouney, 1985). Lina Tabbara (1979) vividly conveys the sense often expressed by the Lebanese of a society invaded by many elements each disrupting the autonomy of Lebanese people and playing on divisions within its population (Batrouney, 1985).

²⁷ A comparative study of migration patterns in two Lebanese villages, *Human Organisation*, vol. 26, No. 4 pp. 206-213.

In 2000, Michael Humphrey concentrated on Arab identity to investigate how it articulated differences and distances from 'whiteness'. He argued that in Australia, Arab immigrant identity becomes essentialised and racialised through cultural homogenisation and simplification (Humphrey 2000). Diaspora identities in the era of globalisation, such as Arab cultural identities, are articulated with respect to the multicultural identities of the city and 'white' Australian national identity. Transnational, diasporic and religious identities have become inextricably tied up with globally mediated events and images and with transnational discourses on difference and danger.

Also, in 1998, Humphrey studied Islam, multiculturalism and transnationalism by examining migration, social membership, social attachment and the relationship between cultural production and social space. He focused first on the family and on the community as spaces of cultural production. His central issue was how and why cultural practices are maintained in immigrant lives. Also, in 1984 Humphrey studied family, work and unemployment in a Lebanese settlement in Sydney and the kind of difficulties they faced. A major concern was the consistently high level of unemployment and its consequences on Lebanese participation in Australia society. The two main questions were:

Why were the Lebanese experiencing such high levels of unemployment and which groups of Lebanese were the most disadvantaged?²⁸

What was the impact of unemployment on family and community organisation?

Hage (2001) in *Arab-Australians today: citizenship and belonging* concentrated on immigration, settlement, marginalisation, and participation in western societies. The contributors to this volume discussed how early Arab immigrants were received in Australia and contemporary issues of participation in the Australian political process. They examined the lives of diverse groups of people ranging from entrepreneurs to Arab women activists to unemployed youth. The book analyses many issues including the ways in which Arab Australians grew to call Australia home and the moral panic created around Arab youth and criminality (Hage, 2001). In 2003 Hage in *Against Paranoid Nationalism* examines the effects of the culture of fear in 'White' Australian

²⁸ Stereotypes of Lebanese expressed in the press such as the SBS show (Pizza) often depict them as 'dole bludgers'. This was noted by one of the interviewees, Mr John who agreed that negative stereotypes of Arabs in Australia often saw Lebanese represented as lazy.

politics, using this as a case study to examine social issues that relate to many western countries. He argues that an alternative can be found to our current climate of fear in the notion of ‘the caring society’. If defensive society sees threats everywhere and generates worrying citizens, the caring society generates citizens who care about each other. Hage explores an ethics of care through an analysis of the important relationship between migration and the colonisation and dispossession of Australia’s Indigenous people.

The Migration Heritage Centre project on ‘Family law and the Arabic speaking community in Australia’ (1990)²⁹ emphasises the need for the legal profession to understand socio-economic background, particularly in relation to family law. It discusses the Arabic speaking community in Australia and its cultural values. Most Arabic countries do not rely on a common secular law applicable to all citizens. Another aspect of family law, which does not have a parallel in Arab countries, is the concept of the interests of the child and the division of property in cases of divorce. There is often a problem in interpreting the law regarding property in cases of divorce as it is not simply a case of interpreting the words, but also of conveying an understanding of the concepts behind the family law which can give rise to much confusion (Rebehy, 1999).

The Migration Heritage Centre of the NSW Premier’s Department undertook a project on multiculturalism including Middle Eastern and Asian youth and popular culture in western Sydney. This project examined the ways in which youth of Middle Eastern (e.g. Lebanese, Turkish, Syrian, Egyptian) and Asian (e.g. Chinese, Korean, Filipino) background contrast their culture identities through an analysis of their engagement with popular culture.

Most Arab immigrants have settled in urban areas, in working-class suburbs in rental housing close to employment and public transport. They choose particular suburbs where there are high concentrations of Arabs from specific countries. Abu Duhou’s (1992) study of levels and issues related to education, workforce and community participation among Arab Australians (Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians) was the first in both kind and scope in Australia. In addition it provided a national picture of the positions of the Arabic communities in both the education and labour force in Australia and compared this with the positions of other ethnic groups. It also reported, for the first time, on the experience of lesser-known Arabic groups. The focus

²⁹ <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/e107/content.php?article.60>

was on educational participation and its relation to later forms of participation. The research documented community involvement and access, including membership of associations, awareness of rights and use of services.

Arab immigrants were found to be gathered in compact urban settlements across the country³⁰ with a large majority being male. This is especially true of Muslims (Jozami, 2002). This is due in large part to the nature of the economic activities through which the immigrants sought to join the labour market. Trade was the most common work for most immigrants, with many employed in such occupations, as peddlers and salesmen of small goods, day labourers, tenants, plant packers and railroad workers. Those who were more successful became retail merchants, bankers or self-employed. Although immigrant parents were able to offer their children the schooling they themselves lacked, social mobility was still limited by the social and economic situation of each area. This meant that although most joined the middle-class, only a handful acquired upper-class status. Those who did achieve such status found that not only did they not comply with the immigrant archetype desired by the ruling elite, but their very success in the labour force led to the increase in anti-Arab attitudes.

Nonetheless, the general receptivity of Australian society to the reality of immigration accelerated the process of assimilation of all religious groups of Middle Eastern origin, whether Orthodox, Maronites, Melkites, Chaldeans, Protestants or Muslims. Religion was an integral part of daily life for most Arabs, Christians and Muslims alike, and they tried to maintain their religious identities through strong family structures. Attendance at public schools was necessary as there was no ethnically based education available and this contributed to the integration of immigrant children into Australian society.

Before World War II, most Arabs in Australia were Christians who came from the Mount Lebanon region of geographic Syria (Batrouney, 1985). Until the turn of the century, these migrants were mainly poor, uneducated, and illiterate in any language. They were not trained for the professions but to be unskilled workers and after they acquired the rudiments of the English language they worked in factories and mines. However, such jobs were taxing and monotonous and, most importantly, did not offer

³⁰In Sydney Muslims (especially Lebanese) live in the suburbs of Bankstown, Lakemba, Punchbowl, Wiley Park; in Auburn (Turks), Parramatta and Chatswood (Iranians) and in the suburbs of Liverpool (Lebanese and Turks). In Melbourne Muslims live in the Broadmeadows area (mostly Turkish) and Noble Park and Dandenong (mainly Albanians and Bosnians). In Perth they live around Thornlie.

opportunities for rapid accumulation of wealth, which was the primary objective of these early Arab arrivals (Batrouney, 1985). Farming presented them with the added hardships of isolation, loneliness, and severe weather conditions. Peddling, therefore, became an attractive alternative. Success required thrift, hard work, very long hours and the stamina to endure harsh travelling conditions. The conditions were made tolerable for most early Arab arrivals by their vision of a brighter economic future and the concomitant prestige they and their families would eventually acquire in the old country. When they could afford to do so, they switched to the 'luxury' of a horse and buggy and later to a dry-goods store (Jupp, 1988).

While earlier Arab immigrants were mainly uneducated and relatively poor, new arrivals have included large numbers of relatively well-off, highly educated professionals: lawyers, professors, teachers, engineers, and doctors. Many of the new immigrants began as students at Australian universities and decided to stay, often as a result of a lack of employment opportunities in their countries of origin or unstable political conditions that threatened returnees with imprisonment or death. Apart from these comparatively affluent immigrants, relatively large numbers of semi-educated Arabs came to Australia, especially in the 1990s, as political refugees or as temporary residents to escape the wars and violence in the Middle East region. They were primarily engaged in commerce (for example the Iraqis who escaped from Saddam Hussein's regime). The more recent arrivals are more likely to maintain different styles of dress, such as the hijab head covering for women. According to Mr Ahmed from Lakemba, distinctive Arab garb is more commonly seen in Arab areas of Sydney than before.

Another sign of this increase in the Arab population is the number of stores selling halal meat, slaughtered according to Islamic law. Furthermore, most universities sell halal food, as for example, at the University of Technology, Sydney, which has a certificate from the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils INC authorising them to sell halal meat.³¹ Since the 1990s the Muslim community in Australia has established a strong relationship with other communities in Australia. For example, Mr Ahmed one of the Jordanian immigrants I interviewed has sold halal meat at his supermarket in Lakemba for ten years. His business has continued to grow not because more Muslim people live

³¹ See the Certificate at the end of the thesis (Appendix 1)

in Lakemba but because other people of different religions also live there and have a strong relationship with the Muslim community. Furthermore, Jordanian Muslims, as all Arabs in Australia, have religious traditions and practices that are unique to their faith and may compete with the prevailing Australian behaviour and culture. The beliefs of Islam place importance on modesty, spurn inter-faith marriage and disapprove of Australian standards of dating or gender integration. Religious practices that direct personal behaviour — including the five-times-daily prayers, the month-long fast at Ramadan, beards for men, and the wearing of the hijab (headcover) for women — require special accommodation at work, school, and the military, thereby making Muslims more visible than most religious minorities and thus often vulnerable to bigotry.³²

Mr Ahmed believes language is a better indicator of difference because Islamic rites must be conducted in Arabic. Sometimes the second or third generation of immigrants begin to “blend in” he said, but the use of Arabic is retained in observant Muslim families because of the need to use the language during worship.

2.7 Identity and values for Arabs in Australia

Zou writes that:

Researchers deal with their own multiple and autonomous identities, which are connected to a single consciousness and, obviously, have more than one possible interpretation of events. In modern life, especially in countries with large rates of immigration from many countries, survival and success may depend on the ability of individuals to adopt many identities in order to understand and function effectively in different cultural settings. Therefore, researchers observe contradictory behaviours exhibiting conflicting cultural values. (Zou, 2002, p. 252)

³² e.g. a mosque in Brisbane was burned down and in early 2005 there was an incendiary attack on the Auburn Gallipoli mosque in Sydney (interview with Mr C. John). Also, see James Jupp. 2006, Terrorism, immigration and multiculturalism; the Australian experience. Conferences papers at the University of Texas at Austin. Available online http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/european_studies/content/conferences/immigration_policy/PDF/papers/jupp.pdf

Arab Australia is as diverse as the national origins and immigration experiences that have shaped their ethnic identity in Australia, with religious affiliation one of the most significant defining factors.

Arab Muslims in large communities who are concerned to retain customs among their mostly Australian-born children have been prompted to open private Islamic schools. Another strong motivation for private schooling is the opportunity to incorporate the Arabic language and study of Islam into the curriculum. Since the retention of any foreign language beyond the first Australian-born generation is a challenge, and since Arabic is required to study the Koran, Muslim families look to private schools or weekend programs to keep the language alive.³³

The form and intensity of ethnic identity varies widely between the first and second wave of Arab Australians. For all generations, ethnic affinity remains resilient in food, extended-family rituals, and religious fellowship. Those immigrating since World War II and most Muslim families are likely to relate less to the white majority culture³⁴ and more to subcultures in which religious, national-origin, and language traditions are preserved. For those who live in ethnic enclaves, intra-group marriage, and family businesses often limit outside social interaction.

The family remains the foundation of the Islamic community; Islamic law (sharia) influences what is considered proper interaction between men and women. Men expect women to be modest, and to content themselves with bearing and rearing children. However, few Arab Australian women accept these limitations. Many now work outside the home, and support the aims of women's rights. Arab Australian women have to balance their new life in Australia with their ties to Arab culture.

2.8 Stereotypes of Arabs in Australia

The identity chosen by Arab Australians is largely the consequence of the treatment of their culture in Australia. Furthermore, the anti-Arab stereotypes since the 1970s (the period of the biggest Arab immigrant wave to Australia) have stigmatised Arab identity

³³ Unity Grammar, the latest Islamic primary school (mostly Lebanese) opened in Sydney this year near Liverpool where the emphasis is on developing Australian Muslims with Australian 'values'. To maintain high academic standards, at least two of the teachers have doctorates and there is a strong emphasis on the Koran and Sunna rather than the cultural accretions of different sects of Sunni Islam.

³⁴ Lebanese refer to white Australians as 'Anglos'. Also noteworthy is the SBS TV series 'PIZZA' in which Lebanese satirise their own culture.

in Australia. Before the Gulf War early immigrants confronted assimilationist ideas and ignorance although this wasn't clear at the time. This changed with the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which created a highly-charged political arena in which many western countries including the United States and Australia became strategic players and strong supporters of the state of Israel. These sentiments were further confounded by a public exposure to Arab history and culture often shaped only by old stereotypes of sheiks, harems and camels. Given such circumstances it was not difficult for this cultural bias to deepen in direct proportion to the interests of western countries in the Middle East.

New negative stereotypes have emerged and permeated advertising, television, and movies, particularly those of the nefarious oil sheik and the terrorist. The Arab as a villain has been a favourite scapegoat of popular American culture. This is also perpetuated in Australia as most of the movies shown in Australian cinema are American. This has a direct affect on Arab Australians.

2.9 The Jordanians in Australia

One of the strongest characteristics of the Jordanian community I encountered in my research were the unique reasons for migration, since unlike Lebanese, Palestinians and Iraqis, Jordanians generally do not migrate to Australia as a result of conflict or as refugees. Over the last two decades, circumstances at home and abroad have transformed Jordanian emigration.

In clarifying this, this study addresses personal and individual histories of Jordanians in Australia. To comprehend the reasons that prompted Jordanians to come to Australia and understand their experiences, both their pre-migratory experiences and their own personal biographies must be explored. Those who migrated to Australia talk about their experiences in Australia and their new host society to their relatives back in their home country.

Despite specific differences within the Jordanian community in terms of their placement within the general racial/ethnic structures of their host country, their reasons for migration, and class background, this community also share important similarities. Firstly, the Jordanian immigrants are mostly highly educated and professional and pursue educational and economic improvement in their new settings. As mentioned

earlier, many Jordanians came to Australia as students and are consequently highly educated. This may also be true of other migrant communities. Secondly, they tend to separate themselves from other immigrant groups by emphasising their similarities to mainstream society. Although these aspects are changing due to the changing character of migration to Australia and the events of 9/11, they continue to characterise the Jordanian immigrant community. Finally, contemporary migrants regard their movement as more permanent than earlier waves did and emphasise their participation in the host society.

Safran's ideal type of 'centred' diaspora, oriented by continuous cultural connections to a source and by a teleology of 'return' is clearly applicable to the Jordanian diaspora and matches several specific characteristics of Jordanian immigrants in Australia. These include:

- Jordanians who have been outside their homeland since 1970. In the last two decades many Jordanians, particularly younger people, began to migrate to western countries, often in order to continue their tertiary education abroad. Many of these immigrants then settled in their host country after finishing their studies because of better job opportunities and life changes.
- It could be argued that Jordanians in western countries have developed a common belief that they are not very well received by the majority society (the increasing consciousness of returning to the homeland partly derives from such a perception).
- Jordanians have always considered going back to their homeland. The descendants of the first generation tell of how their ancestors always articulated their desire to return to the homeland. This discourse is still alive, and furthermore there are Jordanians who have already returned home.
- Jordanians are conscious of investing in their homeland.

Forced migration is not dealt with in this thesis as it is the result of natural disasters, relocation policy and political conflict and similar social upheavals. This is outside the Jordanian migration experience.

Like other immigrants, Jordanian immigrants often risk much in their move to Australia. While some come as families, others find that the demands of looking for work, setting

up a home, getting settled and saving money make it preferable to leave their children in the care of mothers, grandmothers, sisters, cousins and other relatives. While leaving the children in Jordan is often a difficult decision, since neither parents nor children know with certainty when they are going to be together again, it is sometimes the only option for some Jordanians who migrate to Australia.

The manner in which immigrants understand their position in Australian society differs importantly between Jordanian immigrants of the first and the second generation. While first generation immigrants believed that they were sojourners who did not belong to Australian society, the second generation, especially those who were born here and have higher levels of education and social status, are motivated to participate in Australian society. Mr Fadi, for example, a 53 year-old business owner in Sydney moved here from Jordan in 1979. He worried about his future and thought about returning home because he felt he did not belong here. He wanted to save money to return to Jordan. On the other hand, his children felt differently because they were born and raised in Australia. They considered Australia to be their country and did not wish to leave. Mr Fadi realised that his family wanted to stay in Australia and he had no option but to accept this. He began to adapt to his new setting because he did not consider leaving his family behind to be an option. However much he longed to go back to Jordan he knew it would remain an unfulfilled desire since his family would never go with him.

It is also worth noting that in contrast to Mr Fadi, many first generation males who have married Australian citizens often identify with being Australian, owing to the long period of time that they have been in Australia (often exceeding twenty years), their familiarity with different parts of the country, and their friendships with Australians of non-Arab background as a result of their marriage. Often their choice of friends, recreational preferences, and general day-to-day activities have been influenced by Australian culture.

2.10 Research questions

The conceptual framework of this study is elaborated to capture possible interdependencies between three areas of variables: (1) those measuring social adjustment (assimilation, acculturation, and adaptation); (2) those representing human characteristics; and (3) the perspective from historical data.

There are four sets of questions involved in this research. Firstly, the research asks how Jordanians and Arabs in Australia deal with their new lives; their attitudes and beliefs about the new culture; and, the social, economic, historical and cultural factors that influence and are reflected by Jordanian immigrants. Furthermore, the project asks how Jordanian immigrants to Australia feel about living in ethnically diverse communities and about the positives and negatives of this intercultural experience; whether they want to remain here for the rest of their lives and whether they define themselves as Jordanian, Australian or a combination of the two.

The second group of questions centres on the background of the Jordanians, their attitudes, and the changes in their lives. The third group addresses the level of contact migrants have with their homeland, and the way in which parents contact their children. Finally, the research raises the issue of which strategies might lead to a coherent methodology and are most appropriate for researching the multicultural context.

The interviews were conducted in English and Arabic, with Arabic being offered to all interviewees. Both males and females were interviewed. Most interviewees were found through suggestions from other people, using the 'snow ball' technique.

Questions were posed to the research participants through one-on-one, face-to-face interviews of around one hour. The interviews were semi-structured and focused on the themes of homeland ties, identity, family ties, peer relations and community life. I made connections with the community through family relations, community organisations and mosque attendance, which helped me to establish a rapport with the Jordanian community in Sydney.

The life history interviews were conducted with the aim of discovering some of the processes that Jordanians use to form their ethnic identity. The particular questions analysed in this study address the attitudes and experiences of Jordanian immigrants living in the wider community of the host society, for instance, asking whether people who share a culture, customs, a place of birth and a language can be identified as a distinctive community. As Hugo writes, "Within Australia, the ethnic group is usually applied to identifiable immigrant groups" (1995, p. 2).

2.11 Research objectives

'Jordanians' in Australia are defined as people of Jordanian ancestry. This also includes those of Palestinian origin with Jordanian passports. The size of the Australian Jordanian-born population has increased significantly since the mid-1970s and again since the 1990s. However, it remains one of the smallest ethnic groups in Australia. This thesis analyses what attracts Jordanians to Australia, the reasons they chose Australia in particular, what the expectations of Jordanian migrants to Australia are, whether these expectations have been met, the difficulties faced by the Jordanians in their everyday life in Australia, and how they see their future in the new country. Thus this study focuses on the socio-cultural interaction of Jordanian migrants in their daily life in Australia.

2.12 Interview Question

These questions focus on why Jordanians chose to migrate to Australia, and what their relationship with other ethnic groups in Australia is like. Also, the questions cover how Jordanian migrants see their future in Australia, and their relationship with their home country. In these questions I tried to cover all aspects of Jordanian life in Australia. The interviews are divided into three sections to correlate with the research questions posed by the study (see Appendix 2 for the interview question).

2.13 Interview situation

People were interviewed in their own language; male and female. This is because some participants can't speak English very well. Given the time and scale of the study and the size of the questions, it was decided that there was enough potential intrusion involved in asking for entry to people's homes and taking their leisure time to ask a stream of questions. The interviewees were instructed to ensure that the responses recorded were always in accordance with their responses and viewpoints.

Finally, when analysing each interview I revisited all my participants to determine if aspects that came up clearly in a certain interview were present in previous interviews in a way that I neglected to identify. I also analysed each interview many times at different points to minimise and become mindful of possible effects of my experiences on my understanding of participants oral history. I believe that the constant revisiting of all

interviews contributes to an exhaustive picture of Jordanian immigrant's experiences and the construction of the meaning of these experiences.

2.14 Methodology

Glesne and Peshkin maintain that the research methods we choose say something about our views on what qualifies as valuable knowledge and our perspectives on the nature of reality (1992, p. 5).

To understand the issues of Jordanians' migration to Australia, I have used both quantitative and qualitative analyses in this research. The quantitative analysis is based on statistical data from the Australian Bureau of statistics (ABS) and from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). The demographic information is used to present a quantitative picture of the Jordanian community in Australia. The qualitative data was collected from interviews with a sample of the Jordanian community in Sydney. Other data used in this study was collected from literature reviews, fieldwork, and from the Internet.

Immigration is demographic in nature and produces an increase in the population of a given society. Nevertheless, this increase must not be understood simply as quantitative and pertaining only to the number of persons within a given territory. The increase is also qualitative, which means that it diversifies the origins of the persons in that territory. Moreover, the social space of the receiving country then consists of individuals increasingly diversified with respect to their original identities, and their views on what is socially acceptable. Additionally, this increase is qualitative because the candidates for citizenship, the immigrants, prompt the re-qualification of societal relationships through classifications, declassifications and reclassifications of individuals in a society, who thereafter live a constrained coexistence within the same social space.

In this thesis I also describe the kinds of community commitment among members of the Jordanian community following events such as 9/11. Historical contexts shape communal attachment and involvement of immigrants in their various networks. Jordanian immigrants highlight their national attachments both to their home country and to the host society in an attempt to portray a positive image of Arab immigrants.

Participation in the host society, however, is shaped by the particular socio-cultural contexts that form understandings of ethnicity and belonging among the Jordanian immigrants in Australia. I illustrate the ways in which Jordanian immigrants in Australia mobilise to participate in the development of a global public sphere. More importantly, participants in the Jordanian public sphere regard their public engagement as an important source of their identity and membership in various communities. In 'Imagining solidarity: cosmopolitanism, constitutional patriotism, and the public sphere', Craig Calhoun (2002) critiques Habermasian accounts of the public sphere that rely on notions of abstract individuals who move beyond their individual differences and particular interests so that they can deliberate issues of common concern and attempt to affect policies. Instead of a public sphere that serves as a setting for deliberations and decision-making, Calhoun calls for an understanding of the public sphere "as a setting for the development of social solidarity as a matter of choice, rather than necessity" (Calhoun, 2002, p.148). Emphasising the public sphere as an arena where social imagination and relationships are created, Calhoun (2002) goes on to highlight it as also constructing social solidarity and identity. In this study I look at the ways in which Jordanian immigrants connect through social interactions that allow them to build their community, in the host society.

In this study I also deal with several hypotheses concerning acculturation and assimilation, as well as the actual history of the process of migration to Australia focusing on the history of Jordanian migration, their settlement and their adaptation to the new way of life, as well as their relations with their home countries. While historical methodology has shaped much of my thesis, my exploration of recent events was carried out through extensive use of oral interviews. I decided to rely on verbal testimony to explore the ways in which people understood their past and the sense they made of their present since this promised the most direct and unaffected access to such understandings. As I focused on the historical intersections of migration, rather than the anthropological and sociological workings of social movements and conflict, I interviewed Jordanian immigrants who had spent more than 30 years in Australia.

2.14.1 Recruitment

The study was conducted with more than 30 Jordanian immigrant families, living in suburbs of Sydney in which Arabs, including Jordanians, have traditionally settled:

Lakemba, Liverpool and Bankstown. I conducted 32 interviews with a variety of Jordanian immigrants, male and female, Muslim and Christian, most with a college degree or higher and some with the equivalent of a high school diploma. Initially, I relied on a mixed group of interviewees, such as academics, young professionals, religious figures, small-business owners, shopkeepers and students, to provide a diverse sample. Interviewees were recruited through personal contacts, internet groups and various social associations that cater in general to Jordanian immigrants. Repeated interviews with key informants allowed me to explore the possible ways immigrants' experiences are transformed in various socio-historical contexts. I was also able to attend and observe a variety of social events, both formal and informal, such as social gatherings, religious celebrations, political demonstrations, organisational meetings and cultural performances.

As a Jordanian living in Australia I have access not only to Jordanian Muslims but also to non-Jordanian Muslim and Christian communities, and communicated with them in their language. As noted above, the interviews were mostly conducted in Arabic. The interviewees were first generation and second generation immigrants. This provided a contrast between the two sets of life experiences in Australia.

2.14.2 Criteria for the selection of informants

To qualify, interviewees were required to be 40 years old or over and to have arrived in Australia since the 1970s. The year 1970 was chosen as it saw the beginning of the largest wave of Arab migration to Australia due to the decline of the pan-Arab movement and the political consequences in the Arab world.

After receiving answers to the questions from the subjects, they were reviewed and any unwillingness on the part of the subjects to participate in the interview was noted. Some of the interviewees who answered my initial letter were interviewed and those available for the follow-up interview were also included in the study.

2.14.3 Research participants

Participants for the study were recruited from two groups: interview respondents recruited from among Jordanian immigrants and members of the host communities participants. The major focus of the study is the interactions of the groups in a number

of socio-cultural aspects: (a) communicative settings: market place and meetings; (b) discourse practices and communities of practice: meetings, ceremonial discourse, day-to-day interactions and government officials.

2.14.4 Data collection procedures

Three major procedures were employed. The first procedure was ethnographic collection, which focused on social-cultural networks and communities of practice. The second procedure was the socio-cultural interview, in which participants were informally interviewed by using open-ended questions. The third procedure was participant observation, where the researcher took an active role as observer and/or co-participant in communicative interactions in a number of community events.

2.14.5 Case study

The information collected in the interviews is summarised in several case studies. These are designed to collate information on the interviewee's background and current life circumstances. The case studies seek to provide the reader with an appreciation of the complexity of the new lives of Jordanian immigrants, their culture in a new country, intergroup relations and their adaptation to a new culture.

2.14.6 Ethical Issues

This study was approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Ethics Committee and has been carried out according to the agreed process. No participating person is identified by name and care has been taken to present information so individuals are not identifiable. Participation in the study was on a strictly voluntary basis. All participants involved in the postal survey and interviews gave their written consent. Also, all participants were fully able to withdraw at anytime, including the withdrawal of any information previously provided, at any stage. In the cases of recorded and transcribed interviews, the transcription was carried out by the researcher so confidentiality was maintained.

2.15 Conclusion

The methodology I used for this study allowed me to establish a very strong relationship with the Jordanian community in Australia, (basically in Sydney because the vast majority of the Jordanian live in Sydney). During my fieldwork interviews I participated in many events organised by Jordanians in Sydney and joined some people at their place of work and others during the Eid festival at the end of Ramadan. As a researcher, my results were enhanced by observations during the period of fieldwork which helped me collect additional information, especially from peoples' personal stories. This methodology proved successful and all the resources used in this study were very valuable in understanding the Jordanians living in Australia.

Chapter three

Aspects of Jordanian Migration to Australia

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with Jordanian migration to Australia and includes references to Arab migration in general. Jordanians in Australia constitute a relatively small community, primarily comprised of Christians and Muslims. Most came to Australia either as students or in search of economic opportunities and settled in the Arab communities located in the western suburbs of Sydney.

The 2001 Australian census indicated a total of 11,573 Australian residents who were born in historic Palestine and Jordan, a further 17,591 whose father was born in historic Palestine and Jordan, and a further 15,128 whose mother was born in historic Palestine and Jordan.

There are similarities in the history of migration from Jordan between the movement of Jordanians to Australia and Jordanian immigrants to Canada and the Americas. This history has much in common with that of other Arab immigrants. As Aboud (2000, p. 63) notes, there is a general congruence in the periods of migratory flows of Arab immigrants over the 120 or so years since the earliest movements began. The composition of migration, in terms of national and local origins and socio-economic and religio-cultural background, are similar (Aboud, 2000, p. 63).

The Arabic-speaking population in Australia in 2001 numbered 209,372 (and 244,000 in the 2006 Census). It consists mainly of immigrants from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, and the Gulf States, and their Australian-born children. This constitutes the fourth largest non-English language group in Australia after Italian, Greek and Cantonese speakers (Jupp, 2001). This also makes the Arabic language the largest single language spoken after English in Sydney.³⁵ At the 2006 Census there were 161,000 Arabic speakers in Sydney (and 244,000 in Australia).

³⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics, Population Languages 2004 Catalogue 1301.0 (Accessed 11 June 2005).

3.1 Reasons for immigration

There are several general as well as specific reasons that led Jordanians to leave their country and settle in Australia. Recently the number of Jordanian immigrants to Australia has increased, with most coming as students, and choosing to stay for various reasons. Some married Australian passport holders and stayed with their spouses in Australia, while others found satisfying jobs. Others opened small stores or supermarkets and built up their businesses.

The immigrants from 1970 onwards differ markedly from those who immigrated to Australia earlier. The later immigrants came from all parts of the Arab world. Their reasons for migration diverged from those of the first wave as they originated from communities having different sets of characteristics. Whereas the earlier immigrants came primarily for material wealth, the second wave came for a wider variety of reasons including as refugees. In general, they were better educated, and many desired further education and a better way of life. Many also immigrated due to conflicts in their home country. While some were sojourners, the majority came as permanent immigrants or as students who decided to remain in Australia.

The reasons for Jordanian migration to Australia since the 1970s can be summarised under the following headings:

1. **Education.** Before the 1990s students sponsored by the Jordanian government were sent to America and Europe. By the 1990s, however, Australian colleges and universities attracted large numbers of foreign students. These students chose to remain in Australia, attracted by competitive fees and superior university facilities in their areas of specialisation. Political freedom and greater economic rewards in the form of governmental scholarships or increased work opportunities were added incentives to stay. They appreciated the independence, self-sufficiency and opportunities for self-assertion that Australia offered them and were aware that returning home involved conforming to more restrictive ways, demure behaviour and traditional family roles.³⁶

³⁶ According to the Ministry of Higher Education in Jordan, there are now more than 400 Jordanian students in Australia and a significant number of them are scholarship postgraduate students sent by their local universities to complete Masters and Ph.D. degrees. This is because the Australian education system is highly regarded and well recognised in Jordan.

According to the Jordanian Embassy in Australia, statistics indicate a sharp increase in the number of Jordanian students in Australian universities between 1970 and 2007. Further, they indicate that the majority of students were centred in the urban areas of Sydney and Melbourne. Increases in the Jordanian student population in Australia may be divided into two categories. The first category pertains to the specific policy of the Jordanian government and its preferred countries to send research scholarship recipients. While between the 1970s and 1990s the Jordanian government scholarship recipients were sent to the US and Europe, more recently, Australia has come to be seen as a competitive alternative both in terms of tuition fees and living expenses. It is difficult to ascertain the comparative numbers for Jordanian government scholarship recipients as no official figures are published, but unofficial figures according to the Oval Office for studies and research³⁷ suggest that there are more than 400 Jordanian students in Australia and a significant number of them are scholarship postgraduate students sent by their local universities to complete Masters or Ph.D. degrees (this number applies only to student in receipt of scholarships from the Jordan government). The second category pertains to the quality and standing of an Australian university degree internationally and in Jordan. These reasons motivate individual students to migrate to Australia for study and include considerations related to the superior quality of educational facilities and greater opportunities for financial independence while studying by being eligible to work.

2. **Gulf crisis.** In 1991, following the Gulf crisis, many people who had been working in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia for lengthy periods returned to Jordan. Many of these were Palestinians with Jordanian passports (Van Hear, 1995, p. 352-374; also see United Nations, 1994). After the war, they were expelled by the Kuwaiti government for supposed collaboration with the Iraqi occupiers. No other Arab country would accept these Jordanian Palestinians, so their only choice was to return to their country of citizenship. They were then faced with the difficulty of finding employment at a time when jobs were scarce. This situation ultimately led them to consider emigration to western countries, especially Australia and Canada (Troquer & al-Oudat, 1999, pp. 37-51).

37 The Oval Office for Studies and Research - Jordan - Amman

The influx of Palestinian refugees and Jordanian passport holders of Palestinian origin from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia into Jordan as a result of the 1991 Gulf Crisis resulted in many Jordanians believing they were cheap labour who would deprive Jordanians of employment opportunities. This influx of migrants into Jordan placed excessive pressure on the country's infrastructure and caused serious economic, social and political problems leading to massive unemployment. This, in turn, also encouraged migration from Jordan to western countries.

3. Refugees. This group is comprised of Palestinian refugees who later obtained Jordanian citizenship. Following the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 and the wars of 1967 and 1973, many Palestinians fled to Jordan and other Arab countries. Jordan was one of the few Arab countries to grant these refugees full citizenship. In many other countries, Lebanon and Syria for example, Palestinian refugees continue to live in refugee camps with no more than a 'carte de sejour' which largely limits their potential travel destinations. Having obtained full Jordanian citizenship, many Palestinian refugees from Jordan later chose to immigrate to countries such as Australia, motivated, as were other Arab immigrants, by the search for better social and economic opportunities.

3.2 Jordan (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan)³⁸

The population of Jordan was estimated at 5,611,202 in October 2004 and to be increasing at a rate of 2.67%³⁹ per year with 43% of the population under the age of 15. In July, 2007, the population was estimated to have reached 5,924,000.⁴⁰ This population is considered homogeneous with 98% being Arab and the remainder Circassians and Armenians. Arabic is the official language although English is widely spoken. The West Bank territories were occupied by Jordan in 1949 and formally annexed by King Abdullah in 1950. They were then occupied by Israel in 1967, although Israel has progressively withdrawn from some centres, which are now administered by the Palestinian national authorities. Jordan remains a constitutional monarchy.

³⁸ <http://www.migrationinformation.org/profiles/Jordan/display.com>

³⁹ http://www.oztoxiacs.org/popweb/country/maps/Jordan_1.html

⁴⁰ http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos_home_e/main/index.htm

The largest sector of Jordan's economy is the service sector (wholesale and retail trade, hospitality, industrial, transport, finance, and social services. Natural resources are limited and consist of minor deposits of phosphates, potash and manganese. The early to mid-1980s was a period of economic progress for Jordan, owing primarily to a high volume of trade, relatively high levels of remittances and aid from citizens working abroad. Economic problems confronting Jordan include high levels of foreign debt, inadequate infrastructure, declining water supplies and rapidly growing population levels (Department of Statistics/ HKJ /DOS, 2005).

3.3 The Palestinian refugees in Jordan

In 1948 Israel captured all the lands allocated to it by the United Nations. In 1966 Palestinian refugees in Jordan numbered approximately 600,000 but after the 1967 Six Day War their numbers were augmented by a further 300,000. Since then the Palestinian refugee population of Jordan is estimated to have reached 1,903,490.⁴¹ Most Palestinians in Jordan are now citizens (Zaghal & Athamneh, 2000, p. 4).

3.4 The Jordanian-Born Community (Australia)⁴²

The census of 2006 recorded 3,730 Jordanian people in Australia, an increase of 18% from the 2001 census. The 2006 distribution by state and territories showed that New South Wales had the largest number with 2,790, followed by Victoria with 490, Western Australia with 280 and 170 in Queensland. Figure 1 below shows the number of Jordanian in all states in Australia.

⁴¹ <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html> Palestinian refugees

⁴² http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/jordan

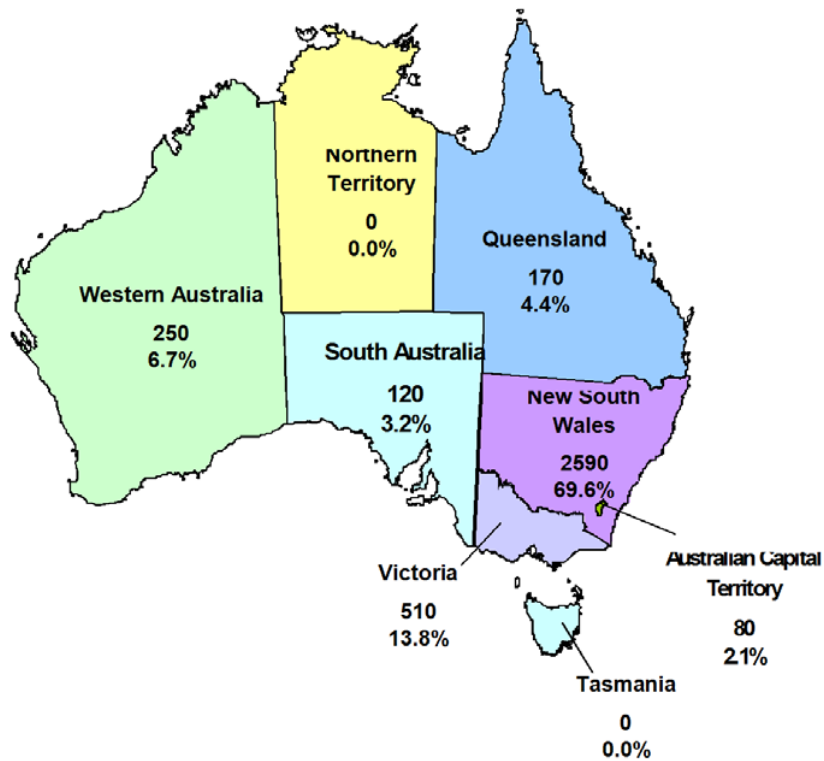


Figure 2: The Jordanian-Born Community (Australia)

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.1 Age and Sex

The median age of the Jordan-born living in Australia in 2006 was 36.8 years compared with 46.8 years for all overseas-born and 37.1 years the all total Australian population. The age distribution showed 13.6% were aged 0-14 years, 12.6% were 15-24 years, 42.5% were 25-44 years, 27.2% were 45-64 years and 4.2% were 65 and over.

Of the Jordanians born in Australia there were 2070 males (55.5%) and 1660 females (44.5%). The sex ratio was 124.9 males per 100 females. See figure 2 below.

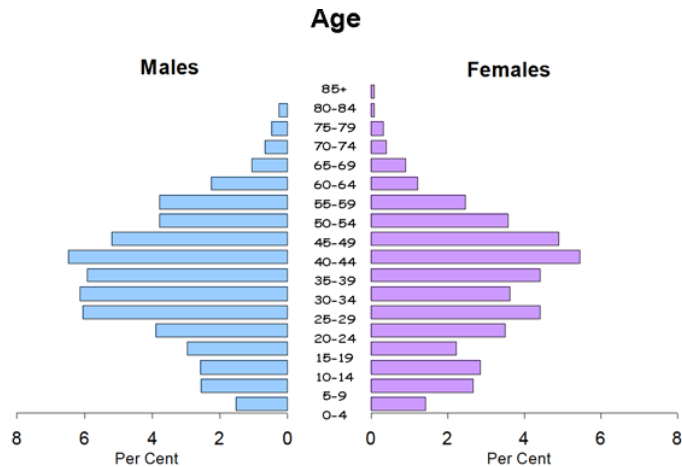


Figure 3: Age

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-sum/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.2 Qualifications

In 2006, of Jordanian-born people aged 15 years and over, 58.9% held some form of educational or occupational qualification compared to 52.5% for the total Australian population. Among the Jordanian-born, 39.2% had higher qualifications⁴³ and 11.1% had certificate level qualifications. Of the Jordanian-born with no qualifications, 21.2% were still attending an educational institution. See figure 3 below.

⁴³ Higher qualification includes Postgraduate Degree, Graduate Diploma & Graduate Certificate and Bachelor Degree Advanced Diploma & Diploma Level.

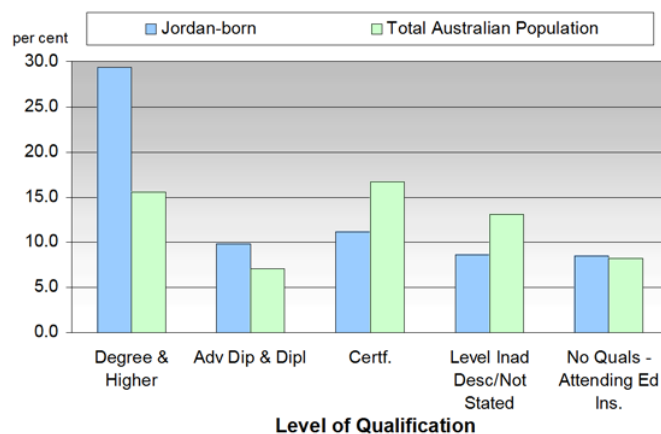


Figure 4: Level of Qualifications

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-sum/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.3 Employment

Among Jordanian-born people aged 15 years and over, the participation rate in the labour force was 58.7% and the unemployment rate was 12.1%. The corresponding rates in the total Australian population were 64.6 and 5.2% respectively.

Of the 1,630 Jordanian-born who were employed, 25.0% were employed in a skilled occupation, 9.9% in semi-skilled and 14.8% in unskilled. The corresponding rates in the total Australian population were 28.7%, 10.7% and 15.1% respectively. See figure 4 below.

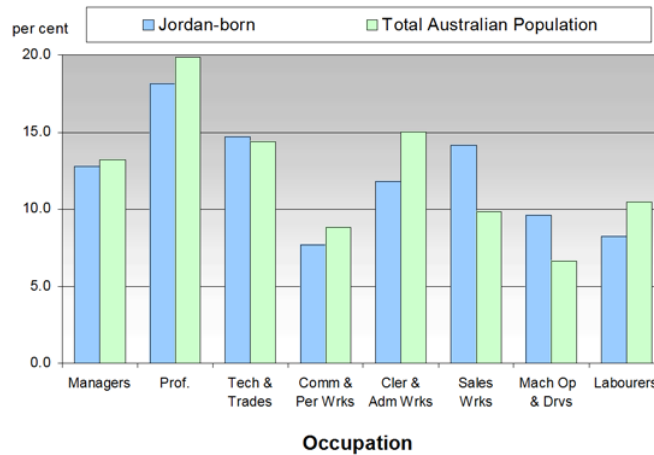


Figure 5: Occupation

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-sum/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.4 Citizenship

At the 2006 Census, the estimated rate of Australian citizenship for the Jordanian-born in Australia was 91.3%. The estimated rate for all overseas-born was 75.6%. This rate includes adjustments for people not meeting the residential requirement for citizenship, temporary entrants to Australia and under-enumeration at the Census.

3.4.5 Language

According to the 2006 Census, The main languages spoken at home by Jordanian-born people in Australia were Arabic 79.2%, English 10.1%, and Assyrian, including Aramaic, 4.3%. Of the 3,340 Jordanian-born who spoke a language other than English at home, 89.6% spoke English very well or well and 9.7% spoke poorly or not at all. See Figure 5 below.

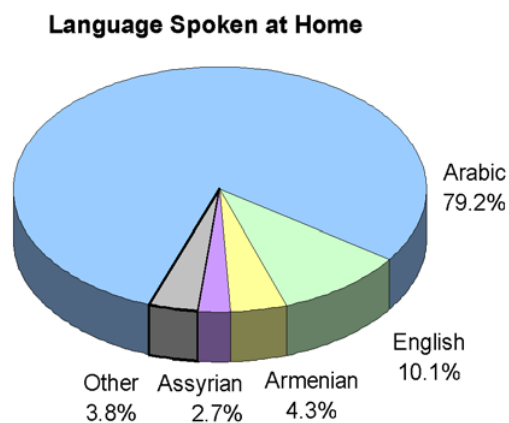


Figure 6: Language spoken at home

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.6 Religion

At the 2006 Census the major religions among the Jordanian-born were Islam (1,570 persons), Roman Catholic (960 persons) and Greek Orthodox (490 persons). Of the Jordanian-born, 2.3% stated 'no religion'. This was lower than that of the total Australian population (18.7%). Of the Jordanian-born 3.5% did not state a religion. See Figure 6 below.

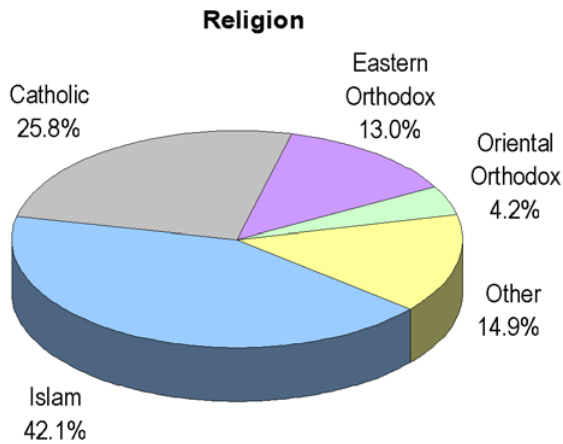


Figure 7: Religion

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.7 Ancestry

In the 2006 Census, the top three ancestry responses⁴⁴ that Jordanian-born people reported were, Jordanian (1560), Arab, nfd (690) and Palestinian (590). In the 2006 Census, Australians reported more than 250 different ancestries. Of the total ancestry responses*, 3360 responses were towards a Jordanian ancestry. See figure 7 below.

