

DOSSIER

THE LATIN-AMERICANS

IN

AUSTRALIA

DATA FROM:

THE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION RESEARCH
DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS
AUSTRALIAN BUREAU OF STATISTICS
AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL STATISTICS
THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE,
AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NATION,
ITS PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGINS
CULTURAL DICTIONARY,
OF PEOPLE FROM DIVERSE CULTURAL
& LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS

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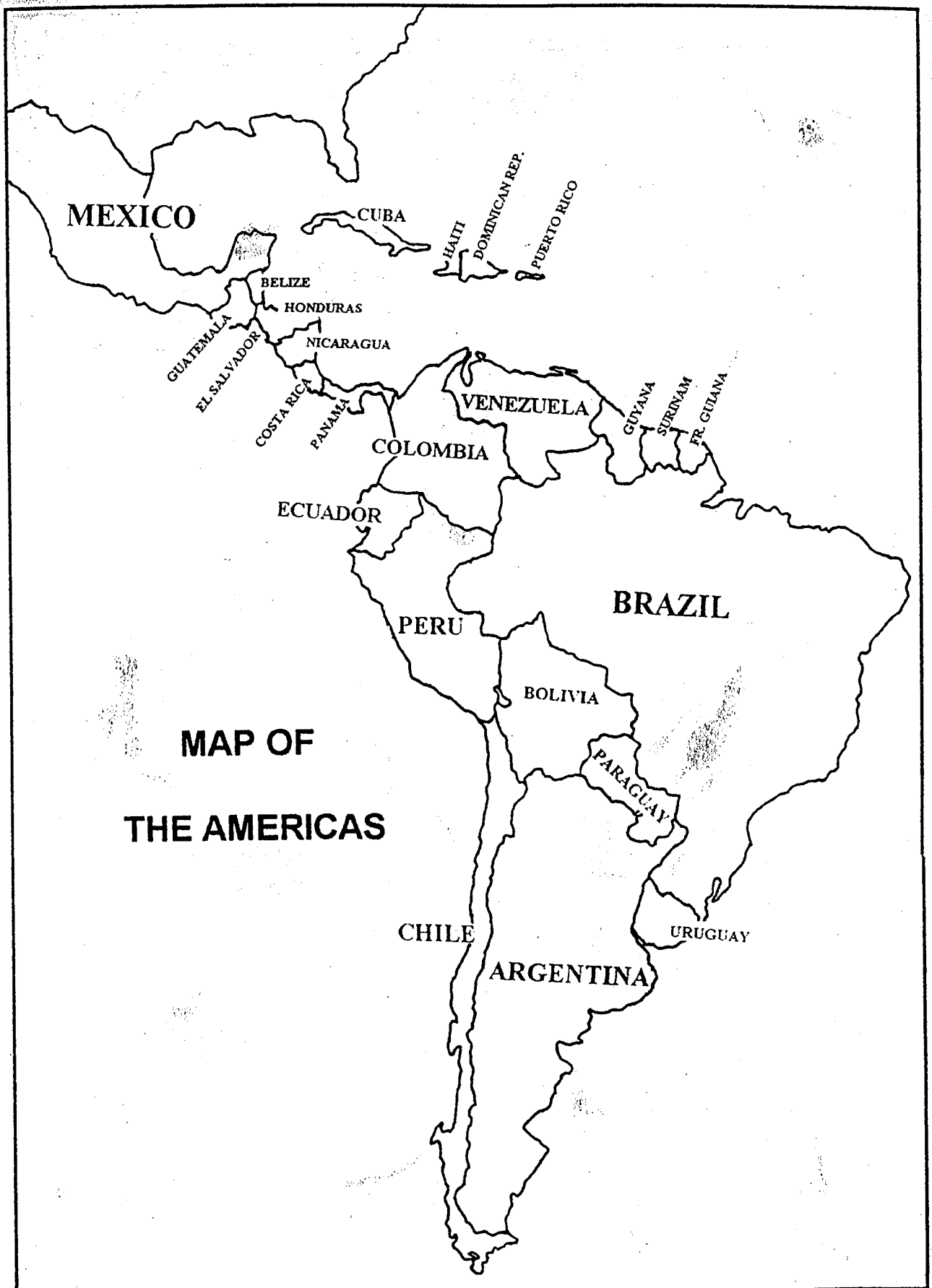
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SETTLER ARRIVAL FROM LATIN AMERICAN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FROM 1989-1997

(Includes only countries from South, Central and the Caribbean, which have Spanish and Portuguese as an official language).

FINANCIAL YEARS

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	480	520	514	174	82	117	113	101	2,101
BOLIVIA	25	10	21	16	15	13	16	18	134
BRAZIL	149	137	147	144	135	164	105	108	1,089
CHILE	735	704	536	245	244	223	263	161	3,111
COLOMBIA	242	95	88	118	104	141	101	97	986
COSTA RICA	6	8	7	13	4	4	11	2	55
CUBA	1	2	8	2	8	7	8	9	45
ECUADOR	33	42	34	33	20	43	52	23	280
GUATEMALA	22	12	20	9	5	16	16	11	111
HONDURAS	16	27	15	25	2	4	11	4	104
EL SALVADOR	1,922	1,538	1,239	373	117	183	191	142	5,705
NICARAGUA	73	62	29	1	8	5	20	9	207
MEXICO	40	34	41	26	27	23	38	39	268
PANAMA	5	1	5	0	0	1	2	0	14
PARAGUAY	11	9	6	0	4	1	6	3	40
PERU	240	295	365	232	247	215	199	151	1,944
PUERTO RICO	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	7
REP.DOMINIC.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	7
URUGUAY	97	116	131	79	66	59	49	29	626
VENEZUELA	32	46	38	20	35	44	48	79	342
TOTAL	4,130	3,661	3,246	1,511	1,126	1,264	1,251	987	17,176

SOURCE: AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION, CONSOLIDATED STATISTICS,
Settler Arrivals: Number 17, 1991-92, Statistical Report N° 8. 1986-97, Table, 1.1
page 7 and 8. Bureau of Immigration Research, Australian Government Publishing Service,
Camberra, 1993-1997.

SETTLER ARRIVAL FROM LATIN AMERICAN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FROM 1981-1989

(Includes only countries from South, Central and the Caribbean, which have Spanish and Portuguese as an official language).

FINANCIAL YEARS

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	445	537	204	215	295	398	393	313	2,800
BOLIVIA	15	13	26	19	21	20	29	20	163
BRAZIL	*	*	86	138	167	139	201	163	894
CHILE	285	499	691	1,689	2,037	2,018	1,964	1,358	10,541
COLOMBIA	84	60	40	55	81	109	85	137	651
COSTA RICA	10	12	14	17	27	19	21	8	128
CUBA	4	21	15	30	9	4	3	9	95
ECUADOR	32	17	29	21	35	26	27	44	231
GUATEMALA	2	4	23	31	19	3	27	13	122
HONDURAS	7	7	4	8	3	4	14	7	54
EL SALVADOR	4	10	426	772	481	645	1,048	1,538	4,924
NICARAGUA	6	3	52	142	92	162	58	90	605
MEXICO	31	45	45	44	56	56	71	53	401
PANAMA	2	*	6	4	4	4	6	3	29
PARAGUAY	13	9	3	8	15	8	4	25	85
PERU	124	106	69	85	134	306	294	246	1,364
PUERTO RICO	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	7
REP.DOMINIC.	*	*	1	1	0	0	3	2	7
URUGUAY	173	134	265	235	282	184	194	149	1,616
VENEZUELA	15	22	26	19	27	30	33	36	208
OTHERS									
TOTAL	1,253	1,502	2,026	3,534	3,785	4,135	4,476	4,214	24,935

SOURCE: AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION, CONSOLIDATED STATISTICS,
Settler Arrivals: Number 17, 1991-92, Statistical Report N° 8. 1986-97, Table, 1.1
page 7 and 8. Bureau of Immigration Research, Australian Government Publishing Service,
Canberra, 1993-1997.

SETTLER ARRIVAL FROM LATIN AMERICAN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH FROM 1973-1981

(Includes only countries from South, Central and the Caribbean, which have Spanish and Portuguese as an official language).

FINANCIAL YEARS

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	830	758	629	1,065	902	769	531	311	5,795
BOLIVIA	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
BRAZIL	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
CHILE	1,203	2,002	1,905	1,702	1,261	822	480	441	9,816
COLOMBIA	*	*	98	30	95	58	62	52	
COSTA RICA	*	*	6	5		3	3	8	
CUBA	*	*	5	5	4	1	16	45	
ECUADOR	*	*	62	22	49	26	25	25	
GUATEMALA	*	*	9		2		2	7	
HONDURAS	*	*	1	1	1	1	1	2	
EL SALVADOR	*	*	1	14				5	
NICARAGUA	*	*	3		5	5	1	4	
MEXICO	*	*	22	11	15	9	20	21	
PANAMA	*	*	4	1	6	10	2	5	
PARAGUAY	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
PERU	378	173	140	46	90	88	133	115	1,163
PUERTO RICO	*	*	2	*	1	4	1	2	
REP.DOMINIC.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	
URUGUAY	1,840	2,117	548	594	544	440	278	200	6,561
VENEZUELA	*	*	13	7	9	8	24	19	
OTHERS									
TOTAL									

* The information is not available. Included in others.

Settler Arrivals: Number 17, 1991-92, Statistical Report N° 8, 1986-97, Table, 1.1
page 7 and 8. Bureau of Immigration Research, Australian Government Publishing Service,
Canberra, 1993-1997.

LATIN AMERICAN PERSONS GRANTED AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP BY COUNTRY OF FORMER CITIZENSHIP, 1990 - 1998*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98
ARGENTINA	368	450	452	421	484	439		
BOLIVIA								
BRAZIL								
CHILE	925	920	639	563	658	904	607	325
COLOMBIA								
COSTA RICA								
CUBA								
ECUADOR								
GUATEMALA								
HONDURAS								
EL SALVADOR						322		
NICARAGUA								
MEXICO								
PANAMA								
PARAGUAY								
PERU								
PUERTO RICO								
REP. DOMINICAN								
URUGUAY	220	204	229	183	255	217		
VENEZUELA								
OTHERS								
TOTAL								

LATIN AMERICAN PERSONS GRANTED AUSTRALIAN CITIZENSHIP BY COUNTRY OF FORMER CITIZENSHIP, 1970 - 1990*

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1970-75	1975-80	1980-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
ARGENTINA	362	2,303	2,037	806	439	318	434	568
BOLIVIA								
BRAZIL								
CHILE	620	3,562	3,192	1,174	1,038	891	969	1,195
COLOMBIA								
COSTA RICA								
CUBA								
ECUADOR								
GUATEMALA								
HONDURAS								
EL SALVADOR								
NICARAGUA								
MEXICO								
PANAMA								
PARAGUAY								
PERU								
PUERTO RICO								
REP. DOMINICAN								
URUGUAY	591	4,163	2,773	601	330	209	235	384
VENEZUELA								
OTHERS								
TOTAL								

COMMUNITY PROFILES

OF

SOUTH & CENTRAL AMERICAN PEOPLE

LIVING IN AUSTRALIA

INFORMATION FROM

- * THE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION RESEARCH
- * THE AUSTRALIAN PEOPLE
- * AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF THE NATIONS, ITS PEOPLE AND THEIR ORIGINS

Papers compiled and prepared by Gustavo Martin-Montenegro for the University of N.S.W., titled
"The Latin-Americans in Australia" - 1998

LATIN AMERICANS

See also ARGENTINIANS; BRAZILIANS; CHILEANS; COLOMBIANS; ECUADORANS; PARAGUAYANS; PERUVIANS; SALVADORANS; URUGUAYANS.