⁴⁴ At the 2006 Census up to two responses per person were allowed for the Ancestry question; therefore providing the total responses and not persons count. The total ancestry responses were 25.5 million.

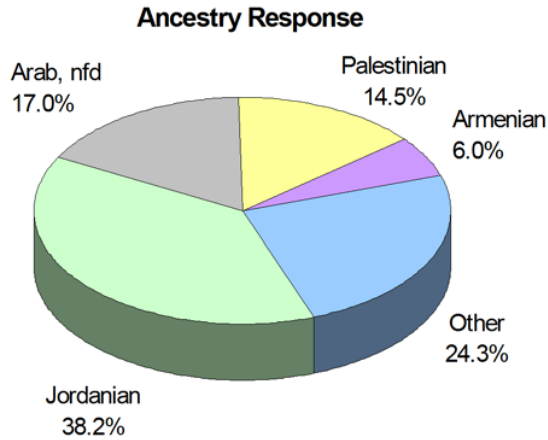


Figure 8: Ancestry

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.4.8 Median Income

At the time of the 2006 Census, the median individual weekly income for the Jordanian-born in Australia aged 15 years and over was \$318, compared with \$431 for all overseas-born and \$488 for all Australia-born. The total Australian population had a median individual weekly income of \$466.

3.4.9 Arrival

Compared to 67.9% of the total overseas-born population, 56.4% of the Jordan-born people in Australia arrived in Australia prior to 1996. Among the total Jordan-born in Australia at the 2006 Census, 14.8% arrived between 1996 and 2000 and 24.7% arrived during 2001 and 2006. See Figure 8 below.

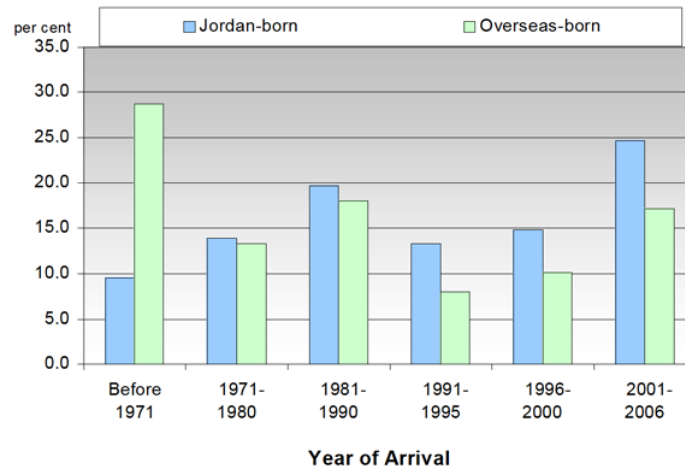


Figure 9: Year of Arrival

Source: Department of Immigration and Citizenship. Available online http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-sum/_pdf/jordan.pdf. (Viewed 1 February 2008).

3.5 Social relations of migration: the shaping of Jordanian immigrants in Sydney

Migration of all kinds, particularly economic migration across national boundaries, has attracted much attention in recent scholarly literature and policy statements (Morawska, 2001, p. 47). Social relations and migration are closely linked; social relations usually undergo a process in which they form some kind of pattern within each social system. This implies, among other things, that a person is able to establish a place in the community on the basis of his/her individual merits. In other words, the person becomes a member of the community because of certain social and cultural characteristics held by them. Before addressing the specific case of Jordanian immigration to Australia, it is imperative to discuss some critical issues leading up to this immigration.

3.6 Background of Arabs and Jordanians in Australia

The vast majority of Arabs who migrated to Australia in the last quarter of the 19th century were Lebanese Christians, usually from a rural background. They were called Syrians because, at that time, present-day Lebanon as well as Syria, Jordan and Palestine were part of the greater Syrian province of the Ottoman Empire. The early immigrants came in search of economic opportunities (Thernstrom, 1980; Elkholy, 1981). Some were Jordanian.

3.7 Arab presence in Australia

The Arab Australian community is composed of approximately half a million people, both Muslim and Christian. Among the Muslims, Sunni Muslims are in the majority in Australia as they are in the Arab world. There are also Shiite Muslims and Druze. Christian Arabs are drawn from every Christian group: from the Eastern as well as Protestant churches (Arab Australia Council, 1979).

The Arab culture and tradition shares common characteristics despite its diversity due to different countries of origin. Further, the patterns of assimilation and integration of the Arabic community in Australia are similar to other ethnic communities. Arab-speaking migrants who came to Australia shared many of the hopes and dreams of other non-English-speaking migrants and had common problems of adjustment. The first Lebanese immigrants arrived in Australia in 1876 from the village of Basharri. They had boarded a ship in Beirut to go to America but landed in Adelaide some weeks later. It is likely they hawked goods in the outback of South Australia and through entrepreneurial activities gained entry to the major centres of southern Australia (Batrouney, 1985, pp. 30- 50).

Lebanese migration to Australia increased after 1947 and became more rapid during the civil war in the 1970s. By 2001 the Lebanese-born community in Australia numbered 71,310 and was almost equally divided between Christian (Maronite and Catholic) and Muslim (Sunni, Shiite, and Druze).⁴⁵ In comparison the Egyptian presence in Australia in 1901 numbered 108 and by 1947 had increased to 803. This swelled to over 8,000 by 1954 and to 28,226 by 1971 (as a result of Nasser's policies in the 1960s) and to 33,370 in 2001.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the Iraqi presence in Australia in 1976 numbered 2,273 but swelled dramatically between 1991 and 2001 (due to the Gulf War) from 5,186 to 24,760.

The Arab community in Australia is, as mentioned earlier, highly concentrated in New South Wales followed by Victoria and Western Australia. Although only 34.88% of Arabs stated their religion as Muslim, the percentage may be as much as 20% higher as slightly more than 20% did not state their religion at the 2001 Census.⁴⁷ (This may have

⁴⁵ http://www.immi.gov.au/statistics/stat_info/comm_summ/textversion/ (Accessed 11 June 2005).

⁴⁶ http://www.immi.gov.au/statistics/stat_info/comm_summ/textversion/

⁴⁷ <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/Home/Census>

been due to fear following the events of 11 September). Furthermore, most of their communities are located in the Sydney metropolitan area in the municipalities of Auburn, Bankstown, Blacktown, Liverpool, Rockdale, Marrickville and Lakemba.

Ironically, immigrants from Syria, Jordan and Lebanon were almost exclusively motivated by the desire to be with friends, relatives and fellow nationals. Almost all immigrants enter on the basis of family sponsorship. Few know much about their intended places of residence except that they believe it will be an improvement on where they currently live (Dawkins et al., 1991).

Table 2 below shows that in 1996 just over 1% of Australia's population of 17.8 million consisted of people born in the Middle East. If second generation offspring are included, the proportion of the Australia population with very close ties to the Middle East could be at least twice this figure.

Table 2: Populations born in the Middle East 1986 and 1996⁴⁸

Country of birth	1986 Census	1996 Census	Percentage of total Australian population in 1996
Bahrain	(a)	58	(b)
Egypt	30,633	34,139	0.19
Iran	7,498	16,244	0.09
Iraq	4,518	14,027	0.08
Israel	7,004	6,234	0.03
Jordan	(a)	2,831	0.02
Kuwait	(a)	1,599	0.01
Lebanon	56,342	70,237	0.39
Oman	(a)	144	(b)
Qatar	(a)	163	(b)
Saudi Arabia	(a)	1,136	0.01
Syria	864	5,936	0.03
United Arab Emirates	(a)	887	(b)
West Bank/ Gaza Strip	(a)	2,540	0.01
Yemen	(a)	272	(b)
Middle East NFD	3,097	573	(b)
Total	137,385	186,413	1.04%

Included in the Middle East NFD for 1986 (NFD = Not Further Defined). Statistically.

⁴⁸ Source: Census of Population and Housing, Australia Bureau of Statistics.

Table 3 below shows that many immigrants from the Middle East take out Australia citizenship with Lebanese and Egyptians having the highest citizenship rate. Based on the 1996 Census, 97.4% of residents born in Lebanon took out Australia citizenship, as did 95.7% of residents born in Egypt. The table shows the numbers taking citizenship in recent years.

Table 3: Nationality or citizenship of people from the Middle East granted certificates of Australia citizenship

Nationality	1998- 99	1999-00
Bahraini	5	4
Egyptian	430	311
Iranian	876	755
Iraqi	1,698	1,853
Israeli	196	173
Jordanian	217	167
Kuwaiti	1,085	90
Lebanese	1,091	859
Saudi Arabian	28	25
Syrian	183	130
United Arab Emirates	2	20
Yemeni	4	10
Total Middle East origin	5,815	4,397
Total all new citizenships conferred	76,763	70,836

Source: DIMA, Annual Reports

Tables 2 and 3 indicate that the Jordanian community is the smallest group of Arab immigrants to come to Australia in comparison to Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Egypt. This is because Jordanian people have only been coming to Australia since 1970 in small

numbers. But the 22-year total (1970-1992) for immigrants from Jordan has increased due to some students who came to Australia for higher education later deciding to stay as they had married or found work. In addition, Jordanian migrants to Australia show a fairly stable pattern, with a rise in 1973 and again after 1990. While the 1973 rise does not appear to have an explanation, the reason for the rise after 1990 is clear. Like other Arabs, Jordanians suffered greatly from the 1990-1991 Gulf War. In fact, more Jordanians lost their jobs in Gulf countries as a result of this war than any other group, followed by Palestinians.

3.8 Jordanian presence in Australia

Early Jordanian immigration to Australia consisted mostly of Christians from cities such as Ajloun, Salt and Karak. Jordanian Muslims began to immigrate to Australia in 1980.

The most significant change in the overall picture of Jordanian immigrants who have come to Australia since 1980 is that a much larger percentage, perhaps 50% are Muslims. In the earlier immigration more than 80% were Christians. Muslims were, however, part of the early Jordanian migration but few of them chose to bring their families with them. This pattern has now changed. In addition, Jordanian people who chose to leave Jordan were only permitted to take a limited amount of money out of the country and Australia as a free country with promising economic opportunities therefore appealed to them. On the whole, however, the would-be host community was quite hostile to the prospective migrants (particularly those from the Middle East after 9/11 and the Bali bombings).

Jordanian people are congregated overwhelmingly in Sydney and the main residential concentrations are in Fairfield-Liverpool (516), Canterbury-Bankstown (306), Blacktown-Baulkham Hills (244) and central western Sydney (227). Otherwise there are very few Jordanian-born people outside Sydney, the highest number being 10 in Wollongong. (*Atlas of Australian people - New South Wales*, 1996, p. 84).

Jordanian migrants settle in Arabic-speaking areas to maintain their culture. Their children have also tended to rely more on the Arabic community to help them with any difficulties they encounter. The second generation has concentrated on job opportunities and an improved social or economic life. For instance, Mr. Mohssen was one of the first Jordanian people to come to Australia in 1970. He went to the United States for a

short time because, in 1970, the job opportunities were better there than in Australia. After he had saved sufficient money he came back to Australia and started his own business. He lived in a Sydney suburb (Parramatta) close to other Jordanian people at first but, when he started his own business, he moved to the central business district. Mr. Mohessn was one of the first Jordanian immigrants to settle in the city. Most of the research participants chose to settle in Arabic-speaking areas. Malek (Mohessn's son), who is now 28, told me:

As a boy, I started working with my father at a restaurant because I saw my mother and my sister working everyday with him (I know I didn't like to work then but now I hope to come back to help my father). Anyway, now I have finished university and am working in a big company in Sydney. I remember when my father started working in the restaurant he always had a dream to have his own business in the future and to go back to Jordan. He has a good business now in the city but he hasn't had time to go back there.

Most Jordanian people who came to Australia as visitors continued higher education and some who came here to work returned to their country. However, many stayed in Australia after marrying an Australian citizen. Others thought that, if Australia were good for making money, then it would probably also be good to remain there temporarily – all the Jordanian emigrants, as well as many other Arab people now living in Australia left their country with a clear intention of someday or somehow returning to live in their own country. They planned to live a quiet life, working very little but buying a plot of land or establishing a business with their earnings from Australia. They hoped also to have a little additional income from the remainder of their earnings. Those who remain in Australia of their own will claim they could easily return to Jordan if they so wished. As to why the dream has not materialised, the answers are rather vague: I would love to go, but all my children are here – how can I go? Now I'm getting old and no longer have my kids with me, how could I live there? I couldn't get used to living there anymore. It's OK to go there on holidays, but not to live permanently.

3.8.1 The Australian – Jordanian Society

This organisation was started in Sydney in 1979. It is a non-profit organisation for Jordanian (Muslim and Christian) people living in Australia. The AJS is represented by

a board of members called the council. The role of the council is to manage the affairs of the society which include the setting of strategic goals that have become guidelines for the way the AJS operates within the community.

The objectives of the Australian Jordanian society are:-

- To unite and represent the interests and needs of the Jordanian community in Australia.
- To promote and support the needs of Jordanian youth.
- To encourage any creative initiatives undertaken that have clear outcomes and are within the frameworks of the AJS.
- To foster and promote Jordanian culture and heritage in the wider Australian community.
- To initiate projects and activities that will strengthen friendship, co-operation and unity among the community.
- To extend hospitality and assistance to Jordanian visitors.
- To encourage participation of the Jordanian community in the cultural, economic and social development of the multicultural society of Australia.

Members of the organisation are predominantly Christian, mostly first generation; the percentage of Muslims joining, however, has been increasing since 1991.

Most members are professional businessmen but single and married women are also included. The AJS encourages young people to join the organisation to insure its continuity.

3.8.2 Cultural Tradition of Jordanians in Australia

Like all Arab communities in Australia, the Jordanians celebrate particular events and share their culture with the wider Arab community. This includes, for example, using local Arab bands or western-style music in their functions and celebrating Jordanian Independence Day. They also participate in other Australian community events such as

Australia Day, United Nations Children's Day, etc. They mostly socialise, however, with the Arab communities.

Furthermore, Jordanian people in Australia celebrate significant events in the Muslim year, including the birthday of Mohammed. Muslims mark the passage of birth and death with ceremonies, while Muslim children's ability to memorise the Qu'ran is regarded as a great occasion and signals an advance in their religious maturity. Most Jordanian Muslims send their children to Islamic schools or an Arabic school to learn about Islam and to learn the Arabic language. Christian festivals are also observed since a number of Jordanians in Australia belong to the Antioch Orthodox Church. This is one of the earliest Christian communities and has been based in Damascus, Syria, since the 14th century. Members of the Orthodox Church of Antioch are scattered around the world and include Jordanians, Lebanese, Iraqis, Syrians and Palestinians. The liturgy is conducted in Arabic.

3.9 Settlement

The meaning of settlement is being altered by the interaction of various factors that affect the character of immigration itself (Hugo, 1990; Castles, 1997; Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998; Weinfeld, 1998). In the last two or three years, a number of authors have drawn attention to these fundamental changes in migration patterns and some have gone as far as to argue that it represents a paradigm shift (Hugo, 1990; Castles, 1997; Ip, Wu and Inglis, 1998; Weinfeld, 1998).

The fact is that the 'settlement process' — perceived, as the movement towards full participation and equitable access to Australian society — is determined by far more than the length of residence. The extent of settlement over time depends on the conjunction of the migrant's life cycle, individual characteristics and Australia's economic cycle. This does not simply mean that the process of settlement varies between individuals and ethnic groups, or between migrants who arrive in different periods. It suggests that the needs of a [non-English speaking] migrant may increase over time, and the demand for the provision of English language classes, and culturally sensitive services actually rise to help migrants adapt (Shergold and Nicolaou, 1986, cited in Romampas, 1986, p. 9). The Jupp Committee (1984) noted that the concept of 'stages' in the settlement process tends to imply that settlement needs diminish over

time. They pointed to the example of settlement needs emerging among older migrants long after their arrival and quoted from a study, undertaken as part of the Committee's work, interviewing migrants about their settlement experience. These attempts to identify stages in the settlement process are usually based on a view of migration as 'permanent' and involving a complete break with the home country. Typically the concept of settlement is linear and progressive. For many migrants now (and probably then) these conditions do not hold.

Although one aim of early immigration was to earn money and return to the country of origin, after a period of residence in the new country, and after having adapted to the new way of life in Australia, many found it difficult to return. From this point it becomes clear that the Arab immigrants who came to Australia after WW II had different reasons for emigrating to those who came before WW II. Where the earlier community came primarily to gain material wealth, the later group came for a variety of reasons.

The first large waves of Jordanian immigrants were city-dwellers who arrived in Sydney between 1970 and 1980. After the 1967 crisis with Israel, many Palestinians with Jordanian passports left Jordan for Australia. A second wave of migration occurred in the period between 1988 and 1995. Many already had relatives in Australia who had migrated in the earlier waves of migration from Jordan.

Furthermore, these people's arrival coincided with changes in Australian culture. The civil rights movement and developments in academic disciplines such as anthropology and sociology led to the idea that it was acceptable to be proud of one's ethnic background. The idea of an ethnic Arab community began to grow.

3.10 Aspects of Jordanian Migration

3.10.1 Community Building

Ghassan Hage describes community as a feeling of shared symbolic forms that "involves living in a space where one recognises people as 'one's own' and where one feels recognised by them as such" (1997, p.103). The psychological tensions and fears of immigrants outside the safety of their familiar home and family environment when faced with a new culture is usually lessened by the existence of a community composed

of people who have faced or are facing the same challenges. Among them, the Jordanian immigrant can find relative security in surroundings in which he or she is no longer a stranger. This can be understood in terms of recreating the feeling of 'home' which Hage explains in Bourdieu's sense as the "space where one possesses maximal communicative power ... that is, the capacity to speak appropriately in a variety of recognisable specific situations" (1997, p.103).

In this sense, earlier migrants play an important role as hosts and teachers to newcomers. Leading figures in the community such as religious leaders and business owners often act as patrons for new arrivals. Living in a residential area occupied by people of the same background and surrounded by relatives and people speaking the same tongue also shelters new immigrants from the challenges of the new environment by creating feelings of familiarity and homeliness.

Letters of immigrants to their families back home are of special interest in this context as they often reflect minimum knowledge of Australia and minimum social interaction with Australians of non-Jordanian origin or even non-Arab origin. Most of the names mentioned in the letters are of other members of the community. These letters frequently reveal immigrants living and interacting in their own ethnic world; this world is far closer to the one they left than to the Australian world of which they are a part.

Dear Brother,

I'm writing to let you know that my son Mohammad will leave Amman in a couple months; I have sent him all the paper he needs to come to Australia. Also, I will send you some paper as well but after I get some money from my work because I want you as well come here. When you come here you will see how much we can make. I want you to send with Mohammad some sweet because we do not have any sweet like the one in Jordan and you know how much I love this sweet. Please send all my regards to the rest of the family.

Your brother,

Ali

On the other hand, this creation of community can be understood from the perspective of immigrants who, having realised that they wish to settle permanently in the new

country, set about creating an atmosphere similar to that back home. In many of their letters they ask for seeds of favourite plants, some ask for national clothes and other reminders of their country. At the same time, however, they plan a future in Australia by buying houses and land, moving to more expensive neighbourhoods, spending more on material goods, and most of all, seriously adapting to the Australia way of life. Many, who left members of their family back in the country of origin, send for them and are reunited.

These inclinations to foster community in the new place of settlement can be detected in particular suburbs with a strong Arab presence where the Arabic language is prevalent in business signage and remains a dominant local language in the area. These patterns of settling 'together', however, are also evident very early on in the history of Jordanian migration to Australia. Mr. Yussef, for example, one of the first Jordanian people to come to Australia in 1964, describes exactly what earlier migrants experienced and the process of adaptation he went through.

Mr Yussef first emigrated from Jordan to the Philippines when he was ten years old with his family after his father obtained a job there. After ten years in the Philippines, he applied for citizenship. Once he received citizenship he worked for the Philippines government for around eight years but returned home after his father died, leaving his mother, two brothers and two sisters alone. At that time he was 28 years old and decided to go to the United States, as another brother lived there. His mother, however, wanted to return to Jordan because she missed her country and her family. In fact, he tells me, he really believed that his mother wanted him to get married to a Jordanian girl. Mr Yussef returned to Jordan and married, living there with his wife for six years before returning to the Philippines. In the Philippines he could no longer find work. His wife died in 1959, but later he married a Russian girl who worked with him. He migrated to Australia in 1964, this time with his second wife and children.

On his arrival in Australia he lived in Parramatta for two years before moving to the city centre. Mr Yussef was one of the first Jordanian immigrants to settle in the city. He started working with some Arab immigrants from Lebanon and Syria, and others who had emigrated from Lebanon. A few years later he started a small business selling furniture which prospered and is still trading today. In 1970, another Jordanian, Mr Ahmed came to Australia and settled in Sydney where he conducted a small business.

By 1978 there were more than 15 Jordanians, most of whom had come with their families and all lived near each other.

3.10.2 New Networks

Among those who first opened businesses in Sydney were Messrs Yussef, and Ahmed. To enlarge their businesses and to compete with other stores, they had to attract new immigrants to work in the business. Their stories may reflect the pattern of business and its connection with immigration within this group. Mr Ahmed for example, came to Australia in the early 1970s and began by working as a waiter in a restaurant. Having accumulated some money and greater familiarity with the English language and Australian business procedures, he moved to the city of Sydney in 1970 to open his own restaurant. He encouraged relatives and friends from his hometown, who were already in Australia, to come and settle near him. The news of Ahmed's success and his desire to sponsor and help newcomers became the talk of Kerak, his hometown in Jordan. To the people of Kerak he was like an uncle or a father. He received many letters from people in his hometown and other Jordanians wanting his assistance to come to Australia: the promise of paid employment, assistance in applying for visas, even accommodation. Unfortunately these letters have not been kept. By becoming a prominent local figure both in Australia and in Jordan, Mr Ahmed also contributed to the growth of a community feeling among Jordanians.

3.10.3 Maintaining Links with Home

In addition to fostering feelings of community in their new place of settlement by engaging in practices that breed familiarity and dissipate fears of the unknown, maintaining real physical links with home through letters, telephone correspondence and sending news with returnees is also common among Jordanian immigrants to Australia. Coupled with a desire to stay in touch with all that is happening in the hometown or village, there is also often a moral pressure from the home community on immigrants to maintain a reputation by constantly striving for success and trying to outdo other immigrants in their new location. This social situation ascribes moral rewards and punishments for successes and failures, particularly in regard to a family's standing in the eyes of the community in Jordan.

The tendency to reduce communication with the home community to implicit or explicit declarations of success is apparent in letters to families, many of which were not without exaggeration. The story of the man who worked in a restaurant and sent his family a vague letter implying ownership of the restaurant is still common and often told by members of the community. Letters describing a demand for labour often played a great role in attracting new immigrants. Hence, many immigrants avoided mentioning the hardships and difficulties they encountered. Consequently, upon hearing of the opportunities and apparently effortless success of the newcomers, many Jordanians were encouraged to come to Australia, particularly since their lives at home were so often fraught with economic uncertainty and hardship.

The pressure exerted by the home community was also accompanied by the immigrant's interest in the minute happenings of his hometown and many letters from this period attest to this. The letters also often indicate a shift in thinking towards where home is, as immigrants begin to think seriously of Australia as a permanent home. These changes are often reflected in altered attitudes towards property ownership and sometimes, in a weakening interest in home community affairs. At the same time, more positive feelings toward permanent settlement in Australia develop. These paradigm shifts often lead to changes in the immigrants' understanding of home and community and their absorption into the larger Australian community in which they live.

The following are excerpts from letters sent by immigrants in Sydney to their families back home. Chosen to cover a period of time, they indicate the situations mentioned above. In one example, a man asks about the health of his family, but does not forget to mention the state of the land and the crops:

Dear Brother:

. . . Please let us know about the health of your children and their mother. Also, let us know about the apples. I hope you are doing very well.

With my best. . .

Another example is again concerned with the question of land and the ethical questions concerned with selling this land to strangers not within the family group. The letter reveals that although this man has been living away from his family for several years, he

is still prepared to send money for the purchase of the land so it does not fall into the hands of someone outside the family.

Dear Uncle:

. . . I heard that my brother needs money to get married and that he is thinking of selling his land. I would not like any stranger to buy it, this only creates problems. I depend on you to speak for me and buy the land, and I shall send you the money. I trust you and I will contact with you. . .

As in the previous letter, the question of marriage emerges again although in the following example the question is more whether the marriage of the man's sister is appropriate. In this case, the man in question abdicates his opinion to the sister who he believes should be the sole decision-maker in the matter:

Dear Father:

. . . You have asked my opinion of my sister's marriage. My dear father, first I wish to thank you for asking me, but things have changed. How do you expect me to make a decision when I am so far away? My sister is the one who is getting married, so it is up to her to make up her mind after listening to your advice. Whatever you decide will be fine with me. Please tell me what happens so I can send you money and some presents for my dear sister. . .

These letters reveal a link with the home community that is maintained despite the paradigm shift of adopting Australia as a new home. The immigrant, while acknowledging his distance from his place of origin, maintains an attachment to it that is expressed by buying the land in absentia, or sending presents for his sister's wedding. At the same time however, he is no longer willing, or able, to make decisions on behalf of the family, as in the case of the sister's marriage.

3.10.4 Success, and the Fear of Failure

Many Jordanian immigrants to Australia first thought of travelling after hearing news of other people's successes in the new land. The following story, told by a Jordanian living in Sydney, reflects some of the experiences of some earlier migrants. This man travelled to Australia in 1967 and is one of the earliest Jordanian migrants to Australia. He begins

by recalling the situation at home and the impulse to travel upon hearing of another man's success:

Things were getting bad back home,⁴⁹ the land had become less productive while the number of people was increasing with no jobs available and some went into the army. They even took the animals we used for agriculture to carry their loads. I was always thinking of leaving. One day in the summer, Mr Hassan came back from Australia; he brought a lot of cash. He talked about this country, the opportunities for work, the freedom of man, and his adventures, which I found most fascinating. The idea of emigrating haunted me; I could no longer rest nor even sleep. I told my parents and my father agreed. When Mr Hassan came back we had an agreement that he would send me the papers.

When I received the papers I sent them to the Australian embassy in Beirut (because there was no Australian embassy in Amman at that time). It was very easy to get a visa then and I bought a cheap air ticket. There were four other people from Jordan coming on the same plane, consisting of one couple and two single men. We spent about one week doing nothing, wasting our money, and waiting. I started thinking of my family while I was there and of the unknown that lay before me. Many times, I thought of going back, but this was impossible; I could not face my family and the people of my home town. Other times I thought of the people who had already made the journey and become successful. The people from my home town, me, and other Arabs were together most of the time.

Upon arrival in Australia, our relief was cut short by our fear that we would fail the medical test or that there would be a mistake in our documents. One single man was forbidden entry because of trachoma. (He later came back through New Zealand).

After a long and tortuous procedure, the officials pinned tags with our names and destinations on our shoulder, and took us to the train. None of our group could speak English and no one could understand our gestures. We could not ask anyone when we should leave the train. Every time the train stopped we

⁴⁹ The average annual salary in Jordan is about US\$3,600 while that in Australia is between AUS\$40,000 – 50,000.

would jump and point to the tags; the answer was always no, one of the few words we knew. We tried to look calm, because of the woman with us, but the train kept going on and on, nowhere had we heard of such a large country, nowhere had we heard of any one who travelled over so much land. We started to think that we had been deceived, and that we were on our way to be deported, with this in mind, I thought of my parents, my brothers and sisters, I thought of the hope in their eyes, and I thought of the disappointment I should cause them.

It was into the evening, and after every hope of arriving at Bankstown had abandoned us when the controller came and said something, then turned and gave a sign for us to follow him, we carried our things and followed him, not knowing where we were going.

Finally we were left at the station looking all around to catch sight of an Arab; we wanted to know where we were. Then we heard a voice calling one of us, and that was a relief.

We were taken to Abu Mohammad house, where we had dinner, and gave each person their presents and spent some time answering questions about our hometown. I, with the other single men, was then escorted to what became our living quarters. It was a house in Sydney, where a family and other single men were living. The three of us joined another four already living in one of the rooms. We were told about the arrangements for food and the amount of rent.

The next day we cleaned up and went to Abu Mohammad friend's store where we got some clothes, which we paid for later. The men in our room began teaching us the value of the currency, the necessary phrases for trade, our names and accompanied one of the relatives to his job. After about two weeks, I started my work. Those were real hard days, sometimes when I worked I wanted so much to talk to people and tell them about my family, and my hometown, and learn about theirs, but my English was limited to only a few phrases. I remember I used to talk to myself or when I was alone I would sing.

Mr Ahmad now owns a restaurant and is a successful businessman. Nonetheless, his story reflects some of the psychological tensions that he suffered in the process of migration, particularly the inability to communicate with others and the reality of very

hard physical labour. This was in sharp contrast to the life of ease and comfort he believed he would find from hearing the news of the earlier traveller. As a consequence, Mr Ahmad spent a long time living as a stranger. He did not belong to the culture he was living in, and he could not easily break with his past. The very high expectations of his family and home community nonetheless coloured his inclination to stay on in the new country and make a success of his migration so as not to be thought a source of embarrassment or disappointment.

3.11 Economic life

At the end of the Gulf Crisis, between 250,000 and 300,000 Iraqis refugees entered Jordan.⁵⁰ This was accompanied by a rise in the rate of unemployment resulting in serious effects on the exchange rate with the devaluation of the Jordanian dinar (JD) which was at 0.665 per U.S. dollar in January 1991 and 0.675 per U.S. dollar in December 1991.⁵¹ While it would be difficult to prove a conclusive link between economic factors and a growth in migration, many members of the Jordanian community interviewed for this study could be classed within the parameters of economic migration.

Economic migrants are people who move from one place of work and residence to another, either within a country or across international boundaries, primarily because of the economic opportunities presented to them. They are, therefore, distinct from refugees. Saskia Sassen suggests that several factors contribute to economic migration on a global scale. She mentions in particular the unequal levels of development between receiving (usually developed) and sending (usually developing) countries that have in turn led to major changes in the organisation of the global economy and of labour markets in advanced economies, creating multiple opportunities for the incorporation of immigrants in receiving countries (Sassen, 1991, p. 53). With respect to migrants travelling from developing to developed countries, Sassen classes this as labour migration within the global economy (Sassen, 1991, p. 53).

While the flow of immigrants from developing to developed countries may fall into the general category of labour migration, Jordanian migration to Australia is comprised of

⁵⁰ See UNHCR, *Statistical Yearbook 2001*, October 2002, p. 92-95. See also UNRWA in Figures, June 30, 2002, available at www.un.org/unrwa/pr/pdf/uif-june02.pdf

⁵¹ http://intl.econ.cuhk.edu.hk/exchange_rate_regime/index.php?cid=23

several types of economic migrants and does not automatically fall into this category. In contrast to the majority of migrants from the Middle East who are classed as unskilled labourers, those who migrated from Jordan in the past ten years have been students. This contrasts with earlier migration, when most Jordanian immigrants tended to be unskilled and beneficiaries of labour migration. In contrast most Jordanians now enter Australia on student visas. They may work as store attendants for a short time, nonetheless those who choose to remain in Australia eventually join other Arab migrants to buy and run businesses.

Despite differences in migration patterns and expectations, most Jordanian immigrants in Australia today are just as likely to be self-employed entrepreneurs or to work in sales. Jordanian immigrants continue to leave Jordan for economic purposes, usually in order to return home with a higher level of education and greater financial assets, hoping to buy land, build a better life and improve their social status. As one young male student at a university in Sydney explained, “I came here to continue my studies and to work for a few years to earn money to make a good life when I go back and settle there.” These Jordanian immigrants, while pursuing a different path from their predecessors, continue to build on the foundations established by earlier Jordanian and Arab immigrants, and at the same time expand the size, diversity and geographic locations of Arab communities in Australia.

Now, as in the past, Jordanians come to Australia with high hopes for their children and with the desire to achieve a higher socio-economic status for their family. The educational and social outcomes they desire are not without effect on traditional family patterns and often lead to ruptures in traditional values and challenge existing relationships within the family unit. From the interview data collected, it is evident that parents at every socio-economic level regarded education as very important for their sons and daughters with more than 90% indicating it as a priority for career opportunities and financial security. Given the importance placed on overseas degrees and the high status of Australian universities, education is also regarded as an asset in terms of plans to return to Jordan and most parents take account of this when thinking about their children’s futures. In addition, parents see education as having an important effect on their own life opportunities, particularly for their own plans to work in Jordan when they return and most recent immigrants (those who migrated during the 1990s for example) already have degrees and came to Australia to continue their studies.

The economic position of a family in Jordanian society plays a particularly important role in determining their social standing, their expectations and potential for success. Economic prosperity alone, however, does not guarantee the family's social position; the family's standing in the religious community to which they belong, whether Christian or Muslim, is also significant. Nonetheless, the importance of economic success in relation to the family continues to compel many to migrate to look for better opportunities and prosperity. Mr Ali (the Sydney university student) for example, tells of how the financial difficulties his family was experiencing led him to look into migration overseas.

The socio-economic position of the family also determines the expectations of both parents and children in terms of behaviour (Phillip, 1999). For example, there are usually high expectations among groups where a single male has migrated that the family will attain greater material benefits in the form of remittances sent home by that migrant. In return, the migrant expects that the family back home will use that money to improve their economic standing by buying land and property in anticipation of the migrant's return, and make the necessary preparations for the marriage of the migrating male. Not all migrants are single men, however, and many married men leave families behind, migrating in the search for work in order to be able to support their children. They often live cheaply in shared accommodation in order to send frequent financial assistance to the family on the assumption that it will contribute to a better education for their children. Their offspring, in return, are required to focus on study and achieve academic success in return for their father's sacrifice.

While some of these expectations are still evident today, there are also significant shifts from the migration patterns and behaviours of the past, particularly in regard to the role of women in employment, since women today usually have degrees and full or part-time work. By comparison, earlier immigrants tended to adhere to a pattern described by Phillip Hitti in his research on the Arab immigrant community in the United States following World War II. Hitti noted that while the wives often baked, sold bread or made aprons, the men occupied themselves exclusively with selling these goods, thus allowing both partners to make an important contribution to the well-being of the family (Hitti, 1942). This economic relationship between the partners was usually a continuation of a pattern that the family had developed in the village before migrating. A similar economic pattern can also be noted among earlier Jordanian immigrants

whereby the family's commercial practices in the home village were continued, thus allowing all able family members to function in some way as providers. Mr Ahmad Jmaal, for example, explained that in the early years before he owned his business, part of the family income was earned through a joint family trading practice where his wife supplied the goods and he sold them. In Mr Jmaal's case, his wife made traditional Arabic sweets and cakes at home which he in turn sold to Arab-owned businesses, thus forging partnerships in the community and at home. In addition, the male children in many families contributed to the family budget by pursuing part-time jobs, usually after school, while others worked full-time instead of studying.

Whatever their path, many earlier immigrants were drawn to owning their own businesses and store ownership was often regarded as a very effective means of making money for many new immigrants. They were able to transfer their success as peddlers (going from house to house selling diverse wares such as dry goods, jewellery and rosaries, sundries, laces and silks) into success as storeowners. Community members who took manual labouring jobs often used their wages to invest in their own businesses. Through hard work, thrift, and perseverance, many early immigrants went on to own small businesses and many of them along with their second-generation descendants continue to be a part of the Arab Australian community today. By owning stores and other businesses, the entire close-knit immigrant family achieved economic prosperity. The immigrants who lacked the funds to start a business, or did not speak English well enough, found suitable and ready employment in a stable environment, and the wholesaler found legions of labourers who contributed to the prosperity of their business. This relationship was not limited to business but went beyond it. The wholesaler acted as both a family adviser and benefactor to hundreds of Jordanian people in Australia. Early Jordanian immigrants, many of whom worked long hours in factories for several years, have become part of a permanent Jordanian entrepreneurial presence in Sydney laying the foundations for recent arrivals interested in pursuing that path.

Another step in the path of business was to own a factory. The size of these factories varied and some were no larger than a small family business where most of the workers were family members. Although first generation immigrants started the majority of these factories, the administration and control of a number of businesses that prospered and operate today are now in the hands of their sons, many of whom are university

graduates. While few members of the first generation factory founders have kept up with the changes in marketing and manufacturing, many continue to go to work everyday but have very little to do with the actual operations of the business.

Many early Jordanian immigrants achieved financial and material success using this model, a success which translated into social success owing to the importance of a family's economic standing in the Jordanian community. Whatever their work, many older members of the Jordanian community in Sydney proved to be successful business owners. They were motivated to make money and were able to accrue considerable savings from their business ventures. Although several factors contributed to this motivation, the most important was their determination to return home. Many saw Australia as a goldmine and wanted to save the largest amount possible in the shortest time. Consequently, some people did not lodge their money in banks to avoid having their earnings taxed. Their behaviour was influenced by their attitude to Australia as being a temporary residence and most were not interested in becoming citizens or staying in Australia for the rest of their lives. They usually only learnt enough English to serve their own business needs and shunned political or social participation in the nation's affairs. The combination, however, of prosperity in Sydney and unfavourable conditions back home kept most of them from returning as they had planned. Members of the community, even those who were successfully mobile, tended to stay in the Sydney area. Nevertheless, there were a few who lived in Australia for a short period of time and then returned for periodic visits to their country, where their families were living. This was often attributed to the family unit appearing to be a hindrance for migration purposes. When Australian immigration law permits family migration, other family members are more likely to join the immigrants and, subsequently, their extended families are partly re-created in Australia.

3.12 Social life

While earlier Jordanian immigrants tended to live among the Arab community, later Jordanian immigrants have often preferred different locations. This is because many of them are students located in the city. Dwelling patterns around a particular ethnic community are often related to language, religion and culture. While some of these factors still apply to later immigrants, they may not affect their daily lives in the same way as earlier immigrants particularly as most of those on student visas are fluent in

English or want to improve their English by not living specifically in Arabic speaking areas.

In Australia, as in many western societies, ethnicity is mainly defined by language and culture. It is in this respect that Jordanians find living in Australia difficult because they are more recent migrants in comparison to other Arab migrants. So, the characteristics of Arab culture and identity: the shared language, religious beliefs and practice, and traditional values are particularly significant because of the clash with western cultural values.

Interviews with Abu Ahmad as one of the members of Arabic-speaking communities show they undergo a period of social stress after arrival in Australia where they said they “felt very confused, because everything was different regarding family ties and restrictions. Some Jordanians found it hard to live in two worlds, exposed to different types of people and just want to save some money and go back to Jordan.”

The traditional family in Jordan is an extended and joint family; a group of people living together in one house. The composition differs from one family to the other, due to different stages of the life cycle, parents with their children, parents living with married sons and their children, parents, children and their children, and so on. Nevertheless, among Jordanian people in Australia extended families do not exist in such great numbers as in Jordan. For example, Mr. Abu Hani. said to me:

When I arrived in Australia 35 years ago, I was thinking of working and saving some money in order to go back to Jordan and build a big house for my children and me. However, after five years I decided to stay here and build a big house. My children have grown up here and they did not know about Jordanian culture because they learn in Australian schools and about Australian culture so, they can't live in one house after they marry, but I will make sure I can live close to each other in this country.

That means children of Jordanian parents born or brought up in Australia are a generation caught between two cultures. They live in the culture of their parents at home, and are taught a different one at school, in the neighbourhood and at work. Their world is neither the old nor the new but both. They are in a difficult situation within the family; parents cannot fully understand their children; children in some cases are unable

to understand their parents. This clearly can lead to increasing the generation gap and stress and conflict between the generations.

The change from the simple peasant to that of an urban industrial environment presented challenges to the Jordanian community in Sydney; challenges that they could neither completely ignore nor completely accept. Change may not be desired by the community, but new circumstances compel it. Jordanians found it necessary to adapt to a new way of life if they wished to move forward economically and socially.

There are demands which broaden the scope of an individual's roles beyond those of tradition. Children take advantage of opportunities for education and economic advancement not available to them previously. Women enter into new kinds of employment, thus challenging the dominant role of men and elevating their own status in the community.

Such change in roles, status and expectations within the Jordanian community is still occurring and contributes to the community's adaptation and adjustment to the social structure of the city in which they live. The process of change which the community, consciously or unconsciously, willing or unwilling goes through is gradual and does not involve a rapid disruption of their traditional social life. The social institutions, social organisation, religions, residence pattern and cultural traits, especially language, control the process of change.

For instance, when Jordanians first arrived in Sydney, Friday was the holiday of the week in Jordan, while in Australia the weekend consisted of Saturday and Sunday. In addition, as had been the case back home much socialising took place in sex-segregated circumstances. In Australia everyone found time at the weekend for social activities and leisure time. At the weekend people visited each other and the women cooked special Jordanian food, cleaned the houses, and prepared for visitors. At other times members of the community met in one house and shared cups of coffee and sweets. Mrs Missa Ahmad said that these visits rotated from one house to another, and each of the women knew when her turn was coming. While this may have been true 30 years ago, new immigrants over the past ten years are often unmarried students. The result is different patterns of socialisation and relationships. This is particularly so, since in traditional communities it is the women who maintain relationships between families.

The majority of Jordanian immigrants have begun to feel more and more comfortable with the surrounding socio-cultural environment. They have finally reached the point where they appreciate Australia and much of what life has to offer them here. When asked about their initial dream of returning home, many flatly rejected the idea, while the remainder responded: yes ... well, maybe ... perhaps some day later.

Another trend that can be observed in the social life of the Jordanian community is that men are more active than women. This can be attributed to a number of factors. To begin with, men in general have a longer history of migration to Australia and more established social networks. Further, cultural patterns of male-female interaction often dictate that women are left at home while men participate in social life.

In Jordan, Muslim men usually meet together after prayers on a Friday, while Christian men meet in the churchyard on Sunday. Many of them amuse themselves by playing games such as cards, enjoying an alcoholic beverage or food, and talking about the good old days. Many of the first immigrant arrivals still remember similar days as the happiest in Jordan, and a number of people from Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq shared this opinion of the Jordanian people.

Their attitudes on such occasions were described by Mr. Mossa, "I think we all liked this country, but our hearts were always back home where we had spent our childhoods." Members of the group, at least for the first few decades, had few, if any social relationships with other nationalities in the city. Their English was limited to a few phrases, which made their interaction with non-Arabs difficult. In most cases, such interactions were limited to the municipal officials who served the area in which they were living. Even this proved impossible without an interpreter and there were very few who could perform well in such a capacity. Apart from the language barrier, however, the community seemed very willing to interact with others.

Nevertheless, Mr. Mossa said, "Everything has changed. Some men have their own business such as a restaurant or convenience store (supermarket) whilst other men would work as a taxi driver. Therefore, it is difficult to meet each other often." He added, "This is the way of life in this country."

This early residential concentration in one place was understandable. Few of the immigrants spoke English and, as a result, it was hard for them to interact with other

groups. At the same time, the system of migration and business sponsorship made it necessary for the workers to live close to each other. Mr. Mossa said, “Oh, those days were fantastic, lots of joking, talking, smoking and some of the women would prepare food. People were close, living like a family. It was wonderful. I do not think it will ever be like that again.” This prediction has come about with the community now scattered throughout Sydney.

The relative social isolation of the early days began to alter around 1980 but the most serious changes came within the group itself. This was the result of increasing business contact, with the younger members of the community learning English in school, and also of residential and ecological changes most significantly, it was as a result of the increasing number of Jordanian children born in Sydney, who started to bridge the gap between the Arab community and the rest of society. Members of the second generation were forced to live in two cultures.

My father used to leave early in the morning and come back late in the evening. As a child, I hardly remember when we had an opportunity to talk; he was always busy. My mother was always busy in the house and in the neighbourhood. I was left with my sister to spend the day usually playing with children among our people. Sometimes we used to play with children of other nationalities who were living in the same area. We picked up our early English from the streets. I started school at seven and, on the first day, the teacher told us that we were all Australian. During my school years I made many friends. My English was getting better and so was my knowledge about Australia.(Mr Ahmad)⁵²

It seems that most members of the second generation went through this identity crisis, and it is questionable whether it has ever been resolved. However, it is now evident that they have had much more social interaction with people outside the community than their parents did. They spend their leisure time in much the same ways as Australians of the same social classes.

The relationship between wives and their husbands in Australia also changed when the Jordanians came to Australia. They often came with just one idea which was to save

⁵² Member of the Arabic-speaking community in Sydney.

money, get a higher degree and then return home. So, for example, the women visited their friends by themselves as their husbands were often working and did not have the time to go visiting. The wife supported her husband emotionally because she shared his reasons for coming to Australia.