THE 20 STATES of Latin America have a population of 365 million. All have Spanish as their official language except Brazil (which uses Portuguese) and Haiti (French), although only in the southern States of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay and the Central American State of Costa Rica do people of direct Spanish descent form a majority. The other largest ethnic groups are Amerindians (especially in Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru and Bolivia) and Afro-Americans (especially in Haiti, Brazil and Cuba). There are large numbers of persons of European origin (principally Italians and Germans) in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela. English is widely understood throughout Latin America. A large proportion of Latin

Americans have mixed ethnicity and the great majority are nominal Catholics, although there is a strong anti-clerical tradition in several countries, especially Mexico.

Historically, Argentina and Chile had strong links with the United Kingdom, as Brazil had with Portugal and most other States had with Spain. In more recent times, the economic and cultural influence of the United States of America has become more significant, although there are strong anti-American traditions in several States, especially Cuba and Nicaragua. There are large immigrant populations from Central and South America in the United States of America, especially in California, Texas, Florida and New York.

The Latin American-born population of Australia in 1981 was



■ BOLIVIANS IN NATIONAL COSTUME AT THE JOHNSTON STREET FESTIVAL IN COLLINGWOOD, MELBOURNE, IN 1986.

Elizabeth Gilliam.

43 000, drawn mainly from Chile, Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, Brazil and Colombia. Since that time there has been a significant intake from El Salvador under the Special Humanitarian Program. Latin Americans constitute the majority of Spanish speakers in Australia, and they are influential in Spanish-oriented clubs and activities and are catered for by the Spanish media. In 1983 there were 75 900 Spanish speakers in Australia. Their common language is often the basis for organisation, although there are active folkloric and social groups based on particular Latin American nationalities. The majority of Latin Americans live in Sydney, especially in Fairfield, although there are substantial Argentinian, Chilean and Uruguayan communities in Melbourne and smaller numbers in Canberra, Perth, Adelaide and Wollongong.

ARGENTINIANS

IN AUSTRALIA'S multicultural population, Argentines are very much a minority. And they are essentially relatively recent arrivals when perceived in relation to the history of migration to Australia. Although

a few Argentines were recorded in the colonial census of the nineteenth century (14 in New South Wales and 11 in Victoria in 1891), these people did not trigger any significant immigration from Argentina.

By 1947 there were only 249 Argentine-born in Australia, and by 1971 their number had reached 1805.

It was during the 1970s, however, that the majority of Argentines arrived in Australia, and by 1981 they numbered 8117, comprising 4024 males and 4093 females. But the actual number of those who can be regarded as being part of Australia's Argentine community exceeds the figures derived from birthplace statistics. There are also over 1000 people who have lived in Argentina, who probably speak Spanish and feel an affinity for much that is Argentine, although they are not Argentine-born, nor do they hold Argentine citizenship. These people show up in statistics relating to the last country of residence of settlers. They are most likely Italo-Argentines who were born outside Argentina but lived there most of their lives, had children and subsequently migrated to Australia, either with their offspring or to join both children and grandchildren. The consulate-general reports that it deals with many more Italo-Argentines than with Hispanic-Argentines.

Between January 1974 and mid-1985 (earlier figures are not available as Argentina was included in 'Other America' in immigration statistics until the end of 1973), Australia had a net gain of 6572 Argentine-born people. In the same period there was a net gain of 6728 Argentine citizens and an even larger net gain of 7940 persons whose last country of residence was Argentina.

Argentines in Australia are not ethnically homogeneous. As evidenced by their surnames and their homeland's history, they are of diverse ethnic descent, most being of Italian and Spanish origin, followed by Polish, German, French, Russian and British. Originally a Spanish colony, Argentina attained its independence in 1816 and, subsequently, deliberately set out to populate its vast country. From the 1860s French, German, Swiss and British migrated to Argentina; however, after the 1880s, Italians (mainly from the north) and, later, Spaniards sailed across the Atlantic and became the two dominant ethnic groups. They were followed by Eastern Europeans, including Jews from Russia, who came early in the twentieth century and, later, a diversity of post-Second World War migrants and refugees from Europe. Argentina also hosted culturally frustrated European communities such as the Welsh and the Basques.

Between 1857 and 1939, a net total of 3.5 million European migrants contributed to Argentina's population growth. The massive waves of European migration have resulted in most Argentines being European, with hardly any Indians and mestizos (partially Indian and partially white) being left, while the Negroes and mulattoes have been absorbed into the dominant European population.

Once a prosperous recipient of immigration, Argentina began to experience emigration as its economy declined and its standard of living dropped. Inflation reached a rate of 75 per cent in 1973, jumping two years later to 183 per cent and rocketing to 4670 per cent in March 1976. Prices shot up from one hour to the next. The military overthrew Maria Estela 'Isabel' Peron and installed General Jorge Videla as leader. Argentina was affected throughout the 1970s by great political turbulence, characterised by clashes between Peronists and Marxist guerrillas, and experienced kidnappings, murders, armed robberies and assassinations. It also suffered under Peronist and, later, military repression and torture, as well as the notoriety of the *desaparecidos* (people who disappeared without trace).

Despite the violation of civil liberties and human rights, it appears, from interviews and statistics, that most Argentines migrated to Australia for economic reasons. Most immigrants, if not all, did not belong to the politicised intelligentsia, nor were they activists, militant unionists or students. The majority of those interviewed repeatedly stressed economic difficulties—the rising cost of living, low wages and salaries, lack of opportunities and lack of expectations for any improvement—as the trigger for emigration. Only a few referred to the political unrest, classmates and university colleagues who had disappeared, fear of being hurt, and 'moral and social decadence'.

Of the 3807 employed Argentine-born in Australia in 1981, 54 per cent were tradesmen, production process-workers or labourers, and 7 per cent were in a professional or technical occupation. These figures compared with 28 per cent and 13.6 per cent, respectively, for all Australians.

Over 80 per cent of the Argentine-born settlers who came to Australia between January 1974 and mid-1982 received travel assistance. Initially, they tended to stay in migrant hostels in New South Wales and Victoria. When they moved out, many settled in surrounding suburbs, such as Fairfield in Sydney's west which has the largest concentration of Argentines in any local government area in Australia (913 in 1981). Many have also settled in the Botany area of Sydney, but there is a sprinkling of Argentines throughout various suburbs. In all, 4336 lived in New South Wales in 1981, most in Sydney. There were 2809 in Victoria, and they were most likely to be found in Sunshine, Springvale, Oakleigh, Essendon, Broadmeadows and Keilor. Coming mainly from urban environments (Argentina's most populous cities—Buenos Aires, Córdoba and Rosario), the majority of Argentines have settled in Australia's two largest cities. Fewer were found in the remaining parts of Australia—285 in Western Australia, 259 in Queensland, 225 in South Australia, 146 in the Australian Capital Territory, 31 in the Northern Territory, and 27 in Tasmania.

Despite their concentration in a few suburbs, there is no evidence of 'Little Argentines' flourishing anywhere in Australia. Argentines tend to see themselves as individualists and they do not appear, by and large, to form close-knit community networks. Although some community organisations have sprouted, they are few and command a relatively small membership considering the size of the Argentine community. Those that do exist do not own their premises. The Centro Argentino de Victoria (Argentine Centre of Victoria) is believed to have been the first Argentine organisation. It was officially launched in January 1975 with some 60 families as members, after informal meetings had been taking place since 1973. Now, with less than 100 families participating, the centre boasts a folkloric dance group Los Pampas and a children's ensemble (Los Tehuelchitos) and runs social, cultural and sporting activities. It began in a large rented room with a kitchen and bathroom above a mechanical workshop at North Melbourne, but later sublet a section of the Ukrainian Club in Essendon.

A second organisation with about 17 families was started in Melbourne in 1983, to cater for those Argentines who had settled in the outer eastern suburbs. Called Circulo Social Argentino (Argentine Social Circle), it attracts an average attendance of about 50; on special occasions, such as for an *asado* or a costume carnival dance or a national feast, as many as 200 may turn up. Friday reunions are frequent, when typical dishes are served and members play the guitar or listen to cassettes of the latest Latin American music.

In Sydney, despite numerous attempts to start an Argentine community organisation, it was not until 1977 that the first was formed and legally registered. The Centro Argentino de Nueva Gales del Sur (Argentine Centre of New South Wales) grew out of informal Friday night meetings of friendly families in Sydney's west. For three years members organised cultural and social functions with the typical *asado*—an Argentine barbecue with beef spare ribs, kidneys, black pudding, white sausage and sweetbreads, accompanied by a spicy sauce of chilli and garlic, and *chimichurri*—in private homes and public parks, and they hired halls for dances. In 1980 they gained access to a cottage in Concord West owned by the Catholic Church, where they continued their activities, and membership peaked at about 200. But the centre closed in 1984, owing to the lack of volunteers to carry on with the organisational work. In November 1980 another organisation was established in Sydney, the Club Argentino de Nueva Gales del Sur (Argentine Club of New South Wales), which initially hired different premises in Sydney's western suburbs. In October 1984 the club found a home at the Auburn Soccer Club, where its own *futbol*, or soccer



■ ARGENTINIANS CELEBRATING THEIR WORLD CUP SOCCER VICTORY OF 1986 IN JOHNSTON STREET, COLLINGWOOD, IN MELBOURNE.
Dragi Markovic.

team, Argentinian-Lidcombe United (ALU), also trains. On Friday evenings after the senior and junior *futbol* players have had their practice, an *asado* is organised. Membership of the club is around 200 and successful social functions attract up to 300 or 400 people, although national day picnics have been known to draw as many as 600. In 1985 the club launched its own award for outstanding community services and named it after Argentina's national hero, San Martin.

In Brisbane the Centro Argentino de Queensland (Argentinian Centre of Queensland) has been in existence since the early 1980s, bringing together the small Argentinian community on weekends and Argentinian public holidays.

There are also a few Anglo-Argentiniens, estimated at about 100 Australia-wide. Born in Argentina of one or two British parents, and in some cases British passport-holders themselves, they seem to feel a bond with their birthplace. Since the early 1960s the Anglo-Argentiniens have had an annual reunion and the traditional *asado*, on or around 25 May, to remember the 'cabildo abierto', which declared independence from Spain on 25 May 1810, at the Chiswell family home in Galston, Sydney.

Stories of spectacular success are scarce among Australia's Argentinians, but two names have made newspaper and magazine headlines. One of the more famous Argentinians is designer Ewaldo Bock, who has received six nominations in the Australian Fashion Industry Awards, winning the award for evening wear in 1984. A second-generation Argentinian of German and Austrian descent, Bock was born in Santa Fé in 1952 and studied fashion at Spain's Royal Academy of Fine Arts. He came to Sydney in 1975 and a year later teamed up with a fellow countryman, Nestor 'Pilo' Ramirez, a chemical engineer from Santa Fé, who had come to Australia in 1970 to learn English. Ramirez and Bock launched the 'Ewaldo' label for women's wear. Ten years later Ewaldo's designs were being marketed nationally through some 400 outlets, including boutiques and major department stores. In 1986 they parted. Bock joined Sydney's Hopkins group and Ramirez continued with the labels he had been manufacturing and selling—'Mathilde' for evening wear, 'Inside Out' for daywear and a new line of designer wear, 'Oblique'. Ramirez, who holds a master's degree in business administration, claims annual sales of around \$5 million.

Another well-known Argentinian is the Rugby Union player Enrique 'Topo' Rodriguez who, after representing Argentina 15 times internationally, migrated to Australia in 1984. As a member of the Warringah Rugby Club, Rodriguez was first chosen for the New South Wales State team and subsequently gained selection to play with the

Wallabies in the 1984 Fijian tour. Born in 1952 in Entre Rios, he studied psychology for three years at the National University of Córdoba, ran a gymnasium, and while playing Rugby Union earned the nickname of 'Topo', which is the Spanish word for mole, because of his fierce burrowing. He has played many times for Australia, including with the eighth Wallabies' tour when they won the Grand Slam. In 1985 he was appointed manager of a gymnasium owned by the State Bank and situated in Sydney's Martin Place.

In the academic field the most distinguished Argentinian in Australia is Professor Serge Domicelj, who became professor of town and country planning at the University of Sydney in 1975 and who was head of that department until 1978, as well as director of the Planning Research Centre at the same university until 1985. Born in Buenos Aires in 1933 of an Italian mother and Slovene father, he graduated in architecture and urban planning at Buenos Aires University and continued his studies in The Hague, Paris and Edinburgh. Domicelj headed the Long Term Planning Section of the National Capital Development Commission in Canberra from 1967 until 1971. He also served as regional adviser on 28 missions to 13 countries while attached to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. One of his contributions was the design of a specialised course on urbanisation in developing countries which he introduced at the Department of Town and Country Planning at the University of Sydney in 1975.

One of the most financially successful Argentinians, and possibly the richest, is José Alberto de la Vega, who migrated with his penniless parents and brothers in 1971 after the family's joinery factory had collapsed during the country's economic crisis. Fifteen years later and in his mid-thirties, he estimated his wealth at around \$10-12 million. A former student of anthropology, de la Vega started out from Cabramatta Hostel doing carpentry at a factory and some labouring, followed by prawn fishing in the Gulf of Carpentaria. He believes that his first lucky break came two years after he had arrived in Australia, when a French couple who were selling landscape paintings on Sydney's footpaths asked him to join their lucrative enterprise. After the couple returned to France, de la Vega developed the business and expanded his team to around 20 commercial painters who worked from a factory in Sydney. With a virtual market monopoly, he supplied the acrylic paintings to door-to-door salesmen, major department stores and shops around Australia. With the profits he launched into renovation and restoration of terrace houses in Sydney's fashionable and up-and-coming eastern suburbs in the late 1970s. De la Vega maintains that his ignorance of the preceding real estate slump plunged him into the property scene at a time when just about everyone had turned away from it. From renovation and restoration, he progressed to the development of residential properties, such as town houses and blocks of units. As a Sydney developer, he later became involved in multi-million dollar projects, such as shopping centres, commercial buildings and industrial complexes.

The Argentinians, like most ethnic groups in Australia, have made a culinary contribution to Australian society with their sizzling charcoal grills of traditionally cut beef, spare ribs, black pudding, white sausage, sweetbreads and kidneys. However, very few Argentinian restaurants have been opened and, of those that were, fewer still have survived. Among the best known in Melbourne is Enris at Richmond, which was started in 1973 and has attracted an up-market, even at times famous, clientele; in Sydney there is El Rancho Amigo, which began operating in 1979 as El Rancho Argentino. Not too far away from this restaurant, in the heart of Leichhardt (or what has become known as Little Italy), is the much-publicised Pasta House. This prosperous and popular business was launched in 1978 by an Argentinian marine engineer and his wife, Miguel and Elsa Aguas, who imported their pasta-manufacturing machinery from Argentina and set out to provide fresh daily-made pasta without any artificial additives—a traditional Argentinian enterprise.

With their folkloric dance groups, Spanish-language schools for children, some Argentinian specialities and delicacies, and the occasional link with the homeland provided by visiting artists or an ethnic radio segment, the Argentinians have settled peacefully in Australia. Economic circumstances forced most to leave their homeland in search of opportunities and a future. Many admitted that they had come with the sole objective of earning money and returning to Argentina. But not as many have departed as had intended. In fact,

only about 9 per cent of Argentinian-born settlers left between January 1974 and June 1985—and even some of these returned to Australia. Although they feel strong emotional links with their homeland, Argentinians tend to find the better standard of living and generally more stable life in Australia to be significant factors in quashing their early-return plans. Homesickness tends to recede to a point where sporadic trips back home or bringing out close relatives relieve the nostalgia.

I. LUKAS

BRAZILIANS

BRAZILIAN MIGRATION to Australia, like that from many other Central and South American countries, has been limited and the Brazilian population in Australia is small. According to the 1981 census, there were 1668 Brazilian-born and most of these were relatively recent arrivals; over 75 per cent had been in Australia for less than 15 years.

Although Brazilian migration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has not been documented, there is evidence of early Brazilian interest in Australia. In 1787 when Captain Phillip and the ships of the First Fleet were docked in Rio de Janeiro *en route* to Australia, a Portuguese soldier stationed in Brazil boarded Phillip's ship *Sirius* and requested that he be allowed to join the crew and sail to New Holland. Phillip refused and returned the man to shore.

Nevertheless, as most English ships called at Rio de Janeiro on the way to Australia, it is likely that a number of Brazilians did subsequently migrate in the nineteenth century. Concrete evidence of a Brazilian presence in Australia does not, however, appear until the turn of the century, when census officials counted 105 Brazilian-born in Australia in 1901. Thereafter the Brazilian population in Australia remained small, until the late 1960s and early 1970s when migration

from Latin America began on a larger scale. By 1971 there were 823 Brazilians in Australia and their number doubled over the following decade.

Traditionally, Brazilians have tended to settle in New South Wales and Victoria, mainly in Sydney and Melbourne. For example, of the 96 Brazilians in Australia in 1911, 26 were reported to be living in New South Wales and a further 30 in Victoria. This preference for the south-eastern States has continued: in 1981, 54 per cent lived in New South Wales and 21 per cent in Victoria.

The majority of Brazilians have migrated for family or personal reasons and, to a lesser extent, for reasons related to economic and employment opportunities in Australia. According to unpublished statistics supplied by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, of the 335 Brazilian settlers who arrived in Australia between July 1982 and June 1985, 114 came under the family migration category and 56 came under the labour shortage category.

A significant number of Brazilians has also migrated to Australia under Commonwealth government refugee and humanitarian programs. In the 1980s the Australian government maintained a higher profile

in the Latin American region and, after May 1981, operated programs for the migration of refugees and other individuals not qualifying for refugee status. Between July 1982 and June 1985, 92 Brazilians arrived under the Special Humanitarian Program and a further seven arrived as refugees.

Brazilians in Australia are Portuguese speakers, although many are able to speak, or at least understand, Spanish. The majority are of European (Portuguese) descent, although some are of mestizo (Portuguese and American Indian) descent or of mulatto (Portuguese and black African) descent. The majority (53 per cent) are Catholics, but 20 per cent are Protestants and 3 per cent are non-Christians. This reflects the cultural and religious diversity that is characteristic of Brazil.

Brazilians in Australia are generally well educated, most having the equivalent of at least mid-secondary education (73 per cent) and a high level of proficiency in English (81 per cent). The majority of Brazilian workers in Australia are either skilled or semi-skilled: 40 per cent of males are tradesmen or production process workers, and 29 per cent of females are clerical workers. A relatively high proportion of Brazilians are professionals (14.1 per cent, compared with 13.6 per cent for all Australians).

The Brazilian community has established several clubs (such as the Brazilian Samba Social Centre in Sydney and the Brazilian Centre in Melbourne), which organise social, cultural and sporting activities. Without doubt, the major social event each year is the religious festival of the Carnival which, as in Brazil, is celebrated at the beginning of Lent. Although the Australian version of Carnival is on a much smaller scale than its Brazilian counterpart, there is usually a major fiesta at which Brazilian rhythms, such as the samba and the bossanova, are danced and at which traditional food is served. Furthermore, the popularity of the Carnival is such that other Latin Americans and Australians take part in the celebrations. Finally, there is some contact between the Brazilian and Portuguese communities in Australia and some Brazilians participate in activities organised by Portuguese community groups.

R. ADLER



■ BRAZILIAN MUSICIANS PLAYING AT THE LYGON STREET FESTA IN CARLTON, MELBOURNE, IN 1986.
Elizabeth Gilliam.

CHILEANS

ON 26 JUNE 1837 the first two Chileans known to have set foot on Australian soil were put ashore in Sydney. One of them was the former president of Chile, General Ramon Freire. Defeated in an attempt to regain power, the general had been condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to exile on Easter Island, which was then used as a penal station. Later, the Chilean government, afraid of an attempt by the Peruvian navy to rescue its political prisoners, sent a vessel with orders to deposit Freire and a companion in Australia. Freire did not stay long in Sydney, but returned to South America where he lived quietly until his death.

Over a century later, after the military coup in Chile in 1973 and right up to the present day, Australia has accepted a number of political refugees, some of whom came directly from concentration camps and prisons. An even greater number of Chileans decided to emigrate because of political and economic problems in their homeland. By the mid-1980s, close to 15 000 Chileans lived in Australia. But, for over a century after Freire's short exile in Sydney, the number of Chileans and other Latin Americans in Australia remained small.

Chile occupies a unique position in South America: the country forms a narrow band stretching along the west coast of the continent for over 4000 km. Chile's southern and northern extremes are sparsely inhabited and most of its 12 million inhabitants dwell between latitudes 30° and 42°S. Its main port is Valparaiso and its capital is Santiago.

Distance has not been the only obstacle to greater contact between Australia and Chile. In the past, both nations were oriented more towards Europe and the United States of America than to Southern Hemisphere countries on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. The eastern and central Pacific was of limited importance to Chile, except for a short period in the mid-nineteenth century when trade expanded towards Oceania, and the Chilean silver coin, the peso, became standard currency in the southern Pacific Ocean. Before the opening of the Panama Canal, the obligatory passage through the dangerous waters of the Straits of Magellan or Cape Horn brought ships destined for the west coast of the United States of America or the South Pacific

to Chilean shores. Chile itself, however, never developed a merchant fleet important enough to cover more than part of the trade along its own coast and the American west coast.

Colonial, State and Commonwealth statistics provide little information about early Chilean migrants in Australia, as these were usually listed under the category 'Other America'. In 1871 and 1881, 24 Chileans were recorded in Victoria; 11 in 1891; and 22 in 1901. In 1891 the census of the colony of New South Wales counted 53 Chileans and the census of Western Australia recorded five. By 1901 there were 90 Chileans in Australia. Thus, during the whole of the nineteenth century, the number of Chilean immigrants was insignificant. Of the few who arrived, little is known, but there are reasonable grounds to assume that most would have been part of the gold-rush era of the 1850s.

A significant wheat trade developed between Chile and Australia for a short period between 1853 and 1866, but this did not lead to an expansion of contacts between the two countries. The sudden demand for foodstuffs and other consumer goods created by the influx of new arrivals to Australia exceeded local production. Amongst other necessities, large quantities of wheat and flour had to be imported, but only for a few years until the demand could be satisfied locally through the expansion of agricultural activities on newly cleared land. The situation was dramatically reversed 100 years later, when Chilean grain producers, in an ever-deepening crisis since the 1960s, were unable to satisfy local demand and large quantities of wheat had to be imported from other countries including Australia, which had become one of the world's largest wheat-exporting nations.

Neither the gold-rush nor the wheat trade led to large numbers of Chilean migrants coming to Australia. This contrasts markedly with the massive flow of some 30 000 Chileans to the Californian goldfields during the American gold-rush. This large contingent of non-English-speaking fortune seekers was severely persecuted by Yankee vigilante gangs and, as a result, some Chileans left the American goldfields for the newly discovered goldfields of Ballarat and Bendigo. A mill near

Ballarat still bears the inscription 'Chilean Mill', and mention is made of the presence of '16 Chilean miners' in the *Bathurst Free Press* in the early 1850s.