The basic foundation of the husband-wife relationship is also revealed in responses, made by interviewees about whether or not a husband and wife should go out together to visit friends, family and relatives. Most women agree that they should go out together but some women said, “We came to Australia to have a better life in the future for our sons and daughters, and we have only lived in this community for a short period of time. Therefore, it is not a problem at the moment if my husband does not go out with me often because, when we return to Jordan, I think we will have plenty of time to do things together.”

Another woman said, “I know my husband is very busy and he can’t go out with me very often but we have time to go on holiday every year and visit many different places and also some of our friends.”

Also, Jordanian immigrants are highly endogamous, meaning there is great pressure for them to marry within their group. This affects the social dynamics of the group of Jordanian immigrants because those who try to marry ‘out’, especially women, may suffer negative consequences. The highly endogamous and somewhat stratified religious ethnic groups in Jordan have been recreated in some of the settlement patterns and interaction patterns in groups here. However, while this was very much the case with the first Jordanian immigrants, the situation has now changed and many people marry outside their group. Also, Jordanians began to separate from their group, live in different places and move to places where they could find work. As mentioned earlier when the first immigrants came to Australia, they lived in close proximity to each other whereas the second generation of immigrants arrived with a high level of education and for different reasons.

The effect of shift work or long hours on a Jordanian family’s social life and lifestyle should also be highlighted. A Jordanian worker usually works twelve hours a night, from 8.00 p.m. to 8.00 a.m., and some people work a day shift from 8.00 a.m. to 8.00 p.m. In the morning some finish work at 6.00 a.m. when there is a double dayshift and

others finish at 7.30 a.m. Those who leave work at 7.30 a.m. return home, have their breakfast and go to bed. Some Jordanians get up at about 5.00 p.m. and slowly prepare for the next night.

As far as family visitors are concerned, they know that nightshift workers get up around 5.00 p.m. and that this is the best time to call on them during the week. Even officials such as social workers or community relations' workers are aware of this routine and know when to call.

If a Jordanian man works at night, he hardly gets any time with his family or for leisure and other social activities during the week. He also tends to sleep on Saturday until late afternoon and then spends the evening and Sunday visiting or receiving relatives and friends. Some people work on Sunday in the daytime because the wages are double. Mr. Nader. said, "I always try to work on Sunday if there is work available because the wages are double for overtime." This attitude seemed to apply mainly to those who were living as single people and were not concerned about time, as they did not have family commitments. Nevertheless, for those who had their families with them, nightshifts created problems, as they affected the family's routine. If the father worked on a nightshift, the children usually saw less of him. During the school term there would be hardly any contact on weekdays; when the father returned home from work the children would normally be ready to go to school. In the evening when the children came back from school the father would be getting ready for work. Their meal times differed and so did other activities. For instance, Mrs. Sabah complained that her husband did not spend enough time with the children and this was creating a gap in the father-children relationship. However, in the end she said they must accept it because they were only going to be here for a short period of time.

The long working hours also affected the relationship between husband and wife, because he was usually unable to fulfil his duties as a husband and father. On the one hand, the father's odd working hours brought in more income and prosperity but, on the other hand, this led to a constrained family and social life. For example, Mr. Yuossef Salaam said:

My wife did not accept my work and she could not understand us being here for such a short time to save money and then going back to Jordan, because she is

from Russia and she doesn't observe our lifestyle. She wants me to work just from Monday to Friday and on the weekend she likes to go out and enjoy life. In the end she asked me for a divorce. Ah ... I miss my sons, I have not seen them for ten years now because she took them back to Russia and if they came to Australia they would never visit me. This is my fault because I chose to marry someone of another nationality.

Otherwise the Jordanian-speaking community is very much aware of the value of education in their children's future. They have come from Jordan where, with some limited exceptions, education is the only way a child can secure his or her future. Most of the Jordanian people interviewed indicated that one of the main reasons for migration to Australia was to provide their children with better education and career opportunities.

3.13 Family life for Jordanian Christians and Muslims in Australia

There is an Arab saying "my brother and I against my cousin; my cousin and I against the stranger" which gives some idea of the importance of family solidarity in Jordan. In Australia the family is a fairly loose structure that includes only children and their parents. For Muslims life is simply not complete without close daily contact with a large extended family.

In a country as diverse as Jordan with its different peoples, religions (Christian, Muslim) and cultures it is not possible to make many generalisations which apply to all Jordanian people. The strong western influence, particularly in the cities has meant that many traditional customs and attitudes have been abandoned. However, it is still safe to say that family is much more important in Jordan than in Australia, and it is helpful to look at the main features of the typical traditional family.

It would be unthinkable for a Jordanian family to place its older members in an institution to be cared for by strangers. In a large family there is always something for the grandparents to do, whether it is taking care of the grandchildren, doing the lighter household chores or just giving general advice to the younger members of the household. Even when the grandparent is too old to actively participate he/she is respected and loved for the important part he/she once played in the family's life.

The following stories reveal cultural and generational tensions in the lives of Jordanians in Australia:

Mr. Kassam came out to Australia in 1981 with his parents and younger brother because of some problems in the family in Jordan which led them to leave a very good life there. They owned an apartment with a magnificent view and Kassam's father had a very good business. Mr. Kassam himself had planned to go to university to study business. However, the problems in the family put an end to all this. Seeing no future in Jordan, Mr. Kassam decided to emigrate to Australia to join his uncle. They managed to salvage enough money to pay for the fares out but the little that was left was severely depleted when they waited nearly six months before they obtained visas.

When they finally arrived in Australia they found to their despair that their troubles were far from over. Mr Kassam's uncle was unsuccessful in a business venture and lost a lot of money, and now both he and his Mr Kassam are receiving social welfare benefits with little hope of either getting a job.

Mr. Kassam is horrified most by the dramatic change in their personalities. Instead of the energetic forceful men he remembers they now seem to be two disillusioned old men, able to do nothing but sit together and talk of the past and to criticise the efforts of the rest of the family.

The two families live in the same area in Lakemba and Mr. Kassam has a good relationship with his cousin. He is in his second year studying law at university and Mr Kassam feels quite envious of him because he has discovered that he does not qualify to study in Australia without completing the Australian Higher School Certificate to allow him to study business. At the same time his English is not good enough for advanced study.

The social life of Mr. Kassam's son Ahmad differs from those of his cousins. One of his cousins, for example, pays no attention to Jordanian culture, and has found herself an Australian boyfriend. Her father says that he does not question what she is doing because this is the Australian way and they have given up trying to control her forcefully, although they hope that one day she will go back to respecting the Jordanian way of her own accord.

Mr. Kassam hopes his own future will work out, even though he still feels uncertain and regards Australia as an unfriendly place. He feels daunted by the long years of study ahead of him and is aware that if he manages to complete them, this will not ensure financial success.

Mr. Fouad is another Jordanian Muslim who does not feel optimistic about his future in Australia. He came here in 1970 after he left his job as a teacher to work in a factory in Sydney for ten years until he was retrenched. Since then he has been unemployed.

He is a practising Muslim and attends the mosque at Lakemba every day, and is very critical of Australian society. He looks at Australian people going to the pub for a few beers and feels that they have too much freedom and sex. He feels that Australian people do not respect marriage and the family and if they are not happy they get a divorce.

Mr. Fouad is far from happy with his family but he does not think of divorce. His wife is ten years younger than him and is an attractive, energetic woman who is developing a mind of her own. She started working in the factory when her husband lost his job. He did not agree with her working but acknowledges that they need the money to survive and he adjusted to the fact and let her work.

After a while his mother came over to join them in Sydney for short time and on seeing her son's domestic life was angry, saying she did not raise a son to stay at home and do nothing while his wife works hard.

Embarrassed by his mother's criticism, Mr. Fouad started going out more frequently instead of staying at home and looking for a job. He started going to visit friends during the day or went to a nearby café to meet them and occasionally play cards. He does not enjoy this sort of life but it is better than staying at home and listening to his mother complaining.

He has many troubles at home and has tried to discuss it with friends, such as the problem of his young daughter attending a mixed school because he believes that her education should be undertaken in an all girls' school. After speaking to an Education Department officer and finding himself in a 'take it or leave it' situation, he made the decision to return to Jordan. However, he had serious doubts about returning to Jordan

since he had been in Australia for over 30 years and realised that he would have a hard time readapting to Jordanian culture. Although Mr. Fouad would like to go back to Jordan, he knows that life in Jordan is different and that his children will never accept the idea of staying in Jordan forever. In the end, he decided to be less severe with his family, and to reason with them in regard to maintaining Jordanian traditional practices.

3.14 Conclusion

Since 1980 Muslim Jordanians comprise about 50% of their ethnic group in Australia. Most Jordanians have become increasingly comfortable with the socio-cultural environment of Australia and realise this country offers them certain opportunities. They no longer wish to return to Jordan to live. Although there is still social pressure to marry within their ethnic/religious group, many are now beginning to marry outside this group. Jordanians in Australia no longer necessarily live close to their families. In Sydney they now live in all areas of the city.

Chapter Four

Acculturation and Assimilation: Social Interaction of Jordanians in Australia

4.0 Introduction

This section provides a detailed study of the Jordanian community, a subset of Australia's total Arab community, by way of case studies and interviews. It is the first study of its kind to examine the attitudes and social interactions between Jordanians and other Arab immigrants in Australia. Further, as Australia has become a host country to immigrants and refugees from various nations, the study also explores whether Jordanian immigrants preserve their attitudes, positive and negative, toward other Arab groups when they come to Australia. According to Hault (1969, p. 211) in the *Dictionary of Modern Sociology*, social interaction is "the basic social process represented in communication and a mutual relationship between two or more individuals." Through language, symbols and gestures people exchange meanings and have a reciprocal effect upon each other's behaviours, expectations and thoughts.

Consequently, one of the principal aims of this research is to determine the level of social interaction in Australia between Jordanian immigrants, other Arab immigrants and the host community. The research questions are the following: What are the attitudes of Jordanian immigrants in Australia? Do they interact with other Arab communities and with the host community socially? What kind of social interaction do they have? Among the questions that arise from this investigation of social interaction patterns are those concerning the nature of the economic and social life of Jordanians in Australia and their continuing relationship with or ties to their homeland.

While the primary intention of this thesis is to investigate the Jordanian community in Australia, it does so within the context of Arab immigration and therefore begins by presenting an overview of the immigration patterns and reception, integration or non-integration into Australian society of various Arab immigrants, and the problems encountered by these immigrants. The thesis also considers the effects of government policy and changes in the international arena on Jordanian and Arab immigration to

Australia. The extent of acculturation among Arabs in general, and Jordanians in particular, and their assimilation into Australian society is examined within the context of the shift from the White Australia assimilationist policy to that of a broader immigrant intake base (from being exclusively drawn from Britain/Ireland and Europe to Asia, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent and the Pacific under successive Labor and Coalition Governments since the mid-1970s) and finally to multiculturalism (Rick Kuhn et al., 1996, p. 85-132). These patterns are traced up to the backlash against multiculturalism under the conservative Howard Government and the apparent desire to revert to an assimilationist policy (embodied in the demand for an adherence to ‘Australian values’) as a result of pressure from Anglo-Australians and the perceived threat of the Arab/Muslim presence amid security fears in the aftermath of 11 September and the Bali and London bombings.

4.1 Acculturation and Assimilation

The process by which individuals or a group moves across national boundaries and settles in a country that is not their own is an old and ongoing phenomenon throughout the world (Hsin-Chun, 2002, p. 275; also see Cherunilam, 1987). With new places, new faces, new norms, new rules, and new structures, immigrants face multiple demands and distress during resettlement (Aroian, 1990; Baker et al., 1994; Baider et al., 1996; Lipson & Omidian, 1997). Sociologists and policy makers alike often speak of the ways in which immigrants assimilate or are integrated into the host society. While this accommodation into a new system is the result of a rupture, it is also sometimes referred to as acculturation, the loss of one culture and its replacement by another. Before discussing the limitations of such a view of migration, however, it is important to explore these concepts in a little more depth and examine how they relate to migration studies.

The concept of acculturation and assimilation is represented by different disciplines of science. Anthropologists sometimes discuss acculturation as a phenomenon and sociologists discuss assimilation.

Acculturation is a process of cultural change that results from ongoing contact between two or more culturally different groups (Berry, 2005; see also Barnett, 1942, p. 14-30). Acculturation is often marked by physical and psychological changes that occur as a

result of the adaptation required to function in a new and different cultural context. People adapting to new cultures face changes in their diet, climate, housing, communication, role prescriptions, media consumption, and the myriad of rules, norms and values of a new and (relatively) dissimilar culture (Berry, 2005, p. 697-712).

Assimilation theories have evolved from that of the melting pot (Warner & Srole, 1945), to those of acculturation and structural assimilation (Gordon, 1964) to the salad bowl theory (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975), through to symbolic ethnicity (Gans, 1979). Today, the prevalent theory is that of segmented assimilation proposed by Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou (1993). Contrary to the popular understanding of a uniform straight-line assimilation theory, these sociologists argued that contemporary assimilation varies in the second generation. They observed three possible assimilation trajectories: (1) upward assimilation into the mainstream middle-class (2) downward assimilation into the lower- class and (3) selective assimilation, economic advancement and preservation of ethnic values.

This chapter examines the acculturation of Jordanians in Australia as the host society. It examines whether a relationship of acculturation exists between immigrants and other ethnic communities in mainstream Australian society.

When people from another culture enter a new country, for example Australia, they must adapt or assimilate, to some degree. According to (Brown, 1994, p. 26), there are four successive stages of acculturation. The first stage is the period of excitement and euphoria over the newness of the surroundings. It is followed by a period of cultural shock which emerges as individuals feel the pressure of greater and greater cultural difference on their own images and self-security. In this stage individuals rely on and seek out the support of their fellow countrymen in the second culture, taking solace in complaining about local customs and conditions, seeking escape from their predicament. The third stage is a culture stress stage in which some problems of acculturation are solved while others still cause hardship. The last process represents near or full recovery, either assimilation or adaptation, acceptance of the new culture and self-confidence in the 'new' person developed in this new culture. Brown's last stage sounds like a happy ending. However, this may not be the case for many migrants. Some migrants never attain this final stage

The immigrant's cultural pattern of economics, politics and education must comply with the laws and citizenship expectations of their new country. However, Australia has a multicultural policy that is supposed to ensure that diverse cultures can maintain their own cultural heritages within the laws of Australia. Also, the extended family may serve as a significant support system and cushion the family's acclimatisation, as often happens with immigrants relocating to a receiving society with a strong ethnic community from the immigrant's culture of origin (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

Acculturation, which requires strong communication skills (Kim, 1977, p. 66-77), also requires mastering a broad range of dimensions that include language, customs, value, systems, self-image and motivation (Kim, 1979, p. 435-453). Therefore, according to Kim (1979) the key to successful acculturation is not only in the hands of the immigrants but also, and perhaps more importantly, in the hands of the host society.

4.2 Cultural Change

Most challenges in a cultural clash can be overcome through acculturation and empowerment. Like all groups, Arab Australia is too often described in simplistic terms. Although the Arab culture is one of the oldest on Earth, it is, in many parts of Australia, misunderstood. There are no easy, one-size-fits-all answers. Culture, language and religion are distinct qualities that act in different ways to connect Arabs, and to distinguish them from one another (i.e. Christian Arabs and Muslim Arabs). The differences that seem to separate Arab Australia from non-Arabs can be much smaller than the variations that at times differentiate them from one another.⁵³

Furthermore, Arab culture has much in common with that of Australia. Just as Australian culture is comprised of elements from many different cultures, so too is the Arab world. The Arab world was influenced by many cultures – such as Greek culture, Roman culture, and influenced by the three religions, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Arab culture has also been influenced by Persian and Turkish culture as well as incorporating influences from India, China, Europe and America. For example, the Arab empire brought together vast areas stretching from the Atlantic coast of Spain and

⁵³ e.g. a Muslim women cannot shake hands with men where Christian women can. In marriage a Muslim marriage is a contract done in the presence of a sheik whereas an Arab Christian marriage is a sacrament performed before a priest. In worship Muslim women worship separately to men but Christian Arab women usually worship together with men.

Morocco far into central and south Asia. Business, trade, culture, and ideas flowed throughout the region and united many different people. Some elements of Arab culture are still shared throughout much of the region ruled by these empires.

After migrants leave their home country and settle in another country, the changes they undergo are thought to be reflected in the relationship between the host society and migrants, as well as changes in the character and patterns of migration itself.

Assimilation was the prevailing approach to settlement in the post-war period. Its objective was to have migrants assimilate into their new society, without significantly altering it or requiring active change on its part (Morrissey et al., 1991, p. 25).

Successful settlement was “the achievement of invisibility by the migrant, that is neither migrants as a whole or individual national groups should remain visible in the sense of having special needs beyond the initial period of arrival” (Morrissey et al., 1991, p. 25).

In 1921, Park and Burges explained that assimilation as a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and, sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. In 1929 Park added that the main aim of an assimilative process was to reach a common national existence of people of different racial and cultural origins (Park and Burges, 1921; also see Jancz, 2000, p. 35). Berry (1951) described assimilation as a process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture. In 1955 Cuber gave an equally simple interpretation, which defined assimilation as a gradual process whereby cultural differences tend to disappear. Both definitions cited above describe only one aspect of the assimilative process, i.e. acculturation, and concentrate on those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149; Jancz, 2000, p. 35- 36).

Other theorists have different views on the process of assimilation. Herbart has identified assimilation with “the interpretation of new facts by assessing them with existing knowledge.” Thorndike claimed that assimilation is “the animal’s utilisation of a learned response in a new situation where the old and new have elements in common” (both cited by Chaplin, 1985, p. 36). For Piaget “assimilation is the process of taking in

new information and interpreting it – sometimes even distorting it – to make it agree with the available mental organization” (Summers, 1989, p. 427).

There are four modes of acculturation which arise from the answers to two questions. Firstly, is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics? Secondly, is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups? Barry argues that integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation were designed to determine immigrants’ attitudes towards their acculturation (Berry, 1988; 1984).

For Barry, assimilation becomes one of the aspects of the acculturation process, where a willing immigrant acquires the cultural heritage of a host society, relinquishing the cultivation of his own cultural identity (Berry, 1988; 1984). Consequently, different attitudes towards acculturation produce different responses on both sides: from the perspective of an immigrant and as viewed by a host society. This is especially true when combined with Berry’s description of migrant groups, i.e. an immigrant is a person who decides on permanent settlement in another country and does it voluntarily (Jancz, 2000, p. 36).

Milton Gordon (1964) described acculturation or cultural assimilation as likely to be the first of this type of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives in the United States. Cultural assimilation for most minorities in the States and especially for those who arrived late on the scene was largely a one-way process. The immigrants had little choice but to eventually abandon their native culture and adopt what they found in America. Ethnic traits were gradually replaced, for the most part, by corresponding American cultural traits (Gordon, 1964). This is not to say that the immigrants did not contribute to the development of American society, but as Gordon has noted:

One must make a distinction between influencing cultural patterns themselves and contributing to the progress and development of society. It is in the latter area that the influence of the immigrants and their children in the United States has been decisive. (Gordon, 1964, p. 10)

Milton Gordon also refined the work of Park and Burges by breaking assimilation down into seven different types of which cultural assimilation (or acculturation) was simply

the first to occur (Gordon, 1964). These dimensions of assimilation were not necessarily linear but could proceed by degrees or change pattern (Hirschman, 1983). Furthermore, Australia is still seen as a land of opportunity with a less racist social and political climate which makes it attractive to migrants worldwide. The ideology of competitive advantage along with economic rationalism puts extra pressure on both the Australian-born and the migrant work force in terms of productivity, multi-skilling innovation and survival in competition for employment.

In setting up a new life in Australia, migrant professionals became a labour force representing productive capital. They have no choice but to face challenges and simultaneously undergo a number of changes as a result of cultural, economic, political, and religious and other differences. All these differences reflect attitudes to acculturation or varieties of acculturation (or non-acculturation), namely assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation (Berry, 1990; 1996) as mentioned above. The ways people deal with these changes vary from individual to individual and are a direct result of their psychological makeup, motivation levels, and expectations, cultural and occupational background, on one hand, and the host society, on the other hand.

Furthermore, Jupp describes the prevailing approach to settlement in the post-war period in Australia as assimilationist:

...The objectives of settlement policy were to ease the assimilation process, to avoid the creation of ethnic enclaves, to minimise public costs, to use migrant labour for projects of national importance, and to ensure that immigrants became permanent settlers who would not differ too markedly from the average either culturally or socially... (Jupp, 1992, p. 131)

From this perspective it can be argued that Australia is a harmonious and democratic society in many respects.

Majeda, a Jordanian female who immigrated to Australia with her family compares her life between Jordan and Australia. She said:

I was born in a small village in Jordan and from a very young age my life was full of responsibilities. I am the oldest in my family and my mother always had chores lined up for me to do. In the village everyone was working young and old. Every

day at lunch time I had to take lunch to my father in the fields where he was working. When I was ten years old my father came to Australia and I missed him very much, my whole life was turned upside down. Life became much harder for me, and I had to look after my younger brother and my mother had to take over and do the jobs my father was doing.

When I was young my best friend was my cousin, Maria, and I used to envy her because she is younger than I and she didn't have responsibilities like me. Sometimes she used to come to my place to play with me and keep me company but she would get bored quickly. Often I would ask my mother if I could go with Maria to her place, she would say yes but not for long. I loved going to her place because it was very exciting. Her mother was my father's sister and she loved me like I was one of her own children. Sometime I used to sleep at her place, and this was very special.

In 1965 I was five years old, that's when I started school. At school I had to learn the English language, of which I didn't speak one word and I was told by the teacher that if you want to be a good student you have to learn the English language. So in the class if we spoke any Arabic word the teacher used to smack us with the ruler. So at a young age I learned to remain silent until I learned to speak English. However, I always asked myself why I have to learn English as I'm in Jordan and all the people speak Arabic.

I was a good student and I learned the English language quickly, of course not fluently, but at least I can understand English. In 1973 we came to Australia and I had to start learning English. I was pleasant to my teacher when she told us in the class how important it was to learn the English language at a young age. When I started school here in Australia it wasn't hard for me because I knew the language and just needed more practice and I was alright. So I will never forget my teacher and I really appreciate her for her kindness.

In my childhood my grandmothers were very special, I never knew my grandfathers because they both died before I was born. My father's mother used to live across the road from my school and after school I used to go to her place and she always had a treat for me.

My grandmother (mother's mother) was a different personality all together. She loved us but was firm. She used to live with us and she was my first teacher. She taught me a lot of thing about life. I think it's because of my grandmother I am so good. My grandmother felt very strongly about equal education for men and woman. She was very angry with her father because he sent her brother to school to learn to read and write and didn't think it was important for his daughter. She always encouraged me to learn. She had a proverb that said education is like giving sight to a blind man.

Because of religion, we had a lot of happiness and harmony in my family. The happiness was passed on from one generation to another almost like a gift. My maternal grandmother's brother was well educated and practiced religion very well. In his early twenties he decided to get married and this decision made his parents very happy, because another brother decided to immigrate somewhere before marriage and they thought if he migrated to another country and got married to a western girl he could never come back to Jordan again. Another thing in our culture there is no such thing as an old people's home; the son has to take care of his parents when they are old. And when my father decided to immigrate she cried many time to stop him.

I remember when my grandmother came to Australia one day to visit us and saw how happy we are, she said "I think I was wrong to stop you that time, I wish all your brothers and sisters had the good life that you have" and when I asked her to stay with us forever, she said, "I can't, I'm too old and I want to die in Jordan."

I have many memories from my childhood in all the places where I grew up and this is one of them. When my family immigrated to Australia my grandmother stayed back with her other daughter, she was too old to come with us. My grandmother died in 1989. When I learned of her death I felt very sad, I cried a lot. I still get tears in my eyes when I think of her. I always thought she would live for ever and that when I was older and had enough money I would go back and see her. Unfortunately I never did, I only have these lovely memories of her to treasure for ever.

I believe my grandmother played a very special part in my life. She was my mentor. She taught me all the Jordanian values and customs which I will never forget and I still use today and now I respect her deeply. I hope my children and grandchildren will inherit the same values from me.

This story makes evident issues that specifically differed between the new culture and Jordan. These are the status of women and the relationships between genders. Women in Jordan are legally equal but live under the pressure of many socially limiting norms and expectations. Majeda emphasises how she appreciates the personal freedom that Australian society offers women in comparison to the controlled freedom experienced in her homeland.

In the past, in Middle Eastern culture, women were not expected to work outside the home and they were financially dependent on men. Majeda believes that relationships between men and women in Jordan are still as they were when she left and she has failed to realise that many changes have led to women working alongside men and occupying important positions in the government. In the past, for example, women were not permitted to be members of parliament or presidents of banks, whereas now, there are seats reserved in the parliament for women.

Also, Majeda made many friends and developed a rich network of relationships with other young people. She became especially close to one Australian classmate and spent a great deal of time with her.

I was building my own little community, and these intense relationships with Australian young people taught me a lot about the culture, the way that people deal with each other. Even though I knew English, I did not know slang language, and some of the terms were not used in my school when I was in Jordan. For example, I did not know what 'stereotype' meant.

Majeda used this network of friends to promote her understanding of norms, social clues, and what is acceptable to share and what is considered inappropriate.

Since a new culture cannot be learned in a short time or older cultural patterns abandoned abruptly and disregarded, the members of minorities initially seek refuge in their own ethnic groups, which then become the vehicles for gradual acculturation. In

the ethnic community as a whole, its subgroups, social institutions, and organisations, become the major factors in both cultural continuity and cultural change. The degree and manner of either stability or change with the ethnic community, as well as within the subgroups, constitute a community, as Handlin notes:

The second generation, who had generally passed through the American schools, had perhaps acquired a sense of scepticism as to the European ways they saw at home. But they did not seem thereby to merge into the rest of the population around them, for they could not cease to identify themselves with their immigrant parents whose life they shared to some extent. (Handlin, 1966, p.159)

The disparities intensify and become more evident with each succeeding generation when compared to the original immigrants. This being the case, the tendency in the long run, is for the original ethnic cultural patterns to disappear and be replaced by the adopted Australian culture.

Nevertheless, large ethnic concentrations were formed in Australia's major cities in the post-war period, particularly in the inner city and among communities in which chain migration has been the major mode of movement to Australia from Greece, Italy and Lebanon (Burnley et al., 1985). So these concentrations have been large enough to sustain communal and business life, within the overall context of dispersing ethnic populations.

In the case of Jordanian immigrants, there were diverse factors which contributed to, or slowed this type of one-way acculturation. The internal factors included the peasant background of the Jordanian community in Sydney (actually many Palestinians with Jordanian passports), which led them to consider Australian culture as superior.

On the other hand, the small size of the community did not allow for any significant manifestation of Arab institutions, at least until the end of the first decade of their settlement. The first immigrants from Jordan after 1948 were also Christians which meant most of the members of the community had been exposed to western culture, and had a favourable attitude towards it. At the same time they were steeped in their own culture, which they tried to maintain.

The first of the external factors was the pressure on immigrants in Australia to conform to the Australian way of life. This included, besides the compelling social situations that arose from the negative attitudes of the recipient society towards the immigrant's culture, the various agencies through which both the immigrants and their children were prepared for citizenship.

The second external factor, the rise of nationalism and the growing independence of the Arab countries, also affected Arab Australians. It manifested itself as a feeling of pride. This was especially so among members of the first and second generations and led many to learn more about their heritage and take greater pride in it. However, the complex political situation, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict, and many other issues tended to confuse the feelings and attitudes of these same people.

Of greatest significance, however, is the fact that religious identity has been undermined and gradually overshadowed by a national identity. Except for the Muslim subgroup, which identify more strongly with Arab nationalism than others, this rising nationalism is associated with a home country for most of the members of the community. Late immigrants, regardless of their religious affiliation, identify primarily with their homeland and its aspirations. Although this can by no means be construed as indicative of less loyalty to Australia.

It thus appears, since the Gulf crisis of 1991 that most factors have contributed positively to the process of acculturation. The following pages show the extent and manner in which the original cultural patterns of the Jordanian community in Sydney have been changed. It is believed that a study of language, religion and family, including such cultural traits as folklore, food and dress, reflect the orientation and extent of the cultural changes the community has undergone, especially since such institutions are "the resultants of the processes of behaviour of the society, and hence of the forces which determine that behaviour" (Talcott Parsons, 1902-1979 cited by Glencoe, 1964, p. 239).

4.2.1 Language

Through the chequered history of the races, two unifying forces played a most important role and kept it from being absorbed by other nationalities. These are language and religion. (Hitti, 1942, p. 33)

In *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (2002) Jupp examined the links between language and culture and the importance of language to maintaining culture. He wrote:

English is not legally the official language of Australia, but it is so universally used that the issue of bilingualism or multilingualism scarcely arose before 1945.⁵⁴ Unlike Spanish in the United States or French in Canada, there are no languages which present a threat. There are no Indigenous languages with more than 5000 speakers and half of those spoken in 1788 have disappeared. Thus, the pressures to abandon minority languages are strong and the resistance to this expectation is weak. Most of those normally using a language other than English are first-generation immigrants. (Jupp, 2002, p. 24-25)

Mr Mohammad said:

When I had the language I felt stronger and I was able to say how I felt. I started to feel better because I had the language but before that I was very angry because I felt that I was humiliated a lot, that I was discriminated against, I was ignored a lot but I moved forward by myself so that it didn't happen to me and I would say to my people "You know what? If you don't want to feel like that you have to fight to understand the language, to be able to understand yourself wherever you go because if you don't want to be treated like that you have to do something for yourself."

Furthermore, Mr Abu Hani said, "If you do not have the language, you cannot communicate with native-born Australians. If you do not learn the language first, you become isolated, your children need to translate for you and this is humiliating." Based on their belief in the importance of language and true to their conviction that immigrants

⁵⁴ Until the 1960s in the curriculum of Australian states, the main languages studied were French, German, and Latin (mainly for university matriculation requirements).

are responsible for their own path, Jordanian immigrants took correspondence courses to learn the English language.

On their arrival in Australia, Jordanian immigrants faced serious language problems, as did the first Arab immigrants. From their first contact with the immigration officials until arrival at their destination, each one of their experiences reflected this handicap. Speaking and understanding English proved to be vital. Self-protection required it, social safety demanded it and, without it, assimilation was impossible. They realised the obligations and privileges of Australian citizenship depended upon it. When immigrants reached their destinations their compatriots in the community began to teach them the words and phrases necessary to enable them to start earning a living. For many, knowledge of the English language stopped there; others mastered it in time, but I have not met a single member of the first generation who came before 1960 and speaks English fluently, including those who attended evening schools, because they spend their lives mostly together or with other members of the Arabic community and also only work with other Arab people. Those who were young when they left their homeland have greater facility with the language than older emigrants.

Moreover, all Arabs (not just Jordanians) retained the first language of the community in its early stages. This was the language of the Christian church services, and for Muslims, it has remained an indispensable medium of their religion. The literate members of the community subscribed to one or more of the Arabic newspapers published in Australia, such as *Al-Telegraph*, *Al-Mostaqbal*. In general, these newspapers and literary societies were more concerned with Arabic culture and its survival.

The period between 1950 and 1970 was marked by cultural and social isolation and the language barrier was one of the major contributing factors. This was because members of the second generation of Arab Australians learned the English language which then started to take hold in the community and gradually replace Arabic. Most of the credit for change is due to the schools, although variety in occupation and greater social interaction in the cities also played a part.

Visiting the homes in the Jordanian community, bilingual communication is immediately evident. Most Muslim Jordanians speak Arabic at home to maintain their

religion and because they must read the Koran. Most parents speak Arabic to their children to ensure they learn the language and retain it. Among Christians bilingual communication tends to consist of grandparents speaking Arabic while their grandchildren answer in English even though they can speak Arabic; they prefer English. Members of the second generation usually speak both Arabic and English. When grandparents choose to speak English, it is always marked with a heavy accent. A heavy accent also marks the few Arabic words of some members of the second generation. The picture is slightly different for Muslim people from all Arab countries because the religious influence necessitates the use of Arabic, but generally young Muslims feel more articulate speaking English.

In summary, language, which is of greater cultural significance than other elements discussed in this chapter, appears to have undergone the most serious and rapid changes. For Christian people Arabic is being replaced by English and it may not be long before it is no longer spoken.

4.2.2 Religion

In 1971 Bertrand Russell wrote:

Religion is a word which has many meanings and a long history. In origin, it was concerned with certain rites, inherited from a remote past, performed originally for some reason long since forgotten, and associated from time to time with myths to account for their importance. Much of this still lingers. (1971, p. 141)

Religion is central to community life. For Jordanian Christians the church is more than simply a religious institution. Its influence is found in all aspects of group life and its significance is rooted in the original culture, in which the church was a national or racial institution. Since their childhood, the identity and loyalties of eastern Christians are with the church rather than the nation. The church became the nucleus of Arabic solidarity and an integral part of their social life.

The religious affiliation of many migrants in Australia, as reflected in their professed religion, has also been an important factor in facilitating their integration into Australian

society. Gary Bouma, depicting the changes in the religious identification of the Australian population since 1947, demonstrates the extent to which:

The religious dimension of Australian society has been transformed through migration, conversion and profound changes in the relations between religious groups and Australian society. (Bouma, 1997, p. 12)

From being a British monoculture and having hegemonic Anglo-Protestant institutions, Australia has become religiously plural. According to Bouma, Muslims and Buddhists have recorded the highest rates of growth due mainly to migration and (higher birth-rates for Muslim) rank among the ten largest religious groups in Australia. Each of these groups now constitutes just over 1% of the population (Bouma, 1997).

In the early stages of their life in Sydney, Arab immigrants were few in number and lacked organisation. The Christians (Catholic and Orthodox) among them worshipped in churches other than their own. This in itself raised serious question of group identity, which, for the Christians, was based mostly on their religion; with the church being a necessary institution for the preservation of their culture and ethnic entity. For this reason, the first immigrant Christians who arrived in Sydney from Lebanon and Syria struggled and insisted on building their own church, which served as the first institutionalised symbol for the group. It established their identity, served to preserve their culture and established the basis for their solidarity. Eventually, through interaction with the larger society in the city and in response to changes in the Arab community, the church itself became a contributing factor to change, while at the same time serving as a guarantee against any rapid deterioration of group cohesion.

Religion influences the rate of assimilation and controls relationships with other minorities, while being influenced itself by changes in other aspects of the community's life and the group's relation to the recipient society. Religion is also a major factor in dividing the Arab Australian community into subgroups, thus weakening the solidarity of the whole, (e.g. Sunni factions and Shiites and Christian denominations).⁵⁵ For this

⁵⁵ There are two main divisions in Islam: Sunnis, who follow the Sunna, the traditional practice of Muhammad as set forth in the Hadith ('tradition'), and Shia, the Shia is a 'faction' that believe only descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and his son-in-law Ali can legitimately head the Islamic community. Over the centuries these two groups have split into several sects, each of which has developed its distinctive teachings.

reason a separate discussion of each of the several religious groups follows with special emphasis on which group comprises the majority in the community.

One of the first religious groups in Sydney was the Arab members of the Greek Orthodox Church. Most the members of this group came from Lebanon, Syria and Jordan and played a large part in facilitating interaction with the Australian community which led to some inter-marriage between them.

According to Mr Mohamed from the Australian Federation of Islamic Councils,

Muslim Arab Australians began to settle in Sydney at the beginning of the 20th century, coming from different localities in Arab countries. Unlike the Orthodox that found faiths and churches in Australia with which to associate, the Muslims were alien to all existing religious groups here and found it necessary to establish some religious and symbolic identification.

The Muslim sub-group in Sydney, very large in number, could afford to have a Mosque which would institutionalise their religious identity and, at the same time, maintain the continuity of the Muslim culture. Therefore, they built their first mosque in Lakemba in 1977 where a large number of Muslim Arabs live.⁵⁶

In spite of the absence of local Muslim organisations, religion played a great role in their lives. It is safe to say that its greatest influence lay in delaying the assimilation of the group and its continuous identification with Arab nationalism. Islam cannot be separated from Arabic language identity and since Muslims consider themselves part of the Muslim community regardless of their place of residence, it becomes very difficult to change their identity without divorcing themselves from their original cultural context in its entirety. The problem is compounded by the fact that, at the same time, they must keep their faith. As for Christian Arabs, their notion of nationalism is also informed by a sense of belonging to a specifically Arabic-speaking religious community. However, as Arabic is not enforced by Christian doctrine this identity is far more flexible than Muslim Arab identity.

Islam has also influenced the rate of inter-marriage as a Muslim woman can only marry within the Muslim community. There has been a low rate of inter-marriage between the

⁵⁶ Australian Federation of Islamic Councils <http://www.afic.com.au>

Muslim sub-group and other groups. Most families in the community stay or live in the large Muslim communities. So, most Jordanian immigrants choose to live in Lakemba, Bankstown or wherever a large number of Muslim people are resident in Sydney suburbs.

In general, religion is more important for Jordanian people than for Australians. Most Muslims and Christians celebrate their respective religious holidays with family gatherings and community festivals.

The experiences of the first wave of Jordanian Christians and Muslims to Australia differed markedly, particularly in relation to religious practice within the wider community. It is difficult for any migrant to make a new life in a different country but for Muslims, especially those from a rural background, to live in a country such as Australia requires an enormous amount of adjustment. While Christians could observe their religion in various churches, for Muslims, it was a matter of adapting suburban houses to fill their need for a holy place in which to pray. A little later, mosques were built in Sydney, Melbourne and Canberra. One of the Sydney mosques is an enormous modern light stone building situated in Lakemba (Masjed Ali Ben Abi Taleb) which was built in 1977.

4.2.3 Family Life

The family has always been one of the main pillars of community life in Arab countries. This is especially true in villages and small towns (Barakat, 1993). The joint family, and not the conjugal unit, is of social significance. The joint family consists of integrated units whose members own land and share its products. The members of the family are expected to pool their resources and income, thus creating a common fund out of which each member is given what is required for living. The Arab joint family is usually patriarchal with authority and decision-making in the hands of the father (Barakat, 1993). He is responsible for the supervision of common property and finances. Sometimes this pattern changes when a son becomes economically more successful, or more socially prominent, than his father, which is generally the result of formal education or entrance into an occupation more prestigious than farming.

This type of joint family still prevails, with some modifications, in the Jordanian community in Sydney. The business, whether it is a store, a factory or a workshop, is

considered a family affair with the father or the oldest male having the highest authority. He usually allocates monies for consumption, savings or for personal spending. This absolute authority still exists in some cases, but in most instances the traditional pattern of family common property has been replaced by a form of family cooperation. The adult members of the family own shares in the business and their income is distributed accordingly. Those among them who run the business take wages or salaries. All the adult members usually decide upon new plans and investments.

In Australia, women have started to make money, thus contributing to the family income. By sharing this function with the men, they also began sharing in decisions concerning the family budget and with time they become responsible for most of the family's consumption. Women born in Australia were sent to schools. Through schooling and independent education, they started to gain higher social status than that of their mothers. Nevertheless, the male child is still considered more important. This is reflected in the community's attitudes toward the education of both sexes; it is still considered more important for males.

The prioritisation of males over females is still evident among older generations. Abu Abraham, for example, returned to Jordan after several years in Australia with his two children, one boy and one girl. His mother asked how many sons he had, pointing out that he had spent five years in Australia and had come back with just one son. It was clear that his mother preferred males to females. His mother exemplified the sentiments of the older generations still prevalent in Jordan today, although many younger families now tend to regard males and females equally.

However, it is more difficult to arrange a marriage for a woman than for a man. This is especially true in the case of Muslim women, because they are restricted to marrying within their religion. To overcome this constraint, Muslim families often send a young person to their country of origin where there is certain to be greater choice. For example, Mrs Nada told me, "I went back to Jordan with my daughters to find a good husband for them because it is difficult to arrange a marriage for the girl here." By taking her daughters back to Jordan to find husbands, Mrs Nada hopes to overcome several of the barriers experienced in choosing suitors in Australia, particularly those that pertain to the impossibility of verifying their identity and background in the

Australian context. By contrast, suitors that come to visit the family in Jordan are known to some of the group's relatives and are not complete strangers.

The importance of kinship networks and the benefits of immigrant clustering mean that most immigrants have a well-developed network of 'strong ties'. These are relationships strengthened by frequent contact, and/or contact in a variety of different environments. For example, two Jordanian immigrants who live in the same neighbourhood and work in the same place, are both Muslim and whose children go to same school, are likely to be connected by a strong tie. Immigrants may also have strong ties to people who are not in their ethnic group. For instance, two doctors in the same practice, one Jordanian and one Indian, may socialise together and send their children to the same school.

Furthermore, immigrants depend upon relatives for information about jobs, housing, and schools and spending time with relatives reduces the sense of isolation and disorientation that they often otherwise feel (Foner, 1997; Pozzetta, 1991). The same needs also lead immigrants to join village clubs, to create 'fictive kin' relationships with people who emigrated from the same area, and to cluster in neighbourhoods where others from the same town and/or same social background live (Shryock, 2000).

4.3 Tradition and Change

Phinney, et al., (2001) stated that in relation to ethnic and national identities the immigrant's role in adaptation can best be understood in terms of an interaction between the attitudes and characteristics of immigrants and the response of the receiving society, moderated by the particular circumstances of the immigrant group within the new society. Specifically, immigrant groups, as well as individual immigrants, arrive in a new country with differing attitudes about retaining their culture of origin and becoming part of the new society.

For the purposes of organising the research data I have separated those factors of acculturation and assimilation relating to what is perceived to be 'tradition' from those that relate to specific encounters in the new country. In this section I examine those aspects of the cultural and social life of Jordanians in Australia that pertain to what could be considered the preservation of Jordanian cultural tradition. I consider the various degrees to which the research participants imagine tradition and change in

relation to these factors that include questions of family life, marriage, language and religion.

4.3.1 Family Values

Family life is often seen as one of the most important and sacred social values among Jordanian immigrants in Australia. Mrs Sana, for example, a Jordanian immigrant who has lived in Australia for 25 years, returned to Jordan with her daughters for almost two years in order to immerse them in the society's cultural and religious values. She stresses, however, that her main motivation in returning to Jordan was her wish to maintain close relationships among family members. Since Jordan are geographically smaller and a more family-oriented society than Australia, relationships between adult children and their parents remain more close-knit. Family is important to Mrs Sana, and she values being able to visit her family and friends regularly.

As outlined earlier, Jordanians began arriving in Sydney in 1970s and most came from well-off, urban families. Jordanians in Sydney do not cluster in one community, nor is there one commercial area where there are Arab restaurants or shops. Instead, they live and work among native-born Australians, although they tend to remain socially apart. At the same time, many take part in activities that regularly involve Jordanians and Arabs. They keep in touch with their families back home. They read Arabic newspapers, and they travel back to Jordan at least once a year. Jordanians have the usual markers of ethnicity; eating certain foods, listening to Arabic music, speaking Arabic and dressing in traditional dress.

Most people talk about commitments to their family and the community; their strongest bonds and obligations are to their relatives. Since families normally live with one another in extended family households, everyday life is a multi-generational experience with children being exposed to all aspects of the life cycle as part of their daily routine.

Mrs Sana states that Australian and Arab values are quite different, but both have positive aspects. Australian values bring out the best in people, she says, they help people to respect themselves, learn independence and face life with strength. Arab values also have these qualities, but they are more concerned with family ties and respect for others, especially older people. While Australians are independent and self-sufficient, she says, Arabs tend to rely on family support, making individuals less

independent. Jordanian family life, stresses Mrs Sana, is based on a system that emphasises obedience to superiors – children are submissive to parents, the wife to the husband, the young to the old, and so on. Thus, the father is the head of the family and automatically assumes the authority and responsibility to manage it. It is the father who goes out to make a living. His ideas and decisions almost always prevail in important family matters. The mother's traditional role is mostly confined to household tasks. However, in Australia, her role has become increasingly important and diversified. As women pursue interests and activities beyond domestic boundaries, they come into contact with feminism and gender issues. The Arab social system, including the Jordanian system (as distinct from the Arab world), is designed to give men control over women and the older generation domination over the younger (Barakat, 1993). As a consequence, young women are subordinate to their husbands and parents (Barakat, 1993). This is the essence of Jordanian family culture, derived from religion and deeply embedded in the Jordanian way of thinking and living.

When Mrs Sana migrated to Australia 25 years ago she says that life here was less pressured, and easier for a migrant to deal with. Now it is harder because of the tough economic and political climate. Mrs Sana stresses that is difficult for Muslim women wearing hijab and speaking limited English to live outside the Arab community. They often prefer, and feel safer, living in areas such as Bankstown and Lakemba with other Arabs and Muslims, where it is also less expensive to rent or buy a residence.