The episodic character of this early Chilean migration to Australia is confirmed by census data which show a steady decline in Latin-American-born residents during the nineteenth century. Similarly, very few Chileans decided to come to Australia during the first six decades of the twentieth century, when large contingents of Chileans emigrated to Argentina, the United States of America and some European countries. The colloquial phrase *Chileno, pata de perro* (the fleet-footed Chilean) expresses the popular vision of their readiness to go abroad to seek their fortune. In more recent times, and especially after 1973, the steady trickle of emigrants has become a flood. Estimates of Chileans abroad in 1986 go as high as 1 million. Chilean migrants started to arrive in Australia after 1968, drawn by expectations of employment opportunities and high living standards. The assisted migration scheme also enticed increasing numbers of Chileans to apply to come to Australia. Many Chileans considered emigration as an alternative to the fluctuations of the economic situation and the political climate at home.

Up to the mid-1980s Chilean migrants have come to Australia in three main waves associated with events in their homeland. The first wave was prompted by the economic difficulties and worsening political situation that dominated the last two years (1968–70) of the Christian-Democrat government under President Frei. Economic stagnation and lack of employment opportunities on the one hand, and increasing violence in politics on the other, made emigration a very attractive solution to many Chileans. Between 1968 and 1970, some 1500 migrants, mainly from middle-class backgrounds (professionals, business managers, technicians and tradesmen), arrived in Australia. These people generally had a relatively high level of education and at least a basic knowledge of English. Some brought capital to set up businesses. Few relied on assisted passages or other help from the Australian government. Unlike later arrivals, they were not lodged in hostels and did not choose to live in areas with a high migrant concentration.

The second wave followed the election of the leftist candidate, Salvador Allende, to the presidency in late 1970. Uncertainty about the country's political and economic future, combined with political violence (which culminated in the murder of the commander-in-chief of the Chilean armed forces, General Schneider), contributed to a crisis in which some hastily sold their belongings and emigrated. Together with the previous group, these people could be called 'anticipatory refugees'. In the period 1970–73, 2000 Chileans arrived in Australia. Many of these migrants shared the same characteristics of the pre-1970 arrivals; they were educated, at least partly literate in the English language, and some arrived with capital. After the military coup of 1973, many returned to Chile.

The third wave was a result of the political situation after the military coup of September 1973. Not since the civil war of 1891 had such a large number of Chileans fled the country in fear of their lives. Since the coup there has been continuing persecution and blacklisting of opponents to military rule, serious economic crises and very high unemployment rates. A large proportion of school leavers and university graduates have little prospect of employment, adding to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed adults. Political and economic factors combined to produce a sharp increase in demand for entry to Australia. This coincided with a change in Australia's attitude towards refugees during the time of the Whitlam Labor Government (1972–75), allowing a greater number to enter Australia and receive special assistance.

Chileans have continued to try to emigrate in large numbers. While the number of Chilean migrants who have fled for political reasons appears to have declined, the economic factors that are driving Chileans to migrate are inextricably interwoven with political factors. The Australian Embassy in Santiago has been flooded by applications for



■ A CHILEAN FOLKLOPIC GROUP AT THE 1987 AUSTRALIA DAY CELEBRATIONS IN CANBERRA.
Dragi Markovic.

migration to Australia. About 4000 people apply every month, of whom no more than a few are finally accepted. Those with the greatest chances of being accepted are relatives of Chileans already settled in Australia and those eligible under the Special Humanitarian Program, which allowed some 650 Chileans to migrate to Australia in 1985.

Census data show 83 Chileans in 1911, 151 in 1921 and 95 in 1933. Subsequent censuses included Chileans in the 'Other America' category, but in 1981 they were again listed separately, and numbered almost 14 000.

The number of arrivals from 'Other America' increased sharply from 1963 onwards, peaking in 1971 at almost 6000 arrivals. It has been estimated that some 30 per cent of all Latin American arrivals in Australia during the late 1960s to early 1970s period came from Chile. The next largest group was that of the Uruguayans. From 1974, when immigration statistics became available for Chile, to 1981, there was a net intake of 9500 Chileans. The difference between that figure and that of the 1981 census indicates that at least 4500 Chileans had arrived in Australia before 1973. These would include a few hundred pre-1968 arrivals and an annual intake of the order of some 600–700 immigrants between 1968 and 1973. The number of Chileans who returned to their homeland after the military coup was much smaller than might have been expected. The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs estimated that 1280 of the immigrants were political refugees. Furthermore, 334 Chileans were granted permanent resident status between 1976 and 1985. Deportation of illegal Chilean immigrants affected only 18 persons between 1970–71 and 1983–84.

Almost the entire Chilean community resides in New South Wales (62 per cent) and Victoria (29 per cent) and is highly concentrated in a few urban areas. Three out of four Chileans in Australia live in either

Sydney (about 50 per cent) or Melbourne (about 20 per cent), and one out of three Chileans lives in the western suburbs of Sydney. The largest concentrations are to be found in Fairfield (11 per cent of all Chileans in Australia), Botany (5 per cent), and Campbelltown (4 per cent). In Victoria, Springvale and the city of Melbourne have the largest concentrations, with about 4 per cent each.

The number of naturalised Chileans has increased substantially since the mid-1970s, indicating the more permanent nature of their settlement in Australia. By 1981, 32 per cent had acquired Australian citizenship.

Census data, interviews and information gathered from members of the Chilean community give the following picture of the Chilean migrant in Australia: often a blue-collar worker; married; has completed

primary (eight years in Chile) and either technical or secondary education; speaks Spanish both at home and in social life and speaks sufficient English for work; and works overtime often, or has more than one job to save enough money to own a home or pay off a mortgage. Chileans socialise with each other in clubs; for example, the New Chilean Club in Sydney, which was founded in 1983. Soccer is the main sport played—the soccer club Chile United has twice won the Ethnic Soccer championship against 16 other ethnic teams—but there are also many cultural activities, including folk-dances, music and theatre. There is no Chilean newspaper, but several Spanish-language publications—in particular the *Español en Australia*—cover events in Chile and South America, as well as matters of interest to the Spanish-speaking communities in Australia.

H. SCHNEIDER

COLOMBIANS

THE COLOMBIAN community in Australia, like that of many other Central and South American countries, is small. In 1981 there were 1290 Colombian-born in Australia and most of these (80 per cent) were living in New South Wales (mainly Sydney) and Victoria (mainly Melbourne).

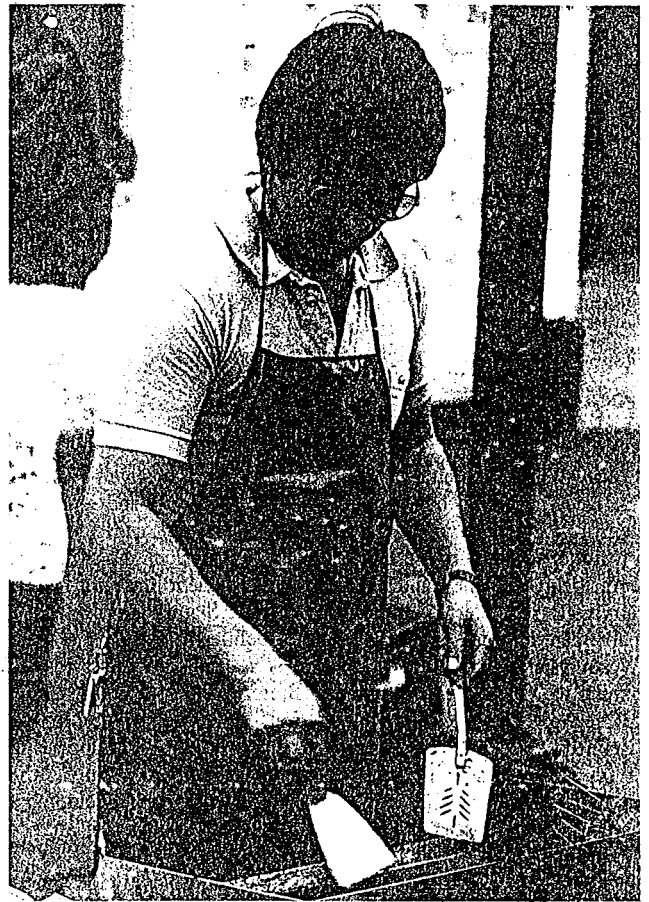
Colombian migration to Australia was insignificant until the 1970s. The first indication of a Colombian presence in Australia is found in the 1911 census which recorded four Colombians in Australia—two in New South Wales, one in Victoria and one in Queensland. Subsequent censuses included Colombians in the category of 'other countries in America' or 'other countries in South America', and although it is not possible to determine their precise number, it is reasonable to infer that the number of Colombians remained small. It was not until the Commonwealth government expanded its immigration program to Latin America in the late 1960s and offered assisted passages that Colombian emigration to Australia increased.

Colombian emigration to Australia has been gradual. It has not been prompted by changes of government or political upheavals generating large numbers of refugees and migrants, as has been the case in Chile. Many Colombians who come to Australia are motivated by personal reasons, particularly the desire to join relatives or friends already resident in Australia. In 1984–85, 78 per cent of Colombian settlers came under the family migration category. Others are motivated by economic factors, believing that Australia will provide employment, as well as educational and economic opportunities that they perceive to be unavailable in Colombia. Some Colombian immigrants are women who respond to personal advertisements placed by Australian males in the Colombian press and who arrive as 'mail-order brides'. A very small number of Colombians have come to Australia as refugees; between July 1977 and June 1985 a total of 11 Colombians came under the Commonwealth government's refugee program and Special Humanitarian Program.

There are also some illegal Colombian immigrants in Australia, the majority being tourists who have overstayed the period allowed by their visas. However, some Colombians have been victims of deception and on arrival in Australia have unknowingly become illegal immigrants. In one such case, a Colombian travel agency claimed to be able to organise visas, employment and accommodation—for a fee—for would-be Colombian emigrants to Australia. Upon arrival in Australia, many of these people discovered that they had been deceived and some were subsequently deported.

Half of the Colombians in Australia work in trades and as production process workers. About 10 per cent have professional or technical qualifications. Problems in gaining recognition for professional and technical qualifications obtained overseas have tended to discourage the migration of professional and highly skilled workers. Professional people who have migrated have often done so for reasons other than economic ones, namely, because of their dissatisfaction with the political and social system in Colombia.

Colombians in Australia are generally well educated, most (78 per cent) having at least the equivalent of mid-secondary education, and 62 per cent have a good command of English. They share many characteristics with other Latin Americans: they are Spanish speakers, they are generally of mestizo descent (that is, with ancestors of Spanish



■ JANER TORRES, FROM COLOMBIA, COOKING AT A FOOD STALL IN JOHNSTON STREET, COLLINGWOOD, MELBOURNE, IN 1986.
Dragi Markovic.

and American Indian origin) and the majority (79 per cent) are Catholics.

Colombians have a strongly developed sense of national identity and maintain strong personal and cultural ties with their country. Many do not intend to remain in Australia permanently. Nevertheless, regardless of long-term intentions, the Colombian community has a strongly developed social network and has established several clubs catering for the social, sporting and cultural interests of Colombians in Australia. One major community event each year is the celebration of Colombia's National Day (which commemorates Colombia's independence from Spain) on 19 July. This celebration usually involves a fiesta at which traditional food and drinks such as *bunuelos* (fried bread balls), *arepas* (Colombian-style bread), *tajadas* (fried, sliced plantains), *empanadas* (Colombian fried pastries) and *aguardiente* (an alcoholic beverage) are served, and at which the traditional rhythm of the *cumbia* is danced. The Colombians have played a major role in introducing the Australian community to the culture, and particularly the music, of the Andean region.

R. ADLER

ECUADORANS

ECUADORAN IMMIGRATION to Australia has been very limited and, as a consequence, the Ecuadoran population in Australia is very small. The first indication of an Ecuadoran presence in Australia is found in the 1911 census, which recorded only two Ecuadorans. In subsequent censuses Ecuadorans are not listed separately, but it is likely that, as in the case of other Latin American groups, their number remained small until the late 1960s and early 1970s when immigration from South America began on a larger scale. In 1981 almost all of the 905 Ecuadorans had been in Australia for less than 15 years. The majority arrived between 1972 and 1976.