Mrs Sana comes from a conservative Muslim culture and often finds it difficult to adjust to the differences in Australian society. Consequently, as her daughters grew up, she began to feel that they were lost between two cultures. She wanted them to keep their Muslim tradition and behaviour which was very hard to maintain while raising them in Australia surrounded by a different culture and different values. Mrs Sana and her husband decided to return to Jordan, raising their daughters in a place they believed they would have more respect for their religion and their parents. It was not easy for herself and her husband to adapt to living in Jordan, however, and they eventually returned to Australia because it was difficult to find work. They stayed until their daughters were married, insisting upon the preservation of cultural and religious values in their children. Their daughters also eventually returned to Australia with their husbands.

Through our conversation, it becomes clear that Mrs Sana prefers living in Australia, and after more than 25 years here, she feels that Australia has become her home country. Coming back to Australia was the best decision they could have made, she said. Seven years after moving to Australia they became naturalised. Mrs Sana tells me that Australia is a very tolerant country and that Australians are tolerant people. It is the cultural differences that are hard to adapt to. In Australia, Mrs Sana had to learn to be very strong and depend on herself to do many things. Whereas in the Arab world a husband would be the one to worry and organise almost everything outside the house, from providing food, to paying bills, in Australia Mrs Sana was responsible for all these things because of her husband's long and stressful working hours. She believes that this has made her stronger and more independent than if she had stayed in the Middle East where the husband provides everything.

Mrs Sana enjoys aspects of both cultures, valuing family-oriented Jordanian culture while embracing the individuality and independence of Australian culture. Yet, she does not place personal accomplishment over family loyalty. For instance, Ms Sana tells me, she sees her relative who lives in Wollongong every weekend, she takes her children to a religious school (Muslim school) on Saturday, and they spend holidays together, and so on. It is the time spent together as a family group that she values most. Furthermore Jordanian people, like many other Arab immigrants, prefer to live close to relatives and friends. They value being part of their community and enjoying many of the cultural activities that they otherwise may not.

4.3.2 Marriage

Abu Abraham first immigrated to Australia in 1969. After spending five years working as an engineer with the Department of Main Roads, he decided to return to Jordan to marry. The decision to marry a person of Jordanian descent remains prevalent among those who have migrated to Australia, and even today, most Jordanians return to Jordan in order to marry. Today, Abu Abraham says he still observes the habits and traditions of Jordanian culture. He states proudly that one of his girls is marrying a young Jordanian man who came to Australia to study. In addition, his eldest daughter married a Jordanian man and they now live in Jordan.

Yet the question of preserving cultural tradition with regards to marrying within the community does not apply uniformly to all the research participants, nor are attitudes to this aspect of cultural tradition consistent in the comments of individuals. While Abu Abraham has deep convictions about preserving tradition through marriage in regards to his daughters, he is willing to be a little more flexible with his sons.

During the conversation, Abu Abraham revealed to me that one of his sons had decided to marry a non-Muslim Australian girl. He had tried, he said, to influence his son not to marry this girl but rather, to look for a Muslim Arab girl. When his son refused, Abu Abraham reluctantly agreed to this marriage. He tells me that his son is more influenced by Australian habits and customs than Jordanian ones. Abu Abraham explains that his son met this girl while studying and he found in her the person he had been searching for even though she was not a Muslim. Even though his son is committed to the practice of Islam, he says, he has different concepts of love, relationships and marriage than those of his father. This is partly, Abu Abraham admits, a result of his having grown up in Australia and in Australian schools.

The extent to which changes in marriage practice negatively impact on the observation of cultural tradition also appears to be related to the willingness of individuals to accommodate difference. Until now, Abu Abraham tells me, they have not had any misunderstandings or problems with the son's fiancé. He stresses that his wife has not complained of any disturbance or anger in relation to the fiancé's behaviour because she too understands that the habits and traditions of Australian society differ from those of Jordanian society. Moreover, the fiancé also tries to learn from her future mother-in-law. Abu Abraham's son confirms that it makes him happy to see his mother teaching his fiancé Arabic cooking and various aspects of Jordanian tradition.

4.3.3 Language

The desire to preserve the linguistic tradition is echoed in different ways among the various research participants. Abu Abraham for example, having spent two years in Jordan without a job, returned to Australia in 1981 and began teaching the Arabic language. At that time there were approximately 1200 students enrolled in this school. Abu Abraham also lectured to Arab students at several schools on their language and

culture. He holds strong views on the preservation of cultural identity through language, saying:

It doesn't matter if they are Iraqi, Lebanese or Palestinian; we all have the same background and the same language. Furthermore, immigrants who move later in life are more stressed and socially isolated because of language problems, small social networks, and cultural differences from the host society. Community intervention programs can reduce such stress and isolation.

As early as 1981, various schools provided specialised language classes for students of Arabic origin with the primary purpose of maintaining the linguistic traditions of the family. Today these schools have grown in number with several Islamic colleges also opening in western suburbs of Sydney to provide the necessary language training for young people to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage.

In the case of Abu Abraham, his change in profession from engineering to Arabic language teaching can be considered in relation to the acculturation process of individuals in host societies. In establishing strong foundations in host countries migrants often re-utilise their heritage in ways that they may never have done in their countries of origin. An engineer by profession, Abu Abraham was able to solidify his economic and social situation in the host country by re-imagining the uses of his cultural heritage in a way that could be useful to him and his community in the new context.

The ability of the migrant to establish strong connections across the host society utilising their previous cultural knowledge is also connected to aspects of tradition that they find important to retain. In Abu Abraham's case, for example, it is important to note that he only speaks Arabic to his family at home. Furthermore, his socialisation is largely restricted to individuals of the various Arab groups who reside in Australia.

In retaining and re-adapting language as an important part of their cultural tradition in the new context, migrants often insist on passing it on to their children with varying results. In the case of Abu Abraham's son, he tells me he is grateful to his parents for teaching him Arabic, the language of his heritage. He speaks Arabic at home and with all his Arabic friends. In addition, he wants to teach Arabic to his wife and sons to maintain continuous contact with the habits and the culture of his homeland.

Language retention is not always a product of cultural integration, however, but a result of an insistent belief in the preservation of a particular cultural heritage and tradition. Mrs Sana, for example, still speaks Arabic inside the house with her family and friends. She believes that anyone who loses their language or does not speak their native tongue will lose the heritage of their country. Mrs Sana explained that her own children had wanted to speak Arabic so they could keep in touch with and learn the history and heritage of Jordan. Although they were Australian born, they placed a high value on the retention of cultural tradition through their parents' language.

4.3.4 Language Barrier

In contrast to the value immigrants place on the retention of language, and through it, of traditional cultural and social practices, learning English is often both a challenge and an obstacle. While some, like Abu Abraham, migrate to Australia with a solid grasp of the language, it is often uneducated women in the older generation of migrants who find themselves isolated due to their inability to speak English.

While Mrs Sana does not raise the question of language in relation to difficulty and hardship, but rather in relation to the positive aspects of her children speaking Arabic, it would seem that as a result of her mixing with mostly Jordanian and other Arab women the question of language presents itself as less of a problem than for someone such as Mrs Linda.

Due to her isolation from other members of the community, and her husband's general refusal to allow her to attend language classes, Mrs Linda has struggled for many years with isolation and loneliness. She tells me that as soon as she arrived in Sydney she wanted to learn the language, knowing that it would be important for her family and her future. However, due to the various circumstances she has encountered, and her husband's reluctance, Mrs Linda is still not fluent in English. Even though she has recently commenced new classes, she is still very shy and quiet in class and feels that she does not understand much of the lesson.

While clearly the migrant's level of education on arrival plays a large role in whether or not the question of language presents itself as obstacle or hindrance, cultural and social factors, particularly in relation to women, also have a large role. In addition, it is not only a question of whether a female migrant attends classes or not, but also whether she

has the required skills to be able to adapt to learning a new language in a different educational environment. Consequently, it would seem that many Jordanian women lacking fluency in English on arrival either tend to remain within the boundaries of the community or suffer the frustration of being unable to communicate.

4.3.5 National Belonging

Abu Abraham is one of those who chose permanent residence in Australia. Nonetheless, he retains habits and customs of Jordanian traditions. He underscores the importance of maintaining living links with family in Jordan. Every two years, he sends his sons to Jordan to live with their relatives for the sake of preserving Jordanian habits.

Yet preserving these family ties in the Australian context is not without modification, particularly since children grow up in Australian culture and study in Australian schools. They begin to identify with being Australian. Abu Abraham tells me that his sons prefer living in Australia and that they would not want to live anywhere else. It is evident that while their heritage is Jordanian and their father has taught them Jordanian habits and traditions, and they have visited Jordan several times, they do not think of settling there.

Traditionally, a strong family has been the core unit of Jordanian society. In recent years, more affordable air travel, telephones and e-mail have made it easier for those who come to keep in touch with relatives overseas and to maintain strong ties with their culture. In traditional Arab Australian families, although certainly not all, fathers provide for their families by working and earning money while mothers work to take care of the home. Children are given responsibility based on their level of maturity. Parents value privacy and education.

In the case of Abu Abraham and his family it is quite evident that national belonging is differentially split across generations; his sons maintain a link to the homeland that is nonetheless weaker than the one he expresses. Consequently, national identification is no longer singular for these Jordanians of long-term residence in Australia.

4.3.6 Religion

Through our conversation I discover that Abu Abraham is still a practising Muslim and often leads the Friday sermon (khutbah) at the mosque. It is also noticeable that his commitment to and practice of Islam is very important to him as it affects his life actions. Yet despite his religious observance, he has accepted his son's decision to marry a non-Muslim Australian girl. He puts this down to having understood, after so long in this country, what he sees as fundamental differences between the Australian and Jordanian systems and laws. The Australian system, he says, puts far less pressure on individuals to observe religious practices and customs, or even to marry within the same religious community.

Nonetheless Abu Abraham's understanding of these differences is tempered with a refusal to accept all aspects of the Australian system in this respect. He can accept his son's marriage to a non-Muslim girl by believing that his son will influence his wife to become Muslim in the future, yet at the same time he totally refuses permission for any of his daughters to marry a non-Muslim man, preferring again Muslim *Arabs*, and Jordanians in particular.

The importance of religious observance has also been passed down to his son, who tells me that he will try to teach his Australian wife the Islamic religion with the assistance of his father. It is clear that the son respects the habits and culture of his family in addition to Australian traditions. Out of respect for his father, the son will exert all his efforts to teach the Islamic religion to his wife. He maintains that even if his wife does not change her religion his feelings for her will remain the same and he will not abandon her. Abu Abraham also says that after the marriage he will try to teach his daughter-in-law the Islamic religion although he will continue to respect her even if she does not convert to Islam.

4.4 Negotiation and Exchange

In addition to those factors related to the preservation of tradition, there are factors external to the culture itself that also impact upon the degree of acculturation and assimilation that individuals display. Among these are aspects that pertain to the degree of social interaction that an individual experiences depending on their circumstances including work, education and residence. There are also added negative factors such as

discrimination and media stereotyping which act as obstacles to acclimatisation within the new culture.

4.4.1 Work

Abu Abraham, an engineer at the time of his migration to Australia in 1969, worked in several government posts before taking up a position in a brewery. Here I asked him whether work in a brewery that produced alcoholic drinks suited him, being a Muslim. He replied that it was not suitable but the work in this factory helped him achieve his aspirations through the salary he received each week, stressing the importance of financial independence in relation to the objectives of migrating individuals. Accepting work in a brewery meant that Abu Abraham was outside the safety zone of accepted cultural norms and practices. Financial independence on the other hand is considered so important in the foreign context that individuals are faced with rethinking what is and isn't acceptable. Economic hardship and failure are often deemed more unacceptable than the fact of working in a less than ideal environment. Consequently, the migrating individual, as a result of pragmatic decisions about objectives, is often faced with choices that influence the degree to which they are able to accommodate to and accept the new culture.

As a result of anticipated ruptures in structural familiarity, Jordanian immigrants usually undergo some changes even before landing in Australia. For example, they wear western suits and clothes as a way of preparing to be more socially acceptable in Australia once they arrive. Many preparing to migrate are often encouraged to begin the change before leaving their homeland, and to become familiar with the expectations of employers and the demands of work in western countries.

It is interesting to note that all Abu Abraham's work choices involved a degree of negotiation and movement between cultures and none have resulted in social isolation or exclusion from either the Anglo-Australian community or the Jordanian Arab community. In 1981 Abu Abraham started work as a researcher for the Institute of Multicultural Affairs. He spoke English very well and he was able to help Arabic people by translating for them. At that time, the language barrier was considered a significant problem for the Arabic community. Since 1990, and as the needs of the community have also changed, Abu Abraham has been working as a police volunteer,

translating for members of the community not fluent in English and working with Arab youth.

4.4.2 Residence

Abu Abraham makes it clear that he would like to see all his family return permanently to Jordan where he could live without the need to search for work. Yet, he cannot leave his sons in Australia, especially since he is still teaching them Jordanian habits and traditions. He has come to accept that they cannot live in Jordan forever. The consequences of the family's sentiments are that Abu Abraham must negotiate anew what he considers permanent and temporary in terms of residence. Like many other Jordanian immigrants, their home in Australia, once thought of as temporary, becomes permanent as they grow to accept that their children do not express the same desire to resettle in Jordan.

Maintaining relationships with family in Jordan through telephone calls and visits often becomes the means through which immigrants, having removed themselves permanently from the native context by choice, continue to have physical links to their place of origin. These physical links, although related, are different to the ties maintained by means of continuing traditional practices particularly since those practices can often be more closely related to an imagined community than to physical geographical borders. In addition, physical indicators of permanent residence in the country of migration, the purchase or construction of houses, cars and luxury goods, are often accompanied with severing other links in the country of origin by selling or handing over ownership of land.

4.4.3 Discrimination

While immigrants face several challenges to integration in the form of cultural and linguistic differences and economic instability, Jordanian immigrants also often cite discrimination and a sense of worry over the status of Arabs and Muslims in Australian society as among the primary obstacles to full assimilation. Abu Abraham, for example, worries about leaving his sons alone in Australia. Among his concerns is the change in the political situation throughout the world since the events of 11 September 2001. He claims that even before the terrorist attacks of 9/11, discrimination against Arab

Australians was a serious problem and that since the terrorists in the New York attacks were revealed to be of Middle Eastern descent, discrimination against Arab Australians has increased. Other factors that have influenced the rise in discrimination include the involvement of the United States in conflicts with Arab and Muslim countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan and the decision of the Federal Government to send troops to assist the US forces.

This discrimination has manifested itself in different ways, sometimes resulting in violence clashes, says Abu Abraham. Nonetheless, he identifies these attacks on Arab Australian individuals and institutions with misconceived ideas about Islam and the Arab world. It is interesting to note that Abu Abraham reasons about these actions in the light of human behaviour, stating that immoral acts can be committed by any person, whether Arab or Australian. Abu Abraham confirms that there are many Australians who respect and appreciate Arabs and Muslims and that ultimately humans are responsible for their own behaviour and this behaviour is personal more than collective.

Despite the difficulties and challenges Abu Abraham perceives in relation to the acceptance of the Arab and Muslim communities in Australia, he feels optimistic about the depth of the friendship between various ethnic groups that live in Australia. He said,

I have lived in Australia for more than 30 years and I have many friends other than Arabs or Muslims who all cherish and appreciate and respect people and never think for a single moment to sever relations between us before or after September 11, because they are educated people and know the truth.

On the other hand, some migrants have no direct acute experience of these issues owing to the fact that they do not generally socialise outside their own community. Mrs Sana, for example, says she has not experienced any kind of racism. When asked to explain why she thought this was, she responded that she interacts mainly with Arabic speaking women. Indeed, her experience may be the reverse of what her husband feels, particularly as he works in a mixed environment while she does not.

4.4.4 Isolation

Mrs, Linda and her husband, Muslims from a village in north Jordan, migrated to Australia with a one year old son when Mrs Linda was just 20 years old. After arriving, Mrs Linda was pregnant again. She tells me that she will never forget the birth of her daughter as long as she lives, because she was completely unprepared for the efficient, impersonal atmosphere of an Australian hospital. When the baby was whisked away from her after it was born she was quite sure it was deformed in some way. She also expressed disappointment in herself and her inability to understand anything of what the nurses and doctors said to her. After taking the baby home, she felt even more isolated and depressed, and became obsessed with constantly checking on the baby to make sure it was breathing.

Two years later she gave birth to another daughter and she tells me that her life became intolerable. With three small children under four living in a small house, and a husband who would not even allow her to go to the shops on her own, she found her life here distressing and frustrating.

Once her son was a little older it was easier for her to go out to do some shopping with him, or even to take her children to the nearby park for a while. This suited her husband because he was doing quite well at work and had the opportunity to do overtime and Mrs Linda felt that she had won her freedom when she started going out shopping or to the park with her children. Although her husband spent more time at work than at home, she felt more comfortable with this because he was earning enough to support the family. Mrs Linda says she could never have managed to do all this if they were still in Jordan.

Yet despite the freedom she felt she had gained by being able to go out with her children, she was still barely able to communicate in English. She met a woman in the park who told her about English classes in the local area. Her husband agreed she could attend. However, after one month, two men joined the class and she mentioned their arrival to her husband who was quite horrified at the idea of his wife learning English in the company of strange men and demanded that she stop going immediately.

Once more, Mrs Linda found herself confined to the house until her son started school. She was almost sick with anxiety about sending her boy to school because she knew

nothing about Australian schools, and she did not even know how to prepare her son for this new experience. Also, her son sensed her anxiety and refused quite violently to leave her, crying every morning when she left him.

To make matters worse, she found herself pregnant again. Although she did not want the pressure of another child, her husband was anxious to have another son. She gave birth to a very difficult baby. At three months, she was worried by his constant crying and by the fact that he did not seem to be putting on enough weight. She began to make regular visits to the doctor who encouraged her to attend the new baby health centre. It was there that she was persuaded to attend the new English classes.

Through the English classes, Mrs Linda made friends with a Lebanese woman with grown-up children who lives quite close to her. There is hope that this woman will come to function in place of the family network of women Mrs Linda left behind in Jordan, allowing her to have the important support of friends her own age. Without these networks, Mrs Linda is probably doomed to a life of isolation and limited involvement in the wider Australian community owing to the long hours her husband works and her lack of proficiency in English.

4.5 Hybridity in the Process of Acculturation

Rather than seeing the process of acculturation as a change that occurs in a single direction, the data gathered from the research participants suggests that it is a merging process between persons or individuals from various cultural groups. As groups with different cultures continuously interact with each other, changes in cultural patterns affect modes of behaviour, habits and traditions among individuals and groups. The merging process leads to new forms of behaviour among different cultural groups and the reinforcement of connections and relations through inter-marriage (the marriage of Abu Abraham's son to a non-Muslim Australian woman is a case in point). Acculturation results, to a large extent, in concurrence of ideas and beliefs whereby the dominant value of what is desired or not desired becomes somewhat similar.

In the case of Abu Abraham, the time he has spent in Australia has been important for fostering relationships of communication and cooperation within neighbourhood and community networks and with local government services and institutions, particularly as he now works as a translator with the police. The importance of education here is

highlighted since it is through education that individual members of diverse communities see themselves being able to have some form of representation at an institutional level. Abu Abraham therefore places a great deal of importance on his sons attaining university degrees. Another strong indicator of acculturation is inter-marriage between different religious and ethnic groups, indicated by Abu Abraham's agreement to his son's inter-faith and inter-cultural marriage.

While some degree of concurrence with the ideas and beliefs of the host society is evident here, it is important to note that it would be rather difficult to read any of these instances as indicating complete acculturation. Rather, what we see is a form of negotiation where certain values are refigured in order to remain functional in their new contexts.

Further, the inverse of this process involves another set of negotiations on the side of the migrant's perceived traditional values. In the various elements of the social structure through which Abu Abraham expresses his identity it is possible to observe unity, cohesion, stability and balance. While Abu Abraham's behaviour may extend beyond what a more conservative view may consider 'tradition', he nonetheless refuses to make any change that would cause separation from the Arab community and result in social dissociation. Rather than maintaining the cohesion, balance and stability of tradition through complete refusal, it is through interaction with individuals of different groups and the support of those inside and outside his community that he is able to maintain the principles of Islamic Arab values.

The degree to which migrants assimilate into their new environments is often also a question of generational differences. While the first generation generally face greater obstacles in continuing cultural practices in the same form as they had back home, younger generations are usually better equipped to find new methods of accommodating both their parent's culture and that of the host country. From my research data, it appears that it is generally the earlier generations who take it upon themselves to educate the younger generations in traditional practices, yet there is also an indication that the younger generations both value and wish to continue those practices. Whether the parents of the older generations see themselves as passing on these practices so that their children are culturally equipped when they return to Jordan, or whether the decision to remain permanently in Australia has already been made, there is a strong

indication that those practices continue to constitute an important part of the migrant's identity and their identification with a collective, imagined community whether in Jordan or in Australia.

The important role played by earlier migrants who act as hosts and teachers to newcomers in the process of acculturation cannot be underestimated. Often a leading figure in the community acts as a patron for his countrymen. Mr Abu Abraham and his wife performed this role by serving as buffers between the new immigrants and their unfamiliar environment. They received many new arrivals, finding them places to live, supplying them with goods to start a business, and looked after them until they were familiar with their new environment. They also acted as liaison officers between the city government and the immigrant (as I mentioned Mr Abu Abraham worked as a translator), often becoming a useful asset in solving internal problems among group members.

It is here that we might note that the 'melting pot' theory, although still often used, is being quietly replaced by the 'salad bowl' model (Menski, 2000, p. 2). Migrants want to belong to the host country, but they do not necessarily want to 'blend in'. Often the differences that mark them are those that they feel most strongly identify them with their own particular social or cultural group.⁵⁷ The move towards recognisable difference and its acceptance has also marked the move away from assimilationist policies towards multicultural ones. Nonetheless, the 'salad bowl' model does not suggest that assimilationist tendencies cannot and do not exist in multicultural societies. Rather, they suggest that the degree of acceptable difference has changed over time. In this sense we find that the research participants do not necessarily desire invisible integration, but rather, seek forms of negotiation through which their differences are expressed and respected, and where they also respect and acknowledge the differences of others.

The economic gains of migration for most Jordanian migrants are significant but the extent to which traditional relationship patterns are disturbed should also not be underestimated. Abu Abraham, for example, feels that he has made a quantum leap:

⁵⁷ <http://www.art.man.ac.uk/CASAS/pdfpapers/osakalecture.pdf>

I now have things that I did not even know existed. My family was poor; people were badly educated, working in simple jobs, like on a farm and we had very limited resources. I now live in much better conditions and have much more stuff. Socially, however, the change was very challenging. Social acculturation has been very difficult. People are rushing, nervous, and busy and the pace of life is hectic and restless. People are immersed in their own business and therefore are not so social as in my culture. For example, I lived in an apartment for almost a year, and did not know my neighbours. Everybody leaves home in the morning for their work or school and comes home late to their own place. This could not have happened in Jordan. We would have met to spend time together, be social, dine and talk. Here things are much less social. Nobody has time for others.

As a result of different working patterns and hours, immigrants often find themselves in a situation where significant relationships with partners and offspring as well as those with relatives, friends and neighbours are disrupted. The sense of loss extends also to the support systems on which they depended in their country of origin, and “the intimate understanding they once had of cultural norms, social clues, acceptable behaviour patterns and the ability to adequately perceive reality and the context for interpreting it, and an understanding of the way of life” (Donnelly, 2000, p. 50); “one loses the comfort of shared memories, named by some ‘the sweet familiarity’” (Donnelly, 2000, p. 50).

While concepts of acculturation and assimilation are often interpreted within the parameters of what is retained and lost in the process of becoming part of a new society, the loss of the old and the shattered sense of belonging as a consequence of the duality of migrant lives is explored far less. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the retention of cultural practices within the scope of acculturation is also accompanied by a loss of particular forms of living that are irrecoverable. This loss demands that those aspects of an immigrant’s identity that are retained double in importance, particularly since they must now also compensate for a loss that remains unexpressed. The image of the ‘salad bowl’ is not always a harmonious one, and Abu Abraham and his wife tell me that they feel that “at this point we have become misfits in both cultures, even sometimes feeling like foreigners in both. Our children also do not fully belong to our culture of origin. Sometimes I say I am a Jordanian and an Australian.” The expression of a hybrid identity that this phrase encapsulates does not hide, or even attempt to

compensate, for the fact that this new identity also has a price, that of never again completely belonging to either culture.

Yet nonetheless, the productivity of hybridity (Bhabha, 2004) continues to be important today with the transnational forces of migration and immigrant lives leading to the creation of new identities and structures. For some immigrants, the development of cultural awareness and identity are long-term products of a continuous interaction between aspects of the homeland and the country of residence. Early migration research predicted that migrants would sever their homeland attachments as they became integrated into the countries that received them. However, many researchers have come to acknowledge that international migration can no longer be seen as a one-way process: events and lives between communities of origin and destination have prompted some researchers to speak of activities grouped under the term of transnationalism (Levitt, 2001). Although still in its infancy, this field studies migration through multi-level social, economic, and religious ties between migrants and non-migrants across borders.

Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) argue that transnational migration has a long history and that earlier waves of migrants also remain strongly connected to their homelands. Despite continuities between earlier and contemporary transnational migration there are also significant differences between them (Levitt, 2001). For example, new methods of communication and technology permit more frequent, cheap and intimate connections, allowing migrants to remain active in their homeland communities in fundamentally different ways to those of the past. Migrants arrive already pre-conditioned to many aspects of the western experience which, in turn, has assumed a global patina of its own. Furthermore, the ways in which people define and differentiate themselves from others depends on the cultural elements that they have access to and the institutional environments in which they are embedded (Lamont, 2000).

Conceiving of a nation as having a cultural structure is an attempt to move beyond the idea that culture and structure are opposed to one another and instead individuals are seen as having access to and being shaped by institutionalised cultural repertoires or publicly available systems of categorisation. However, when migrants come from countries in which religion and identity are closely linked, as in the case of Jordanian Muslims, they must manage their religious repertoires as well as their multicultural ones.

4.6 A Jordanian Wedding in Sydney

It was a sunny day in November; the host invited everyone and asked them to arrive promptly at seven in the evening. Nuts, sweets and fruit juices are served as the guests arrive. Throughout the remainder of the evening, a steady stream of visitors fills the large, new home in Liverpool in the western suburbs of Sydney. The women wear beautifully coloured Jordanian clothes, while the men wear a mixture of Jordanian and western dress. Food is plentiful and discussions are lively. Among the most prevalent characteristics of Jordanian culture, food is particularly important at formal gatherings and always includes the Jordanian national dish, mansaf, rice covered in cooked meat and yoghurt and traditionally eaten with the hands from a large circular tray placed on the ground. Other Middle Eastern dishes such as hummus (chickpeas and tahini), stuffed vine leaves and traditional sweets are also served. The traditions that accompany the preparation, serving and consumption of food are all still carefully observed, particularly at a large festivity such as a wedding.

Those present at the wedding clearly feel at home with one another. Some families in this Jordanian community get together nearly every week. They often see other members of the large Arab community at weddings, the mosque and a constant round of community celebrations.

Mr. Hamdi a 58 year old Jordanian man, who has lived in Australia for 31 years, is at the gathering and I ask him about the rules for these events, are they much like the gatherings that would take place in Jordan? I want to know if people still live by Jordanian norms or if Australian culture has taken hold. How do people cope with the cultural references between Arab and Australian cultures?

He tells me that:

People still carry on as if this wedding was in Jordan, with only slight differences. The way we dress, the way men and women speak to each other, we could all be in Jordan even though some of us have been in Australia over 25 years. We still compare ourselves to the family and friends we left behind in our homeland. We do not really look at ourselves with regards to Australia; we behave like we are in Jordan.

Mr. Hamdi describes a life that combines multiple cultural identities; he often visits Jordan to see his family and friends. He says that he combines Jordanian, Australian, and Muslim cultures in his everyday life and that sometimes these things are in conflict but he added, "I always seem to find a way to work it out."

Many other Jordanians in Sydney also have multicultural lifestyles in terms of their economic and social lives. They also tend to be highly educated workers and attend universities with other ethnic groups in Australia, thus integrating into Australian life. Jordanian immigrants feel that some part of them is unequivocally Australian but at the same time they continue to be Jordanian and Muslim.

Their identities are constructed by drawing upon multiple ethnic and religious repertoires. They are Jordanians in Australia, which is an amalgamation of homeland culture, Australianised Muslim beliefs and very selective elements of Australian life.

Mr. Hamdi says:

There are so many things about Jordanian culture that are so sweet and tender it breaks your heart, no one here even knows about them. For instance, if you look at just the way parents are treated in Jordan, it is very common when you get married for your parents to basically hand over the household to you. This is a very traditional society, they hand over the household to you and you take over, you run the house and your parents take a back seat, but you rely on your parents as guides. They help you learn, for example, how to deal with taxes and they become a resource to you. At the same time, when you have children, they become the best day-care system you could ever have - who has a better interest in your children than your parents?

These are the roles that each family must play in Jordan in relation to others, such as showing respect for their elders. Furthermore, Jordanians care for their neighbours, a trait that they have continued to preserve in Australia. Mr. Hamdi describes daily lives that resemble urban villages involving close contact with those next door, which means that everyone knows everyone in the neighbourhood. Moreover, Jordanians spend a lot of time with other people and have certain values with respect to time. Another wedding guest, Mrs. Ruba, tells me that:

The other thing that is very different about being Jordanian is the abundance of love and caring. You talk to people all the time, you go out and grow closer to your friends or you invite people over all the time. Children learn about social discourse in Jordan. They realise it is not just all about designer labels and that they must go beyond this type of lifestyle.

As most Jordanians are Muslims, it is not surprising that what Mr Hamdi and Mrs Ruba identify as 'Jordanian' characteristics are also aspects of religion (Islam and Christian): respect for elders, women and children. These aspects are both Jordanian and religious and the two cannot be separated. In addition, religion is so ingrained in cultural practice it cannot be separated from such rituals as how to dress for a particular event or what you say.

Many characteristics of the Jordanian community are recreated in Australia - at the mosque, at organisation meetings or when families get together to socialise. Mr Hamdi says:

I have to admit that we socialise almost entirely with other Arabic people, I have lived here for almost 30 years and the rules from Jordan still apply. On the one hand, you can see the cultural differences between people from different regions and you can also see how some things change because we are in Australia. On the other, you can see how there continues to be this strong Jordanian cultural influence and we are still very much shaped by Jordan. In Australia everything is different because this is a society that respects diversity, in Australia you have to be yourself. Nobody looks at you, nobody cares, for example, you can walk around in your shorts and nobody would care. In Australia you can do what you want to do, you have the right to determine what you want to do. But in Jordan all these things are constraints.

Freedom of religion is also considered important, particularly the ability to live outside Jordan and still be a good Muslim. Mr Omar said:

I told many people from Muslim countries that none of them have ever really tested Islam in the way in which it is meant to be tested: as a pluralistic religion that is tolerant of everyone and accepts everybody for what they are. In Australia, even though it is not a Muslim country, all Muslims have the

principles that an Islamic state should have: the freedom to associate, religious tolerance and the fact that everyone can practice their religion without being questioned.

Mr Omar considers Australia as a country that demonstrates respect for Muslim principles. He continues:

Australia is also becoming a better place to be a Muslim because the social welfare system ensures that the basic rights prescribed by Islam are protected. Australia provides space to be a good Muslim. It is also a source of freedom, diversity, and individuality. In Australia you do not worry about anything, you are living on this huge wonderful planet created by God, even though it is overpopulated, and you have the ultimate life with a wonderful existence in which the individual can strive and succeed – it is a utopia.

4.7 Conclusion

In summary, the Jordanian community in Australia has succeeded in overcoming the cultural differences which existed between the early immigrants and Australian culture. This process of acculturation, as with most Australian minorities, has been mostly a one-way process and the ways in which these minorities adopted the dominant culture in the different generations or different religious sub-groups were often subtle.

Nevertheless, acculturation has been advancing rather quickly in the Jordanian and other Arab communities. The aspect of the original culture which has undergone the most significant change is the use of the Arabic language which, without the survival of some early immigrants, would have disappeared completely. Religion has retained some of its original rites while adopting new functions and forms as part of the process of Australianisation but, most importantly, religion is considered by the members of the later generations as an Arab institution functioning in an Australian system. Unlike the Christians who found a faith with which they could identify and associate, Muslims have had more difficulty in changing and adopting Australian cultural traits. Nevertheless, the process of acculturation among members of the Muslim sub-group has taken place, albeit rather slowly.

The Jordanian community is a small but powerful network where people tend to know or know of one another. They often live in the same area, send their children to Arabic private schools, and belong to the same clubs. Nearly everyone who has migrated is a Sunni Muslim. Jordanian migrants are from a homogeneous society in which there are clear religious and cultural norms. Being a Muslim or being a Jordanian requires little thought or effort because everyone's cultural practices and activities are homogenous and their social life is organised to support their activities.

Jordanian migrants are still very much in touch with developments in their homeland and continue to be influenced by them on a regular basis. Therefore, after 9/11 most people I spoke to, especially when I asked them how life has changed since this tragedy, began talking about a greater effort to reach out to other communities and explain the Muslim religion. Arabs need to show the people of Australia what being Arab and Muslim really means. In regard to the media influence on the whole world, some people act differently since 9/11 and many people have started to think back to Jordan. In the end, however, they said one day the whole world will understand and know the truth.

The family has been affected by social and economic drives which introduced new values and standards; most obvious are the improvement in the status of women, challenges to the father's authority, and the reduction in family size. Although conditions of domestic and economic prosperity were a strong reinforcement to the family's assimilation, the Jordanian-Australian family still retains many of its original characteristics. However, this could be attributed to several factors. For example, the support of the church for some attributes of the original family organisation, and the short time the community has spent in the Australia.

Thus, although far from being complete, the process of acculturation appears to have been advancing quickly and smoothly. The question remains as to the degree and manner of the structural changes within the community and the degree and manner of its emergence into the social structure of Australian society.

Chapter Five

Social Mobility within Ethnic Community

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses integration within the Jordanian community in Australia and the effect this has on social mobility within this ethnic group. In addressing the question of social mobility, this chapter assesses the extent to which settlement or settling down generates social mobility and in reverse, the extent to which the acquisition of social mobility contributes to the process of settling down. For example, immigrants who arrived earlier worried about the economic, political, and social impacts of later immigrants because they left the country at a time when the economic and political situation was unstable. The demographic, occupational, and educational characteristics of the new immigrants generated new patterns of immigrant settlement, occupational mobility, and adaptation. As migration provides opportunities for migrants to learn new skills, gain employment, earn an income far higher than that available in their place of origin and expand their social networks, it also allows them to acquire greater social mobility. In addition to increasing social contacts outside the group, migration also changes the basis of primary relationships and traditional ties. Kinship, national background and religion are often replaced by ties based on social class. Even though this is more evident in larger communities than in smaller ones such as the Jordanian community, it is nonetheless an important factor in how social mobility functions within this group. In this chapter I focus on manifestations of social mobility such as changes in occupation, income, and education. These new patterns, along with increasing cultural pluralism and multicultural developments, have generated new concerns about the wider and deeper impacts of immigration on the whole population, and on male-female, parent and family-society relationships.

5.1 Historical background

Aldridge (2001) describes “social mobility as movement or opportunities for movement between different social groups, and the advantages and disadvantages that go with this

in terms of income, security of employment, opportunities for advancement” (Aldridge, 2001).⁵⁸

Social mobility, is defined by Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix as a process by which individuals move from one position to another in society which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values (Lipset, and Reinhard Bendix, 1966, pp.1-2) Also, the ability of individuals or groups to move upward or downward in status is based on wealth, occupation, and education among other social variables.

The study of social mobility began early last century and focused particularly on occupation (Chapman and Marquis, 1912; Chapman and Abbott, 1913; Ginsberg, 1929). It was followed by an investigation of society at large, despite the initial difficulties that this kind of macro-study posed. In 1949 Glass and colleagues conducted a survey on social mobility and provided a picture of mobility trends over the first half of the century (Glass, 1954; Kelsall and Mitchell, 1959). They stated, “... [T]he general picture so far is of a rather stable social structure, and one in which social status has tended to operate within, so to speak, a closed circuit. Social origins have conditioned educational level, and both have conditioned achieved social status” (Glass, 1954, p. 21). Glass also maintained that “Marriage has also to a considerable extent taken place within the same closed circuit” (Glass, 1954, p. 21). From the indications of this survey it was widely hoped that greater equality of opportunity for educational success and hence for occupational advancement would follow.

There has also been considerable research dealing with social mobility and intergenerational mobility in specific locations. However, in the past 15-20 years, the focus has shifted towards an emphasis on comparative international studies. An example is Erikson and Goldthorpe’s *The Constant Flux: A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies* (1992). There has also been a growing interest in studying the ways in which social mobility patterns change over time: notable examples include the work of Featherman and Hauser (1978), Hout (1988), DiPrete and Grusky (1990), Ganzeboom et al. (1989), Goldthorpe and Portocarero (1981), Goldthorpe (1995), Hauser and Huang (1997), Luijkx and Ganzeboom (1989), Jonsson and Mills (1993), and Vallet (1999).⁵⁹

⁵⁸ <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/downloads/files/socialmobility.pdf>

⁵⁹ See also, Richard Breen (2004) *Social mobility in Europe*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

The most prominent social mobility theorists, Lipset and Zetterberg, have written that “the overall pattern of social mobility appears to be much the same in the industrial societies of various western countries” (Lipset and Zetterberg, 1956, p.13). Social mobility as defined by Lipset in 1966 refers to the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society — positions which by general consent, have been given specific hierarchical values. Usually social scientists speak of vertical mobility, meaning a movement upward or downward, or of horizontal mobility where individuals change positions within the same level of the class hierarchy. (This chapter is restricted to vertical mobility). In 1992, Erikson and Goldthorpe wrote that “the structural contexts of mobility that are created by the development of industrial societies vary substantially — and so, in turn, do their absolute mobility rates” (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992, p. 375).

Surveys were conducted by Goldthorpe and his associates in 1972 in England (Goldthorpe, 1980; Goldthorpe and Payne, 1986; Heath 1981) followed by parallel studies in Scotland and Ireland by Payne, Ford and Robertson (1976) and Hout (1989). These studies differed from that conducted by Glass in 1949 which predicted increased social mobility with the concomitant benefits of increasing equality and openness. However, following the 1972 survey the hopes expressed by Glass for increased equality in society had not been fulfilled. (For a more detailed examination of Glass’ thesis using the 1972 data which focused more on education, see Halsey et al. (1980) and Kerckhoff and Trott (1993). Although there has been some criticism of Glass’ work, I have not included it here).

In studying the effect of background on social mobility Vermeulen noted a tendency among some groups of immigrants to believe that relinquishing their pre-migration culture was necessary in order to make greater achievements in their country of settlement. In this view, ‘originary cultures’ were seen as obstacles to upward mobility. Others have argued that the effects of originary cultures are not uniform and that some cultures further upward mobility while others impede the process (Vermeulen, 2001, p. 21).

In 1977 Smith pointed out that migrants tended to be employed in particular occupational niches. For example, Pakistanis in England were employed in the textile industry (Smith, 1977). The role of geographical factors and the influence of area or

origin of initial settlement of migrants have also been considered important in shaping or mediating outcomes for the second generation (Platt, 2005, p. 2; see also Galster et al., 1999; Dorestt, 1998). Such areas of settlement are themselves not independent of the period of migration (Platt, 2005, p. 2).

As stated earlier, migration provides opportunities for migrants to learn new skills, gain employment, earn an income far higher than that available in their place of origin, expand their social networks and achieve greater social mobility. As a result of higher incomes earned, migrants are able to help their families back home by sending money (remittances) to them and alleviating the often difficult economic circumstances in which their families are living. *Voices of the Poor* (World Bank, 2000)⁶⁰ suggests that those living in harsh economic conditions frequently mention and attach great value to remittances from family members who have migrated. As a consequence of the various processes associated with different phases of migration and the diverse range of social capital that different migrants bring with them, they often experience conflict in the workplace (McAllister, 1995, pp. 441-468).

Immigrants who arrived earlier have always worried about the economic, political, and social impacts of the newcomers (Sowell, 1996). The demographic, occupational, and educational characters of the new immigrants have generated new patterns of immigrant settlement, occupational mobility, and adaptation (Sowell, 1996). These new patterns, along with the increasing cultural pluralism and multicultural developments, have generated new concerns about the wider and deeper impacts of immigration on the whole population, and on male-female, parent-child, and family-society relationships (Sowell, 1996).

For example, Modood (1997) claims that underlying class positions are re-emerging in the second generation following downward migration among higher-class parents. This has been used as an explanation for changes in the class distributions of ethnic groups over time as well as the differences between groups. Modood used data from the National Survey of Ethnic Minorities conducted in 1994 in Britain and found that large ethnic differences in education and economic achievement, with white people and Indians in England the most advantaged groups, compared to Pakistanis and

⁶⁰ World Bank (2000). *Voices of the Poor. Crying out for Change*. Washington: IRBD.
<http://www1.worldbank.org/prem/poverty/voices/reports/crying/cry.pdf>

Bangladeshis who were less advantaged. This means “ethnicity would play a significant role in generating earnings inequality” (Khattab, 2005, p. 3).

In 1994, Zhou & Bankston defined social capital in relation to the accumulation of resources:

...[in] an ethnic community social capital encompasses certain resources available to an individual through their membership in that community or group and is found in the closed system of social networks inherent in the structure of relations between person and among persons within a collectivity. (Zhou & Bankston, 1994, p. 824)

According to Coleman, social capital existing both in the community and within the family is important in creating human capital. Furthermore, social capital within the family is particularly important in overcoming deficiencies in other forms of capital (Coleman, 1988, S113-S116). American sociologists Portes and Zhou (1993) consider resources within an immigrant’s community as a most important factor in improving the chances of upward mobility. This provides a means whereby immigrants can protect themselves from discrimination and the threat of vanishing mobility ladders. Moreover, for the second generation, the ethnic community can be a means by which they obtain both economic and moral support. For example, values regarding the importance of educational attainment and economic success can be maintained and transferred to the second generation (Portes and Zhou, 1993, pp. 85-87; see also, R. Holton, 1994).

5.2 Claiming Meaning in Community Formations

This study seeks to identify social identity in the community based on how individuals who perceive themselves as part of this community, communicate this identity. In part, the interviews are an intervention into the study of immigrant subjects through the use of oral history, particularly oral history as a tool for translating the personal into the domain of the public and the political. The participants’ narratives of their lives in Australia, their convictions about the past, and their delineation between good and bad experiences of migration give expression to the conflicted sites of meaning-making within the community and the ways in which migrants deal with, explain and communicate the dilemmas they encounter.

Stories of Jordanian life in the new country continue to build upon the Jordanian community experience in Australia. In the interviews I conducted, biographical details were recounted starting from the first moment of reflection on migration. In recounting their experiences people often expressed sadness when recalling the first time they left Jordan.

The interviews focused on Jordanians who came to Australia as students and then acquired Australian citizenship through marriage or through clearly defined Australian immigration laws that allowed them to lodge and obtain citizenship. These people often face many difficulties including cultural shock in relation to the constant changes they encounter in many aspects of their lives. For example, they may have trouble finding or changing accommodation, looking for and obtaining work, or even in the nature of their relationships with the opposite sex which may be either negative or positive.

Jordanians, who have resided outside Jordan for several years, all tend to report strong feelings of homesickness and recall many seemingly insignificant details of their life in Jordan.

At times they speak of missing Jordanian food, or eating Manssaf (the traditional Jordanian food) on Friday after prayer. In particular they miss their homes which always retain a sense of being a reference point associated with pleasing memories. All these missed delights, places, and individuals gradually take on the appearance of phantoms. They become shadow-like creatures that haunt the minds of immigrants incessantly.

One of the interviewees said:

As an immigrant, person, I have the opportunity to relive some previous challenges. However, I am thankful for the remaining flexibilities in such a task considering my age. As one grows older, inevitably the sense of belonging anchors itself more deeply and the task of assimilation or its understanding becomes more vague and unpleasant. When I see men and women of 50 and up wearing their ethnic clothing, having little knowledge of the host language, being lost amid unknown streets, gazing at unfamiliar buildings, passing by unsympathetic strangers, only then do I truly appreciate the courage my parents

and their generation must have held on to despite all the possible threats of uncharted territory.⁶¹

There is a mutual and reciprocal interaction between such variables as patterns of residence, acculturation and structural assimilation on the one hand and social mobility on the other hand. For example, a person whose socioeconomic status improves has increased opportunities to make new friends, move to a different residential area and join new clubs and organisations. However, these members of a minority tend to minimise their contact with their own ethnic group and replace them with social contacts among people of the same social rank to which they have gained access. Furthermore, the more successful the person becomes, the more he tries to adopt the manners and way of life of his new status, which is usually middle-class.