Most Ecuadoran immigrants (86 per cent) have settled in New South Wales (mainly Sydney). This trend of settlement is likely to continue as most recently arriving settlers (1981-85) chose New South Wales as their State of residence.

In most cases the reasons for migration to Australia have been of a personal or family nature. In a smaller number of cases, migration has been motivated by economic or employment considerations. The majority of Ecuadoran immigrants are either skilled or semi-skilled workers. More than half work in trades and as production process workers.

Almost two-thirds of Ecuadoran settlers have at least the equivalent of mid-secondary education and, in some cases, tertiary education, but a significant proportion (about 20 per cent) left school before the age of 15. This finding is in sharp contrast to the findings for other comparable Latin American groups (such as the Colombians and Peruvians), who have more highly educated populations and much lower percentages of persons having left school early. However, the Ecuadorans have a generally high level of proficiency in English (68 per cent).

As is the case with many other Latin Americans in Australia, the Indian origin), are native speakers of Spanish and are mostly Catholic (77 per cent).

The Ecuadorans have formed a number of community organisations, the best known being the Ecuador Social and Sporting Club. Based in Sydney, this organisation arranges social, cultural, educational and sporting activities for the Ecuadoran and Latin American community. It also has a women's group which provides assistance to Ecuadoran women and organises social activities. In addition to the Ecuador Social and Sporting Club there are a few dance groups which perform at Latin American community functions.

R. ADLER

SALVADORANS

THE SALVADORANS form one of Australia's newest and smallest immigrant communities. The first major influx of Salvadorans occurred in July 1983, when a group of 75 arrived in Australia under the Commonwealth government's Special Humanitarian Program. The government of El Salvador had asked the Australian government to resettle ex-political prisoners who had been given permission to leave the country under amnesty. Most of these people had been held without trial in jail for political reasons and had experienced torture and physical deprivation.

Between 1983 and 1986 Australia accepted approximately 1200 Salvadorans under either the Commonwealth government's refugee program or the Special Humanitarian Program. Although the first few groups came directly from El Salvador, subsequent groups have consisted of refugees who had been in countries such as Mexico and Costa Rica, often for considerable periods of time, prior to their departure for Australia.

The first Salvadorans to arrive in Australia were settled in Sydney. Subsequent groups have also been settled in Melbourne and, to a lesser extent, in Brisbane. Given that many of the more recent arrivals and many potential immigrants are related to Salvadorans already resident in Australia, it is reasonable to expect that this trend of settlement will continue.

The Salvadorans in Australia are of predominantly mestizo origin (Spanish and American Indian descent) and are native speakers of Spanish. In general, the Salvadorans are Catholic, although some are members of Protestant and fundamentalist religious denominations. Many of the Salvadorans believe in the philosophy of 'liberation theology', which advocates church involvement in issues that involve questions of social justice and human rights. In this regard, many Salvadorans revere the memory of the late Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was active both in human rights issues and on behalf of the poor and who was assassinated in March 1980 by right-wing death squads whilst he was celebrating mass.

Since the majority of Salvadorans in Australia are political refugees, most are sympathetic to the opposition forces in El Salvador. There are some, however, who support the Salvadoran government. This situation has caused some political division and tensions within the Salvadoran community in Australia. Fortunately, however, it has not created serious problems nor affected the Salvadorans' successful integration with Australian society.

Salvadorans in Australia have generally completed at least nine years of schooling and are employed in a wide range of occupations, from unskilled work to the professions. Although it is often difficult to obtain recognition of qualifications gained overseas, many have been able to find suitable employment. Nevertheless, a major obstacle to finding satisfactory employment for most Salvadorans has been their



■ SALVADORANS IN A MELBOURNE CLUB.

Dragi Markovic.

lack of English. Most Salvadorans have little or no knowledge of English upon arrival in Australia, and as a result many otherwise qualified Salvadorans have had to accept labouring and other unskilled jobs. Upon arrival, many have enrolled in English classes and have become proficient in English.

The Salvadoran community in Australia has rapidly developed a support network. Several community groups, such as the Salvadoran Association (Melbourne), the Oscar Arnulfo Romero Association (Melbourne) and Aca Cuchumaquic (Melbourne) have formed to organise social and cultural activities. Probably the best-known Salvadoran organisation is the folkloric dance group Cuzcatlan, which was established in 1984, shortly after the arrival of the first Salvadorans in Melbourne.

This group has performed in Melbourne at the Footscray Festival and the Moomba Festival, in Sydney at the Shell National Folkloric Festival, at Victoria's 150th anniversary celebrations, and at various other functions organised by Melbourne's Latin American community. Salvadorans have also become involved in sporting activities in Australia, particularly in soccer. They have also offered Spanish language and conversation classes in exchange for English lessons. Although programs of this nature have been organised only on an informal basis, they have proved successful and have drawn enthusiastic responses from both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking participants.

R. ADLER

PARAGUAYANS

PARAGUAYAN SETTLEMENT in Australia has been the corollary of a late nineteenth century emigration to South America by Australians in search of utopia. Led by the journalist and trade unionist William Lane, the first contingent of Australians (many of whom were bush workers who had been involved in the Queensland shearers' strike of 1891) left Sydney in 1893, bound via Cape Horn for Paraguay. This inland republic of subtropical forests and plains between Brazil, Argentina and Bolivia was inhabited by a people of Guarani-Indian and Spanish stock. Its population had been reduced some 20 years earlier to less than 250 000 by a disastrous war against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay (1864-70), and the country was desperately encouraging immigration.

In Paraguay the Australians took up free land, which had not been obtainable in their homeland, 176 km south-east of the Paraguayan capital, Asunción. The colony was called 'New Australia', and after

a schism a second colony named 'Cosme' was established 72 km south of New Australia.

Although the colonies never became economically viable and had lost their utopian impulse by the end of the century, between 500 and 600 Australians lived there during the 1890s. Some eventually left Paraguay, but others remained. Their children married Paraguayans but retained an awareness of their Australian origin.

When the author of a history of New Australia and Cosme (G. Souter, *A Peculiar People: The Australians in Paraguay*, 1968) visited Paraguay in 1965, he estimated that there were about 200 Paraguayan Australians living at Cosme and New Australia and around Asunción. As a result of this visit, Peter Wood—the 18-year-old grandson of two Cosme settlers, William and Lillian Wood—who spoke Spanish and Guarani but little English, emigrated to Australia in 1966. He is believed to have been Australia's first immigrant of Paraguayan birth and the first Australian to have made the return journey since the 1920s.

With help from Al Grassby, MLA, Peter Wood settled at Griffith in the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area of New South Wales. The choice was appropriate, for his grandfather (mentioned by name in one of Henry Lawson's short stories, *Send Round the Hat*) had once been a shearer along the Murrumbidgee, and since that time the area has become one of the most cosmopolitan regions in Australia. Peter Wood married Betty Calabria, of Italian origin, and established himself as a successful real estate agent in Griffith.

Several other young members of the Wood family, and other Paraguayans unconnected with the utopian colonies, followed his example. Among them have been his cousins Carmen Wood, who manages an office in Adelaide for the transport company TNT, George Wood, who farms at Yenda, near Griffith, Charles Wood, a personnel officer in Wollongong and Don Lees, an Anglo-Argentinian businessman whose mother was a Wood of Cosme. Don Lees has established an import-export business in Sydney, trading between Australia and South America.

There were 258 Paraguayan-born in Australia in 1981, the majority (60 per cent) living in New South Wales. Their search for a 'New Paraguay' provides a pleasing symmetry with the New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association of an earlier generation.

G. SOUTER

■ EMIGRANTS LEAVING SYDNEY FOR PARAGUAY ON THE ROYAL TAR IN JULY 1893.
National Library of Australia.



PERUVIANS

THE PERUVIAN presence in Australia dates back to the late nineteenth century, as evidenced by census returns showing 28 Peruvians in 1901. Their number remained small until the late 1960s, but by 1981 the Peruvians—after the Chileans, Uruguayans and Argentinians—formed the fourth-largest Latin American community in Australia, numbering 1811. Over two-thirds of these lived in New South Wales, mainly in Sydney.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the Australian government actively recruited single Peruvian immigrants through the Peruvian press and offered assisted passages to suitable applicants. As a result, many Peruvians, particularly single women, came to Australia, and their number increased from 378 in 1971 to 1314 in 1976.

This influx of Peruvian immigrants was not, however, without problems. Many of the Peruvian female immigrants experienced difficulty in finding satisfactory employment and accommodation, and this produced concern in Peru that Australia was recruiting Peruvian women to reduce an imbalance in the Australian population, possibly even for the purposes of prostitution. Concern over the matter peaked in 1974, when several Peruvian newspapers published allegations of this nature, after which emigration from Peru suffered a temporary downturn. Since then, however, emigration from Peru has continued to increase. The majority of Peruvians have migrated for economic or personal reasons. A small number have come as refugees (14 between 1977 and 1985).

The Peruvians in Australia are generally of mestizo descent (of Spanish and American-Indian origin) and are native speakers of Spanish. Most Peruvians are Catholic (73 per cent), although a significant proportion (14 per cent) are members of Protestant and fundamentalist Christian religious denominations. This is of interest because Catholicism is the dominant religion in Peru and because a higher proportion of Peruvians in Australia are affiliated with Protestant churches than in the case of other comparable Latin American groups such as the Colombians or Ecuadorans. Furthermore, many Peruvians have converted to Protestant and fundamentalist religious denominations after arriving in Australia.

The majority of Peruvian immigrants are either skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled workers, although in 1981 a significant proportion were professional and technical workers (13.5 per cent). Almost 40 per cent of employed females were clerical workers, and 52 per cent of males were tradesmen and production process-workers.

The Peruvian community is, in general, well educated, with most (86 per cent) having at least the equivalent of mid-secondary education. Peruvians also have a high level of proficiency in English (78 per cent).



■ PERUVIAN CHILDREN AT THE 1986 JOHNSTON STREET SPANISH FIESTA IN MELBOURNE.
Elizabeth Gilliam.

This is noteworthy because the majority arrive with either limited or no knowledge of English and learn the language in Australia.

The Peruvians in Australia have become involved in a wide range of community activities. In various State capitals, clubs such as the Peruvian Club (Sydney), the Sporting Peru Cultural Club (Sydney), the Centro Peruano, or Peruvian Centre (Sydney), the Peruvian-Australian Club (Melbourne) and the Peruvian Folklore Dancing Group (Melbourne) have been established to cater for the social and cultural needs of the Peruvian community. One of the oldest and better-known of these organisations is the Peruvian Folklore Dancing Group. It was formed in Melbourne in June 1975 and consists of four smaller groups, organised according to age. It has taught Peruvian national dances and organised performances such as the *Marinera*, the *Huayno*, the *Huaylas* and the *Carnaval* for community celebrations such as *Peru Week* (*semana del Peru*), which is organised each year to commemorate Peru's National Day on 28 July. It has also participated in fiestas organised by other Latin American community groups.

The Peruvians have distinguished themselves in sport, both nationally and internationally. As well as being active participants in soccer, volleyball, basketball and cross-country running competitions, Peruvians have been champions in national boxing and judo. The three Casas brothers have participated and won prizes in the national judo titles, and the boxer Reynaldo Bello has represented Australia in competitions in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

R. ADLER

URUGUAYANS

THE URUGUAYANS are Spanish (Castilian) speakers from Latin America. The first migration wave of the people from La Republica Oriental del Uruguay arrived in Australia in the late 1960s, and the number of Uruguayans in Australia reached its peak in 1974. They are colloquially referred to as the Orientales, or Easterners, because the area that Uruguay now occupies was originally known as La Banda Oriental, the eastern shores of the Uruguay River. By 1981 there were almost 9300 Uruguayans in Australia, with the majority (80 per cent) living in New South Wales and most of the remainder in Victoria (17 per cent). In 1985 their number was estimated at 10 400.

In Sydney the distribution of Uruguayan-born residents is almost confined to the western suburbs (Fairfield 2209, Auburn 320, Blacktown 273 and Holroyd 165), the adjacent south-west (Liverpool 459), the inner west (Ashfield 222) and the south (Botany 529, Canterbury 361 and Bankstown 273). Some have settled in the central Sydney region (Marrickville 228 and Randwick 331), and the lowest density occurs throughout the northern suburban areas. The concentration of Uruguayans in the west of Sydney reflects the large proportion of assisted settlers among their number. Between 1973 and 1977, 93 per cent were assisted (4721 out of 5068) and thus were eligible for accommodation in migrant hostels. They initially stayed at the existing migrant hostels located in Sydney's western region (for example, Villawood and Westbridge). The nearby south-western and southern suburbs attracted these early waves of Uruguayan immigrants because of cheap housing and proximity to factories.

Unlike in Sydney, Uruguayans are scattered throughout Melbourne, with relative concentrations in Footscray (164), Springvale (148), Sunshine (131) and the City of Melbourne (110).

Cultural Background

Uruguayans have brought with them many aspects of their cultural heritage, including theatre, folk-dancing, music, songs and cuisine, as well as their renowned soccer skills. Uruguayan clubs and associations have organised carnival festivals and soccer competitions, particularly in Sydney. These activities provide the Australian public with a variety of colourful spectacles of historical and cultural traditions. One such tradition is the popular Uruguayan figure who encapsulates the virtues of courage, love of freedom, endurance and loyalty in Uruguayan folklore—the gaucho (stockman). The life-style of the gaucho has provided the theme for poetry and romance in Uruguayan literature ever since the Spanish colonisation of Uruguay. Born of a Spanish father and a Charrua mother (the Charruas are the original inhabitants of Uruguay), the gaucho was primarily a herdsman or pastoralist and was also acknowledged as being an accomplished horseman. His work derives from the introduction of cattle and horses to the region by the Spanish during the sixteenth century. The work of catching and mustering wild cattle and horses produced this legendary frontiersman. His clothing, a symbol of Uruguayan national folklore, consisted of a poncho (a woollen blanket over his shoulder, used as a greatcoat), jacket, vest, cotton shirt and a *chiripa* (a sort of loincloth he used over his *bombachas*, or balloon trousers). He also wore a belt studded with silver. The *lazo* (lasso) and *bolas*, or *boleadoras*, were the weapons with which he felled the cattle and procured his food. His beverage was yerba maté or cimarron (black or bitter maté), known in English as Paraguay tea or holly (*Ilex paraguayensis*), which is today Uruguay's most popular drink.

In addition to this folk image, the gaucho had an important political role in the early development of the Uruguayan nation. Gauchos of this period are considered to be epic characters, men symbolised by such as José Artigas, also known as the Libertador. Following Uruguay's political independence from Argentina in 1828, two caudillos (leaders of a party of gauchos or armies of gauchos) founded the two political

parties—Fructuosa Rivera founded the Colorado (red) Party, and Manuel Oribe the Blanco (white) Party. These parties dominated the country's politics until the 1960s.

Uruguayans have many other cultural traditions, also originating from the formation of the Uruguayan nation. Like Australia, Uruguay has been a country of immigration. Late in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century European immigration transformed this former Spanish colonial society. In 1908, 42 per cent of the population of Montevideo was foreign-born. Most of these immigrants were of Italian and Spanish (including Basque) origins. However, there were also some French, Swiss, Polish and German immigrants. The integration of immigrants, as citizens vested with all rights, into the political and economic structures of Uruguay proceeded along democratic principles, in contrast to the situation in other South American nations.

The Economic and Political Condition of Uruguay 1950–1970

Until the 1950s the Uruguayan democracy, with free elections based on the secret ballot, experienced relative prosperity, with industrialisation and considerable infrastructural changes directing the nation towards an export economy. Uruguay was a leading producer of meat, wool and wheat. Workers' incomes were higher than those of other Latin American countries, and Uruguay was the first nation in the region to develop a comprehensive welfare system. Montevideo was one of the most progressive cities in the world; it harboured nearly 80 per cent of the country's population and dominated all the major political, commercial, industrial, social, cultural and educational activities of the nation. Visitors to Montevideo described the capital as friendly and neat; they supported the view that it deserved its title of the 'City of Roses'.

However, during the 1960s and 1970s economic conditions in Uruguay sharply deteriorated. This was caused by many factors, such as cost of living increases, inflation and growing unemployment. The country's national debt and budget deficits were also increased by successive periods of drought and flood, which caused reductions in agricultural production, leading to increases in food prices and the rate of inflation. These conditions, together with political repression, influenced professionals, technicians and many tradespeople to emigrate. The early 1970s, particularly, were marked by unprecedented unemployment in the industrial, agricultural and services sectors. This coincided with intensified and systematic suppression of organised political movements and freedom of expression through imprisonments, political persecution and executions. These economic and political conditions induced Uruguayans to emigrate to more democratic societies.

Settlement Patterns

Uruguayan immigrants in Australia are predominantly former city dwellers who are of European descent or who were even born in Europe. In 1981 both males and females were particularly concentrated in the 20–39-year age group, the prime work-force age. Their occupational background varies considerably; many already had skills and work experience in manufacturing industries, while others were professionals (mainly schoolteachers and social workers). Tradespeople and technicians have found employment with relatively fewer difficulties than former professionals and clerical workers. Some Uruguayans have established commercial enterprises and own ethnic newspaper companies, restaurants, hairdressing salons and travel agencies.

Uruguayan settlement in Australia is complex, often encompassing three generations with different birthplaces, including those people born in Australia. The family structure is predominantly nuclear, although

there are, to a lesser extent, extended families. The 'family' can mean the nuclear family—the couple and their offspring (including those yet to be born), or these plus one adult's parents and siblings; the extended family—the kin group, consisting of persons related by blood and/or marital alliances; or the institution of *compadrazgo* (godparenthood) and other forms of friendship, which create social relationships among individuals who are not necessarily related by blood or marriage. The extended nature of the common Uruguayan family and the roles prescribed for family members have significant influences on the lives of the settlers.

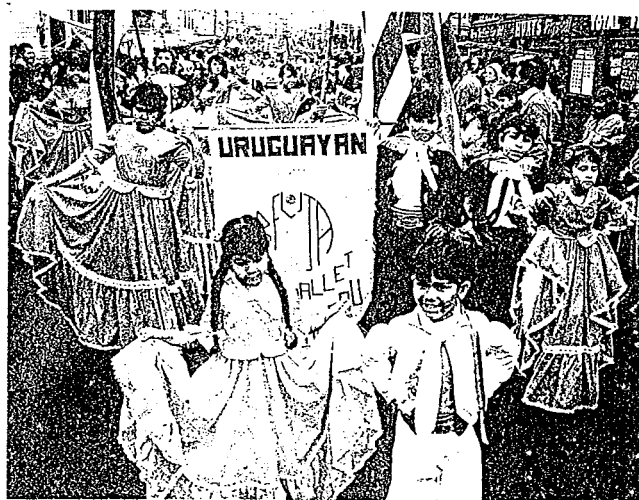
Household arrangements vary—there are those in which the pioneer nuclear migrant family has been joined by one or more elderly relatives, creating a three-generation household; there are collateral extended families, consisting of siblings and their spouses and children who, on settling in Australia, have retained nuclear interrelated but independent households; and there are isolated nuclear families without kin in Australia. Most three-generation households are composed of an elderly woman, most probably a widow, a married couple and their children. Less frequent are households composed of an elderly couple, their married daughter or son, and the spouse and grandchildren. Likewise, collateral extended families residing together in one household are rare. Usually migrants whose respective families have joined their married or unmarried siblings in Australia are expected to establish their own independent or nearby residences.

The Uruguayan family structure in Australia is thus characterised by a vertical (grandparents, parents and children) and horizontal (collateral) pattern. Bi-collateral extended families, whereby both spouses have siblings also living in Australia, constitute the least frequent form of family structure. This suggests that the Uruguayan family is still in the process of change and adaptation in Australia. Nuclear families living in independent households prevail, followed by three-generation households. These residences are tied to one another through the maintenance of networks of relationships. Having a kin network and being identified with the neighbourhood are very important social values for these families.

Two major interrelated aspects are influential in this process of migrant family formation: first, cultural conventions emphasising family solidarity, which generate strong ties of mutual help between siblings; and, second, the custom of stressing responsibility for, and devotion towards, aged parents and, above all, widowed mothers. These responsibilities do not cease after emigration.

Community Life

Most Uruguayan ethnic organisations are found in New South Wales, for example, the Uruguayan social and sporting clubs located in Guildford and Marrickville and the Uruguayan Family Centre of Illawarra at Warrawong. Among those established in Victoria are the Centro Popular Uruguayo de Victoria, with its premises at Braybrook



■ CHILDREN FROM A URUGUAYAN BALLET SCHOOL IN MELBOURNE.
Dragi Markovic.

and Balaclava, and the Uruguayan theatrical group La Fragata, based at West Brunswick. Uruguayans tend to join other ethnic organisations—particularly in the western suburbs of Sydney—because of a shared linguistic background, and they also participate in informal neighbourhood groups.

Uruguayan migrants are often multilingual. In addition to English, they often speak Spanish and Italian in the work-place as well as in their neighbourhoods and clubs. Those born in Australia or who arrived at an early age speak Spanish as well as English. Uruguayan-born children and Australian-born children of Uruguayan parents attend Australian public schools (particularly in Sydney's western suburbs) as well as weekly Spanish language schools.

The 1981 census data indicate that a substantial proportion of Uruguayans claimed to be Catholics and fewer had other Christian affiliations (Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh-Day Adventists). A sizeable proportion stated they had no religion. However, Uruguayan settlers are seldom members of religious groups or involved in church organisations. Many factors might influence the reluctance of Uruguayans to join a church: their past experiences within their home country, their objections to certain principles advocated and sponsored by Catholic or Protestant churches, and also, for those who are firm believers, the strangeness of the forms of worship and services and the lack of religious parades in Australia. Despite its potential, religion does not appear to be a social force that provides or develops the structural framework for generating community bonds between Uruguayans in Australia.

V. MORAES-GORECKI

COMMUNITY PROFILES

ARGENTINA - CHILE - ECUADOR - PERU - URUGUAY

GUATEMALA - EL SALVADOR - NICARAGUA

Elske Revilla De Write¹ said: "Although sharing the same language, Spanish-speaking settlers (Latin Americans) in Australia are not a homogeneous group. They come from a number of different countries, with distinct cultural traditions, political characteristics, history, population, ethnic mixture, etc."

In order to understand these communities it is important to highlight the main characteristics of some of these countries and the patterns of migration of these groups to Australia.

"At the moment" there are around 300 million people who speak Spanish throughout the world, and Spanish is the official language of 22 countries. Brazil with a population of 153 million have Portuguese as official language. However, the major groups that have settled in Australia have come from Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Perú, Ecuador and more recently from El Salvador and Nicaragua."

Some aspects of their patterns of settlement and other characteristics are outlined below:

¹ Spanish-Speaking Young People, Community Profile, Needs and Issues of Concern, The NSW Spanish and Latin American Association for Social Assistance, Sydney, May, 1994.

ARGENTINIANS

During the 1950's, Argentina's economy entered a difficult period, characterized by high levels of unemployment, low wages and high inflation rates, which together with increasing political repression prompted many Argentinians to emigrate. (Moraes-Gorecki, 1987; Encyclopedia of the Third World, 1992).