There are many contradictory findings within social mobility including those relating to gender. Many studies of social mobility have excluded women and focused on data drawn from male only samples. These include Goldthorp's 1980 study of social mobility in England and Wales (Breen, 2004, p.8).

Hierarchical differentiation within the structure of minority groups is known to contribute to weakening its solidarity. In addition to increasing social contacts outside the group, such differentiation changes the basis of primary relationships; the traditional ties, such as kinship, national background and religion, are usually replaced by ties founded on social class. This can be seen more clearly in large communities. The class lines within the Jordanian community in Australia are unclear because it is one of the smallest ethnic groups in Australia. In consequence as mentioned earlier, this chapter examines social mobility of both males and females through changes in occupation, income, and education.

5.3 Occupation

Elkholy (1981) determined that the factor that appeared to have the most impact on the assimilation of Arab-Muslims was their occupation. Most Jordanians in Australia, as noted earlier, began their economic life in commerce and developed into business ownership ranging from importing and distributing expensive oriental commodities to

⁶¹ An interview with a Jordanian migrant to Sydney

limited trading. In general the majority of Jordanians started their businesses in partnership with other Arab communities, particularly with Lebanese immigrants, who were the first Arab communities to migrate to Australia.

The proportion of Jordanians who own businesses today remains quite large; however, the ratio of people entering other paid occupations is rapidly increasing. Furthermore, members of the community are well represented in different professions, mostly as teachers, physicians, dentists, engineers and lawyers. Within a single family a degree of diversity remains so that while one member may be in small business, another may be a physician or a dentist. Furthermore, changing attitudes towards female employment have meant more women have entered paid work or participate in the family business. As a result of higher education among women and their improved status in the community, traditional relationships between family members have altered and women often occupy a more important place in the family unit than they did in the past.

5.4 Income

Many of the early immigrants in the community were financed from relatives already in Australia. This combined with the desire to return home as soon as possible led early immigrants to work hard and spend little. Many of those who first came to Australia shared flats and lived frugally until they paid their debts. Once they had saved sufficient funds most of them brought their family to Australia. Others returned home to marry before coming back to Australia.

In the past, the fact that immigrants were financed by relatives already in Australia meant that they worked hard and spend very little of their earnings. Underlying this parsimonious existence there was often a desire to make as much money as possible and return home quickly. At first when incomes were low all members of the family, even children put their earnings into a family pool, and the father decided what to spend and what to save.

In the interviews conducted for this case study, facts concerning income proved to be the most difficult to discern and to verify. In many cases there was more than one person contributing to the family purse, although this practice was not universal. In some cases members gave the head of the family most of what they earned while others contributed enough to cover their expenses.

One of the research participants, Ahmad, describes what life was like in Australia in the 1970s, a time when the average family income dropped as a result of an economic recession. Ahmad had two jobs and worked overtime whenever he could, yet he only earned enough money to provide the basic necessities for his family. The following is an excerpt from a letter Ahmad wrote to his brother who was in Jordan at the time:

Dear Brother

I hope my letter will reach you while you and our family are in the best condition. I am worried about the whole family because I have not heard from you for a long time although I have written to you twice.....

The financial situation here in Australia is not as we thought. It is much worse, and many people are unemployed. The commerce situation is very slow and people don't have money to buy things. We hardly sell more than a few dollars worth of goods a day; in spite of the fact our store is full of things. You know I have four children, all of them young and in need of food, clothes, and money for school. We have suffered financially, but thank God everyone is scratching a living. I will be grateful to God if he keeps us all healthy which is more important than money, money comes and goes.....

Your Brother

Ahmad

In general the Jordanian immigrants interviewed in this case study proved to have a strong monetary drive. Several members of the Jordanian community in Sydney are quite wealthy; most members of the first generation owned businesses shared with other Arabic-speaking people.

Yet, there is a notable difference between first and second generation's financial success in that earlier immigrants were often more open about their success in public and talked about it within the community or wrote to tell their relatives back home about it. In contrast, younger generations regard income and the accumulation of wealth as very

personal matters. Many go so far as to avoid any appearance which might make their wealth noticeable. This may be to avoid being asked to contribute proportionately to community organisations or to those back home. Of the second generation of Jordanians that I interviewed, many did not attribute the same status to wealth accumulation as did their parents. For example, Hadi stated that he did not need to work as a slave in order to earn money, particularly when he could take advantage of government aid to continue his education and get a better job. At times, the responses of some of the younger participants who were born in Australia appeared to be in opposition to common assumptions held about the children of immigrants who, it has been assumed, attributed greater importance to wealth as a status symbol. From this example we can see the difference between Australia and Jordan in terms of sponsoring the people who wish to continue their study at university level. Here in Australia for instance a person who is not working or whose parents are not working can still go to university and the government supports them. However, in Jordan only those who get a very high mark in their high school have the right to receive a scholarship from the government and the rest if they want to continue their study must rely on their parent's money. In some cases parents sold their heritage land to pay their children's fees. From this point the benefits of immigration and why some people prefer to immigrate to a country like Australia can be understood.

5.5 Education

Education in highly technological industrialised societies such as Australia is considered the key to improving socioeconomic status. This is true especially in the case of Jordanian immigrants whose original language and culture are remote from English and Anglophone cultures. Members of the second generation can, through education enter and compete for occupational positions which were impossible for their parents to attain. Realising the importance of education for their children, illiterate parents sacrificed much to make it possible for their offspring. (Mr, Ahmad, for example, worked in two places, overtime whenever possible; and at times his wife helped him; they bought only necessities in order to provide for their children's education). In addition to its economic benefits, education has been traditionally respected by all peoples, especially Arab; this fact motivated the community and set up competition between different families and sub-groups for the education of their children.

The prestige gained was never simply an individual matter, but rather collective, since, according to the traditional way, the improvement of any member's position meant an improvement for the whole family. Moreover, the individual and the family remain part of a kin system which is usually considered collectively in regard to status. Individual differences within the kin system, although observed, do not allow for the variable placement of individuals.

As in the country of origin, the attitudes of the community favour education of males. Men are the providers, and, as such, are always given earlier and better opportunities for education. The picture at present, although still biased towards males, has changed, and all interviewed participants noted that education was as important for women as for men. And the education system in Jordan and Australia has become compulsory for both male and female. These changes in education throughout the period of community settlement in Australia are indicated by differences between the level of education of parents and their children.

Generally, education has bridged the cultural gap which formerly existed between the community and Australian society at large in that, through formal education, the schools as agents of socialisation taught all children the Australian way of life. Members of the second generation who lived in a mixed cultural atmosphere began to appreciate this culture more than their parents, and they created a more Australian atmosphere for their children to live in. Education also helped improve the status of women by allowing them economic independence.

Considering the changes in occupation, income, and education, it is clear that the members of the Jordanian community in Sydney are upwardly mobile. Comparing their present situation with that of the early days, it is obvious that they have improved with respect to education, occupation and income. In addition to residence, the present situation suggests that most belong to a socioeconomic status indicative of the Australian middle-class. The people themselves are conscious of their positions in the social hierarchy. Some are more specific in placing themselves, but in general individual placement agrees with what education, income and occupation also suggest. For example, Mr, Ahmad and his wife proved to be useful informants, in most cases, in their evaluation of socioeconomic status of the families of the community.

It should be noted that most members of the community have been successfully mobile in a collective rather than an individual manner which has helped to retain the cohesiveness of the community, family ties, and the kin system. National identity, although weakened, still exerts considerable control over behaviour. This being the case, members of the group still carry out most of their interactions within their own ethnic circle. This is not to deny the cultural changes which have taken place, but since the degree and manner of these changes for the whole group fall within a small range during any one period, there have never been drastic differences within the community to break its ethnic solidarity.

5.6 Becoming Australian: experience of life

While Australia has always been a country of immigration and some of its minority group populations have been here for an extremely long period (Mason, 2000), the current ethnic minority population are largely the result of immigration in the post-war period. The experience of Australia's immigrant populations has to a large extent involved mixing with other ethnic groups, and studies of migration often take the plethora of communities present in Australia into account even when assessing the migration patterns of particular communities (Modood et al., 1997; Platt, 2002; Mason, 2003). Similarly, the experience of second generation immigrants is often seen as a subset of the groups' social and economic origins and the situation of their parents and what their parents brought with them in terms of economic resources and education. These factors that extend beyond the immediate study group remain crucial to explaining the social mobility outcomes and the diversity between different groups (Mason, 2003).

The current ethnic minority population that is largely the result of immigration in the post-war period have had similar mixed experiences of migration to those of other ethnic groups. When exploring the experience of the second generation, a group's social and economic origins — the situation of their parents and what their parents brought with them in terms of economic resources and education — are crucial in explaining their outcomes and the diversity between the other ethnic communities.

In 2005 Lucinda Platt examined social mobility inside Britain's minority ethnic communities and stated:

...There have been a number of explanations put forward to account both for differences between generations of the same ethnic group in a particular country and for the long-term outcomes of different ethnic groups. It is argued that the migrant generation can be expected to differ from the succeeding generation, born and brought up in the country of immigration, in a number of (possibly conflicting) ways, within which the migrant's migration history and own characteristics are given different degrees of attention. Initially, lack of networks and familiarity with the 'host' community can be expected to depress the occupational achievement of the migrants, relative to their skills and education. This may be exacerbated if the migration was forced rather than voluntary. In this model, assimilation will lead to the second generation being much closer to their peers from the host community in educational and occupational terms... (Platt, 2005. p. 1)⁶²

The case of Leila, a 52 year old Jordanian woman with five children displays patterns suggestive of a differential inter-generational outcome. Leila was born in the Jordanian capital, Amman, and received her schooling there. She has been in Australia for 20 years with her husband Adel who owns a restaurant in Lakemba. He has been in Australia for nearly 30 years.

During the interview period, Leila appeared depressed because of her health and because she thinks all the time about her family back home; she was, however, hospitable and friendly both when discussing her hardships and despair as in her joys. Leila comes from a middle-class Jordanian family who are religiously observant but not strict. Leila and her husband Adel both identify as 'Jordanian Arabs' as do all their children and it would appear as though there is no ambiguity in this identification. Leila has a good command of English for a first generation person, yet she feels much more comfortable in Arabic and prefers Arabic television, and Arabic music and food. She has a good knowledge of Jordanian national holidays and by contrast knows relatively little about Australian holidays and customs, even though she has been here for a long time.

When I asked her why she came to Australia, she said it was because of the education system here. She explained that in the 1970s, there was only one university in Jordan

⁶² Also see Park, 1950; Gordon, 1964; and Alba and Nee, 1997.

and not everyone could enter it. She wanted a good education for her children. So she and her husband decided to move to Australia. Furthermore, she explains that at that time it was difficult to find a job in Jordan and having a job did not guarantee making sufficient income to live on. Leila believes that through education her children can enter and compete for occupational positions which were impossible for her and her husband to attain. Realising the importance of education to enable their children to be upwardly mobile, illiterate parents often sacrificed a great deal to make a higher level of education possible for their offspring.

Leila and Adel have worked in their Lakemba restaurant for most of their lives in Australia in order to provide the necessities for their children's education. In addition to its economic benefits, education is considered one of the main sources of competition between different families in Jordan. Traditionally, the prestige of education is passed on to the whole family, and not simply the individual. Both Leila and Adel retain the idea, as do most Jordanians in Australia, that education is prestigious and they want their children to obtain a higher degree and an esteemed position whether here or elsewhere in the world.

In Jordan, over the past three decades, community attitudes have continued to favour the education of males over that of females, and consequently men often have better opportunities for education. However, as Leila said, this picture at present has changed and the community has become more accepting towards female education and encouraging of equality between the sexes. Generally, from stories such as Leila's it can be detected that community attitudes towards female education have changed particularly as a result of the Jordanian presence in the larger Australian society.

According to Leila, the Australian schools where her children are educated teach them what she sees as typically Australian values including independence, freedom and a work ethic. She sees her second generation children who live in a mixed cultural atmosphere as having more appreciation of this cultural diversity than her own generation.

5.7 A successful immigrant man in Sydney from Jordan

Mr A.J.H. is 69 years old, or possibly 70, he is not sure. A retired contractor and builder, he is a wealthy man. He can boast that he built many apartment blocks in

Sydney — starting in Parramatta and then expanding to build many, many more. He has provided a mosque and a school in his native town in Jordan, just outside Amman. But Mr A.J.H takes greatest pride in the part he played in building the Islamic Centre where he provided financial backing and guided its construction. Now he can say, “I love this place. It is both a mother and father to me.”

Mr. A.J.H’s immigration to Australia is typical of the moves made by thousands of Arabs around the turn of the century. What is particularly noticeable throughout his narrative is the way he retells certain key events with particular emphasis on the accumulation of social capital. He begins by recounting how he left Jordan:

It was around 1950 that I first started thinking of leaving the country. I was perhaps 15, certainly not older. Palestine and Jordan were under British control then, you know, and life was not good for young men going into the army at the age of 17. I was too young for conscription, thank God and I was very small for my age, I’ve always had a slight build. Looking back, it was probably the English army and my size that prompted me to leave home; I wanted to avoid conscription and I was tired of being told that I was too small “to be worth the skin of an onion” as a worker in the fields. Very quietly I made my plans and when I had saved the equivalent of two British pounds, I took a train to Jaffa and stowed away on a ship.

That ship only went as far as Port Said where I worked briefly. A few weeks later I boarded another ship, thinking I would work my way to England or America. The ship, however, went the other way and I ended up in Adelaide. Through the mosque there, though, I found work as a servant to an Arab family from Lebanon. The Lebanese family liked me so much that they wanted me to stay until I was old enough to marry their daughter. But I had other idea. I was concentrating on how I could make money and go back to my country, so I asked some people where the best place in Australia to work was. They told me it was better if to go to Sydney because more people lived there. So I headed for Sydney where I worked as a servant and stayed on long enough to earn some money. I remember I earned around \$650 which at the time meant I was a rich man!

The importance of monetary success was a strong influence in his work choices. Beginning as a servant for another Arab family, he eventually moved from Adelaide to Sydney, in search of the bigger city, better earnings and improved work options. The movement from servant to migrant worker with good economic earnings is a particularly important achievement. Mr A.J also tells the story of how he got his name. The story of the name change also suggests a desire for accommodation with the new society so that upward mobility would be possible.

My real name is Mohammed but people I met on the boat told me it would be better to change my name. I had two friends who have become Australian citizens. One had taken the name of Abraham and the other Joseph. So I took both those names and since then my English name has been A. J. That's how I was naturalised in 1958.

When I reached Sydney, one of the immigration officers (after I went to the immigration office to change all my details from Adelaide to Sydney) asked me where I wanted to stay. I didn't know. So I asked him, "Where does your king live?" He laughed at me. "We don't have a king in Australia," he said. "We have a prime minister, in Sydney." So I told him that I would stay in Sydney because "if it's good enough for the prime minister, it's good enough for me."

The attainment of citizenship early on in Mr A.J's migration and his story of how he decided to live in Sydney (since Sydney was good enough for the prime minister) are also prominent motifs of an insistence on social and economic success and mobility. He continues his story by recounting early working days in Sydney before going into detail as to how he made his fortune:

I had to find work in Sydney, of course. I saw a man peddling bananas from a pushcart and asked him to start me as a pushcart peddler but he said I was too small to push the cart. I then found work in a hotel kitchen, cleaning silver and doing all kinds of jobs. One night, though, I walked outside the hotel and heard two men speaking Arabic. They told me they were peddlers and agreed to let me join them on their trips around Sydney. I began selling women's clothing, door to door but soon found that my "partners" were cheating me. They would mark up the wholesale prices on my goods and still take half my profits. After a few

months of peddling, though, I had learned what the goods should cost and where I could get my own. I decided to go it alone. When summer came, I took my goods and started selling them. The pretty ladies would be sitting on porches and I would joke with them — tell them funny stories — and they would buy from me. I was twenty or so and very small and peppy and smiling, so they liked me. I soon had many friends and many customers. I made enough money to open a store in Sydney with another man. We sold only women's clothing and were soon earning \$10,000 a year and that was in the early 1960s.

About that time, an architect talked me into becoming his partner to build an apartment house. I had \$20,000 to put into it. All he had were the plans he'd drawn, but he would supervise the building. We built two buildings, and made about \$50,000 on them. But the architect took so long to build them that I told him I'd do any further building on my own. "How are you going to do that?" he asked. "You can't even read and write." I answered that I could sign my name and my signature, along with my reputation for honesty and hard work, would get me just about everything else I needed. It did, too.

I began completing buildings in three or four months that would usually take others nine months. I would build them quickly and sell them quickly. My secret was simple: the others used a foreman for labourers, a foreman for carpenters, one for steelworkers and so on but they were always at odds. I used one foreman — a contractor and we both worked very hard. I made a \$70,000 profit on the first big apartment house we built. When my banker saw what I could do, he said, "Build all you want; my bank will provide the credit you need." I knew then that I was in the building business for good.

Mr A.J.H was indeed in the building business and he had great success with his ventures. After returning to Jordan in 1970 to marry, he came back to Sydney in time to lose just about everything he had in an economic downturn. With only \$25,000 left, he started again. Today it is his sons Imad and Rami who carry on his work and Mr A.J, formerly Mohammed, tells me that he has fulfilled the Australian dream.

While financial success figures prominently in Mr A.J's narrative and is in fact its pivotal access, many other symbolic aspects of cultural and economic mobility

dominate the narrative, in particular, the name change, the acquisition of citizenship and subscribing to the idea of being able to fulfil the national dream. It is partly a result of its symbolic aspects that Mr A.J's narrative acquires the form of upward mobility since his economic success alone would not explain the value he places on the achievement of a particular social and economic position.

5.8 Majed: from Jordan to Sydney: a Long Way to Go

Majed is a 55 year old accountant who works for a large firm in Sydney. His job requires constantly adjusting to new environments, building relationships with new people, and being assertive in a friendly way. Majid looks younger than his age and radiates a feeling of energy and activity. "I am young at heart" he says. He is well respected by his employers and is doing well professionally and financially.

Majed goes back to Jordan often to visit his family, whom he hopes to be able to bring to Australia one day. His two bedroom apartment is tastefully furnished with a mixture of western and Middle Eastern accessories that create a lively atmosphere. Majed emigrated from Jordan in 1970 because of a difficult life. He says:

I was a young man in my early twenties; I did not want to spend my life doing nothing. I wanted to have a life, so I decided to move to the United States; but a friend of mine from Palestine said to me as he has a brother in Australia and he can help us if we move to Australia: also at that time he was a student at the American University in Lebanon, so English did not present a problem for him.

After finishing his studies, Majed decided to move to Australia to complete his education and work and seek freedom and a better life. The implied element of seeking freedom became even stronger and clearer later in the interview when Majed stated:

I appreciated the freedom to live as I find fit, without being concerned of being judged. For example, I do not accept the idea that marriage and having a family should be my ultimate goal, I feel accomplished in who I am and I am willing to build a relationship only with a woman with whom I really wish to be with and share my life. I am not going to do things just because the society wants me to do, he said, I abide by rules that make sense to me.

At 20 years of age, Majed followed in the footsteps of his friend's older brother. In the beginning he stayed with him. According to Majed, that helped because "I had support which was very important because initially I felt like a little boy, everything was kind of scary." One of his main difficulties was a lack of familiarity with Australian images, and associations, "I knew most of the words, but I missed the associations and implications attached to them. I got the pieces but some times did not get the full picture."

Majed also expressed difficulties related to differences in cultural clues: "I often did not understand why they laugh at certain points, what is conveyed behind the overt content, what the punch line is, and why it is funny." This description rings true for me as an interviewer, because coming from the same country, with the same language and culture, Mr, Majed describes the feeling I experienced when I arrived in this country.

Majed quickly made friends and developed a rich network of relationships with other young people; he became especially close to one Australian roommate and spent a lot of his free time with this young man and his friends. "I was building my own little community, and these intense relationships with Australian young people taught me a lot about the culture, the way that people deal with each other, Even though I knew English, I did not know the slang, and some of terms were not used in Jordan."

From early on it is noticeable that association with local people and perfection of the nuances of the language registered as very important for Majid's acquisition of cultural currency. In addition, he was interested in how people related to each other in the new country and noticed how different relationships between genders were in Australia. He tells me that in Jordan, women are legally equal but live under the pressure of many socially limiting norms and expectations. Then he adds that following the death of a close relative, women are expected to wear black and that failure to do so initiates gossip and some social criticism. I tell Majid that this has changed since he left Jordan. He is also critical of the fact that in the past in Jordanian culture, women were not expected to work outside the home, creating financial dependence on men. He appreciates the personal freedom that Australian society offers women in comparison to Jordan, although he has noticed changes in recent visits to Jordan.

He says: “I enjoy going back, but I am not sure that I could live there, certainly not with a Jordanian person who never lived in the west. I am already a different person.” Majed feels that after his many years in Australia he does not fit fully into either culture, although he feels at home in both. Also, he feels that if he decides to live in Jordan he would not have a job with the same income as he does in Australia.

It is evident that Majid places an emphasis on a number of different social mobility indicators in his narrative. The acquisition of ‘western’ cultural knowledge, particularly in relation to the role of women in society is given a great deal of importance, as is the ability to make one’s own life decisions in relation to everything, but particularly, marriage and child-rearing. These events are expressed in terms of an upward movement away from a restricted village environment and into a modern urban one. Majed tells me that he prefers Australia because his easygoing, rebellious personality is a helpful asset in meeting the challenges of constant wandering.

I always was a little different, a little kind of fighting for my freedom and independence which I found here in Australia. The immigration experience made me meet my own limits, my higher education, occupation and income, stretched me to the extreme, and made me realise that I am much more powerful than I could have ever imagined.

Of equal importance in the acquisition of social capital is this attainment of personal power and independence, accompanied by a belief that success or failure is not the result of fate, but of hard work and determination.

5.9 Social organisation

...Ecological and cultural changes are usually accomplished by the entrance of the ethnic group into the social organisation, and institutions of the recipient society at the primary group level. This process is defined by Gordon as structural assimilation and it’s considered the keystone of assimilation... (Gordon, 1964, pp. 80-81)

The structure of Jordanian society in Sydney is examined here through studying community organisation and the membership of individuals in the community.

Social organisations according to Gordon are an integral part of the make-up of ethnic minorities (1964, p. 207). Such organisations are usually based on national background and religion and are established to perpetuate the cultural background of the group, to help maintain group solidarity, and to serve with the community institutions as symbols with which the members can identify. Social organisation reflects the cultural and social changes which result from the new environment. By interacting with the community, social organisations help to produce change, yet at the same time they are themselves changed.

Jordanians in Sydney often say that they are too busy to establish their own social organisation. They are one of the smallest groups in Sydney and are a comparatively new community. The early organisation founded on religious and hometown bases, had goals that were mainly designed to help the family back home and to maintain group solidarity in Australia.

In 1979, as previously mentioned, a number of Jordanians established the Australian Jordanian community organisation to demonstrate an interest in their country of origin (Jordan), publicise the presence of Jordanians in Australia, and help maintain strong ties between the members of the community. While the patterns of organisation based on religion which characterised early societies, and are still evident in the Muslim case, also marked the establishment of several secular clubs, it was often the case that secularism was a front for a religious organisation. For example, the Australian Lebanese community was predominantly Christian for Christian people and Muslim for Muslim people. However, in contrast to most other Arab organisations in Australia, the Australian Jordanian community has members from all religious backgrounds.

5.10 Visiting Patterns

Mr. Bassam and his wife are members of the first generation. They came to Sydney in 1972, after marrying in the same year. They now have four children. In Parramatta, where they formerly lived, they exchanged visits with other families in the same community. These visits were frequent and always flavoured with a warm and personal feeling. All their friends were within walking distance.

This exchange of visits among the families in the community followed a customary welcome in which the role of hostess rotated among the different families in the group.

Mr. Bassam and his wife still remember some of the friends and family from Italian and Greek backgrounds who lived in the same neighbourhood. Their relationships with them were casual but other Arab families also exchanged visits with them only occasionally. The visits were usually short, with little communication as a result of the language barrier.

In 1984, Mr. Bassam and his family moved to a large comfortable house where they still live with their children. The new neighbourhood is a mixture of several ethnic groups and has many families of Arab origin. They still exchange visits with some friends, although not frequently. At present they have made friends among their non-Arab neighbours.

Their children, through school and work, also have friends from different ethnic backgrounds and religions. They talk about the individual characteristics of their friends — they are all “Australian”, something which is not mentioned but understood. They still visit Arab relatives and friends; they also meet them at community events, and sometimes in the mosque but visits with people of non-Arab origin are far more frequent than those of Arab origin. While in the past, the mosque, close family relationships and community sentiment among the young created situations for them to interact; today it is the school, colleges and work that are the major means whereby they are introduced to friends of non-Arab origin.

Such changes in the pattern of visits among the members of the Arab community hold for most families. However, the Jordanians of middle and low incomes seem to visit more within the community than those of higher incomes. This is also true for the categories of education and occupation. Since the Jordanians and some Arabs with a higher education and more skilled occupations have more opportunities to interact and make friends outside the community, some often limit their contacts within the community as in the case of families in the same areas.

5.11 Patterns of friendship

Aspects which usually determine most social contacts and relationships in the country of origin were brought to the new country by early immigrants. Through the process of socialisation the child is usually encouraged to select friends first among relatives and then from the religious groups to which the family belongs. The immigrants, however,

are away from their country and find themselves in a new and strange environment. Thus, social interaction follows the lines which divided the community into sub-groups. They are divided first into religious groups, then on the basis of local hometowns of origin and finally groups composed of members of joint families.

Members of the community living under such a system have little individual choice to select their own friends; rather this is done on a collective basis, usually according to these social sub-divisions. Social relationships between members of different religious sub-groups are strong mainly due to the small size of the community. The small size of Jordanian Muslim and Christian religious groups make it impossible for their members not to interact with members outside their religious groups.

Although such patterns have survived and still influence social contacts and friendships among the members of the community, they have been weakening and are being gradually replaced by factors indicative of social class and individual choice. Such changes were possible through the group experience in Australia where individuality is emphasised. As for those born and raised in this country, the traditional system has little influence. Although this still varies according to age, education and the degree of acculturation of the individual. For example, younger parents are more tolerant in permitting their children to choose their friends. Moreover, the economic system and increased opportunities which permitted members of the family a degree of economic independence, have challenged the father's authority and allowed individuals greater freedom to decide their own social life.

Related to these changes are changes in social relationships and contacts with groups and members of other ethnic groups in the country. Apart from business, early immigrants, separated from society at large in the new country by the language barrier and cultural differences were confined within the boundaries of their own community. The picture is entirely different for their descendants and later immigrants who through school, university, and occupation come in direct contact with people of non-Jordanian and Arab origin.

5.12 Conclusion

Considering the changes in occupation, income, and education, it is clear that the members of the Jordanian community in Sydney are upwardly mobile. Comparing their

present situation with that of the early days, it is obvious that they have gained in respect to education, occupation and income. In addition to residence, the present situation suggests that most belong to a socioeconomic status indicative of the Australian middle-class. The people themselves are conscious of their positions in the social hierarchy. Some are more specific in placing themselves, but in general individual placement is in accordance with what education, income and occupation also suggest. Furthermore, some participants, such as Leila and Adel, for example, were useful informants in their evaluation of the socioeconomic status of families in the community.

Also, the interviews conducted suggest that the community is undergoing two types of change. Firstly, there is an increase in the rate of membership of organisations other than those representing ethnic origins, and an increase in social contacts with Australians of non-Arab origin. This indicates increasing structural assimilation. Secondly, on the community sub-group level, traditional patterns are gradually being replaced by new types of stratification based mainly along the lines of social class, which operate within the merging nationality system as a gradual replacement for religious and hometown affiliations. Such social and cultural changes are not without effects on mobility and on the social characteristics of the community, which affect change reciprocally.

Chapter Six

Jordanians and Anti-Arab Discrimination in Australia

6.0 Introduction

As part of the Arabic speaking community in Australia, Jordanians often suffer inadvertent reverberations from anti-Arab sentiment. More broadly, however, since Jordanians constitute part of the Arab presence in Australia, the discrimination they have experienced is generally attributable to their identification and/or self-identification as Arab or Muslim. Despite their level of adjustment into Australian society and their positive understanding of their experiences here, Jordanians in Australia continue to face difficulties in the workforce and in the community at large owing to their religious and cultural backgrounds and the fact that they are generally seen to belong to the troubled Middle East or the Arab world. In addition, the events of September 11 have had a lasting effect on the integration of Arabs and Muslims into Australian society and a number of reports on discrimination before and after this date note that there has been a notable increase in anti-Arab discrimination and harassment.

It is important to stress that while degrees of discrimination against people of Arab origin are observable in Australia, this does not imply that the phenomenon is exclusively related to Australian culture. Social exclusion and discrimination are visible on a global scale and there are documented instances of these practices among the Arab and Muslim nations of the Middle East. For example the myth of Saudi Arabia as a rich oil reservoir and heaven for foreign workers has been challenged by a Human Rights Watch report documenting the abuse and discriminatory social practices against foreigners.⁶³ However, it is important to stress that this chapter focuses on the expectations and experiences of Jordanian immigrants to Australia. Many of these individuals migrate from Jordan to escape exclusionary social and cultural practices, often with the misguided belief that they will find a utopian egalitarian society where difference is globally respected and acceptable.

⁶³ Human rights watch <http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2004/07/15/saudia9061.htm> (accessed 22 August 2008).

6.1 Cosmopolitan Citizenship in the Playground of Difference

In 1973 the newly elected Whitlam Labor Government replaced Australia's long-standing White Australia Policy with a non-racially based immigration policy. This not only led to substantial immigration from the Middle East and Asia, and more recently also from Africa, but it also contributed to Australian people's understanding of other cultures. Such immigration has contributed much to Australian society, mostly in education, understanding and tolerance of difference. However, the question remains as to whether multiculturalism can provide, after a period of this length, the appropriate social cohesion in Australia.

Modern societies subject to global flows of people, ideas and capital can no longer be perceived of as monolithic. The imaginary social space has flourished and expanded into a huge number of identities forcing recognition that this is a different cultural era where the eventual prospect of identifying a cosmopolitan society can become a reality (Cuccioletta, 2000, p. 2). Nonetheless, immigrants continue to live in close proximity to other members of their own communities – the Lebanese in Lakemba or Chinese in Chinatown. This style of living creates an impression that we have attained a level of cultural awareness of the other (Cuccioletta, 2000, p. 2) while not necessarily breaking through the cultural barriers that separate people from different backgrounds. It continues to be debated today whether the policy of multiculturalism has succeeded in bridging or dividing Australian society. In addition, there is the question of whether multiculturalism has helped or delayed the process of integration.

Multiculturalism as adopted by the government in 1973 brought an enlightened spirit to political policy. Few would question the idea of bringing diverse people together under the umbrella of one nation and the idea suggests an atmosphere that rejects the notion of nationalism in its racialised or exclusionary manifestations. While the ideal is appealing, the questions remains as to whether the policy of multiculturalism has indeed lived up to its promise of creating a cosmopolitan citizenship in which multiple belongings are bridged by singular loyalties.

Critiques of multiculturalism as a political policy have often focused on its inability to fuse the various parts of the Australian population into a holistic body. The policy of multiculturalism has, as a political strategy, been interpreted as undercutting the idea

that Australia is one nation. These views have been expounded by extremist political parties like Pauline Hanson's *One Nation* and the anti-immigration *Australia First* party. On the other hand, academic reviews of multiculturalism before the election of John Howard in 1996, were also critical. Ghassan Hage (1994) questioned the ability of multiculturalism to accommodate difference and suggested that instead, difference was subsumed into the rhetoric of tolerance which neither protects nor empowers the victims of discrimination. On a similar note, Perera and Pugliese (1995) argued that the construction of difference in the Australian political sphere was always at the exclusion and silencing of multiculturalism's others – those of non-Anglo ethnicity that multiculturalism was supposed to include. In terms of ethnic identity in Australia, the work of Sneja Gunew (1994) and Efi Hatzimanolis (1996) suggested that multiculturalism did not construct migrants as subjects but rather as objects in the process of nation-building where they have neither voice nor agency.

A historical perspective of Australia society before 1973 reveals that multiculturalism was in existence as a social phenomenon. It began with the movement of people from one place to another both in Australia and from other countries of immigration. Long before it was an official government policy, multicultural Australia existed in practice with the presence of migrants from various nations arriving with their own culture and language. Government legislation in 1973 regarding the policy of multiculturalism simply recognised what was already in existence.

In March 2001 when Australia celebrated Australian multiculturalism on what is called 'Harmony Day' John Howard said it "provide(s) an opportunity for our community to state there is no place in Australia for racism and bigotry."⁶⁴ The underlying message in his statement is that these communities in Australia need to harmonise with the values of mainstream society to make them Australian. The values he espouses include attitudes such as individualism, a work ethic and liberalism. To be 'unAustralian' according to Perera and Pugliese (1995, p.111) refers to ethnic minority cultural practices that are dissonant with Anglocentric values (Docker and Fischer, 2000, p. 163). In fact these values are held not only by Australians or 'white people'. They exist in all communities including the Jordanians who could be Australian because they can

⁶⁴John Howard, Celebrating a Remarkable Achievement Harmony Day, 21st March 2001 statement.

adapt to what they perceive to be white Australian culture as in, for example, the English language, democracy and even the dominant religion.

The movement of people across borders today with consequent social, cultural and economic implications continues to place stress on the ability of multiculturalism as an official policy to sufficiently address the issues brought about by these demographic changes. Questions of cultural citizenship raised by scholars such as Toby Miller demand that our understanding and engagement with the cosmopolitan be re-imagined and redefined if we are to understand the strengths and limitations of multiculturalism. Our ability to accept and multiple belongings is essential if we are to imagine a future that is a departure from the mistrust, censure and division of the past. In relation to Australians of Arab origin, and new arrived migrants from the Arab world, debates about cultural and religious differences often turn race into an ideology of conflict and mask the role played by questions of the nation and the national in framing this debate. The use of race as an ideological mask works to conceal a deeper anti-cosmopolitanism in which Australian identity is delimited by exclusion, not only of 'ethnic others', but of the world outside Australia's neatly defined borders.

If the policy of multiculturalism helps people in Australia to feel better integrated into Australian society and provides a clearer basis of Australian identity, then it serves the cause of national unity. Many Australians of Jordanian origin and newly arrived migrants from Jordan deeply value the concepts of diversity, equality and tolerance. They interpret these concepts as values of Australian society rather than ideals, and anticipate their inclusion into everyday practices. In some of the discriminatory attacks on Arabs in Australia following the September 11 in New York and the events that took place in Cronulla in 2005, many Jordanians complained of not having found the values they attribute to multiculturalism in Australian society. The framing of many international concerns about terrorism around national security led to Prime Minister John Howard calling upon Australia's Muslim population to 'assimilate'. This left many members of the Muslim community wondering whether Howard had a personal preference for 'assimilation' rather than the country's official multicultural policy. The response from Ali Roude, Islamic Council of NSW spokesman, was that if Howard wanted to change the country's policy, he should involve the entire population in such a decision. ('PM's comments "offensive"', 20 February 2006: SMH). The demands made upon Australia's Muslim community by the former Prime Minister are deeply

problematic because they seek to return Australia's identity to 'a time before difference' and consequently undermine the possibility that Australia will move from a state where multiculturalism is government policy to one in which the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship is extended as a possibility for multiple belongings that do not undermine allegiance to the state.

Cosmopolitan citizenship describes a situation in which each person can belong to more than one place and have more than one identity that not only links them to their own culture but also to the culture of the host country. Given that Australia is a nation of migrants, it is difficult to see how multicultural policy could either address or redress the discriminatory and interrogatory pressures felt by Arabs and Muslims in the aftermath of international and global events. The inclusivity of multiple belongings that cosmopolitan citizenship offers those of different cultural and religious backgrounds appears in stark contrast to the exclusivity of multicultural policy which encourages difference only in its aesthetic forms. Building upon the work of earlier critics of multiculturalism (Hage 1997, Gunew, Hatzimanolis), the limitations of multicultural difference have often been perceived to exist in the diversity of eating habits and the availability of foreign goods. On the other hand, conceiving of an embodied difference as a possibility for the future, a difference in which the state is not compromised by multiple allegiances and belongings, belongs more to the realm of cosmopolitan citizenship than multicultural policy.

6.2 The Arab experience of Australia

Who is an Arab? What is an Arab? These questions were hotly debated in the last century and continue to be topics of interest today. Arab nationalist ideologies proposed an identity centred around the Arabic language and an identification with Arab history and culture as the foundation for the modern Arab state (Haddad, 2004). This ideology excluded religion as a category for determining identity. This multi-religious view was promoted primarily by Jews and Christians in an effort to carve out a national identity where religious minorities could be recognised as full citizens.⁶⁵ This view was also propagated by Arabic-speaking people opposed to the young Turks who wanted to absorb all ethnic and tribal groups resident in the Ottoman Empire under the banner of

⁶⁵ www.al-bab.com (accessed Sep 14, 2006) also see The Catholic Encyclopedia, Robert Appleton Company, 1907, Online Edition, K. Night 2003: article Arabia (accessed Sep 14, 2006).

the new nation of Turkey.⁶⁶ Today several other meanings may be given to the word Arab, among them, a plethora of recirculated cultural stereotypes that acquire the value of truth. In an anthropological sense, however, the term is generally applied to racially distinguish those who are native to the Arabian Peninsula (the Arabian Gulf) from those who live in the Levant and North Africa (Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa). Another broader sociological definition categorises Arab as based on citizenship in any of the 22 member states of the Arab league.

While the associations of 'Arab' are broad and have been shaped by factors outside the Australian context, Arab Australian identity has been reshaped by immigrants to Australia and their social and cultural experiences, including the attitudes of the broader community and the impact of government policies towards them. This identity is fashioned by the immigrants, local Australian experiences, the place in which they settle, their relations with older generations of immigrants, the reception and treatment they receive in their new environment, the diversity of the community with which they associate, their involvement in organised religion, and attendance at ethnic or integrated religious organisations. Increasingly, it has also been profoundly influenced by a significant rise in hostility towards Arabs and Muslims, both real and perceived, following the events of September 11 in the U.S.

While immigrants from the Arab and Muslim world are often veterans of the struggle towards modernisation and westernisation in the postcolonial contexts of their own countries, in Australia, they are often seen as possessing views that are antithetical to notions of the secular nation-state and its democratic institutions. Indeed, this perception of Arabs and Muslims in many western countries has resulted in the demonisation of Arabs, Islam and Muslims in the media and their representation as monolithic 'outsiders' or essential 'others', whose beliefs and customs are inferior, barbaric, sexist, irrational and worthy of repeated condemnation and eradication (Haddad, 2004, p. 15; also see H. Karim, *Islamic Peril*, 2000; Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, 1997; Poynting et al., *Bin Laden in the Suburbs*, 2004).

⁶⁶ www.al-bab.com (accessed Sep 14, 2006)

6.3 Discrimination and the Arabic-speaking community

Well before September 11 things were not so good here. But September 11 added a new dimension to the positioning of Arabs in Australia as elsewhere in the west. (Hage, 2002, p. 243)

Australians of all backgrounds reacted with shock and grief to the events of September 11, 2001. For people of Islamic faith and those of Middle Eastern ethnicity, the day also ushered in the fear of reprisals. The widespread backlash against Muslims and Arabs around the world also sought out those perceived to be Muslim or Arab. Simply by having similar facial or racial features, cultural practices, or an association with Islam, many people became victims of harassment and intimidation. Some were physically assaulted and their homes, businesses, and mosques were vandalised. They also faced increased discrimination in work places, schools and other areas of public life. The majority of people affected by these various endemic incidents are of Arab ancestry. The events of September 11 also provoked interest in Islam, with a flurry of public discussion about the rapidly growing religion. Attitudes towards Islam and Muslims following September 11 are still fresh in the minds of many Muslims today, and many remember this particularly difficult time as one of the greatest challenges faced by humanity.

Hage's statement suggests that people of Arab origin in Australia felt unwelcome even before September 11 and that they experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity, their nationality or their culture. The events of September 11 2001 and the subsequent harassment of Arabs and Muslims in Australia have acted as a catalyst, a key moment in the resurgence of Australian racism (Smith, 2001; Overturp, 2002, p.139-145). Racism and discrimination are now being placed on the Australia political agenda as the events and aftermath of September 11 2001 have politicised race as a key issue. As Overturp (2002, p. 140) says, "The events of September 11, 2001 in New York were undoubtedly global in nature" (Hopkins, 2004, p. 5; see also Smith, 2001; Overturp, 2002, p.139-145).

On a visit to the United States in the 1960s, Ahmad Baha-el-Din (1972) was on a quest to find more about the Beat Generation. Instead in the depths of Jack Kerouac's literary landscape he discovered his own reflection in the Arab 'folk devil' of popular American

mythology. Baha-al-din tells of his surprise, when engrossed in the reading of *On the Road*, he came upon the following passage “We were like a band of Arabs coming to blow up New York” (Baha el-Din 1972, p.468), followed by another similar passage some one hundred pages later, “Dean drove into a filling station ... noticed that the attendant was fast asleep ... quietly filled the gas tank ... and rolled off like an Arab” (Baha el-Din 1972, p.468). Wondering where those images of Arabs had come from, he consulted a dictionary of colloquial American and found the following:

‘Arab, arab: 1. Any wild-looking person, an excitable or passionate person. 2. Any dark-complexioned person, especially if belonging to a group traditionally considered to be somewhat excitable or primitive in emotional matters ... (*Dictionary of American Slang*. 1960, p. 8 cited in Baha el-Din, 1972 p.468-9).⁶⁷

Pejorative uses of the word ‘Arab’ persist today across linguistic and cultural divides, and it is not only American culture or English language that has these stereotypes. In French for example, boundless negative linguistic connotations of the word Arab exist in addition to specific francophone uses of Arabic words or names. To call a woman ‘a Fatma’ for example, is to deride her for looking like an Arab. But where do these images of Arabs come from and why do they continue to circulate?

6.4 Folk-Devils

The images of Arabs identified by Baha-el-din were later explored by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). The Arab is at once cunning and lazy, violent and calculating (Said 1978, p.40; Poynting et al., 2004, p. 35). The exploration of negative images of Arabs circulating in contemporary culture is further taken up by the authors of *Bin Laden in the Suburbs* who identify the Arab as ‘the pre-eminent folk-devil of our time’ (Poynting et al., 2004, p. 3). “Folk-devils”, argue the authors, “serve as simple, readily digestible apparent causes of the problem, which is invariably presented as straightforward and without complexity...” (Poynting et al., 2004, p. 2-3). Being a flexible, adjustable scapegoat, the folk-devil has proven to be both durable and persistent. Anti-Chinese moral panics have been noted by immigration researchers in 19th century Australia. Moral panics today often take the same form they did in the past but with a variation of content related to the nationality of the villain. A cartoon depicting a villainous head

⁶⁷ Harold Wentworth and Stuart B. Flexner, eds. *Dictionary of American Slang* New York, 1960, p. 8).

with Chinese features attached to octopus tentacles in the *Bulletin* in 1886 reappears in 2002 with a post 9/11 'Arab head' resembling the notorious Osama Bin Laden — long beard, gaunt facial features and a turban (Poynting 2004, p.).

On a similar note, the American author Jack Shaheen suggests that from the late 1960s, Arabs and Muslims were the only group for whom it was socially acceptable to attach negative stereotypes on television and in movies (1997, pp. 11-28). The western image of the Arab was synonymous with comic-book tales, harem dwellers, and sheikhs. While harems and polygamy have long since been abolished in many parts of the Arab world and only a small number of Arab nations still have 'sheikhs', the Arab image that has been continuously depicted on TV and in the cinema is generally derived from this association (Shohat and Stam, 1994, pp.161-170). Recent well-known examples include the Indiana Jones movies *The Mummy* and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* while a whole world of Oriental fantasies exist in older movies such as *Lawrence of Arabia*, *The Thief of Baghdad* and *Harum Scarum*.