Between 1966 and 1973, the situation of the country worsened, and political persecution, imprisonments, oppression, and labour discontent increased. A military Junta came into power in 1976, which overthrew Peron's government. From this year onwards, conflicts between the government, guerrillas and leftists were common. Approximately 5000 people were killed and many others were incarcerated. (Moraes- Gorecki, 1987; Encyclopedia of the Third World, 1992).

Argentina's political and economic situation deteriorated and as a result, large numbers of people fled the country. Military persecution, torture, disappearance of people and extreme violation of human rights were some of the aspects which characterised Argentina during that period.

Argentinian settlers started entering Australia in the early 1970's, although there are records that show that approximately 1800 Argentinians were living in the country before 1971.

In 1970, Australia appointed an Immigration Officer to Buenos Aires (the first in Latin America), and as a result, a flow of immigrants from Argentina, as well as from other South American countries started. By 1981 it is estimated that 8100 Argentinians were living in Australia. This number increased in the following years; however, the intake rate began to decline since the early 80s.

Argentinians have a diverse ethnic mixture. Their descents include Italian and Spanish and in a smaller proportion Polish, German, French, Russian and British (Lukas, I. , in Jupp, J., 1988). Argentinian settlers in Australia were urbanised and skilled or semi-skilled workers with a basic knowledge of English upon arrival. The majority of them were trades persons and blue collar workers, and a smaller percentage were professionals and technicians. They generally had a relatively high level of education.

A significant number of Argentinians have settled in NSW, concentrating in the Western suburbs of Sydney (Fairfield). A large number can also be found in the Botany area of Sydney and in Melbourne. Argentinians are the third largest group of Spanish-speakers in Sydney.

ECUADORANS

As it is the case of many other South American settlers, migration from Ecuador to Australia began in the early 1970's. Before that period there is no account of a great number of Ecuadorans living in the country, as they were usually included under the 'Other America' category.

The reasons that prompted most Ecuadorans to emigrate from their country seem to be personal or family related, however, economic factors are also an important reason. Most of them were semi-skilled or skilled workers upon arrival to Australia, and were employed in trades and in process-work positions. They had a high level of English proficiency, although they relatively showed lower levels of education than other South American settlers.

The Ecuadoran community in Australia is relatively small, with the majority living in NSW, mainly in Sydney. They have mostly settled in the Inner Sydney suburbs, where more than one third of the total population of Ecuadorans in Sydney live. (Statistics from the 1991 Census show that there is a total of 816 Ecuadorans living in Sydney, and 344 live in the Inner Sydney suburbs only). They are the eighth largest group of Spanish-speakers in Australia and Sydney.

NICARAGUANS

Between 1938 and 1979, Nicaragua was ruled by the Somoza family whose dictatorship and power over the economy of the country originated widespread discontent. Human rights violations, political corruption and opposition led to the overthrow of the government in 1979 by a leftist guerrilla organisation. Opposition to this government increased in the following years and instability prompted many Nicaraguans to leave their homeland.

Together with Salvadoreans, Nicaraguans are the first group of Central Americans that arrived in Australia. They began entering the country in 1973/1974. Most of them were refugees escaping from the political unrest and military interventions in Nicaragua. Many Nicaraguans arrived under the Special Humanitarian Program or Refugee Program.

The majority of them came from rural areas of their country. Only a small percentage came as middle class professionals and tradespeople. By 1989, it is estimated that there were 650 settlers coming from Nicaragua. They have mostly settled in NSW. Statistics from the 1991 Census indicate that a total of 423 Nicaraguans are living in Sydney. They are concentrated in the Western suburbs of Sydney and in the Outer South Western suburbs of Campbelltown, Camden and Wollondilly.

Since the 1930's El Salvador has been governed by military forces, with the army in control of politics through various civilian and military juntas. During the 1970's a number of guerrilla groups were formed as a result of discontent with the government. In 1981 a civil war began. Guerrilla groups had control over several areas in the country. Hundreds of civilians were murdered by the army and death squads. Approximately 300,000 Salvadoreans, were refugees by the end of that year (Encyclopedia of the Third World, 1992).

The first group of Salvadoreans to arrive in Australia came in July 1983 under the Special Humanitarian Program. There were 77 persons and were selected from a group of 500 political prisoners who had gained freedom as a result of an amnesty established by the Salvadorean government, which allowed them to leave the country (DIEA, 1986). Many of these people experienced torture while they were in gaol.

According to the 1986 Census there were approximately 2100 Salvadoreans in Australia. After that year, it is estimated that more than 4,500 Salvadoreans have settled in Australia, with the majority of them living in Victoria. By 1991 there were approximately 1,600 in Sydney only, making this community the sixth largest group of Spanish-speakers in Sydney.

The first group of Salvadorean settlers to arrive in Australia, showed a number of health-related problems (e.g. alcoholism and psychological problems, such as trauma). These were mainly originated by the horrific experiences they went through during the civil war. Many Salvadoreans have experienced or witnessed torture and/or have been under arrest, suffered death threats and other traumatic experiences.

- In Australia, there are some Salvadoreans who support the
- Salvadorean Government, while there are others who support the
- opposition. This has originated political division and in some cases,
- conflict within the community.

Because of the experiences of many Salvadoreans in their country, they have found important difficulties in adapting to the Australian society. In addition, and obviously related to, the war experience, Salvadoreans had a low level of English proficiency upon arrival to Australia, unrecognised educational qualifications, and in some cases low level of education and illiteracy in Spanish. (Adler, R., in Jupp, J., 1988).

Statistics from the 1991 Census show that Salvadoreans in NSW tend to concentrate in the Western suburbs of Sydney (Fairfield and Liverpool). A high number are also living in Blacktown and Baulkham Hills, as well as in the Outer South Western suburbs of Campbelltown and Camden.

PERUVIANS

As other migrants from South America, Peruvians began to settle in Australia in the late 1960's and early 1970's. The Australian government advertised migration to Australia throughout Peru, with special advantages for single women who wanted to emigrate. Many Peruvians came under the Assisted Passage Program.

The number of immigrants, increased gradually until the mid 1970's. During that period, and as a result of concern from the Peruvian government about the difficulties that many women were facing to find employment and accommodation, the rate of immigration from Peru decreased. However, this situation was only temporary, and in successive years the rate increased again (Adler, A., in Jupp, J., 1988).

In the mid 1970's following reforms implemented by the government, the economic situation of Peru deteriorated, and the country suffered an important economic crisis. Juan Velasco Alvarado, the head of the government, was overthrown by the military in 1975. In 1980 the country was again under civilian rule, however economic policies originated political unrest and economic instability. Leftist guerrillas emerged and human rights violations increased. This situation prompted many Peruvians to emigrate. (Encyclopedia of the Third World, 1992).

Statistics show that by 1986, more than 2000 Peruvians had settled in Australia, and by 1991 there were 2,263 Peruvians in Sydney only. From this number, approximately 1300 were females and 1000 were male.

Many Peruvians showed a high level of English proficiency upon arrival to Australia. They were skilled to unskilled workers with relatively high level of education, and some of them were professionals or technicians.

The Peruvian community has settled mainly in the two major cities of Australia (Sydney and Melbourne), and in Sydney, they live in the Western suburbs, although a relatively high proportion live in Inner Sydney and in the Eastern suburbs. They constitute the fifth largest group of Spanish-speakers in Sydney.

URUGUAYANS

During the 1950's, Uruguay's economic and political situation began to decline. High inflation rates, political conflicts and economic stagnation were common during this period. In the 1960's a socialist revolutionary movement headed by the Tupamaros was created; however, by 1972, they were neutralized by the military, who at the same time, were actively taking part in the politics of the country (Encyclopedia of the Third World, 1992).

During the 1960's and the 1970's, Uruguay's national debt rose, inflation rates increased, and unemployment was high, particularly in the industrial, agricultural and services sectors (Moraes-Gorecki, V., in Jupp, J., 1988).

The political situation also deteriorated and together with the economic crisis of the country, forced many Uruguayans to leave their homeland. It is estimated that after the military coup that occurred in 1973, one sixth of the total population of Uruguay, that is, 500,000 people, left their country.

The peak of the Uruguayan migration to Australia was in 1974, however, Uruguayan settlers began to arrive in the late 1960's. After 1974, the rate of settler arrivals decreased and since the early 80s, it has been somewhat low.

Uruguayan settlers in Australia were predominantly urban dwellers of European descent, and in some cases, they were Europeans themselves. They were semi-skilled or skilled workers upon arrival and a small percentage were professionals. Many of them had a basic knowledge of English and a high number of them spoke another language (Italian and/or French) in addition to Spanish (Moraes-Gorecki, V. in Jupp, J., 1988).

The Uruguayan community is the second largest group of Spanish-speakers in Sydney. Approximately 80 per cent of Uruguayans in Australia live in NSW, concentrating mainly in the Western suburbs of Sydney (Fairfield/Liverpool), although some can be found in the Inner City and in the Canterbury and Bankstown suburbs of Sydney.

IMMIGRATION FROM CHILE TO AUSTRALIA—A BRIEF HISTORY

Squeezed between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes, the Republic of Chile extends 4350 kilometres along the west coast of South America, with an average width of only 180 kilometres. The coastal Cordillera and the Chilean Andes run almost the full length of the country, as does a major geophysical fault line which produces intermittent earthquakes and tremors. Between the coast and the Andes, Chile's topography ranges from the arid Atacama desert in the north, to the temperate, fertile valleys of Pampa Central where the majority of Chileans live, to the windswept islands and glaciated Andean peaks of the far south. Gran Santiago, Chile's capital and largest urban centre, lies near the centre of the country.

Chile's Spanish colonial period began in the mid-sixteenth century. However, large-scale European settlement took considerably longer to establish, due to strong resistance from the Araucanian Indians, which continued well into the nineteenth century.

The Chilean colonial economy was dependent on mining (gold, silver and especially copper) and agriculture, both of which were dominated by Spanish landowners. An urban community of Spaniards and other Europeans also developed around Santiago during this era, primarily based on trade and small-scale manufacturing.

After a period of violent conflict between loyalist landowners, urban nationalists and Araucanians in the early 1800s, independence for Chile was declared in February 1818, with Bernardo O'Higgins (son of a late eighteenth century Spanish-appointed governor of Chile) as its first president.

For the rest of the nineteenth century the landowner-backed Conservative Party dominated Chilean politics, gaining popularity and valuable territory in wars with the Peruvian-Bolivian Confederation in 1836–39 and 1879–84. However, internal social and political tensions remained strong, boiling over into civil war in 1829–30 and again in 1891.

The civil war of 1891 caused Chile's first mass emigration, with large numbers fleeing to Argentina, the USA and Europe. This upheaval was followed by a long period of political instability,

which included a parliamentary republic, a military coup (1924), constitutional reform, a brief socialist republic (1932), a return to conservative rule and the leftist Popular Front coalition (1938). Dependent as it was on copper and other raw exports, Chile was hit hard by the world-wide depression of the 1930s and became increasingly indebted.

After the Second World War, Chile's economy deteriorated further, and at the same time as European immigration increased, Chilean emigration continued, mostly to the USA or other South American countries. Under mounting financial pressure, unpopular International Monetary Fund (IMF) budgetary measures were introduced in the 1950s, weakening political authority. In 1960 Chile was hit by a series of earthquakes and tidal waves. US foreign aid was then received as a supplement to the IMF loans.

In the later 1960s the Christian Democrat President Eduardo Frei attempted to introduce land and industrial reforms, but his more radical proposals were rejected by parliament.