The process of cultural stereotyping is largely negative, and as Richard Dyer notes, it is primarily concerned with the characterisation of subordinated cultural 'others' (Dyer 1993, Dyer, 1997). In the case of Arab-Australia, it is not only the largely negative representations that are a cause for concern, but the employment of these stereotypes in the criminalisation of entire communities of people. The consequences of this criminalisation includes everything from verbal abuse in the street, to discrimination in the workplace, to indiscriminating violent physical attacks on individuals identified as belonging to these communities whether they are indeed members of these communities or not (Poynting et al., 2004, p. 45). It is important to note here that while stereotyping of outsiders and foreigners is observable amongst all cultures, including Jordanians in Australia and in Jordan, the uses of stereotyping in the criminalisation of an ethnic community is often traceable to critical historical junctures in which the consequences often extend beyond negative representations to the domain of political, social and economic.

6.5 From Stereotypes to Discrimination

While the endurance and persistence of Arab stereotypes that feed into the Arab folk-devil has been demonstrated by authors such as Edward Said, Jack Shaheen and Ahmad

Baha-el-din over the course of the 20th century, its link to effects on the Arab Australian community began to generate in-depth studies in the 1980s when the state of Australia's multicultural communities was of interest to the Labor government of the day. Studies conducted during this time can be divided into two categories, the first dealt with discrimination and prejudice in the broader community, while the second addressed vilification and demonisation in the media.

6.6 Reports on Anti-Arab discrimination

The report *Documentations of Incidents of Harassment and Racism Towards Australian Descent and Australian Muslims* (August - October, 1990, volume 1) argues that Muslims in Australia have been targeted because of their support of Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War 1990-91.

Racist Violence: Report of National Inquiry into Racist Violence in Australia also provides an account of racial harassment encountered by some Muslims during the 1991 Gulf crisis. The report argues that deeper, long-term underlying tensions were the cause of racist violence against Arab and Muslim in Australia rather than simply the Gulf war and it recommended putting legislation in place to protect people from discrimination on the basis of religion (Kabir, 2004, p. 12).

Jakubowicz et al. (1994) in *Racism, Ethnicity and the Media* analyse the misrepresentation of different cultures by the media. This misrepresentation in the media is shown to have an intent to be unfair, demonstrating that the media often presents a distorted, and at times racist, image of Australian society and how Australians see themselves and others.

According to the United Nations special report (Diène, 2003, p. 2, 4), hostility against Arabs and Muslims took different forms in different countries. It took the form of attacks against individuals in the United Kingdom and Germany, particularly against women wearing the hijab. In Denmark, there was an escalation of conflicts on various issues between 'Muslims' and the rest of the population, and there were attacks against places of worship in the Netherlands and in Australia, acts of malice in France, and

verbal harassment and physical attacks against Muslim individuals in the United States of America⁶⁸ (Helly, 2004, p. 8; also see Diène & Doubou, 2003).

Hostile acts against an individual or a group based on a personal attribute, such as public insults, incitement to hatred, physical violence, and attacks on property, infringements of the rights to dignity, safety, integrity and peaceful enjoyment of property⁶⁹ were documented during the 1991 Gulf War in terms of discrimination against Arab appearance (Abu-Laban, 1991, pp.120-142).

A University of New South Wales (UNSW) study conducted in 2003 by Kevin Dunn on racist attitudes found that one in eight Australians interviewed admitted they were prejudiced, particularly towards Muslim Australians. Dunn, also found some Australians were living in denial of such prejudice although 80% of those surveyed recognised racism was a problem. When asked if they had ever met a Muslim, they said “No”, and more than 12% of those questioned said that they did not believe that Muslim Australians and ‘people from the Middle East’ fitted into Australian society.

A study by the Centre for Research on Globalisation conducted by Ghali Hassan in 2005, found that Muslim women who wear the Hjab were especially vulnerable to harassment. Many Muslim women reacted to the risk of being victims of hateful and degrading conduct by staying in their homes.

A report, entitled “Respect and Racism in Australia”, in 2004 conducted by the Racism Monitor Group of the University of Technology in Sydney (UTS) reveals that the Australian Arab Muslim community “has been and continues to be unfairly targeted” specifically, and that racism is so frequent that “it has become almost accepted” and Muslims do not feel “entitled” to make complaints (p. 2). Racism against Muslims is openly promoted, and continues to contribute to a slowing down of the process of integration. It is espoused by politicians as a tool to instil fear in the community and justify draconian policies.

⁶⁸ According to the Association of Anti-Discrimination Centres (United Nations), there were 90 forms of harassment from September 11 till October 2, 2001 against Muslims.

⁶⁹ Three categories of hate crimes are defined in the section of the Criminal code on hate propaganda: inciting genocide (art.318), public incitement to hatred (art. 319, par. 1) and the voluntary fomenting of hatred other than in a private conversation. Hate propaganda has been criminalised since 1971.

The response to these threats has taken different forms. According to Mason (2004), many parents decided to keep their children inside from the time they got home until they left the next morning to return to school. Some people stopped taking trips or visiting friends after September 11 because of the anxiety and fear arising from acts of harassment. Some students of Middle Eastern or Arab backgrounds were cursed, mocked and called ‘terrorists’ by their peers. Boys whose name was Mohammad were particularly vulnerable. They were also spat at, kicked and beaten. Experiences such as these exacted a heavy emotional toll not only on the direct victims but also their family, friends and even neighbours (Mason, 2004, pp. 233-243).

Paula Abood (2005) looked at the role of the media in our lives and claimed that “to qualify as Australian the ‘other/ foreigner’ therefore must become less foreign; that is, lose the language, get rid of the accent, turf the cultural and assimilate into the white status quo” (p. 3). Abood claims that “the reality for us in Australia is that we live in highly racialised social system” (p. 5). She cites a report by the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board’s that identifies media’s ability to

... racialise a particular story not only by directly referring to a specific group of people, but also through other coded references to certain racial or cultural groups which have developed. Such codes have developed around issues such as immigration, welfare, youth gangs and urban crime, where the race of targeted groups is not specified, but yet is understood by the audience because of discourse which have developed over time in the reporting of particular issues. (Abood, 2005, p. 5)

In addition, the Australian Arab Council (AAC) documented some incidents of racial abuse after September 11. Comments like “Go back to where you come from” were relatively common and often emphasised the border line between whiteness and otherness. The AAC also documented incidents of Arabs and Muslims in Australia receiving threatening phone calls. One incident related in the report described a caller telling the victim: “You F***** Arabs go to hell. You will pay...” “The only good Arab is a dead one,” and “You people are animals ... I feel sick to my stomach to see an Arab.”⁷⁰

70 Interview with Mr Mohammad from the Arab Australian Council (AAC), 2005.

In 2004 Peter Manning conducted a survey of two newspapers, *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*, in relation to anti-Arab and anti-Muslim prejudice in the Australian press before and after September 11. He found that around 30% of items in these newspapers dealt with Arabs, Muslims, and refugees, and around 45% with asylum seekers (p.11). When he also analysed the international news and the total number of articles that mentioned the words 'violent', 'death', 'Arab', 'Muslim', 'Palestinian', 'terror', 'bomb' the total was 58% (p. 13).⁷¹

What we see from these reports is that we live in a society with highly racialised attitudes against the other/nonwhite, indeed, towards anyone who looks different. The discrimination felt by Arabs and Muslims across the world is reflected in part by the findings of these reports which concur that prejudiced perceptions of difference continue to circulate in the wider community. In the past, such prejudice was expressed in attitudes that saw white Australians pitted against the Chinese and the fear of the 'yellow peril'. In Europe, the Jewish diaspora was subjected to protracted racialisation and exclusion even before the horrors of World War II.

6.7 Community Responses

The media is an exceptionally powerful field because it is the only field which engages with the general public on a regular basis. As the source of information on which society relies to make decisions, media has two roles: to democratise access to information, especially television which provides information to the uneducated, but also to corrupt and trivialise the activities of other fields. As the provider of information to a people who rely on television for the truth, and to set the social agenda, television personnel decide what the public should and should not know and it is this role, the role of deciding what people should know that gives television its power. An example from Australian media which demonstrates the field's ability to corrupt and trivialise fields and information is the media coverage in the lead up to and during the Cronulla riots.

71 See also Poynting & Perry 2007, *Climates of Hate: Media and State Inspired Victimisation of Muslims in Canada and Australia since 9/11*. *Criminal Justice*, Volume 19 Issue 2, pp 151-171.

The power that the media have is the power to maintain the status quo. They reproduce social power relations covertly within their productions, without revealing their internalisation of these relations. Bourdieu, (1998, p. 76) explains that the danger lies within journalism's claim to be the medium between cultural producers, such as politicians, and the people, as this is where journalists claim to represent the general public's expectations. However, in claiming to represent these 'expectations', they are actually creating expectations, they are setting the social agenda; therefore, people know only what the media chooses to tell them. The danger also lies in the relationship between media and politics. The government has so much influence in the media, through economic pressure and through monopoly on legitimate information, that it can use this power as a weapon for "manipulating the news or those in charge of transmitting it" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 69). Therefore, government messages are prioritised in the media and social hierarchies are established.

... Habitus is the mechanism by which cultural norms or models of behaviour and action particular to a group or class fraction are unconsciously internalised or incorporated in the formation of the self during the socialisation process ... forms of 'symbolic domination', that which situates us as either the submissive or the dominant in social hierarchies, radically limit our practical capacity as agents to transform the social world... (J. Browitt, & B. Nelson, 2004, p. 1)

As the media perpetuates certain ideas about different groups in society, they normalise images in the minds of the masses. If the media continually refer to particular facial features as of 'Middle Eastern appearance', society unknowingly takes this in and indiscriminately applies it, without necessarily knowing what it is exactly. A status quo is created and maintained and because it is so naturalised, people do not question it. Media have this power to say what is right and because people trust what is said, the media then have the power to corrupt and trivialise information, to maintain the status quo, because the status quo and the dominant views in society are what people, consumers of news, wish to hear.

Arab Australians and Muslim Australians have always claimed that they face discrimination. Muslim women in particular, have often faced several forms of discrimination if they wear the hijab (traditional headdress). According to *The Sydney Morning Herald* of 14 January 1991, during the first Gulf War, the Muslim Women's

Association (MWA) publicised attacks on Muslim women, reporting that it was receiving 15 calls per week from women who had been abused in public areas (Jakubowicz, 2007, p. 276). During the Gulf War crisis in 1991, discrimination against Muslims and Arabs was partially documented. Both academic and general publications noted that Muslim and Arab Australians were the victims of a backlash during 1990-1991. Kabir, Fraser, Melhem and Yacoub wrote:

The Arab Australian Muslim woman who wears the hijab (headscarf), and is assaulted in the street, is assaulted both because of her ethnicity and because of her religion (as well as her gender). Whether the motivation of the perpetrator can be subsequently classified as racial or religious in no way affects the fact that the crime was committed because the victim was seen as the dangerous other. (2004, p.11-12)

In 2002, Ghassan Hage mentioned that:

The year 2001 was not an exceptionally good year for Arab-Australians. After all, September 11 happened right after June, July and August 11, 12 and 13. The year was marked, even dominated, by constant and intensive attempts by the coalition government to discourage what was portrayed as a quasi-invasion of Muslim asylum seekers arriving by boat, mainly from Iraq, Palestine, Iran, and Afghanistan, via Indonesia. (p. 241)

Furthermore, in *White Nation*, Hage recalled that during the Gulf backlash, talkback radio and the letters to the editor section of newspapers were literally full of calls for Arabs to prove their loyalty to the nation or go home (1998, p. 44). These calls were sometimes fuelled by journalists, politicians and other media personalities. On radio, for example, there were pronouncements ranging from, "If you don't like it, rack off", to the more flowery, "... our economic survival in the hands of a lunatic (Saddam Hussein). If you want that, you, too, are lunatics and you should go back and be there with the other lunatics" (Hage, 1998, p. 45). Also, Hage observed, "It was clear that this imagined 'Arab' object that the nationalist felt empowered to manage spatially and even to remove totally from space was little" (p 45). Arabs were in fact perceived to be so

tiny that, as one radio commentator remarked one could easily “wrap them up in newspaper and send them home” (Hage, 1998, p. 45).

Furthermore, Kabir, in 2004, wrote that in 1985, the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board noted that Muslims had been discriminated against in many ways. They had been given pork to eat in hospitals, and been expected to work in pork small goods sections of meat processing plants (Kabir, 2004, p. 12). The Health Department had delayed negotiations for the approval of Muslim burial practices and hospital death and autopsy services had not taken adequate account of Muslim practices concerning the handling of bodies. As well, local residents and local government councils had put obstacles in the way of Muslims building mosques (Kabir, 2004, p. 12). Opposition to religious freedom is rarer in societies like Australia where discrimination on the basis of religion is a punishable crime. Unlike countries like Saudi Arabia, where religious tolerance is not universally practiced and permission for non-Muslims to build places of worship is granted on a case-by-case basis, Australian society in principle guarantees religious freedom. Bureaucratic wrangling in processing Mosque applications in Australia are often interrogated to a greater degree because of the expectation that religious and cultural freedom are guaranteed by the constitution.

While these are just some of the forms of discrimination experienced by individuals in the Sydney area, Kabir (2004) has summarised other types of discriminatory incidents reported by the Muslim communities as follows:

1. Youths driving around in a car persisted in harassing the imam and other mosque-goers in an outer southern Sydney region (December 1990).
2. A Pakistani Muslim at Mt Druitt station in Rooty Hill was asked by two locals whether he was an Iraqi; without waiting for a reply, they bashed him ruthlessly (January 1991).
3. An electrician attending a house call in Lakemba, Sydney declared, “If I’d known you were Arab, I would never have come” (January 1991).
4. A chain store employee of ten years’ standing was racially harassed by a new executive, and then sacked (February 1991).
5. Arab and Muslim businessmen complained of repeated visits by local government inspectors for no apparent reason (January - February 1991).

(pp. 217-218)

In addition, Australian Muslim women were always the immediate targets of racially motivated violence. The daily Melbourne newspaper, *The Age* reported on November 13, 2005 that:

Fatimah [a Muslim woman] was punched, kicked, spat on and abused, told to 'go home to her own country and left with an injury to her right eye'. Her sister, she said, had a knife thrust towards her face.

The West Australian Sunday Times (13 November 2005) labelled every Muslim a 'terrorist', and the victims were always Australian women of Muslim backgrounds. The Australian Arabic Council deputy chairman, Mr. Taimor Hazou said:

I think families are staying home and avoiding going out, particularly women who wear the hijab, because we have seen that they are particularly targeted.

In addition, in another incident:

A bare-chested youth in Quiksilver board shorts tore the headscarf off the girl's head as she slithered down the Cronulla dune seeking safety on the beach from a thousand-strong baying mob (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 2005).

If Arabs had previously considered themselves racially 'white', after September 11, many Arabs rejected this designation because of their treatment in Australian society and/or because of their physical characteristics. The post-September 11 Arab experience appears to have crystallised the sense among Arabs that they are non-whites in Australian society. Many of those whom I interviewed described themselves as the 'other', or more specifically, the 'targeted other'. While some had thought Arabs and Muslims were on the path to being accepted as part of the fabric of Australian society the events of September 11 changed this.

As noted earlier, attacks on Arabs and Muslims occurred prior to September 11, and were notable around the Gulf Crisis of 1991 (Hage, 2002, pp. 241-248). After September 11, the problem became deeper and more complex. By that stage, Arab and Muslim Australia comprised a significant ethnic and religious group. This group has continued to grow since September 11 when many non-Arabs became interested in

Islam and some converted to Islam.⁷² While the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC 1991, Vol. 1, p. 362) documented reports of harassment against individuals and groups of Middle Eastern appearance in 1991, many of these victims were neither Arab nor Muslim. Following September 11, similar attacks included assaults on Sikh men wearing turbans and other non-Muslims, as well as graffiti and arson attacks on an Orthodox Christian Church that bore signs in Arabic script.⁷³

One point of contention — also one calling for empirical investigation — is whether such attacks should be defined as racially motivated or primarily a matter of religious bigotry and hatred. Federal Australian law makes it illegal to vilify or discriminate against persons on the basis of race, colour, national or ethnic origin (and on the basis of descent in relation to discrimination), but not on the basis of religion alone. In the current circumstances, that offers little protection or redress to Muslims, who are presently bearing the brunt of racial hatred in Australia. Indeed as early as 1991, research showed that Muslims were among the four most vilified and racially attacked groups in Australia (See HREOC, 1991; Jureidini, 1997). The other three groups were Aboriginal people, Asians (meaning ethnic Chinese and South-East Asians) and Jews. All these three are covered by the federal racial discrimination Act 1975 (http://www.humanrights.gov.au/racial_discrimination/isma/research/index.html).

The power and desire to maintain the dominant views in society also allows the media to fuel racial tensions, once example being those generated in the lead-up to the Cronulla riots. An Australian example which demonstrates the democratic elements of media as well as the corrupting power of journalism is an investigation which aired on ABC's *Media Watch*, entitled 'Unkind Cuts'. The segment looked at a story featured on *Today Tonight* which showed three young Muslim youths who supposedly refused to integrate into Australian culture. The manipulation of facts which occurred in the program fuelled talk back radio debates regarding Muslims and their unwillingness to assimilate and their alleged hatred of Australian ideas and values. Since the basis for the Cronulla riots was this — Muslims alleged disrespect of Australian ways — it is evident

⁷² Australia's 2001 census recorded 281,578 Muslims: around 1.5% of the population, and in 2006 census this number have increased to 340,392 or 1.71% of the population. Also I have met some Australians who converted to Islam three years after September 11 events.

⁷³ More information on this report can be found at http://www.hreoc.gov.au/racial_discrimination/isma/research/index.html Independent and Arab media also reported such incidents. See for example, T. Rath, (2001) 'Arabs around world face backlash: Racial attacks spread across the globe', *The Daily Star*, Beirut, 15 September.

that the story perpetuated a fear of the Arab. The evening that the story aired on *Today Tonight*, talk back radio was fuelled with anti-Muslim sentiment. Stan Zemanek from Radio 2UE spoke to a caller 'Brian' whose comment was featured on the *Media Watch* program:

Brian to Stan: "I'm bloody fumin' mate. I listen to this crap that's going on with these bloody Muslims. Well stuff it mate. This is our country. This is our country." (Unkind Cuts, 2005)

The *Today Tonight* program featured three young Muslim Australians, joking about their 'evil' reputation as Muslims, as one joked:

...This is Lakemba....This is the street that everybody fears and I don't even know why (laughter). (Unkind Cuts, 2005)

But what got Brian 'fumin' was the following comment made by the young man:

... I mean you have all this talk about integration. Why hasn't the Muslim community assimilated or why doesn't it integrate into the Australian community as quick as other communities. Well, at the end of the day OK, we will never integrate. (Unkind Cuts, 2005)

As aired on *Today Tonight*, the comment ended there. However, on request from *Media Watch*, Peter Meakin, Seven's Head of News and Current Affairs, sent a copy of the full quote:

... we will never integrate the way other communities integrate purely because of the fact that you have to draw a line with what your idea of integration is and what our idea of integration and accepting the practices of other people are. (Unkind Cuts, 2005)

The following evening, *Today Tonight* typically called in the so-called 'experts' to naturalise this reality that Muslims did not want to accept Australian ways, using other specialised fields and supporting them, to maintain and naturalise this idea that Muslims are the 'other':

Stone: “To hear a young man like that say we won’t integrate is I think an extremely worrying phenomenon.”

Bolt: “It is a worry. People that live in our community and reject us so utterly.” (Unkind Cuts, 2005)

At the time the segment aired, there were racial tensions brewing, tensions which Channel Seven was aware of, yet chose to play on, fuel and trivialise. Channel Seven assisted in creating tensions in the community, Australian versus Muslim, because in the midst of the western world’s moral panic about Muslims and terrorism and gang rapes, Australians want a place to direct their fear and want someone on whom they can take out their aggression and tensions (Collins et al., 2004). In order to gain ratings and create drama, Channel Seven played on the fear and anxiety within Australia, providing these three men as scapegoats, despite Peter Meakin assuring the men before the interview, that the story would help the current misunderstandings about Muslims:

...Tim (The documentary maker) is anxious to show Australians from non-Islamic backgrounds the viewpoint of young Muslims and the pressure they face in an often hostile society ... I can assure you that his material will not be used out of context ... In volatile times like these, any form of racial or religious vilification can have disastrous consequences and we are determined to treat all those involved in this project fairly... (Unkind Cuts, 2005)

In ‘The suffering of the immigrant’ (Abdelmalek, 2004), Bourdieu explains that the way immigrants are viewed in society is reflected in Australian journalism, particularly in the Cronulla riots incident of 2005.

... Neither citizen nor foreigner, not truly on the side of the same nor really on the side of the other, he exists within that ‘bastard’ place, of which Plato also speaks, on the frontier between being and social non-being. (Abdelmalek, 2004, p. xiv)

Bourdieu then refers to “state controlled” thoughts and bodies, “which, despite all the humanist professions of faith, very often continue to prevent us from recognising and respecting all the forms of the human condition” (Abdelmayek, 2004, p. 14).

Benson & Nevell have shown how we go out into the social world with categories of perception, principles of vision and division that are themselves partly the product of the incorporation of social structures. We apply these categories to the world, for example:

masculine/feminine, high/low, rare/common, distinguished/vulgar – adjectives which often function in couples ... these adjectives that we use, which function in couples that are partly independent, partly superimposed ... are socially constituted and socially acquired. (Benson & Nevell, 2005, p. 36)

These oppositions end up defining reality, between citizen and foreigner, and even between citizens. With Anglo-Australians and immigrants, these taxonomies are continuously emphasised in the media in a seemingly innocent way that basically dictates to society who is a citizen and who is foreigner, ‘who is ‘in’ and who is ‘out’, (Benson & Nevell, 2005, p. 38).

Bourdieu believed that as the media is dominated by market interests it inevitably promotes a neo-liberal agenda that limits democratic debate (Lane, 2006, p. 2). He also believed that critics of the neo-liberal agenda were silenced, and this was ‘worrying’ (Browitt & Nelson, 2004, p. 7).

... In *On Television* (1998), which first appeared in France in 1996, Bourdieu controversially and heavily criticised the critical limitations of the print and electronic media in France and the role media play in social domination. He also attacked French media intellectuals for their failure to properly inform the public about political and social issues and thus expose the workings of power, including those of that selfsame, manipulative media... (Browitt & Nelson, 2004, p. 6)

However, Browitt & Nelson (2004, p. 6) argue that if television has such a power, then a logical solution would be to have intellectuals engage with the medium. Perhaps, rather than question Bourdieu, this argument further highlights Bourdieu’s understanding of television’s domination. If the mainstream image produced on television is the neo-liberal agenda, it would be difficult to include opposing ideas on television. Also, as seen in the *Today Tonight* example above, although *Media Watch* investigated the issue and found the segment to be untruthful, the number of Australians who watch *Media Watch* on the ABC is extremely small compared to the amount who watch *Today Tonight*, a program which is shown every weeknight at prime time on a

popular television channel, immediately after the evening news, when many Australians are watching television.

Browitt & Nelson (2004, p. 7) argue that Bourdieu, a middle-class intellectual, overlooks the ways in which journalism and media can prove to be democratic. They maintain that television has been extremely effective in ensuring democracy, by providing information to those who are uneducated in simplified terms and to those who don't have time to read:

...Television, for example, though a mass medium, does not necessarily signify passivity and conformity. In fact mass culture is the first in making possible communication between the different strata of society. If it is impossible for a society to achieve complete cultural unity, at least the mass media make possible the communication and circulation of ideas. And it is precisely here, in television, that a lot of group identity formation goes on... (Browitt & Nelson, 2004, p. 7)

Lane, (2006, p. 7) poses an interesting argument which suggests that any critic of Bourdieu only further proves the correctness of his argument. On the one hand, Lane shows how Bourdieu can always be correct but on the other, those who make valid critiques of his argument may not be considered:

...Onfray argued that the virulence of the criticisms directed against Bourdieu represented an attempt to vilify and silence him, confirming all Bourdieu's claims as to the unchallengeable hegemony of the neo-liberal ideas and the complicity of the media in that hegemony ... According to the logic of this argument, any criticisms of Bourdieu, whatever its merits, can be taken simply to confirm his point regarding the complete dominance of the neo-liberal doxa over the media and intellectual fields. Such an argument ... implies that all criticisms of Bourdieu were voiced by commentators who were either the conscious promoters or the unwitting dupes of the neo-liberal doxa. This is to ignore the fact that patient, detailed and persuasive critiques of Bourdieu's politics have been produced ... (Lane, 2006, p. 7)

6.8 Discrimination experienced by Jordanian interview participants

The media and politicians have often focused public attention on the fear of terrorism following the events of September 11. Consequently, many Arab Australians hold the mainstream Australian media largely responsible for the public's perceptions of them. It is the mediator of information and messages for the Australian public. Arab Australians have claimed that the media sensationalises events that put Arabs and Muslims in a bad light, and treat government allegations about them as if they were fact, not applying the same degree of objectivity they might in other matters. Negative media portrayals are rarely balanced by positive ones, except in the few documentaries on Islam or on the post-September 11 backlash against Arabs and Muslims that have been aired on public television and some cable stations. Arab Australians have also pointed to a disjuncture between what the government says and what it does, and some politicians say Arabs and Muslims are part of our society and welcome but the media show them as violent and terrorists and government actions promote this view.

After September 11, Arab Australians felt they were collectively attacked by a barrage of media reports and many interviewees claimed that the media placed their communities on trial for the attacks of September 11. "They are doing anything they can to identify anything that happens in the world on us," Mr Ahmad said. "Not only on us as Arabs, but also as Muslims." The perception was often that the media provided a forum for assigning blame to all Muslims of Middle Eastern descent in Australia and globally.

Arab Australians face the same problems as other minorities seeking to assimilate into Australian life while at the same time preserving their identities. There are questions of discrimination in employment, public accommodation and education. Interviews with members of the Jordanian community in Sydney revealed that most people felt unwelcome in this country before September 11 2001 and even more so after it. Arabs and Muslims throughout the world were the victims of hundreds of biased incidents. Muslims in particular felt that they were the victims of increased discrimination and harassment after September 11. Some people whom I interviewed related abusive incidents by telephone, face-to-face, and even via the internet. Most people I interviewed had either personally experienced or had a family member or friend who experienced harassment and/or threats after the events of September 11.

Fadi, a Jordanian immigrant, described how people looked at him after September 11. He said:

I was made a joke of by many people in my work place. I was ignored by one of my colleagues twice. I was afraid to go to work. After September 11, my whole family and I started to lock ourselves in our home all the time ... I felt like I was trapped in a cage because I was afraid. I thought I would be hurt if I left my home. I started thinking about Arabs in America and how they must have been feeling. If we in Australia feel unsafe here how about them?

Mr Fadi told me that there is a lot of anguish in the community because people feel they are targeted because of their ethnicity. This puts a lot of stress on people who feel humiliated at being seen as suspects simply because they are Arab or Muslim. Mr Fadi said that he has known many people who have experienced various kinds of harassment. Mr Fadi's greater disappointment, it seems, is that he had believed that Australia was the land of freedom and democracy. The disillusion experienced by Mr Fadi is common among migrants who often travel to new places believing that no one will look at anyone else because of the colour of their skin, their nationality, or their religious or political beliefs. Since September 11, he has felt trapped because of his nationality and religion, and he also feels that Arab and Muslim communities across the country are under siege. Mr Fadi complained about difficulties finding work and about feeling uncomfortable around his non-Arab colleagues. He says Arabs and Muslims are unhappy and exhausted today; they want to prove to society at large that they are not terrorists and can't understand why people in western countries are unable to see the truth. Mr Fadi is optimistic that one day people will understand that the representations of Arabs and Muslims after September 11 are unjust and that there will be some sort of reconciliation.

Nearly all the interview participants were asked the question "Where are you from?" and "Are you a terrorist?" Others have experienced degrading comments and racial slurs in public.

For example, Mona, one of the research participants, related an incident that occurred about a week after September 11: "I went to the shopping centre in Parramatta a week after September 11. Someone threw eggs at me and tried to rip my veil (hijab) off. No-

one tried to help me. I guess people were happy about what this man did to me.” The feelings of helplessness described by Mona in this situation are often experienced more acutely by migrants.

Also Mrs Sana a female research participant spoke about a similar experience. “One day I went to the city with a friend, we were about to cross the road when some people started screaming at us ‘Terrorists! – Go home!’ I couldn’t say anything but I kept thinking about it. I don’t feel safe when I’m out, especially if I’m alone. I try to stay at home if I’m not working.”

Some of the research participants complained that they felt as though they had been punished and that people in their workplaces looked at them ‘differently’. Some related that their colleagues had complained about fears for their safety from those of Arab origin in the workplace.

Most people I interviewed see the media representations of their communities as deeply problematic and fundamental to the problems they have faced since September 11. While some Arab Australians have assumed a collective guilt because the terrorists were Arabs, many see the identification of Arab Australians with terrorism, violence and backwardness that abound as being the creation of the mainstream media. Abdelmayek, following Bourdieu, refers to ‘state controlled’ thoughts and bodies that, “despite all the humanist professions of faith, very often continue to prevent us from recognising and respecting all the forms of the human condition” (2004, p. 14). Consequently many Arab Australians see the media as not only the principal culprit in the manufacturing and perpetuation of negative images of Arab immigrants to Australia, but also a tool for reshaping these images. Influencing and reshaping media imagery plays a vital part in their struggle for civil rights.

Complaints about the media are often concerned with the way that the media portrays Arab people as inferior, violent, and terrorists. As one interview participant notes, “many people, when they see a young women in hijab, often think she is an oppressed woman, someone who is potentially a violent person, and someone who is hateful towards Christians and Jews, or non-Muslims.” The perception is that these assumptions are made because they are remain unchallenged, and are at times promoted, in the media.

Amal, an Australian-born Muslim of Palestinian-Jordanian background married to an Anglo-Australian convert to Islam, wears a hijab. Since September 11 she has been abused and threatened on a train on her way to work many times. She began to think about giving up her job. Her husband tried to calm her down, trying to explain that it would be for only a short time and that people in Australia and the rest of the world would one day understand the truth about Muslim people. Amal says that these were only some of the incidents that she experienced after September 11.

Another 24 year old woman research participant of Jordanian background recounts:

I was with my husband and friends at the shopping centre. Two men in their late twenties started to verbally abuse me because I wear the hijab. My husband wanted to start a fight with them, but thankfully our friends were with us and stopped him. They tried to speak with the men, asking them why they were doing this and explaining that we were Australian like them, not terrorists, and, that what happened in America wasn't our fault. The two men came up and wanted to take my hijab off my head, swearing and cursing at me and all Arabs and Muslims. We got really scared. We didn't say anything to them. We just ignored them and my friends took us outside the shopping centre. They came up to us outside still swearing at us and threatening to rip my hijab off. We left the shopping centre without buying anything. When we got back home my husband and I decided to leave Australia and go back to Jordan because we didn't want to lose our lives. However, our friends talked to us and calmed us down saying that it will stop one day and that not all Australian people are like that.

Another university student of second-generation Jordanian background told of many instances of being given dirty looks, especially after September 11, which made him feel unwelcome in this country. He had a typical experience:

There are many incidents, but the most incredible one was when I was in Town Hall station. I was going home in the afternoon after finishing university. What happened that day, I heard some guys saying, "Go back home terrorist! Go back home terrorist!" I didn't know what to say so I just ignored them and walked off.

His experience contains elements often found in other incidents — it was in a public place involving unknown young men. However, it is also interesting because it reflects

a significant proportion of many incidents which make explicit reference to perceived links between international terrorism since September 11 2001, and the cultural background of the victim.

Mr Ahmad believes that Australians are better educated about Islam since the terrorist attacks on September 11:

Australians have learnt a lot over the past years and they know that Islam has nothing to do with these attacks. The people behind those attacks are terrorists and I don't think Australians today would have such negative reactions against Muslims here. Also, all terrorists are enemies of civilisation, irrespective of whether they are Muslims or non-Muslims.⁷⁴

At the same time, Mr Ahmad says that if the September 11 attacks were indeed committed by elements of the Muslim community, they should be condemned even more because that is not what Islam teaches — this kind of activity cannot be allowed; it must be stopped.

From the interviews conducted with the research participants it is clear that today Jordanians feel less at home in Australia, even when they have lived their entire lives here and called Australia home. What they faced after September 11 made them feel that they no longer belonged in Australia and that they were foreigners here.

6.9 Targeted Communities: Creating Enemies in our Midst

During an interview with one Jordanian-Australian male, Mr 'Ahmad', he told me that after September 11, "the whole world points at me and says I am an Arab and Muslim terrorist." While Muslim groups were swift to condemn the bombings, they voiced their fears that racist right-wing groups were trying to stir up hatred against their community, and recalled the anti-Islamic backlash in the days following the attacks of September 11. They felt that those who planned and carried out this attack wanted to demoralise them in the same way as the nation divides them as a people.

As a result of exclusion and denigration in Australian society, the normative pattern among Arab immigrants arriving in the last 40 to 50 years along with their Australian-

⁷⁴ After the London attack on 6/7/05, a MSN today poll, shows that two-third of Australians thought that an attack would now take place in Australia.

born children was to develop transnational identities. Global political movements affected the particulars of this identity. During strong nationalist periods, national identities were highlighted, so there were Palestinians in Australia, Jordanians in Australia, or Syrians and Lebanese in Australia. Many of the Australian-born children of these immigrants shunned a hyphenated identity, while they waited for a society more willing to incorporate them as full members of the Australian community. Arabs, who immigrated around the turn of the 20th century, and their children, were incorporated more smoothly into Australian society. It helped that they were largely Christian and were considered white.

The events of September 11 have without question altered the context of identification for thousands of citizens, and those legal immigrants whose citizenship is still in flux. It is likely, that before 2001, ideas about Arabs and Muslims were not clearly differentiated, although attitudes towards Arabs were generally ill-defined.

Australian Arabs and Muslims today face two types of discrimination: one based on cultural difference, the other fuelled by the government and the war on terrorism. The cultural hostility involves the practice of hate crimes, employment discrimination and a wave of social misinformation permeating the airwaves, schools and street corners of Australia. This problem can affect anyone who merely looks Arab or Muslim, whether they are Australian citizens or not. Since September 11, 2001 there has been an increase in reported hate crimes against Arabs and Muslims in Australia and in all western countries. Furthermore, there has been an increase in the number of cases of discrimination against Arabs and Muslims in the workplace. Mr Ahmad said that, after September 11, charges of unwarranted firings, demotions, harassment and unfair hiring practices have increased.

Racial profiling and hate fuelled violence against Arabs and Muslims are best understood as different facets of the same social, political, and cultural phenomenon. Many people in Australia as in other western countries regard people who 'look Muslim' as more likely to be terrorists. Therefore if they are attacking terrorism then they attack people who 'look Muslim'.

Furthermore, the targets of these post-September 11 biased incidents have included anyone who is perceived to be Arab or Muslim. Thus non-Arabs such as Indians,

Pakistanis, and other south Asians have been affected, as have non-Muslims such as Indian Sikhs, Hindus and Arab Christians. Sikh men in particular, readily identifiable by their turbans and long beards, have been attacked since September 11. This violence depends on the correspondence between ‘Middle Eastern-looking’ or ‘Muslim-looking’ people and the individuals who committed the September 11 attacks. This leaves Arabs and Muslims enormously vulnerable.

Furthermore, the September 11 attacks in the United States have created a crisis for Arab migration to all western countries especially Australia and European countries which are refusing or limiting visas for Arab people. There is also increased discrimination at work as well as social ostracism. The influence of these policies, cultures, and markets are stressful for immigrants. Furthermore, today Arabs and Muslim communities live under a cloud of fear and suspicion. Anyone who professes to be a Muslim is regarded as a terrorist. In Australia, the police visit mosques and keep a note of who attends. Some political authorities and their faithful assistants in the mainstream media have whipped up a political atmosphere intended to cast suspicion on all men with Arabic and Islamic names and all women wearing the hijab.

“Stop Muslim hate campaign” was the headline in the *Daily telegraph* on 26 September, 2005, p. 10.

More than 1000 Muslims of all nationalities gathered at Parry Park in Punchbowl on September 25, 2005 to speak out against what they feel is unjust treatment toward their community. They all discussed how Muslims were being targeted and the issues of banning the hijab in schools and the Federal Government’s proposed new terror laws.

This new laws affect the Muslims people only in Australia. Mr Chaaban Omran the federation of Australian Muslim students and Youth president said “the community wanted a stop to the campaign of hatred against Islam and Muslim in Australia”.

Also, Mr Omran said “we are very concerned about the deliberate campaign about inciting hatred at Islam and Muslims. The message of the day was to say “no” to the campaign of “intimidation” and demonising of Muslims and to the “draconian” anti-terror laws targeting Muslims.

Were many speakers spoke about how Muslims being targeted by politicians and the Media. Dr Zachariah Matthews said “enough is enough” stop inciting hatred towards our community, stop the unjust attacks, and stop attacking our sisters who wear the hijab. Give us a fair go.

The Muslim woman who wear hijab face a lot of problems. Ms Zouhour El Ghoul said, in the past few months Muslim women had been “put under the microscope” for wearing the hijab. The proposal to ban the hijab is simply unjust and following in the footsteps of oppressive nations. The hijab is more than a piece of cloth on the top of the head. It’s a duty to Allah and it’s an integral part of our identity. It’s my life and my choice and I can wear what I want when I want (2005, p.10).

It is obvious from the sentiments expressed by those Muslim Australians attending this gathering that the construction of social identity for Muslims in Australia after September 11 is no longer merely subject to ‘old forms’ of discrimination in the workplace and the community or negative stereotyping in the media. Rather, what we are witnessing today can be categorised in the following way:

1. The association of criminal and/or terrorist activities committed by individuals of Arab or Muslim background with a pathological tendency for evil among Arabs in general and Muslims in particular. This process is referred to as ‘the racialisation of crime’ by Poynting et al. (2004, p. 45)
2. The criminalisation of the entire Arab and Muslim community based on the actions and/or beliefs of criminal individuals and/or extremist minority groups in Australia and internationally. This process is referred to as the ‘criminalisation of race’ by Poynting et al. (2004, p.7, 9, 33-34).

Also Poynting et al. (2007) have noted the ignorance and insularity of hate-mongers who subject anyone who looks like an Arab, a Muslim or has a Middle Eastern appearance as well as bearded men or women who wear the hijab to discrimination and violence (p. 152). They cite the discourse of ‘Orientalism’ expounded by Edward Said(1978):

Since World War II, after each of the Arab-Israeli wars, the Arab Muslim has become a figure in American popular culture, even as in the academic world, in the policy planner's world, and in the world of business very serious attention is being paid to the Arab (Poynting, et al., 2007, p. 152), (Said, 1978, pp. 284-285).

A research participant, Mr Qassim told me a story about a day on which he felt tired from doing deliveries and, deciding it was dangerous to keep driving, parked in a street in the suburb of Rockdale to rest. Within five minutes a police car arrived and he was asked to show his licence and the contents of his truck as people had notified the police that a man of Middle Eastern appearance with a beard had parked a truck loaded with boxes in the street.

Poynting & Perry cite the Anti-Discrimination Board of New South Wales (ADB) in their study of bias against Arabs and Muslims in the Australian media since 9/11, and found that:

Over the past 18 months, debates in the media about September 11, the international 'war on terror', the prospect of US-led attacks on Iraq, the Tampa dispute, Australia's policies regarding asylum seekers, and the ongoing debates about law and order in Sydney, have had the cumulative effect of generating a 'moral panic' in Australia. The central feature linking, simplifying and blurring these debates is race, encompassing concepts of ethnicity, culture, religion and nationality. Print, radio and television news media representations have increasingly drawn on race as the explanation for or cause of conflict, deviant behaviour or social problems.

...w]hen heard in the media, the voices of Arabic and Muslim community leaders were perceived as less credible sources in shaping media stories, and were called on to defend their communities rather than to identify the agenda for addressing the impact of the criminalisation of their communities (ADB 2003 cited in Poynting & Perry, 2007, p. 161)

There is a connection between the criminalisation of the Arab and Muslim community with what is often a violent retaliation against them by the broader community. The process by which accusations levelled at a community level are then translated into

violence against that community has been well-documented by Poynting et al. (2004). The association is now also being made by ordinary members of these communities who are beginning to form a connection between their vilification in the media and the abuse their communities experience on the street and in the workplace. (Poynting, 2004, p. 29, 31-32).

6.10 Conclusion

It is clear that the consequences of events overseas often find their way to Australia and perhaps it is to be expected that Australians of Jordanian origin and newly arrived Jordanians will continue to be constructed as both Arab and Middle Eastern, indeed, even to construct themselves as such. The concerns of these constructions explored in this chapter are related to their use as absolute markers of identity. The Jordanian experience of discrimination in Australian society is largely related to their being identified as Arab and/or Muslim and the association of those categories with markers of global terrorism. The response of many Jordanian immigrants has been to question Australia's commitment to diversity and tolerance often pointing out their own anticipation in finding these ideals as qualities of inclusive societies. In the material explored here, there has been much focus given to the racialisation of crime and the criminalisation of race, particularly as global events come to bear negatively upon communities of the same ethnic origins as the overseas perpetrators. The effects of this process on Jordanian immigrants is noticeable in their interviews and emerges through both identification and self-identification as Arab and/or Muslim. Despite these difficulties, Jordanians in Australia maintain a very positive perception of multicultural inclusivity and anticipate full integration into an Australian society appreciative of difference and fostering the multiple belongings of cosmopolitan citizenship.

Chapter seven

Conclusion

7.0 Introduction

Immigration can be defined as “the movement of people from one country to another, who declare an intention to reside in the latter” (Jary & Jary, 2000, p. 397) and is recognised as one of the most stressful events in people’s lives (Jancz, 2000, p. 120). International migration has become a universal fact during the past century. After World War II, industrialised countries such as Australia started to accept people from different countries for their labour force. Migration changed its focus when people were attempting to escape from war, for example, Lebanese, Palestinians and Iraqi people, whereas others wished to continue higher education studies in Australia, for example, Jordanians.

Jordanians migrated to America and European countries before coming to Australia, because they did not have as clear a picture of Australia as they did of America and European countries. After 1990, however, the Jordanian government started to send students to continue their studies in Australia because the fees were favourable in comparison to those of American and European countries. Another reason was the political situation in the Middle East, especially after the Gulf Crisis in 1991, which eventually led to the expulsion of Palestinians working in Kuwait at the time of Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait. They left Kuwait for Jordan, and many Iraqis also escaped from Saddam Hussein’s regime to Jordan. This sudden migration affected Jordan’s economy, and this, in turn, caused some Jordanians to migrate to Australia, from about 1970.

The interviewees provided all the information I required to fulfil the aim of my research and it was made clear that the data from the interview would be dealt with anonymously. It was important that the briefings before the interviews addressed any concern the respondents might have had in order to overcome potential distrust. Firstly, I collected biographical data from the respondents. Secondly, I wrote about how each respondent arrived in Australia. Thirdly, questions were asked about each respondent’s

expectations prior to immigration and the confrontation with the reality of his/her new environment. Finally, the researcher filled in an evaluation form concerning the context of the interview (presence of other persons, the atmosphere during the interview, relevant remarks, and place and duration of the interview).

Many of the immigrants who come to Australia belong to a specific ethnic community, in this case the Jordanian community. They define themselves as being rather different from other Arabs. For example, they say that they are the original Jordanians because most of the people around the world think⁷⁵ that Jordanians were originally Palestinian, as many Palestinians moved to Jordan after the creation of the state of Israel, and obtained Jordanian citizenship. Following this, Palestinians with Jordanian passports started to move to other countries in the world, one of them being Australia.

To obtain more insight into the expectations concerning emigration from the country of origin and into the concrete experiences of newcomers in Australia, I relied on qualitative research methods, specifically participant observation and in-depth interviews.

Immigrants from the Arab world in general have prospered in Australia. They work hard, carefully shedding their particular cultural distinctions, compromising, and blending in. They are not welcomed, however, as a group in Australian mainstream society, especially if they are Muslims. Many Muslims question whether the price of belonging in Australia is dependent on Australians' acceptance of Islam. The people in Australia (from a non-Arabic background) look at people of an Arabic-speaking background with more suspicion than any other ethnic group. This group has become visible and more recognisable than the others. This is actually happened before with the Vietnamese and even with the Aborigines, but because Jordanian as one of the Arab countries and mostly are Muslim make them more visible than the others.

Jordanians in Australia are as diverse as the national origins and immigration experiences that have shaped their ethnic identity in Australia, with religious affiliation being one of the most defining factors. The majority of Jordanians in Australia are the first and second generations following the first wave of mostly Christian immigrants, who began arriving in the 1960s. Sharing the faith that is the tradition of the majority of

⁷⁵ I discovered this fact from my interviewees.

Australians facilitated their acculturation into Australian society, with some intermarriage with other Christian ethnic groups. Although many Christians have kept their Orthodox and Eastern Rite church affiliations, which helped to strengthen their ethnic identification and certain rituals, their religious practices have not greatly distinguished them from the Eurocentric Australian culture.

Due to the steady increase since the 1970s, Arab Muslims represent the fastest growing, albeit still minor, segment of the Arab Australian community. Muslim Arabs in Australia have many more religious traditions and practices that are unique to their faith and may clash with prevailing Australian behaviour and culture. The beliefs of Islam place importance on modesty, spurn inter-faith marriage, and disapprove of Australian standards of dating or gender integration and equality. Religious practices that direct personal behaviour — including the five-times-daily prayers, the month-long fast for Ramadan, and the wearing of the hijab (headcover) for women — require special accommodations in such places as work, school, and the military, thereby making Muslims more visible than most religious minorities and thus often vulnerable to bigotry. Concern to retain customs among their mostly Australian-born children has prompted Arab Muslims in large communities to open private Islamic schools.

Another strong motivation for private schooling is so that the Arabic language can be incorporated into the curriculum. Since the retention of any foreign language beyond the first Australian-born generation is a challenge, and since Arabic is required to study the Qur'an, Muslim families look to private schools or weekend programs to keep the language alive.

Politics is another area in which Arab Australians are diverse. Party affiliation is mostly with the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Voter registration and education efforts in recent years have improved participation.

The shape and intensity of ethnic identity varies widely between the first and second waves of Arab Australians. For all generations, ethnic affinity is resilient in terms of food, extended-family rituals, and religious fellowship. Those immigrating since the 1970s and most Muslim families are likely to relate less with the white majority culture and more with subcultures in which religious, national-origin, and language traditions

are preserved. For those who live in ethnic enclaves, intra-group marriage, and family businesses often limit outside social interaction.

7.1 Reflections

During the time I have spent undertaking this study, my insight, my views and my beliefs that the Jordanian immigrants' success was built upon their inspiration and dreams have been challenged and at the same time confirmed. The study has shown me that hard work, mixed with faith, are the ingredients of their success.

I conducted personal interviews, and listened to the participants' points of view and ideas, which were at times similar and at other times challenged my preconceived beliefs. This allowed me the opportunity to discover and understand hidden aspects of their personalities that motivated their success. The participants gave me the privilege of sharing in their private lives and provided me with an insight into their world of struggles and hope.

My view was broadened by the participants' responses and their interpretations of their experiences, which were influenced by their own experiences. I have shared similar events in my life to those of the participants but many events were quite different during their period of emigration, because the technological changes which have created a global village now allow easy communication for immigrants with their home country, in contrast to the situation of the first immigrants.

As a Jordanian immigrant, and having experienced similar life events, I was able to make the interviewed participants feel at ease. This allowed the interviewees to reveal their inner thoughts, along with their anxieties and also to expound on their ambitions to promote change through their words and thoughts. Effective communication has led to changes and they have responded in turn by contributing to society.

It was difficult to design questions that would elicit what all the participants wanted to state and to change. Furthermore, it was difficult to distance myself from my own background and culture when it came to talking about the realities and experiences of others from the same ethnic background.

7.2 Population Highlights

Arab immigrants began arriving in sizable numbers from 1876 (Batronay, 1985). It is estimated that nearly 300,000 Australians can trace their roots to an Arab country. The 1996 census identified just fewer than 200,000 persons who indicated one or more lines of Arab ‘ancestry’, but it is believed that this figure considerably underestimates the actual population. In 2001, Arab Australians were among the populations identified by the Australian Bureau of Statistics for a special outreach effort, using promotional materials in the Arabic language to improve the response rate and thus the ethnicity count.

Arab Australians are found in every state, but more than two-thirds live in just two states. The metropolitan areas of Sydney and Melbourne are home to one-third of the Arab Australian population. Since the late 19th century, Sydney has been a port of entry for Arabic-speaking immigrants, and for decades that city remained the community’s cultural and commercial centre.

Arab Australians are employed in all major occupation groups, but 72% work in managerial, professional, technical, sales or administrative jobs. As an ethnic group, they value education and have a higher-than-average percentage with bachelor degrees.⁷⁶ The propensity of Arab Australians is to become business owners.

Contrary to popular assumptions or stereotypes, a sizable majority of Arab Australia is native-born, and nearly 82% are citizens. While all Arab countries have sent emigrants to Australia, the majority of the Arab Australian community traces its roots to six major national groups — the Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians, Egyptians and recently, Iraqis.

After more than a century of immigration, it is clear that the basic reasons Jordanians have come to Australia are no different from those that drove or attracted other groups to come here. They have come because of the promise of a quick fortune and a sense of adventure; they have come for higher education, training, technology and the thrill of living in a free democratic system. Whatever their reasons, true integration and full assimilation have eluded them. In part, this is the result of the many developments leading to the debunking of the notion of a melting pot and the greater tolerance of a

⁷⁶ *Atlas of the Australian People* (1996 Census).

multicultural society. The more important reason, however, has been the hostility the host society has shown toward all Arab immigrants since the events of September 11, 2001.

7.2 Processes and settlement outcomes

This research had four interrelated aims. Firstly, it aimed to establish the origins, characteristics, and effects of Jordanian migration to Australia. Secondly, it aimed to identify the multiple experiences of Jordanians in Australia and their relationships with Jordan. Thirdly, the research sought to examine how Jordanian immigrants to Australia feel about living in ethnically diverse communities and about the positives and negatives of this intercultural experience; whether they want to remain here for the duration of their lives and whether they define themselves as Jordanian, Australian or a combination of the two. Fourthly, it aimed to examine their attitudes and beliefs about the new culture; and, the social, economic, historical and cultural factors that influence and are reflected by Jordanian immigrants. These aims were achieved by face-to-face interviews with immigrants from Jordan who had arrived in Australia since 1970.

The study was achieved by means of a socio-cultural analysis of the data collected from the interviews. This analysis indicated that these contemporary immigrants differed from their predecessors in several significant ways, unlike the other Arab and non-Arab immigrants to Australia. Instead, these contemporary Jordanians were educated and skilled; products of their Jordanian education who matched the skills required by Australia's immigration system.

Jordanian migration was generated by economic hardship caused by the migration of many Palestinians to Jordan after the creation of Israel. Most participants were unemployed prior to migration. Despite Jordan's economic crisis and Australia's labour demands during the period of peak migration, the decision to travel was not exclusively motivated by economic factors. Rather, they thought of gaining a higher degree in order to enjoy improved social status when they returned to Jordan. This was evident, as was the importance of informal chain factors in informing and directing participants' decisions to travel.

The first waves of Jordanian migrants to Australia differed from the later immigrants. While in the 1970s, reasons for migration included the quest for higher degrees and

money in order to return to Jordan, later immigrants used their degrees to apply for residency in order to stay in Australia.

The later period of immigrants' arrival was characterised by family formation, increasing occupational mobility and education. Although the first immigrants of Jordanian background were either Muslim or Christian, Jordanian or Palestinian, ethno-cultural networks nevertheless played a big role in providing employment contacts and helping the accommodation needs of new arrivals.

This network was largely established through socialising with friends and with other Arab and non-Arab immigrants. These differences were evident in the friendship networks at a neighbourhood and broader metropolitan level and the maintenance of Jordanian friendships despite residential dispersal. While migration brought about lifestyle changes, these changes were evident in terms of food, sports interests, and even drinking habits in some people, which indicated an accommodation to Australian mainstream lifestyles.

This study has constructed an analysis of a clearly defined Jordanian community in Australia. It is based on the oral history of a number of Jordanian-born interviewees who migrated to Australia. Built around the theoretical framework of voluntary immigration, integration and acculturation, this study has looked at the success of their experience within Australian society.

In this study I examined a methodology employed in the thesis, which includes concepts of immigration, social and cultural integration. In addition it includes the tools I used to answer the questions raised by my research. The primary sources were documents and memoirs, including the literature on Arab immigration in Australia.

Also, this study sought to understand the socio-cultural background of Jordanian immigrants to Australia and how this background affected their migration to Australia. The research focused on their experiences in Australia after they settled in Australia, as well as their experiences of integrating into their new life in Australia, by exploring the multicultural dimension of their Jordanian identity in Australia.

I approached the socio-cultural aspects of my thesis through the examination of a certain number of concepts related to the experience of migration and acculturation,

with a view to enriching my understanding of these general concepts. For instance, I looked at these concepts in terms of binary oppositions, such as integration versus assimilation and acculturation versus multiculturalism.

My main research was oral data obtained in the course of both random and selective interviewing of Jordanians in Australia, using them as ethnographic data. Also, I undertook a critical examination of these data as a tool for social research, defining the meaning of migration in relation to the present study.

The use of verbal data is considered to be one of the keystones of contemporary social science and was crucial to the accomplishment of this study (Foddy, 1993, p. 11). Jordanian migrants form one of the smallest ethnic groups in Australia compared to the overall Arab population in Australia. Furthermore, the choice of an oral methodology was considered to be the best way to bring to the fore their history, their personal experiences, their cultural diversity and their feelings of identity.

7.3 The study within migration debates

The conclusion from the present study contributes to a number of key migration debates. Firstly, its focus has been on one of the smallest immigrant groups in Australia, which not only adds to the existing literature on Arab immigration in general, but is also the first study on Jordanian immigrants in Australia. Secondly, the adaptation of the perspectives of transnationals positions the insights within immigrant adjustment debates. Thirdly, with its emphasis on identity as a means to understand migration, it contributes to methodological debates within migration studies generally.

7.4 From socio-cultural interaction to migration experiences

Approaches to this study of Jordanian migration to Australia have been influenced by many disciplines, such as anthropology, economics, sociology and history. This includes the questions posed in the study and the levels of analysis and the theoretical frameworks which have operated in this research. Each of these disciplines has contributed to an understanding of migration.

The little established information on the socio-cultural interaction of the Jordanian immigrants in Australia was largely derived from the Australian Bureau of Statistics,

such as census and arrivals data. These data provided details of numbers by gender, occupation, year of arrival and place of residence in Australia. This study is the largest and most comprehensive study of Jordan immigrants undertaken in Australia since that of the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Its findings not only further understanding of the Jordan immigrants but also challenge some of the prevailing conceptualisations of contemporary international migration.

Jordan has a short history of immigration compared with other Arab countries, for example, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. Because of Jordan's history, immigration has been described as an economically motivated response to the country's poor economic system, and this was one of the main reasons for early immigration from Jordan. This study has shown that immigration from Jordan to Australia since the 1970s has maintained this norm. The participants spoke of this during the interviews, confirming the fact that most people who immigrated during that time were unemployed prior to migration; this emerged as one of the factors.

However, economic factors did not completely dominate the early migration decisions; they were actually influenced by long-term migration outcomes from neighbouring countries, such as Lebanon. Participants achieved economic success and upward occupational mobility in Australia, which transformed the Jordanian economy from 1970 onwards. Furthermore, the unexpected relationships and career opportunities they achieved in Australia changed their life plans and shaped their decisions to remain in Australia permanently.

Changing immigration laws in the key immigrant destination countries helped people from other countries to consider migration. The advent of temporary residency visas was particularly helpful, allowing holders of non-permanent visas to stay longer than the time indicated on their visa. For example, in Australia the new immigration system, which was introduced in July 2007, allowed temporary visa holders to stay for 18 months in Australia and to work for at least 12 months in their specialist area, after which they could be granted permanent residency status.⁷⁷ This new law has encouraged more students to come to Australia, to continue their studies and find jobs which allow them to remain in the country. The law was introduced after the

⁷⁷ For more information, see the Department of Immigration and Citizenship's website: <www.immi.gov.au>.

government restricted the law relating to family reunion under Australia's skills-based point system (Birrell, 1990; Price, 1963).

Socio-cultural interaction provided the framework within which migration experiences, a sense of identity and participants' feelings of belonging were explored. This study was especially interested in discovering whether participants' experiences were differentiated by gender and occupational/social mobility, as migration is a known vehicle of upward/downward occupational mobility (Brettell & Hollifield, 2000).

7.5 Interaction with the host society

When I asked the participants to what extent they interacted socially with their Australian hosts, the responses covered a whole range of possibilities, in line with the diversity of the group. Age was a factor in this respect. The majority of respondents agreed that interaction with host society was mostly a closed-circuit phenomenon, especially in the initial years of arrival, and they preferred to interact with other members of their own group or with others of Arabic background. This is the case for any migrant group anywhere in the world. Also, interacting and sharing their experiences with people of the same background helped them to cope with their new circumstances in the new country. This was one of their strategies for acculturation.

7.6 Identity and Belonging

According to Hall (1996), identities are assumed to be dynamic, subject to situational stimuli and existing in juxtaposition to a constructed 'other' (1996, pp. 1–16).

Participants in migration constructions of Jordanian immigrants in Australia were explored to determine the impact that migration had had on these constructions. A clear Muslim/Jordanian and Christian/Jordanian association was evident prior to migration, according to the interviewees. The Australian-Jordanian Society (AJS) was established for all Jordanians in Australia.

The unsettling impact of Jordanian migration has changed the dynamic of these identities. According to Silvey and Lawson, (1999), "migrants' identities are reworked through the nature of the destination in which they find themselves" (p. 125). It was evident that participants' perceptions of how Jordanian Muslims and Christians were

constructed in Australian society largely fuelled the consolidation of Jordanian identity. This was evident for the group as a whole. Migration afforded the participants the freedom to express their Jordanian identity in Australia, and thus had an effect on identity constructions. Also, Jordanians' experiences point to the existence of a hierarchy within white Australia which affords a higher ranking to the Jordanian community than to other Arabic communities. For example, it is much easier for Jordanians than for people from Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and most of the Asian continent to apply for a visa from the Department of Immigration. Therefore, while Hage (1998) observed that, "Anglo-ness [is] the most valued of all cultural capitals in the field of Whiteness" (p. 191), in Australia there are many hierarchies within so-called 'white' Australia.

Also, this study has examined how identity issues impacted upon the participants concerning their sense of belonging either to Australia or to their former homeland. This revealed that most of the immigrants whom I interviewed experience homesickness as a result of their migration experience, and because of the separation from family and friends in Jordan. They keep in contact through telephone with family and friends back home. Also, most of the Jordanian immigrants welcome anyone from Jordan, as they feel that anyone coming from Jordan is actually part of their family, and this is why I found most Jordanians in Australia prefer to visit Jordan regularly. Even if they celebrate all the events happening in Jordan, such as Jordanian Independence Day, and the King's Birthday (which is a public holiday in Jordan), the separation from family and friends means homesickness continues to be part of the Jordanian experience in Australia.

Other ways of showing their sense of belonging to their homeland are revealed through their retirement goals. Some participants would like to go back home and spend more time with their family and friends. Relationship networks in Australia proved to be the key, because the participants' long-term plans further strengthen their role as anchoring agents to maintain strong ties with the homeland.

Furthermore, some of the participants have financial investments in Jordan and maintain telephone contact. This is very important in terms of belonging to their homeland. However, the Jordanian immigrants are very aware of economic and social changes in Jordan since their departure, the impact their absence has had on relationships with

family and friends in Jordan, and most importantly, relationship commitments in Australia, which strengthen their sense of belonging to Jordan.

7.7 Integration and diversity

For a long time, Arabic and Australian people proved unable to come to grips with the challenges of living together in harmony. Even today, there is no consensus on what might comprise successful integration.

Only one thing seems certain: there can be no integration without equal rights in terms of resources and procedures in the host society. Nor can there be integration as long as migrants perceive a lack of respect for cultural diversity.

Parallel societies are not an option and, according to widespread political and academic opinion, total assimilation is neither desirable nor realistic.

Cultural and religious tolerance is necessary if integrative potential is to grow. But it does not suffice. What matters is setting up a basic framework of conditions, which allow for equal opportunities as well as cultural independence.

The debate on integration and cultural identity has occasionally been extremely controversial, arousing passionate responses from the Australian government. What is needed, however, is a concept of what a future Australian immigrant society should be like.

7.8 Generational conflict

Many Arabic families have subsequently experienced tensions due to a tremendous shift in attitudes. In Jordan, for instance, it is normal for parents to act as experienced advisers to younger family members.

This role enjoys great social esteem. In Australia, however, the same attitude is likely to be prone to tension. On the one hand, focusing on family affairs is essential for many migrants, but, on the other hand, members of the younger generation have come to accept the norms prevailing in Australian society.

The ideal of the extended family, with several generations living together under one roof, is often not practicable in Australia. Young Arabic men and women no longer

want to uphold this tradition with its emphasis on duties, but would rather enjoy more independent, individual lifestyles.

Meanwhile, the situation of older Arabic settlers in Australia is also difficult. These people have worked hard in Australia for most of their lives and have achieved relatively little.

For many, their life's purpose of returning to prosperity and respect in Jordan has come to nothing. Although they have perhaps managed to attain a modest level of affluence in their new home, they nonetheless remain restricted in many ways. Many experience health, financial and family relationship problems. The retired generation of Jordanian immigrants came to Australia with high hopes, yet now they find themselves empty-handed.

Upon retirement, at the latest, most immigrants lose their last social contacts with Australians. Typically, their final years are characterised by generational conflict, financial worries and poor health.

Although the older generation of Jordanian immigrants continues to reiterate intentions of returning home shortly, this is often more a dream than a real prospect. Most of the people concerned cannot say for certain when they will go home.

They have already been living in Australia for a very long time. They have repeatedly put off their plans to return to Jordan, usually vaguely stipulating sometime 'after retirement'. Now, they must take stock and admit that there is little chance of this actually happening. In addition, most of the people face greater hurdles if they want to move back home.

Today it can no longer be assumed that Jordanian immigrants in Australia ultimately wish to return home. The future of the second generation will definitely take place in Australia.

The second generation is normally better integrated than the first. The first generation, now approaching retirement age, has, in spite of all its efforts, largely been unable to overcome integration difficulties. This is essentially due to these immigrants' poor command of the English language and their strong bonds to their homeland.

7.9 Stereotypes and Civil Rights

This study observed that negative stereotypes have emerged in the media, particularly after the events of September 11, 2001 and Cronulla, 2005. The Arab as someone of bad character has been a favourite cliché, not just for Australia but for all western countries. This has affected Arab Australians at home and resulted in a range of reactions in the academic world.

Stereotypes have also seeped into public policy. Beginning in the 1970s, a number of government investigations, executive orders, and legislative provisions that were aimed at combating terrorism had an impact on Arab Australian activism and violated the rights of some Arabs living in Australia. A more activist response emerged as Arab-born intellectuals, students, and professionals coalesced to counter the bias they saw in Australian policy and culture. Organisations to educate and to advocate the Arab point of view laid the groundwork for the first publicly engaged movement to represent the needs and issues of Arab Australians and to create a national sense of community and common purpose. Organisations such as the Arabic Australian Council (AAC) in Bankstown, the Australian-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Arab Women Muslim Australia (WMA) community engage with highly volatile political events leaving the most visible members and their institutions vulnerable to scapegoating. One prominent example was the Cronulla Beach tragedy in 2005, in which initial suspicions of a Middle Eastern link prompted an anti-Arab backlash.

7.10 Suggestions for future research

This research has opened many ways for future research investigation with more information from the different ethnic groups in Australia and Jordan to reach a wider area of society.

In the migration history of Jordan, the country has changed from being one of net immigration to one of emigration, because of the increased numbers of Jordanian students who have come to Australia and chosen to stay permanently. Many of the new arrivals are visible immigrants and well known, as they are from Jordan. These changes represent a new dynamic in the Jordanian community, presenting the majority population with a visible 'other' that will undoubtedly challenge prevailing constructions of Jordanians in Australia.

This study provides the ideal ground for further investigations into issues of migration, identity and belonging. Follow-up studies of return migration would add further depth to the understanding of return migration.

Cross-border movements between East and West (Jordan and Palestine) represent another aspect of migration that is suitable for research. It would be very interesting to establish how these short-distance migrants negotiate identity and belonging when they move from Palestine to Jordan and then from Jordan to Australia or other western countries.

Jordanian migration in Australia has undergone substantial changes in recent decades. Today, the numbers with permanent residency have increased and the numbers arriving under student visas is growing faster than ever, making them visible immigrants, as are many ethnic groups in Australia.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Halal Food Certificate



Halal Certification Authority - Australia

(A.B.N. 33 068 275 203)

G.P.O. Box 3906 Sydney NSW 2001
 Tel +61 2 9232 6731 – Fax + 61 2 9223 8596
 Email: info@halalauthority.org

Cert. No:
 06995

HALAL TRANSFER CERTIFICATE (Valid for domestic purposes only)

TO: UTS CONCOURSE CAFE ESTABLISHMENT NO: _____
 ADDRESS: HARRIS STREET SYDNEY
 CODE: _____ DATE: 25/2/08

PRODUCT	QUANTITY	WEIGHT
<u>BEEF MINCE</u>	<u>10.00</u>	<u>10.00</u>
<u>BEEF TOPSIDE STROG</u>	<u>12.14</u>	<u>12.14</u>
<u>BEEF YG T/R CTR CUT</u>	<u>6.11</u>	<u>6.11</u>
<u>LAMB RZ CHOPS</u>	<u>6.62</u>	<u>6.62</u>
<u>LAMB SHANKS</u>	<u>11.48</u>	<u>11.48</u>
<u>VEAL OSSO BUCCO</u>	<u>5.82</u>	<u>5.82</u>
Total:	<u>52.17</u>	<u>52.17</u>

FROM ANWAR MEAT (M) ESTABLISHMENT NO: 1351 N
 DATE OF SLAUGHTER/TRANSFER: 1 1
 TRUCK/CONTAINER NUMBER: _____ SEAL NO: _____
 MUSLIM DELEGATE: WALID HAGEONEID REG NO: 597
 SIGNATURE: [Signature] DISPATCHED ON: 25/2/08
 ESTABLISHMENT REP: A MANARIS SIGNATURE: [Signature]

FOR USE BY THE RECEIVING ESTABLISHMENT

MUSLIM DELEGATE: _____ REG NO: _____
 SIGNATURE _____ RECEIVED ON: 1 1
 ESTABLISHMENT REP: _____ SIGNATURE: _____



الاتحاد الاسترالي للمجالس الاسلامية
**THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION
OF ISLAMIC COUNCILS INC.**

A R B N 002 757 155

Head Office: - 932 Bourke Street, Zetland, Sydney NSW 2017

PO Box 7185 SSBH, Alexandria NSW 2015, AUSTRALIA

Tel: (02) 9319 6733 Fax: (02) 9319 0159 Email: admin@afic.com.au Website: www.afic.com.au

HALAL ACCREDITATION

Certificate No. MJC110608-NSW



This is to certify that Halal Accreditation has been approved for the manufacture of the following products as per AFIC's Halal guidelines:

M&J CHICKENS

28-32 SLOANE STREET, MARRICKVILLE NSW 2204

PRODUCTS:

- ✓ **EASY SERVE BREAST CHICKEN MEAT**
- ✓ **CHARGRILLED BREAST FILLET**
- ✓ **OVEN ROASTED CHICKEN MEAT**
- ✓ **EASY SERVE BREAST FILLET**

This certificate remains the property of AFIC and must be returned to AFIC upon request.

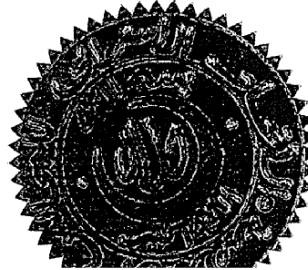
Issued on: 10 June 2007

Valid until: 11 June 2008

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Mohamed Adil Rahman
Halal Services Manager



Appendix 2 Interview Question

Section 1: Personal Information

1. How long have you been in Australia?
2. Why did you come to Australia?
3. How old were you when you came to Australia?
4. What was your level of education when you came to Australia?

Section 2: The Experience in Australia

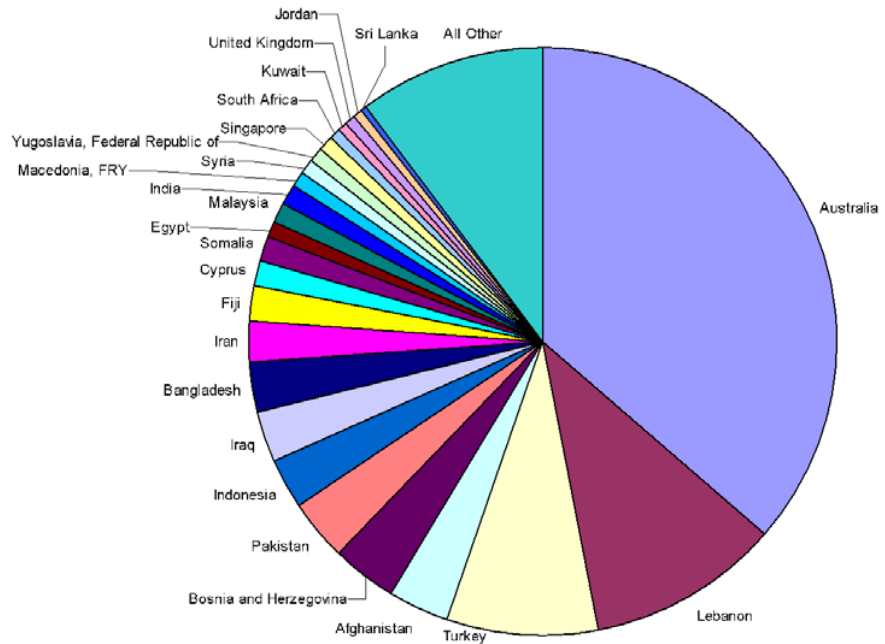
1. How did you come to Australia? What kind of visa did you have to come here?
2. Did you speak English before you arrived in Australia or did you learn it here?
3. Where do you live and with whom?
4. What do you do for living?
5. What was your occupation before you came here and what is it now?
6. How do you spend your free time (with family or friends)?

Section 3: Living Style in Australia

1. Do you own your home or do you rent?
2. Do you feel safe in Australia?
3. Do you feel lonely in Australia?
4. Do you miss your home country?
5. Do you like the Australian way of life?
6. Do you like the freedom in Australia?
7. Do you want stay in Australia forever or do you think of going back home?
8. How do you feel about your children's lives in Australia?
9. Do you prefer public schools or private Arabic schools for your children and why?
10. What do you think about the educational system in Australia? Which educational system do you prefer, the Jordanian or the Australian?

Appendix 3

Australian Muslims by country of birth



Source: ABS 2001, Census of Population and Housing: Muslim Community Profile: Birthplace of individual: Top 25 (based on total Muslim Population). © Commonwealth of Australia 2002

Bibliography

- 1- Abdelmalek, S. 2004, *The suffering of the immigrant*, (preface Pierre Bourdieu; trans. David Macey), Imprint Cambridge, UK & Malden, Mass, Polity Press.
- 2- Abood, P.2005, "Unpacking Racism", Community Forum on Racism on 12 May 2005. The University of Newcastle, Australia.
- 3- Aboud, B. 2000, Re-reading Arab World-New World immigration history: beyond the prewar/postwar divide, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 26 Issue 4, (October) p. 653 (21).
- 4- ABS 2001, Census of Population and Housing: Muslim Community Profile: Birthplace of individual: Top 25 (based on total Muslim Population), Commonwealth of Australia 2002.
- 5- ABS 2006, Census of Population and Housing: Media Releases and Fact Sheets, No 2914.0.55.002. Canberra. (Accessed 5 August 2007).
- 6- ABS 2006, Census, viewed 5 August 2007. <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/>
- 7- Abu-Laban, B. & Abu-Laban, S. 1991, *The Gulf War and its impact on Canadians of Arab and Muslim Heritage*, Edmonton, MRF publishers.
- 8- Abu-Rabia, S. 1997, Gender differences in Arab students' attitudes toward Canadian society and second language learning, *Journal of Social Psychology*, No. 137, pp. 125-128.
- 9- Adler, L. L. et al (eds.) 2003, *Migration : immigration and emigration in international perspective*; foreword by Robert J. Kleiner, Barnabas I. Okeke, and Tom Sorensen, Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- 10- Alba, R. and Nee, V. 1997, Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration, *International Migration Review*, Vol 31 No 4, pp. 826-74.
- 11- Aldridge, S. 2001, *Social mobility: A discussion paper*, London, Cabinet Office, Performance and Innovation Unit, April.

- 12- Al-Haj, M. & Leshem, E. 2000, *Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel, ten years later: A research report*, The University of Haifa, The Center for Multiculturalism and Educational Research, Haifa.
- 13- Al-Issa, I. 1997, Ethnicity, immigration, and psychopathology, in I. Al-Issa, and M. Tousignant, (eds.), *Ethnicity, immigration, and psychopathology*, New York, Plenum Press.
- 14- Al-Rabai'ah, A. 1984, *The studies in migration theory*, Jordan University, Amman – Jordan, Press.
- 15- Appadurai, A. 1997, *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press.
- 16- Aroian, K.J. 1990, A model of psychological adaptation to migration and resettlement, *Nursing Research*, No. 39, pp. 5–10.
- 17- Ashcroft et al. 1998, *Key concepts in post-colonial studies*, London, New York, Routledge.
- 18- Asmar, C. 1992, The Arab-Australian experience, in M. Goot and R. Tiffen (eds.), *Australia's Gulf War*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- 19- Asmar, C. 1994, Palestinians in the diaspora: attitudes of a displaced minority, Ph.D. dissertation, Macquarie University.
- 20- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2001, Census of Population and Housing.
- 21- Australian Bureau of Statistics 2006, Census of Population and Housing: Media Releases and Fact Sheets, 2914.0.55.002.
- 22- Australian Bureau of Statistics, Population Languages 2004, Catalogue 1301.0, viewed 11 June 2005.
- 23- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1990, Australian Standard Classification of Countries for Social Statistics. Cat 1269.0. Canberra, ABS.
- 24- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1991, Census of Population and Housing. Cat. No. 2803.2. Canberra, ABS.

- 25- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1997, 1996 Census of Population and Housing: Basic Community Profile. Cat. No. 2020.0. Canberra, ABS.
- 26- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2002, Australian Historical Population Statistics (3105.0.65.001); Migration, Australia (3412.0).
- 27- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2002, Australian Historical Population Statistics (3105.0.65.001); Migration, Australia (3412.0).
- 28- Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2002, Census of Population and Housing: Selected Social and Housing Characteristics, Australia. Cat. No. 2015.0
- 29- Australian Bureau statistic census. 2001, Population and Housing. (religion in Australia No. 2901.0), viewed 11 June 2005.
- 30- Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, viewed 1 April 2004. <http://www.afic.com.au>.
- 31- Baha El-Din, A. 1972, 'The Arab Cultural Image in World Context' in Samar Attar, *Modern Arabic: The Arab-European Encounter*, (Librarie du Liban, Beirut 1998).
- 32- Baider, L., Ever-Hadani, P. & DeNour, A.K. 1996, Crossing new bridges: The process of adaptation and psychological distress of Russian immigrants in Israel, *Psychiatry*, No. 59, pp. 175–183.
- 33- Baker, C., Arseneault, A.M. & Gallant, G. 1994, Resettlement without the support of an ethnocultural community, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, No. 20, pp. 1064–1072.
- 34- Banks, M. 1996, *Ethnicity: anthropological constructions*, London, Routledge.
- 35- Banton, M. 1998, *Racial Theories* (2nd ed.), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 36- Barakat, H. 1993, *The Arab world: society, culture, and state*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

- 37- Barnett, H. G. 1942, Invention and culture change, *American Anthropologist*, No. 44, pp. 14-30.
- 38- Barth, F. 2000, Boundaries and connections in Anthony P. Cohen (ed.), *Signifying identities: anthropological perspectives on boundaries and contested values*, London, Routledge.
- 39- Basch, L., Schiller, N. G. & Blanc, C. S. 1994, *Nations unbound: transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states*, Amsterdam, Gordon and Breach Publishers.
- 40- Batrouney, A. & Batrouney, T. 1985, *The Lebanese in Australia*, Melbourne, AE Press.
- 41- Beaujeau-Garnier, J. 1966, *Geography of population*, London, Longman.
- 42- Beck, U. 2004, The truth of others: A cosmopolitan approach, (trans.) P. Camiller, http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/common_knowledge/v010/10.3beck.html#authbio viewed 24 September 2007.
- 43- Benson, R. & Neveu, E. 2005, *Bourdieu and the journalistic field*, Oxford, Polity Press.
- 44- Bergel. E.E. 1955, *Urban sociology*, New York, McGraw-Hill.
- 45- Berger, R. 2004, *Immigrant women tell their stories*, New York, Haworth Press.
- 46- Berry, B. 1951, *Race relations*, Mass, Boston.
- 47- Berry, J. & Sam, D. 1997, Acculturation and adaptation, in J. Berry, M. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 3. Social behavior and applications*, Boston, Allyn & Bacon.
- 48- Berry, J. W. 1986, The acculturation process and immigrant behavior, in C.I. Williams and J. Westmeyer (eds.), *Mental health in resettlement countries*, Washington, DC, Hemisphere.

- 49- Berry, J. W. 1990, Psychology of acculturation: Understanding individuals moving between cultures, in R. W. Brislin (ed.), *Applied cross-cultural psychology*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.
- 50- Berry, J. W. 1996, Acculturation, in R. C. Mishra, D. Sinha & J. W. Berry, *Ecology, acculturation and psychological adaptation*, New Delhi, Sage publications.
- 51- Berry, J. W. 1997, Immigration, acculturation and adaptation, *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, Vol. 46 No. 1, pp. 5-34.
- 52- Berry, J.W. 1984, Cultural relations in plural societies: Alternatives to segregation and their sociopsychological implications, in: W. Miller & M. Brewer (eds.), *Groups in contact*, New York, Academic Press.
- 53- Berry, J.W. 1988, Acculturation and psychological adaptation: a conceptual review, in J.W. Berry & R.C. Annis (eds.).
- 54- Berry, J.W. 2005, Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, No. 29, pp. 697-712.
- 55- Berry, J.W., Kim, U. & Boski, P. 1987, Psychological acculturation of immigrants, in Y.Y. Kim & W.B. Gudykunst (eds.).
- 56- Bertrand, R. 1971, *Principles of social reconstruction*, London, Allen and Unwin.
- 57- Betts, K. 1996, International migration, in population shift, mobility and change in Australia, P.W. Newton and M. Bell (eds.), An AGPS Press Publication, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- 58- Bhabha, K. H. 2004, *The location of culture*, London & New York, Routledge.
- 59- Birman, D. & Tyler, E. 1994, Acculturation and alienation of Soviet Jewish refugees in the United States, *Genetic Social and General Psychology Monographs*, Vol. 120 No.1, pp. 103-115.
- 60- Birrell, B. & Khoo, S.E. 1995, *The second generation in Australia: educational and occupational characteristics*, Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and

Population Research, Statistical Report No. 14, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

- 61- Birrell, B. and Rapson, V. 2002, Two Australia's: migrant settlement at the end of the 20th century, *People and Place* No. 10, pp. 10–25.
- 62- Bohning, R. 1984, *Studies in international labour migration*, London, MacMillan Press Ltd.
- 63- Bott, E. 1957, *Family and social network: roles, norms, and external relationships in ordinary urban families*, London, Tavistock.
- 64- Bottomley, G. 1979, *After the Odyssey: a study of Greek Australians*, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press.
- 65- Bouma, G. 1997, Increasing Diversity in Religious Identification in Australia, 1996-1997 Census Reports.
- 66- Bourdieu, P. 1998, *On Television and journalism*, (trans.), Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, London, Pluto Press.
- 67- Bouve, E. 2007, French migration to Australia in the post WWII period: benevolent tolerance and cautious collaboration, *FULGOR, Flinders University Languages Group Online Review*, Vol. 3 Issue 2, pp. 16- 23 Available on line <http://ehlt.flinders.edu.au/deptlang/fulgor>
- 68- Boyd, M. 1989, Family and personal networks in international migration: recent developments and new agendas, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23 No.3, pp. 638-70.
- 69- Braziel, J.E. & Mannur, A. 2003, *Theorizing diaspora: a reader*, Malden, Mass., & Oxford, Blackwell.
- 70- Breen, R. 2004, *Social mobility in Europe*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press.
- 71- Brettell, C. B. & Hollifield, J. F. 2000, *Migration theory: talking across disciplines*. New York & London, Routledge.

- 72- Brettell, C.B. 2000, Theorizing migration in anthropology: the social construction of networks, identities, communities and globalscapes, in *Migration Theory*, C.B. Brettell and J.F. Hollifield (eds.), London, Routledge.
- 73- Browitt, J. & Nelson, B. 2004, *Practising theory: Pierre Bourdieu and the field of cultural production*, Newark, University of Delaware Press.
- 74- Brown, D.1994, *Principles of language learning and teaching*, San Francisco, Prentice Hall Regents.
- 75- Browning, J. & Jakubowicz, A. 2004, "Respect and Racism in Australia: Discussion Paper No. 2" Racism Monitor, University of Technology, Sydney – <<http://www.fairgo.net>>.
- 76- Bureau of Immigration Research. 1990, Settler Arrivals 1988–89, Statistical Report No. 2. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- 77- Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research. 1995A, Australia's Population Trends and Prospects 1994 Canberra, AGPS.
- 78- Buriel, R. et al. 1980, Identity with traditional Mexican American culture and socio-cultural adjustment. Paper presented as the 59th meeting of the Western Psychological Association, Honolulu, HI.
- 79- Burnley, I. H. 1982, Lebanese migration and settlement in Sydney, Australia, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 16 No. 1, p. 106.
- 80- Burnley, I. H. et al. 1985, *Immigration and ethnicity in the 1980s*, Melbourne, Vic., Longman Cheshire.
- 81- Burnley, I. H., Murphy, P. & Fagan, B. 1997, *Immigration and Australian cities*, Leichhardt, N.S.W., Federation Press.
- 82- Burr, V. 1995, *An introduction to social constructionism*, London, Routledge.
- 83- Byrne, E. 1977, The migrant family – transitions, in M. Bowen, (ed.), *Australia 2000: The Ethnic Impact*,. University of New England, Armidale, NSW.

- 84- Calhoun, C. 2002, Imagining solidarity: cosmopolitanism, constitutional patriotism, and the public sphere, *Public Culture*, No.14, pp. 147-71.
- 85- Camm, J.C.R. & McQuilton, J. (eds.), 1987, *Australians — A historical atlas*, Sydney, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon
- 86- Carey, H. 1996, *Believing in Australia: a cultural history of religions*, St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- 87- Castles, S. & Miller, J. M. 1993, *The Age of migration: international population movements in the modern world*, London, Macmillan Press.
- 88- Castles, S. & Miller, J. M. 1998, *The age of migration – international population movements in the modern world*, (2nd ed.) New York, Guilford Press.
- 89- Castles, S. 1997, Globalisation and migration: some pressing contradictions, Keynote address to UNESCO-MOST Intergovernmental Council, Paris, June 1997 (available at <http://www.unesco.org/most/igc97cas.htm#contradiction>).
- 90- Castles, S. 2000, *Ethnicity and globalization: from migrant worker to transnational citizen*, London, Sage.
- 91- Castles, S., Foster, W., Iredale, R. and Withers, G., 1998, *Immigration and Australia*, Allen and Unwin in association with the Housing Industry Association Ltd., St Leonards NSW.
- 92- Castles, S & Davidson, A. 2000, *Citizenship and migration: globalization and the politics of belonging*, Basingstoke, Macmillan.
- 93- Castles, S & Miller, J. M. 2003, *The age of migration*, Basingstoke, UK & New York, Macmillan.
- 94- Chaplin, J. P. 1985, *Dictionary of Psychology*, (2nd ed., revised), New York, Bantam Double-day Dell.
- 95- Chapman, S. J. & Abbott, W. 1913, The tendency of children to enter their father's trades, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, No. 76, pp. 599-604.

- 96- Chapman, S. J. & Marquis, F.J. 1912, The recruiting of the employing classes from the ranks of the wage earners in the cotton industry, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, No. 75, pp. 293-306.
- 97- Cherunilam, F. 1987, *Migration: causes, correlates, consequences, trends and policies*, Bombay, Himalaya Publishing House.
- 98- Clark, C. M. H. 1987, *A history of Australia*, Carlton, Victoria, Melbourne University Press; London & New York, Cambridge University Press, 1962, i.e., 1963.
- 99- Cleland, B, 2002, Viewed 2 May 2005. www.icv.org.au/history3.shtml.
- 100- Cohen, B. & Black, D. 1976, *Twentieth century Australia*, Perth, Carroll's Pty Ltd.
- 101- Cohen, R. 1996, *Theories of migration*, Cheltenham UK, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- 102- Cohen, R. 1997, *Global diasporas: an introduction*, London, UCL Press.
- 103- Coleman, J.S. 1988, Social capital in the creation of human capital, *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 94 (Supplement), S95-S120.
- 104- Collins, et al. 2000, *Kebabs, kids, cops and crime: youth ethnicity and crime*, Annandale, N.S.W, Pluto Press.
- 105- Collins, J. 1991, *Migrant hands in a distant land: Australia's post-war immigration*. Sydney: Pluto Press.
- 106- Collins, J. 2000, Immigration and immigrants: ethnic inequality and social cohesion, in P. Boreham, G. Stokes, and R. Hall (eds.), *The politics of Australian society: political issues for the new century*, Sydney, Longman.
- 107- Collins, J. Noble, G. Poynting, S. Tabar, P. 2004, *Bin Laden in the suburbs: criminalising the Arab other*, Sydney, Sydney Institute of Criminology.
- 108- Conzen, K. N., Gerber, D. A., Morawska, E., Pozzetta, G.E. & Vecoli, R. J. 1992, The invention of ethnicity: a perspective from the U.S.A., *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 12 No.1, pp. 3-41.

- 109- Cope, B. and Kalantzis, M. 2000, *A place in the sun: re-creating the Australian way of life*, Pymble, N.S.W., HarperCollins.
- 110- Craig, R. 1999, *Philosophical and educational foundations in a multicultural society*, Waterbury, CT, Emancipation Press.
- 111- Cuccioletta, D. 2000, Multiculturalism or transculturalism: towards a cosmopolitan citizenship, *London Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 17. p. 2.
- 112- *Daily Telegraph* 26 Sep. 2005.
- 113- Danforth, L. M. 1994, A new tack needed to resolve old conflicts, *The Age*, 5 March 1994.
- 114- Davidson, A. 1997, *From subject to citizen: Australian citizenship in the twentieth century*, Cambridge & Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.
- 115- Dawkins, P. et al. 1991, *Flows of immigration to South Australia, Tasmania and Western Australia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- 116- Department of Immigration and Citizenship Key Facts in Immigration, Fact Sheet 2. At <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/02key.htm> (viewed 28 December 2008).
- 117- Devine, F. 1994, Take it from the Irish, assimilate or perish, *The Australian*, 31 March 1994.
- 118- Diène, Doudou. 2003, Special Report, Situation of Muslim and Arabs peoples in various parts of the world in the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001, (ECN4/2003/23), New York, Nations Unies, January 3rd.
- 119- DiPrete, T. A. & Grusky, D. B. 1990, Structure and trend in the process of stratification for American men and women, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 96, No. 1, pp. 107-43.
- 120- Docker, J. & Fisher, G. (eds.) 2000, *Race, colour & identity in Australia and New Zealand*, Sydney, University of New South Wales Press Ltd.

- 121- Donnelly, G. 2000, Coming home, in M.N. Danquah (ed.), *Becoming American: personal essays by first generation immigrant women*, Chicago, Little Brown.
- 122- Donohoe, J.H. 1986, *Norfolk Island, 1788-1813: the people and their families*, Sydney, J. Donohoe.
- 123- Dorsett, R. 1998, *Ethnic minorities in the inner city*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- 124- Douglas, S.M. 1987, Do undocumented migrants earn lower wages than legal immigrants? New evidence from Mexico, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 21 No. 2 (summer, 1987), pp. 236-274.
- 125- Duhou, I.A. & Teese, R. 1992, *Education, work force and community participation of Arab Australians: Egyptians, Lebanese, Palestinians and Syrians*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.
- 126- Dunn, K. 1990, Mosques and Islamic centres in Sydney, representations of Islam and multiculturalism. UNSW. Available online at <http://www.bees.unsw.edu.au/school/staff/dunn/C00.pdf>.
- 127- Dunn, K. 2001, Representation of Islam in the politics of mosque development in Sydney, *Journal of Economic and Social Geography*, Vol. 92 No. 3, pp. 291-308.
- 128- Dunn, K. 2003a, Racism in Australia: Findings of a survey on racist attitudes and experiences of racism. Paper presented to the Challenges of Immigration and Integration in the European Union and Australia conference, National Europe Centre.
- 129- Edward, W. S. 1987, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (Penguin, London, 1995).
- 130- Eisikovits, R.A. 2000, Gender differences in cross-cultural adaptation styles of immigrants youths from the former USSR in Israel, *Youth and society*, No. 31, pp. 310-33.
- 131- Elias, N. 2005, Living in Germany, longing for Israel: The elderly Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany, *East European Jewish Affairs*, No. 35, pp. 167-187.

- 132- Elkholy, A. A. 1981, The Arab-American family, in *Ethnic families in America*, (2nd ed), Charles H. Mindel and Rober W. Haberstein (eds.), New York, Elsevier.
- 133- Ellie, V. & Castles, S. 1996, *The teeth are smiling: the persistence of racism in multicultural Australia*, St Leonards, N.S.W., Allen & Unwin.
- 134- Eriksen, T. H. 2002, (1st ed., 1993) *Ethnicity and nationalism: anthropological perspectives*, (2nd ed.), London & Sterling, VA, Pluto Press.
- 135- Erikson, R. & Goldthorpe, J. H. 1992, *The constant flux: a study of class mobility in industrial societies*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- 136- Faist, T. 2000, *The volume and dynamics of international migration and transnational social spaces*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- 137- Faist, T. 2000, Transnationalization in international migration: implications for the study of citizenship and culture, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 23 No. 2, Mar., pp. 189-222.
- 138- Fazio, I. 2004, The family, honour and gender in Sicily: models and new research, *Modern Italy*, Vol. 9 No. 2, pp. 263–280.
- 139- Featherman, D. L. & Hauser, R. M. 1978, *Opportunity and change*, New York, Academic Press.
- 140- Ferguson, B. & Browne, E. (eds.) 1991, *Health care and immigrants: a guide for the helping professionals*, Sydney, MacLennan and Petty.
- 141- Fichter, J.H. 1971, *Sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- 142- Foddy, W. 1993, *Constructing questions for interviews and questionnaires: theory and practice in social research*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 143- Foner, N. 1997, The immigrant family: cultural legacies and cultural changes, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31 No. 4, (Winter), pp. 961-74.
- 144- Forrest, J., Poulsen, M. & Johnston, R. 2003, Everywhere different? Globalisation and the impact of international migration on Sydney and Melbourne, *Geoforum*, Vol. 34 Issue 4, pp. 499-510.

- 145- Galster, G.C., Metzger, K. & Waite, R. 1999, Neighbourhood opportunity structures and immigrants' socioeconomic advancement, *Journal of Housing Research*, vol. 10 No. 1, pp. 95-127.
- 146- Galvin, J. 1980, Indices of social change in ethnic studies, *Australian Geographical Studies*, No. 18, pp. 155-168.
- 147- Gans, H. J. 1979, Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 2, pp. 1-20.
- 148- Ganzeboom, B. G., Luijckx, R., & Treiman, D.J. 1989, Intergenerational class mobility in comparative perspective, *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, No. 8, pp. 3-84.
- 149- Gergen, K. J. 1991, *The saturated self: Dilemmas in identity in contemporary life*, New York, Basic Books.
- 150- Ghali, H. 2005, Centre for Research on Globalisation. Available online <http://www.lookingglassnews.org/printerfriendly.php?storyid=4054>.
- 151- Gilroy, P. 1987, *There ain't no black in the Union Jack*, London, Hutchinson.
- 152- Gilroy, P. 1993, *Black Atlantic: double consciousness and modernity*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- 153- Gilroy, P. 1994, Diaspora, *Paragraph*, Vol. 17 No. 3, pp. 207-11.
- 154- Gladys, J. 2002, The path from trade to power: the sons of Syrians and Lebanese in the military and in foreign affairs in Argentina (1920-1962), *The Muslim World*, Vol. 92 Nos. 1-2 , pp. 169–183.
- 155- Glass, D.V. (ed.) 1954, *Social mobility in Britain*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 156- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. 1970, *Beyond the melting pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, Cambridge, M.I.T. Press.

- 157- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. 1975, Introduction, in N. Glazer & D. P. Moynihan (eds.), *Ethnicity: theory and experience*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- 158- Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. 1992, *Becoming qualitative researchers: an introduction*. White Plains, NY, Longman.
- 159- Glick, S. N. & Fouron, G. 1999, Terrains of blood and nation: Haitian transnational social fields, *Racial and Ethnic Studies*, No. 22, pp.340-366.
- 160- Glick, S. N. 1999, Transmigrants and nation-states: something old and something new in the U.S. immigrant experience, in *The handbook of international migration*, C. Hirschmann, P. Kasinitz, and J. DeWind (eds.), New York, The Russell Sage Foundation.
- 161- Glick, S. N., Basch, L. & Blanc, C. S. 1992, (eds.), *Toward a transnational perspective on migration*, New York, New York Academy of Sciences.
- 162- Glifford, J. 1992, Traveling cultures, in L. Grossberg, G. Nelson, and P. Treichler, (eds.), *Cultural studies*, New York, Routledge.
- 163- Glifford, J. 1994, Diasporas, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 9 No. 3, pp. 302-38.
- 164- Goldring, L. 1998, The power of status in transnational social spaces, in *Transnationalism from below*, L. E. Guarnizo and M. P. Smith (eds.), New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Press.
- 165- Goldthorpe, J. H. & Payne, C. 1986, Trends in intergenerational class mobility in England and Wales 1972-1983, *Sociology*, No. 20, pp. 1-24.
- 166- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1980, Reply to Crompton, *Sociology*, No. 14, pp. 121-3.
- 167- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1980, *Social mobility and class structure in modern Britain*, Oxford, Clarendon.
- 168- Gordon, M. 1964, *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion and national origins*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

- 169- Grasmuck, S. & Pessar, P. 1991, *Between two islands: Dominican migration*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- 170- Grassby, A.J. & Hill, M. 2000, *Greek Australians*, South Yarra, Vic., Macmillan Education Australia.
- 171- Grassby, A.J. & Hill, M. 2000, *Lebanese Australians*, South Yarra, Vic., Macmillan Education Australia.
- 172- Grimes, S. 1989, Postwar Irish immigrants in Australia: The Sydney experience, in *The Irish-Australian connection*, S. Grimes and G.O. Tuathaigh (eds.), Dublin, Irish Academic Press.
- 173- Gunew, S. & Yeatman, A. 1993, *Feminism and the politics of difference*, St. Leonards, N.S.W., Allen & Unwin.
- 174- Gunew, S. 1994, *Framing Marginality: Multicultural Literary Studies*, (Melbourne University Press, Melbourne).
- 175- Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. 1992, Beyond 'culture': space, identity, and the politics of difference, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 7 No. 1, pp. 6-23.
- 176- Haddad, Y. Y. 2004, *Not quite American? The shaping of Arab and Muslim identity in the United States*, Waco, Texas USA., Baylor University Press.
- 177- Hage, G. (ed.) 2002, *Arab-Australians today: citizenship and belonging*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- 178- Hage, G. 1994, Locating Multiculturalism's Other: A Critique of Practical Tolerance in *New Formations* No. 24, pp.19-34
- 179- Hage, G. 1998, *White nation: fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society*, Annandale, NSW, Pluto Press.
- 180- Hage, G. 2003, *Against paranoid nationalism: searching for hope in a shrinking society*, Annandale, NSW, Pluto Press.

- 181- Hall, C. & Williams, A.M. 2002, Tourism, migration, circulation and mobility: the contingences of time and place, in C. Hall, and A.M. Williams (eds.), *Tourism and migration*, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- 182- Hall, M.M. 1969, *The origins of mass immigration in Brazil, 1871-1914*. New York.
- 183- Hall, S. 1991, Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities, in A. D. King (ed.), *Culture, globalization and the world-system*, London, Macmillan Press.
- 184- Hall, S. 1996, Who needs 'identity?' Introduction, in S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.), *Questions of cultural identity*, London, Sage.
- 185- Halsey, A.H., Heath, A.F. & Ridge, J.M. 1980, *Origins and destinations: family, class and education in modern Britain*, Oxford, Clarendon
- 186- Hammad, A. C. 1997, First generation Iranian immigrants and the question of cultural identity: the case of Iowa, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31 No. 3, pp. 612-627.
- 187- Hanser, P. and Ducan. 1963, *The study of population*, (3rd ed.) Chicago University Press.
- 188- Harker, K. 2001, Immigrant generation, assimilation, and adolescent psychological well-being, *Social Forces*, March, Vol. 79 No. 3, pp. 969-1004.
- 189- Hatzimanolis, E. 1996, 'Multiple Ethnicity Disorders: Demidenko and the Cult of Ethnicity' in XText, (No.1: pp.6-13; UNSW, Sydney)
- 190- Hauser, R. M. & Huang, Min-Hsiung. 1997, Verbal ability and socioeconomic success: a trend analysis, *Social Science Research*, No. 26, pp. 331-376.
- 191- Heath, A. F. 1981, *Social mobility*, Glasgow, Fontana.
- 192- Helly, D. 2004, Are Muslims discriminated against in Canada since September 2001? *Journal of Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. 36 No. 1, pp. 24-47.
- 193- Herberg, W. 1955/1960, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An essay in American religious sociology*, Garden City, NY, Doubleday and Company.

- 194- Higham, J. 2001, *Hanging together: unity of diversity in American culture*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
- 195- Hirschman, C. 1983, America's melting pot reconsidered, *Annual Review of Sociology*, pp. 397- 423.
- 196- Hitti, P. 1942, *The Syrians in America*, New York, George H. Doran & Co.
- 197- Holton, R. 1994, Social aspects of immigration in M. Wooden, R. Holton, G. Hugo, and J. Sloan (eds.), *Social capital within ethnic communities Australian immigration: a survey of the issues*, Canberra, BIPR/AGPS.
- 198- Hopkins, P. E. 2004, Young Muslim men in Scotland: inclusions and exclusions, *Children's Geographies*, Vol. 2 No. 2, pp. 257-272.
- 199- Hout, T. F. 1969, *Dictionary of modern sociology*, Totowa, N.J., Littlefield, Adams.
- 200- Hout, M. 1988, More universalism, less structural mobility: the American occupational structure in the 1980s, *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 93, pp. 1358- 1400.
- 201- Hout, M. 1989, *Following in father's footsteps: social mobility in Ireland*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- 202- Hsin-Chun, J. 2002, Psychometric evaluation of the demands of immigration scale with Taiwanese-Chinese immigrants: a pilot study, *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, Vol. 39 Issue 3, pp. 274-280.
- 203- http://www.oztoxics.org/popweb/country/maps/Jordan_1.html viewed 10 May 2007.
- 204- http://intl.econ.cuhk.edu.hk/exchange_rate_regime/index.php?cid=23 viewed 02 May 2005.
- 205- <http://msnbc.msn.com/id184962931> viewed 23 July 2005.
- 206- <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0507/21/pzn.01.html> viewed 23 July 2005.

- 207- <http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/d3310114.nsf/Home/Census> viewed 11 June 2005.
- 208- <http://www.art.man.ac.uk/CASAS/pdfpapers/osakalecture.pdf> viewed 20 November 2005.
- 209- <http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/strategy/downloads/files/socialmobility.pdf> viewed 27 August 2007.
- 210- http://www.canada.Metropolis.Net/research-policy/index_e.html
- 211- http://www.hreoc.gov.au/racial_discrimination/isma/research/index.html>
Independent and Arab media also reported such incidents viewed 01 July 2005.
- 212- <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/02key.htm> viewed 12 September 2007.
- 213- http://www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/statistics/comm-summ/_pdf/jordan viewed 12 September 2007.
- 214- http://www.immi.gov.au/statistics/stat_info/comm_summ/textversion viewed 11 June 2005.
- 215- http://www.immi.gov.au/statistics/stat_info/comm_summ/textversion/ Accessed 11 June 2005.
- 216- <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/e107/content.php?article.196> viewed 12 December 2007.
- 217- <http://www.migrationinformation.org/profiles/Jordan/display.com> viewed 10 May 2007.
- 218- <http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/0/f40c15037c0fc731c12563f400500795?Opendocument> viewed 4 June 2006.
- 219- Hugo, G. 2002, Migration policies to facilitate the recruitment of skilled workers in Australia, in *International mobility of the highly skilled*, Paris, OECD.
- 220- Hugo, G. J. & Maher, C. 1995, *Atlas of the Australian people*, 1991 Census, National overview, AGPS, Canberra. Ip, D., C-T.

- 221- Human rights watch <http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2004/07/15/saudia9061.htm> (accessed 22 August 2008).
- 222- Humphrey, M. 1984, *Family, work and unemployment: a study of Lebanese settlement in Sydney*, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.
- 223- Humphrey, M. 1989, Is this a mosque-free zone? Islam and the state in Australia, *Migration Monitor*, Vol. 3 No. 12, pp. 12-7.
- 224- Humphrey, M. 1998, *ISLAM, multiculturalism and transnationalism. from the Lebanese Diaspora*, London, Centre for Lebanese Studies and I. B. Tauris.
- 225- Humphrey, M. 2000, Globalisation and Arab diasporic identities: the Australian Arab case, *Bulletin of the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp.1-18.
- 226- Hutchinson Encyclopedia. 1996, (3rd ed.), Helicon Publishing Ltd. UK.
- 227- Hutchinson, J. & Smith, A.D. 1996, Introduction, in J. Hutchinson & A. D. Smith (eds.), *Ethnicity*, Oxford, U.K., Oxford University press.
- 228- IOM. 2003, World migration 2003: managing migration - challenges and responses for people on the move, *World Migration Report Series*, Vol. 2, Geneva, IOM.
- 229- Ip, D., Wu, C-T. & Inglis, C. 1998, Settlement experiences of Taiwanese immigrants in Australia, *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp 79-97.
- 230- Islamic Council of New South Wales. 405 Waterloo Road, Chullora, NSW 2190 Australia. <http://www.islamicrealm.com>
- 231- Issawi, C. 1992, The historical background of Lebanese emigration, 1800-1914, in A. Hourani and N. Shehadi (eds.), *The Lebanese in the 66-World: A Century of Emigration*, London, The Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with IB Taurus.

- 232- Jakubowicz, A. 2007, Political Islam and the future of Australian multiculturalism, *National Identities*, Vol. 9 No. 3, pp. 265 – 280.
- 233- Jancz, M. 2000, *Social and psychological adjustment of first generation Polish immigrants to Australia*, Published PhD thesis, University of Sydney, Australia.
- 234- Jary, D. & Jary, J. 2000, *Collins dictionary of sociology*, Glasgow, HarperCollins Publishers.
- 235- Jayasuriya, L. 1990, *Multiculturalism, citizenship and welfare: new direction for the 1990s*, Sydney, Department of Social Work and Social Policy 50th Anniversary Lecture Series. University of Sydney.
- 236- Jonsson, J. O. & Mills, C. 1993, Social mobility in the 1970s and 1980s: a study of men and women in England and Sweden, *European Sociological Review*, No. 9, pp. 229-48.
- 237- Jordens, Ann-M. 1995, *Redefining Australians: immigration, citizenship and national identity*, Sydney, Hale.
- 238- Jupp, et al. 1990, *Metropolitan ghettos and ethnic concentrations. Working papers on multiculturalism*, Paper No. 1. University of Wollongong, Wollongong.
- 239- Jupp, J. (ed.) 2002b, *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, (ed.), Oakleigh, Cambridge University Press.
- 240- Jupp, J. 1984, *Ethnic politics in Australia*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin.
- 241- Jupp, J. 1986, *Don't settle for less: report of the committee for stage 1 of the review of migrant and multicultural programs and services*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.
- 242- Jupp, J. 1988, *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, N.S.W, Angus & Robertson.
- 243- Jupp, J. 1988, The condition of England, 1920–1988, in J. Jupp, (ed.), *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, Angus & Robertson.

- 244- Jupp, J. 1991, *Immigration*, Melbourne, Sydney University Press in association with Oxford University Press.
- 245- Jupp, J. 1992, Immigrant settlement policy in Australia, in Freeman, G. P. and J. Jupp, (eds.), 1992, *Nation of immigrants: Australia, the United States and international migration*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- 246- Jupp, J. 2001, *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, Cambridge University Press.
- 247- Jupp, J. 2002, *From white Australia to Woomera*, Cambridge, UK, University of Cambridge.
- 248- Jupp, J. 2002a, *Australia's immigration policy*, Oakleigh, Cambridge University Press.
- 249- Jupp, J. 2004, *The English in Australia*, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.
- 250- Jureidini, R. 1997, Origins and initial outcomes of the Racial Hatred Act 1995, *People and Place*, Vol. 5 No. 1, pp. 30-43.
- 251- Justin, H. 2005, *Multiculturalism in Australia. Issues in society*, The Spinney Press. Vol. 214.
- 252- Kabir, N. 2004, *Muslim in Australia: immigration, race relations and cultural history*, London, Kegan Paul.
- 253- Kallen, H. M. 1915, Democracy versus the melting pot, *The Nation*, Nos. 18 & 25 (reprinted in *Race and Ethnicity in Modern America*).
- 254- Kaplan, et al. 1999, *Between woman and nation: nationalisms, transnational feminisms, and the state*, Durham, NC, Duke University Press.
- 255- Karim, H. K. 2000, *Islamic peril: media and global violence*, Montreal, Black Rose Books.

- 256- Kaya, A. 2005, Cultural reification in circassian diaspora: stereotypes, prejudices and ethnic relations, *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, Vol. 31 Issue 1, pp. 129-149.
- 257- Kearney, M. 1986, From the invisible hand to visible feet: Anthropological studies of migration and development, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, No. 15, pp. 331-61.
- 258- Keefe, S. E. & Padilla, A. M. 1987, *Chicano ethnicity*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- 259- Kelsall, R. K. & Mitchell, S. 1959, Married women and employment in England and Wales, *Population Studies*, No. 13, pp. 19-33.
- 260- Kennedy, R. J. R. 1944, Single or triple melting-pot? Intermarriage trends in New Haven, 1870-1940, *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 49, pp. 331-339.
- 261- Kerckhoff, A. C. & Trott, J. M. 1993, Educational attainment in a changing educational system: the case of England and Wales, in Y. Shavit and H-P. Blossfeld (eds.), *Persistent inequality: changing educational attainment in thirteen countries*, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press.
- 262- Khalaf, S. 1987, The background and causes of Lebanese/Syrian immigration to the United States before World War I, in Eric J. Hooglund (ed.), *Crossing the waters: Arabic-Speaking immigrants to the United States before 1940*, Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Press.
- 263- Khattab, N, 2005. Ethnicity, class and the earning inequality in Israel, 1983-1995., Vol. 10 Issue 3, viewed 31 July 2008. <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/10/3/khattab.html>
- 264- Khuri, F. 1967, A comparative study of migration patterns in two Lebanese villages, *Human Organisation*, vol. 26 No. 4, pp. 206 -213.
- 265- Kim, Y.Y. 1977, Communication patterns of foreign immigrants in the process of acculturation, *Human Communication Research*, Vol. 4 No.1, pp. 66-78.

- 266- Kim, Y.Y. 1979, Toward an interactive theory of communication – acculturation, in D. Nimmo (ed.), *Communication Yearbook*, New Brunswick. NJ, International communication association.
- 267- Kuhn, R. 1996, The pattern of the Australian Labor Party's foreign policy since 1900, *Life History. An Interdisciplinary Journal of Historical Inquiry and Debate*, Vol. 3 No. 2 & Vol. 4 No.1, pp. 85-132.
- 268- Lamont, M. & Thévenot, L. 2000, *Rethinking comparative cultural sociology: repertoires of evaluation in France and the United States*, Cambridge, UK & New York, Cambridge University Press.
- 269- Landolt, P., Autler, L. & Baires, S. 1999, From hermano lejano to hermano mayor: the dialectics of Salvadoran transnationalism, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, No. 22, pp. 290-315.
- 270- Lane, J. F. 2006, *Bourdieu's politics: problems and possibilities*, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon & New York, Routledge.
- 271- Langfield, M. 2002, A chance to bloom: female migration and salvationists in Australia and Canada, 1890s to 1939, *Australian Feminist Studies*, Vol. 17 No. 39.
- 272- Lenski, G. 1977, *The religious factor: a sociological study of religion's impact on politics, economics, and family life*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.
- 273- Levitt, P. 1998, Local-level global religion: the case of U.S.-Dominican migration, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, No. 37, pp. 74-89.
- 274- Levitt, P. 2001, *The transnational villagers*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- 275- Lieberson, S. 1980, *A piece of the pie: black and white immigrants since 1880*, Stanford University Press.
- 276- Liebkind, K. (1992), "Ethnic identity - challenging the boundaries of social psychology", in Breakwell, C. (Eds), *Social Psychology of Identity and the Self-concept*, Surrey University Press.

- 277- Liebkind, K. 1993, Self-reported ethnic identity, depression and anxiety among youth Vietnamese refugees and their parents, *Journal of Refugee studies*, No. 6, pp. 25-39.
- 278- Liebkind, K. 1996, Acculturation and stress: Vietnamese refugees in Finland, *Journal of Cross-Cultural psychology*, Vol. 27 No. 2, pp. 161-180.
- 279- Liebkind, K. 2001, Acculturation, in R. Brown & S. Gaertner (eds.), *Blackwell handbook of social psychology: intergroup processes*, Oxford, U.K., Blackwell.
- 280- Lipset, S. M. & Bendix, R. 1966, *Class, status, and power: social stratification in comparative perspective*, New York, Free Press.
- 281- Lipset, S. M. & Zetterberg, H. 1956, A theory of social mobility, *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, No. 2, pp. 155 -77.
- 282- Lipson, J.G. & Omidian, P.A. 1997, Afghan refugee issues in the U.S. social environment, *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, No. 19, pp. 110–126.
- 283- Liu, J. H. & Hilton, D. J. 2005, How the past weighs on the present: social representations of history and their role in identity politics, *The British Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 44 No. 4, pp. 537-557.
- 284- Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., & Teaiwa, T. 2005, *New Zealand identities: departures and destinations*, Wellington, Victoria University Press.
- 285- Lucas, et al. 1980, *Beginning population studies*, Canberra, Australian National University, (1982 printing).
- 286- Luijckx, R. & Ganzeboom H. B.G. 1989, Intergenerational class mobility in the Netherlands between 1970 and 1986, in W. Jansen, J. Dronkers and K. Verrips (eds.), *Similar or Different?* Amsterdam, Netherlands, SISWO.
- 287- Madden, R. & Young, S. 1993, *Women and men immigrating to Australia: their characteristics and immigration decisions*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

- 288- Maley, W. 2002e, Refugee policy: towards a liberal framework, *Policy*, Vol. 18 No. 3, Spring, pp. 37–40.
- 289- Manuel, C. & Aditi, N. 2001, *Migration, refugees, and health risks*, Centre for Migration and Health, Vernier, Switzerland, Vol. 7 No. 3, Supplement, June 200.
- 290- Mason, D. 2000, *Race and ethnicity in modern Britain*, (2nd ed.), Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- 291- Mason, D. 2003, *Explaining ethnic differences: Changing patterns of disadvantage in Britain*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- 292- Mason, V. 2004, Strangers within in the ‘Lucky Country’: Arab-Australians after September 11. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 24 No. 1, pp. 233-243.
- 293- Massey, D., Arango J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. & Taylor, J. E. 1999, *Worlds in motion: understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*, Oxford, Clarendon.
- 294- Massey, D., Goldring, L. & Durand, J. 1994, Continuities in transnational migration: An analysis of nineteen Mexican communities, *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 99, pp. 1492-1533.
- 295- Maura, I. Toro-Morn. & Marixsa, A. 2004, *Migration and immigration: a global view*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood Press.
- 296- Maydell, S. E., Masgoret, A.M. & Ward, T. 2007, Problems in psychological and socio-cultural adaptation among Russian-speaking immigrants in New Zealand, *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, No. 30, pp. 178-198.
- 297- McAllister, I. 1995, Occupational mobility among immigrants: the impact of migration on economic success in Australia, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 29 No. 2. pp. 441-468.
- 298- McIntyre, K.G. 1972, *The secret discovery of Australia*, Sydney, Pan Books.

- 299- McKay, J. 1986, Leisure and social inequality in Australia, *Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22 No. 3, pp. 343-367.
- 300- McLead, W.T. 1989, (ed.), *The Collins Thesaurus: in A~Z Form*, London and Glasgow, Collins.
- 301- McRae, D. 1985, *Destination Australia [videorecording]: the migrant experience since 1788*, Lindfield, NSW, Film Australia.
- 302- Media centre. Department of immigration and citizenship, <http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/02key.htm> viewed 2 August 2007
- 303- Menski, W. 2002, Immigration and multiculturalism in Britain: new issues in research and policy, *KIAPS: Bulletin of Asia-Pacific Studies*, Vol. XII, pp. 43-66.
- 304- Meyer, J-B. 2001, Network approach versus brain drain: lessons from the diaspora, *International Migration*, No. 39, pp. 91-108.
- 305- Miller, T. 2001, Introducing cultural citizenship, *Social Text*, Vol. 19 Iss. 4.
- 306- Minas, I. H., Lambert, T. J. R., Kostov, S., & Boranga, G. 1996, *Mental health services for NESB Immigrants*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.
- 307- Modood, T. 1997c, Culture and identity in T. Modood, R. Berthoud, J. Lakey, J. Nazroo, P. Smith, S. Virdee and S. Beishon (eds.), *Ethnic minorities in Britain: diversity and disadvantage*, London, Policy Studies Institute.
- 308- Moran, A. 2005, White Australia, settler nationalism and Aboriginal assimilation, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 51 No. 2, pp. 168-193.
- 309- Morawska, E. 2001, Structuring migration: the case of Polish income-seeking travelers to the west, *Theory and Society*, Vol. 30 No. 1.
- 310- Morrissey, D. 1981, *Migration*, West Melbourne, Vic., Nelson.
- 311- Morrissey, M., Mitchell, C. & Rutherford, A. 1991, *The family in the settlement migrant settlement 91 process*, Canberra, Australian Government Publication Service.

- 312- Morsy, N. 1998, *The Arab migrants in Australia*, Nada Publication, Victoria 3108.
- 313- Mullen, B. 2001, Ethnophaulisms for ethnic immigrant groups, *Journal of social issues*, Vol. 57 No. 3, pp. 457-475.
- 314- Murphy, J. 1995, *The labour market effects of working holiday makers*, Canberra, Australian Govt. Pub. Service.
- 315- Nash, M., Wong, J., & Trlin, A. 2006, Civil and social integration: a new field of social work practice with immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, *International Social Work*, No. 49, pp. 345-363.
- 316- Newman, W.M. 1973, *American pluralism: a study of minority groups and social theory*, New York, Harper and Row.
- 317- Norman, D. 1986, *Heart of Europe: a short history of Poland*, Oxford & New York, Oxford University Press.
- 318- Oscar, H. 1966, *The American people in the twentieth century*, Boston.
- 319- Oval Office, The oval office for studies and research - Jordan – Amman. <http://www.oval.edu.jo> Viewed 10 March 2006.
- 320- Parimal, R. & Hamilton, I. 1997, Interethnic marriage: identifying the second generation in Australia, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 31 No. 1 (Spring), pp. 128-142.
- 321- Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. 1921/1969, *Introduction to the science of sociology*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- 322- Park, R.E. 1950, *Race and culture*, Glencoe, IL, Free Press.
- 323- Parsons, T. 1902-1979, The problem of controlled institutional change in *Essays in sociological theory*, (Glencoe, 1964) New York, Free Press of Glencoe.
- 324- Pearson, D. 2005, Citizenship, identity and belonging: Addressing the mythologies of the unitary nation state in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., & Teaiwa, T. (eds.), *New Zealand identities: departures and destinations*, Wellington, Victoria University Press.

- 325- Perera, S. & Pugliese, J. 1995, "The limits of multicultural representation", *Communal / Plural*, 4, 91-113.
- 326- Philip, C. 2003. *Where the ancestors walked: Australia as an Aboriginal landscape*, Crows Nest, N.S.W, Allen & Unwin.
- 327- Phillip, N. 1999, Arabic speaking youth in Sydney: A study of family, values, aspirations & identity. M. A. Thesis, University of Sydney.
- 328- Phinney, et al. 2001, Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: an interactional perspective, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 57 No. 3, pp. 493–510.
- 329- Phinney, J. 1990, Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults, *Review of research. Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 108 No. 3, pp. 499-514
- 330- Phinney, J. 1998, Ethnic identity and acculturation. Paper presented at the International Conference on Acculturation, University of San Francisco.
- 331- Phinney, J.S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K. & Vedder, P. 2001, Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 57 No.3, pp. 493-510.
- 332- Platt, L. 2002, *Parallel lives? Poverty among ethnic minority groups in Britain*, London, Child Poverty Action Group.
- 333- Platt, L. 2005, *Migration and social mobility: The life chances of Britain's minority ethnic communities*, Bristol, The Policy Press.
- 334- Platt, L. 2005, The intergenerational social mobility of minority ethnic groups, *Sociology*, Vol. 39 No. 3, pp. 445-61.
- 335- Poros, M. 2001, The role of migrant networks in linking local labour markets: the case of Asian Indian migration to New York and London, *Global Networks*, Vol. 1 No.3, pp. 243-59.
- 336- Portes, A. & Bach, R. 1985, *Latin journey: Cuban and Mexican immigrants in the United States*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

- 337- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, G. 2001, *Legacies: the story of the immigrant second generation*, Berkeley, University of California Press & New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
- 338- Portes, A. & Rumbaut, R. G. 1996, *Immigrant America: a portrait*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- 339- Portes, A. & Zhou, M. 1993, The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants, *The ANNALS of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, No. 530, (November), pp. 74-96.
- 340- Portes, A. 1995, Economic sociology and the sociology of immigration: a conceptual overview, in A. Portes (ed.), *The economic sociology of immigration*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
- 341- Portes, A. 1996, Transnational communities: their emergence and significance in the contemporary world system, in R. P. Korzeniewicz and W. C. Smith (eds.), *Latin America in the world economy*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press.
- 342- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. & Landolt, P. 1999, The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22 No.2, pp. 217-37
- 343- Poynting, et al. 2004, *Bin Laden in the suburbs: criminalizing the Arab other*, Federation Press, Sydney.
- 344- Pozzetta, G. E. (ed.) 1991, *Immigrant family patterns: demography, fertility, housing, kinship, and urban life*, New York, Garland.
- 345- Price, C. 1945, *German settlers in South Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- 346- Price, C. A. 1981, Refugees today, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 15 No. 1/2, (Spring - Summer), pp. 99-108.
- 347- Price, C.A. & Pyne, P. 1970, Migration from the United Arab Republic to Australia, *Migration Today* No. 14, pp. 33-40.

- 348- Pries, L. 1999, *Migration and transnational social spaces*, Aldershot, UK & Brookfield, Vt, Ashgate.
- 349- Qvortrup, J. 2002, Editorial: September elevens and invisible enemies, *Childhood*, Vol. 9 No. 2, pp. 139–145.
- 350- Rabayah, A. 1999, *Personal Jordanian features and characteristics of the study in the nature of Jordanian society*, الشخصية الأردنية سماتها وخصائصها دراسة في طبيعة المجتمع الأردني. Jordan University press, Amman.
- 351- Rapoport, T., Lomsky-Feder, E., & Heider, A. 2002, Recollection and relocation in immigration: Russian-Jewish immigrants ‘normalize’ their anti-Semitic experiences, *Symbolic Interaction*, No. 25, pp. 175-198.
- 352- Rath, T. 2001, Arabs around world face backlash: racial attacks spread across the globe, *The Daily Star*, Beirut, 15 September.
- 353- Redfield, R., Linton, R. & Herskovits M.J. 1936, Memorandum for the study of acculturation, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38 No. 1, pp. 149-152.
- 354- Resnik, J. 2006, Alternative identities in multicultural schools in Israel: emancipatory identity, mixed identity and transnational identity, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, No. 27, pp. 585-601.
- 355- Rice, P. L. 1999, *Living in a new country: understanding migrant’s health*, Melbourne, Ausmed Publications.
- 356- Richard, S. 2004, *Post-9/11 Islamophobia in the United States*, Georgetown University.
- 357- Rivett, K. 1975, *Australia and the non-white migrant*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- 358- Robbins, B.1998, Comparative cosmopolitanisms, in Bruce Robbins and Pheng Cheah (eds.), *Cosmopolitics: thinking and feeling beyond the nation*, Minneapolis & London, University of Minnesota Press.

- 359- Robson, L. L. 1966, *The convict settlers of Australia*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press.
- 360- Rumbaut, R. 1994, The crucible within: ethnic identity, self-esteem and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants, *International Migration Review*, No. 18 pp. 748- 794.
- 361- Rumbaut, R. G. 1997, Assimilation and its discontents: between rhetoric and reality, *International Migration Review*, No. 31, pp. 923-60.
- 362- Sackmann, R, Bernhard, P. & Thomas, F. (eds.) 2003, *Identity and integration: migrants in Western Europe*, Aldershot, UK & Burlington, VT, Ashgate.
- 363- Saeed, A. & Akbazadeh, S. 2001, *Muslim communities in Australia*, Sydney, UNSW Press.
- 364- Safran, W. 1991, Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return, *Diaspora*, Vol. 1 No. 1, pp. 83-99.
- 365- Said, E. 1997, *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*, New York, Vantage Books.
- 366- Salaff, J.W., Fong, E. & Siu-lun, W. 1999, Using social networks to exit Hong Kong, in B. Wellman (ed.), *Networks in the global village*, Boulder, Westview.
- Sampson, E. E. 1989, The challenge of social change for psychology: globalization and psychology's theory of the person, *American Psychologist*, No. 44, pp. 914-921.
- 367- Sassen, S. 1991, *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton, N.J, Princeton University Press.
- 368- Schein, L. 1998, Forged transnationality and oppositional cosmopolitanism, in M.P. Smith and L.E. Guarnizo (eds.), *Transnationalism from below*, New York and London, Transaction .
- 369- Schmidt, H., Teubener, K. & Zurawski, N. 2006, Virtual (re)unification? in Henrike Schmidt, Katy Teubener and Natalja Konradova, *Control and shift*, Books on Demand.

- 370- Schofield, T. 1995, The health of Australians of non-english-speaking background: key concerns, *Australian Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 19 No.2, pp. 117- 118.
- 371- Shah, N.M. & Menon, I. 1999, Chain migration through the social network: experience of labour migrants in Kuwait, *International Migration*, No. 37, pp. 361-80.
- 372- Shaheen, J. 1997, *The TV Arab: Arab and Muslim stereotyping in America popular culture*, Bowling Green, OH, Bowling Green State University press.
- 373- Shahwan, A. L. 2001, *Prevalence of cardiovascular risk factors among Australian-Lebanese in Melbourne*, published PhD, Victoria University of Technology, Australia.
- 374- Shboul, A. 1985, Arabic-speaking immigrants in Australia: cultural background, image, self-image and reality in *The Arabic Community Realities and Challenges*, Seminar Proceedings NSW Arabic Welfare Inter-Agency.
- 375- Sheffer, G. 1986, A new field of study: modern diasporas in international politics, in G. Sheffer (ed.), *Modern diasporas in international politics*, London, Groom Helm.
- 376- Sheffer, G. 1995, The emergence of new ethno-national diasporas, *Migration*, Vol. 28 No. 2, pp. 5-28.
- 377- Shergold, P. & Nicolaou, L. 1986, *Why don't they ask us? We're not dumb, a study of the experiences of specific target groups in Australia*, (2 vols.), Canberra, Department of immigration and Ethnic Affairs.
- 378- Sherington, G. 1990, *Australia's immigrants 1788-1988*, Sydney, Allen and Unwin.
- 379- Shohat, E. & Stam, R. 1994, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: multiculturalism and the media*. London ; New York : Routledge.

- 380- Shryock, A. 2000, Family resemblances: kinship and community in Arab Detroit, in Nabeel Abraham and Andrew Shryock (eds.), *Arab Detroit: from margin to mainstream*, Detroit, Wayne State University Press.
- 381- Siew-ean, K. & Price, C. A. 1996, *Understanding Australia's ethnic composition*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Canberra.
- 382- Silvey, R. & Lawson, V. 1999, Placing the migrant, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 89 No. 1, pp. 121–132.
- 383- Smith, A. D. 1987, *The ethnic origins of nations*, Oxford, New York, B. Blackwell.
- 384- Smith, D.J. 1977, *Racial disadvantage in Britain: The PEP Report*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- 385- Smith, M.P. & Guarnizo, L.E. (eds.), 1998, *Transnationalism from below*, New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers.
- 386- Smith, N. 2001, Editorial: scales of terror and the resort to geography: September 11, October 7, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, No. 19, pp. 631–637.
- 387- Sowell, T. 1981, *Ethnic America: a history*, New York, Basic Books.
- 388- Sowell, T. 1996, *Migration and culture: a world view*, New York, Basic Books.
- 389- Stasiulis, D. & Yuval-Davis, N. 1995, Introduction, in *Unsettling settler societies: articulations of gender, race, ethnicity and class*, London, Sage.
- 390- Stephenson, P. 2003, New cultural scripts: exploring the dialogue between Indigenous and ‘Asian’ Australians, *Journal of Australian Studies*, No. 77, pp. 57–68.
- 391- Stevens, C. 2002, *Tin mosques & gphantowns: a history of Afghan cameldrivers in Australia*, Alice Springs, N.T.: Paul Fitzsimons.

- 392- Stratton, J. & Ang, I. 1998, Multiculturalism in crisis: the new politics of race and national identity in Australia, *Topia: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, No. 2, pp. 22-41.
- 393- Suarez-Orozco, M. M. 2005, Right moves? Immigration, globalization, utopia, and dystopia, in M. M. Suarez-Orozco, C. Suarez-Orozco, & D. B. Qin (eds.), *The new immigration: an interdisciplinary reader*, NY, Brunner-Routledge.
- 394- Summers, J., Borland, R. & Walker, M. 1989, *Psychology: an introduction*, Brisbane, John Wiley & Sons.
- 395- *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 Feb. 2006.
<http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/pms-muslim-comments-offensive> (viewed 26 August 2008).
- 396- Szabo, F. 1996, *Austrian immigration to Canada: selected essays*, McGill-Queen's Press, MQUP.
- 397- Szapocznik, J., Kurtines, W. & Fernandez, T. 1980, Acculturation, biculturalism and adjustment among Cuban Americans, in A. M. Padilla (ed.), *Acculturation: theory, models, and some new findings*, Boulder, CO, Westview.
- 398- Tabar, P. (ed.) 2005, *Lebanese diaspora: history, racism and belonging*, Beirut, Lebanon, Lebanese American University.
- 399- Tabar, P. Noble, G. & Poynting, S. 2003, The rise and falter of the field of ethnic politics in Australia: the case of Lebanese community leadership, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, Vol. 24 No. 3, pp. 267 — 287.
- 400- Tabbara, L. 1979, *Survival in Beirut: a diary of civil War*, (trans.), Nadia Hijab, Onyx Press, London.
- 401- Taylor, P. 2000, World-systems analysis, in R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts (eds.), *The dictionary of human geography*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers.
- 402- Teske, Raymond H. C., Jr., and Bardin H. Nelson. 1974, Acculturation and assimilation: a clarification, *American Ethnologist*, No. 1, pp. 351-367.

- 403- The Australian Arab Council (AAC) <http://www.arabcouncil.org.au>
- 404- *The Catholic encyclopedia*, Robert Appleton Company, 1907, Online Edition, K. Night 2003: article Arabia, Viewed Sep 14 2006.
- 405- *The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*, 2008, Department of Statistics (DOS), Available online http://www.dos.gov.jo/dos_home_e/main/index.htm viewed 8 May 2008.
- 406- *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 December 2005.
- 407- *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 January 1991.
- 408- Thernstrom, S. (ed.), 1980, *Harvard encyclopedia of American ethnic groups*, Cambridge. MA, Harvard University press.
- 409- Tilly, C. 1990, Transplanted networks, in V. Yans-MacLoughlin (ed.), *Immigration reconsidered*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- 410- Troquer, Y. & al-Oudat, R. H. 1999, From Kuwait to Jordan: The Palestinians' third exodus, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 28 No. 3. pp. 37-51.
- 411- Trueba, H. T. 1999, *Latinos Unidos: from cultural diversity to the politics of solidarity*, New York, Rowman & Littlefield.
- 412- UNHCR, *Statistical Yearbook 2001*, October 2002, See also UNRWA in Figures, June 30, 2002, available at www.un.org/unrwa/pr/pdf/uif-june02.pdf Viewed 02 May 2005.
- 413- United Nations, International Human Rights Instruments, 3 January 1994, Jordan.
- 414- United Nations. 2002, *International Migration Report 2002*, (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.01.XIII.8).
- 415- Unkind Cuts. 2005, television program, *Media Watch*, ABC TV, Sydney, 22 Aug 2005, presented by Liz Jackson.
- 416- UNRWA 2006, *The Palestinian refugees in Jordan*, Available online <http://www.un.org/unrwa/publications/index.html> Accessed 12 September 2007.

- 417- Vallet, Louis-Andre. 1999, Quarante années de mobilité sociale en France. L'évolution de la fluidité sociale à la lumière de modèles récents, *Revue française de sociologie*, No. 40, pp. 5-64 [Vallet, L.-A. (2001) Forty years of social mobility in France. Change in social fluidity in the light of recent models, *Revue française de sociologie. An annual English selection*, No. 42, Supplement, pp. 5-64].
- 418- Van der Veer, P. 1995, *Nation and migration: the politics of space in the South Asian diaspora*, Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press.
- 419- Van Hear, N. 1995, The impact of the involuntary mass 'return' to Jordan in the wake of the Gulf Crisis, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 29 No. 2, pp. 352-374. Available online <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2546785> Accessed: 08/07/2008.
- 420- Van Hear, N. 1998, *New diasporas: the mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities*, London, University College London Press.
- 421- Vermeulen, H. 2001, *Culture and inequality. Immigrant cultures and social mobility in long-term perspective*, Amsterdam, Het Spinhuis.
- 422- Vertovec, S. & Cohen, R. 1999, Introduction, in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Migration and transnationalism*, Aldershot, Edward Elgar.
- 423- Vertovec, S. 1997, Three meanings of 'diaspora', exemplified among south Asian religions, *Diaspora*, Vol. 6 No. 3, pp. 277-99.
- 424- Wahlbeck, O. 1999, *Kurdish diasporas: a comparative study of Kurdish refugee communities*, London, Macmillan.
- 425- Waldinger, R. & Fitzgerald, D. 2004, Transnationalism in question, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 109 No.5, pp.1177-1195.
- 426- Walmsley, J, et al. 1996, *Atlas of Australian People 1996 Census New South Wales*, Immigration and Multicultural Research Program.
- 427- Warner, W. L. & Srole, L. 1945, *The social systems of American ethnic groups*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.

- 428- Weinfeld, M. 1998, *A preliminary stock-taking on immigration research in Canada*, available on Metropolis Project, Canadian site.
- 429- Welch, A. 1996, The politics of cultural interaction: multicultural education in Australia, in A. Welch (ed.), *Australian education. Reform or crisis?* Sydney, Allen & Unwin.
- 430- Werbner, P. 2002, *Imagined diasporas among Manchester Muslims: the cultural performance of transnational identity politics*, Oxford, James Currey and Sante Fe, SAR.
- 431- White, M. J. et al. 1993, Immigration, naturalization, and residential assimilation among Asian Americans in 1980, *Social Forces*, Vol. 72 No. 1 (September), pp. 93-117.
- 432- World Bank. 2000, *Voices of the poor. Crying out for change*. Washington: IRBD. <http://www1.worldbank.org/prem/poverty/voices/reports/crying/cry.pdf> (viewed 5 January 2006).
- 433- www.al-bab.com (viewed 14 September 2006).
- 434- www.icv.org.au/history3.shtml (viewed 20 October 2006).
- 435- Yancey, W. L., Erickson, E.P. & Juliani, R.N. 1976, Emergent ethnicity: a review and reformulation, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 41, pp. 391-403.
- 436- Young, C. M., Petty, M., Faulkner, A. & Dept. of Education. 1980, *Education and employment of Turkish and Lebanese youth*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.
- 437- Zaghal, A. S. & Athamneh, A. B. 2000, *The humanitarian aspects of conflicts: the case of Palestinian refugees in Jordan*, Jordan, Yarmouk University Irbid – Jordan.
- 438- Zappala, G. & Castles, S. 1998, *Citizenship and immigration in Australia*, Vol. 34 No. 5. pp. 15-17, Wollongong, N.S.W., University of Wollongong.

- 439- Zhou, M. & Bankston, C. L. 1994, Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: the case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 28 No.4, pp. 821-845.
- 440- Zou, Y. 2002, Multiple identities of a Chinese immigrant: a story of adaptation and empowerment, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 15 No.3, pp. 251-268(18).