Frei's successor, Unidad Popular's Dr Salvador Allende Gossens, was elected in September 1970. Allende's socialist policies included land reforms, price freezes, wage rises and full nationalisation of copper and other significant local and overseas owned industries without compensation. By mid-1972 inflationary pressures and a US-led economic embargo were causing growing internal dissent, and there were food shortages and violent public demonstrations.

In September 1973 a military group led by General Pinochet took control of Chile. During this violent coup President Allende died, the Congress was dissolved, dissenting political activity was banned and a 'State of Siege' declared. In December 1974 Pinochet became president, and in March 1977, political parties were banned. In December 1977 the regime was condemned by the United Nations for human rights abuses.

In 1980 tentative steps were taken to reinstate civilian government with a new constitution allowing moderate political parties to reform prior to elections scheduled for 1989. However, communist and socialist parties were still outlawed

and suppression by the DINA (military police) continued. In addition, Chile was caught up in the Latin American debt crisis of the mid-1980s, dragging it into recession and pushing unemployment to record levels.

Over 1 million people are estimated to have been exiled or to have fled from Chile during Pinochet's presidency (1973–89). About half went to other Latin American countries (44 per cent to Venezuela alone) and over a third to Western Europe (10 per cent to Spain), with the balance spread between North America, Australia and Africa. In 1988 Pinochet announced unrestricted rights of return for all Chileans, and since the reinstatement of civilian government in 1989, thousands have gone back (Llambias-Wolff 1993, pp. 580–2).

In the Presidential elections held since Pinochet's coup, Patricio Aylwin won the first in December 1989 and Eduardo Frei (son of the 1960s president) won the second in December 1993. A commission was set up in 1990 to investigate human rights violations and financial corruption under the Pinochet regime, and prosecutions have commenced (although Pinochet remains Chile's Army Commander in Chief).

In 1993 the estimated population of Chile was 13 800 000, 85 per cent of whom lived in urban areas. Over 90 per cent of Chileans are of mixed European (predominantly Spanish) and Indian descent, and Hispanic culture and traditions tend to dominate. The national language is Spanish, although a minority (7 per cent) speak Indian languages, including Araucanian, Fuegian and Chango. The national literacy rate is extremely high, at over 90 per cent.

There is no official state religion in Chile, but the great majority of people are Roman Catholic (over 90 per cent), with small groups of Protestants (6.5 per cent) and Jews (0.2 per cent). Although not as dominant as in previous centuries, the church still plays a strong role in education, health, welfare and social issues.

Chilean immigration to Australia

Australia has a long history of accepting political exiles from Chile. One of the first Chileans known to have arrived in Australia (June 1837) was a former president of Chile, General Ramon Freire, who had been exiled to Easter Island, and from

there came to Australia. However, Freire stayed only temporarily, returning to Chile after several years in Sydney (Schneider 1988, p. 296).

In the 1850's a group of around fifty families came to South Australia to work for the Australian Copper Company. Like Freire, they are thought to have returned to Chile after only a few years (Migration Museum 1995, pp. 82–3).

Subsequently, while tens of thousands of Chileans flocked to the Californian goldfields, only a few are known to have come to Australia's gold rushes. (Mention is made of them in records from Ballarat, Bendigo and Bathurst.) The ninety Chileans estimated to have been in Australia in 1901 are assumed to have stayed on from this earlier era (Schneider 1988, p. 296).

Similarly, during the Chilean civil war of 1891 and the 1924 military coup, large numbers of Chileans fled to the USA, Europe (often Spain) and other Latin American countries, but only a handful arrived in Australia.

By the late 1960s, Chile's increasingly violent political rivalries and a deteriorating economy were again pushing Chileans to seek emigration. The favoured destinations were still other American countries, but a small number also began to trickle into Australia. Statistics on settler arrivals from Chile to Australia were not recorded until the early 1970s. Immigration by the Chile-born prior to that is thought to have been minimal, since few Chileans would have had links drawing them to Australia over the closer and more familiar countries of America and Europe.

With the political and economic uncertainties following the election of President Allende in 1970, a second wave of people left Chile bound for Australia. By 1973 a total of 4 500 Chileans are estimated to have migrated to Australia. Most of these people were from a middle-class, urban background. Some were professionals and some brought capital with them (Schneider 1988, p. 297).

The political coup led by General Pinochet in 1973 released a third, much larger and more prolonged wave of Chilean emigrants. The number of Chileans applying to enter Australia increased dramatically, with a steady flow of settler arrivals continuing through the rest of the 1970s. Numbers declined in the early 1980s but then increased again

in the aftermath of the South American debt crisis of the mid-1980s. Chile-born immigrants arriving in Australia during the Pinochet era account for around 75 per cent of all recorded Chile-born settler arrivals in Australia.

In the 1990s Chilean migration to Australia and elsewhere slowed markedly, possibly reflecting the return of civilian government in Chile in 1989. With assistance from the Chilean Government's National Bureau of Return and international organisations such as UNHCR, thousands of Chilean exiles from around the world, including a small number from Australia, have returned to Chile since 1990 (Llambias-Wolff 1993, p. 584).

Although relatively new to Australia, the Chilean community has established a number of social and sporting clubs. These include the New Chilean Club and Chile United Soccer Club in Sydney, the Chilean Australian Club in Canberra and the Cultural Association of Chilean Professors in Melbourne. These clubs provide a variety of services including sports facilities, history and language classes and folklore, music and dancing groups. Chilean church groups have also been established for social, welfare and other activities.

There are also several Chilean Australian groups which have a strong humanitarian role. These include the Latin American Refugee Association, the Chile Solidarity Committee, the Organisation of Chilean Women and the Committee of Defence of Human Rights in Chile. In December 1990, a well-attended international conference on Chilean human rights was held in Melbourne.

In the Australian press the Chile-born community is served by several national Spanish language newspapers such as *El Espanol en Australia* and the *Spanish Herald*. Some community organisations also publish local newsletters and information pamphlets.

Summary of 1991 Census data

At the 1991 Census there were 24 186 Chile-born people in Australia. This makes the Chile-born the largest Spanish-speaking, and the largest South American community in Australia.

The Chile-born stand out as a very recent community in that nearly half (47.3 per cent) have resided in Australia for less than ten years. This is

reflected in the fact that a quarter do not speak English at all or do not speak it well, while over 90 per cent speak Spanish at home (only 6.2 per cent speak only English at home).

It is also a community of relatively young people, with 62.5 per cent aged between 15 and 44 years, compared with 47.1 per cent for the total Australian population. However, as with the total Australian population, the Chile-born are ageing, with the proportion aged 45 or over increasing markedly between the 1986 and 1991 censuses.

In total, 9606 families in Australia included at least one person born in Chile. Only 7.3 per cent of these families consisted of single-person households (compared with 20.8 per cent for the total Australian population), while 75.3 per cent included offspring (compared with 57.8 per cent for all overseas-born families and 52.5 per cent for all Australia-born families). Combined with the relative youthfulness of the Chile-born, this indicates the presence of a large number of young families among the Chile-born community.

Like many other recently arrived immigrants, and like Chile itself, the vast majority of the Chile-born in Australia live in cities. Indeed, fewer than 5 per cent do not live in major urban centres (places with 100 000 or more inhabitants). By far the most popular cities are Sydney (49.9 per cent of the Chile-born) and Melbourne (28.2 per cent), with sizeable groups also residing in Perth, Wollongong, Brisbane and Canberra.

Unlike many other communities which feature a large proportion of refugees, the Chile-born have a slightly higher median income (\$15,500) than that for all Australians (\$14,200). However, a lower proportion of the Chile-born earn over \$35,000, and they are far less likely to own or be purchasing their own homes than other Australians.

In the labour market, the Chile-born have a higher than average participation rate (69.9 per cent compared with 63.9 per cent for the Australia-born), but a very high unemployment rate of 20.5 per cent. Chile-born unemployment rates for 1991 were highest in Western Australia (29.0 per cent) and lowest in the ACT (14.0 per cent).

For Chile-born men, employment is concentrated in 'blue collar' occupations like trades (29.9 per cent of employed Chile-born males), labouring (21.7 per cent) and plant and machine operating and driving

(13.9 per cent). These jobs are most often located within the manufacturing sector (34.9 per cent), wholesale and retail trade (12.6 per cent) or finance, property and business (11.7 per cent). Chile-born women tend to be employed as labourers (33.3 per cent), clerks (17.8 per cent) and salespersons and personal service workers (15.1 per cent), most often located in the community services sector (28.0 per cent), manufacturing (17.1 per cent) or finance, property and business (15.9 per cent).

In contrast, the 1991 Census shows that the Chile-born are relatively well educated. Only 10.4 per cent had left school aged 15 years or younger (compared with 36 per cent of the total Australian population), and 45.4 per cent held an educational or vocational qualification. A lower proportion of Chile-born females (40.4 per cent) than Chile-born males (50.8 per cent) held qualifications, but this rate was still higher than the 38.8 per cent of all Australians who held qualifications.

The difference between the average education level of the Chile-born and their labour market status suggests that recognition of qualifications and language difficulties may be inhibiting their ability to successfully utilise their skills in the Australian work force. Their labour market status could also be related to refugee experiences, including health problems and disrupted education and career paths (Iredale & D'Arcy 1992, p. 8).

The percentage of the Chile-born who have become Australian citizens is relatively low (compared with all overseas-born Australians), particularly among those who arrived after 1980.

In addition to the Chile-born themselves, the 1991 Census revealed 7122 second-generation Chileans, that is people born in Australia with at least one parent born in Chile. The second generation follows approximately the same geographical distribution as their Chile-born parents, with the majority located in NSW and Victoria. This is to be expected, since 82.2 per cent are aged 14 years or under, and so would presumably still be residing with their parents (by comparison, 33.9 per cent of the total overseas-born second generation are in the 14 years or under age group).

In summary, the 1991 Census presents a broad portrait of the Chile-born in Australia, showing them to be a Spanish-speaking, predominantly youthful Catholic community comprised of families

with young children. Despite relatively high unemployment rates, the Chile-born are urban and relatively well educated, with a slightly higher than average median income and labour force participation rate.

Chile-born population of Australia, 1971-1991^a

Census year	Chile -born
1971	3,760
1976	9,919
1981	13,977
1986	18,737
1991	24,186 ^b

^a The number of Chile-born persons in Australia has been separately enumerated at the census only since 1971.

^b Excludes overseas visitors.

Chile-born settler arrivals Financial years 1973-74 to 1993-94^a

Financial year	Settlers
1973-74	1,203
1974-75	2,002
1975-76	1,905
1976-77	1,702
1977-78	1,261
1978-79	822
1979-80	480
1980-81	441
1981-82	285
1982-83	499
1983-84	691
1984-85	1,689
1985-86	2,037
1986-87	2,018
1987-88	1,964
1988-89	1,358
1989-90	735
1990-91	704
1991-92	536
1992-93	245
1993-94	244

^a The number of Chile-born persons settling permanently in Australia has been enumerated since 1973-74.

SECOND PART

LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA

STATES AND TERRITORIES
BY
CENSUS DATA

**LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIA
SUMMARY TABLE FOR SETTLER IN THE CENSUS**

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	CENSUS 1976	CENSUS 1981	CENSUS 1986	CENSUS 1991	CENSUS 1996
ARGENTINA	5,294	8,118	9,196	10,663	10,775
BOLIVIA	*(13)	*(41)	*(135)		572
BRAZIL		1,668	2,026		3,359
CHILE	9,919	13,977	18,737	24,186	23,820
COLOMBIA	1,060	1,290	1,687	2,134	2,670
COSTA RICA		*(25)	*(105)		308
CUBA		*(76)	*(155)		401
ECUADOR	878	904	1,007	1,085	1,242
GUATEMALA		*(20)	*(99)		249
HONDURAS		*(7)	*(36)		173
EL SALVADOR		*(20)	2,106	8,726	9,665
NICARAGUA		*(18)	*(313)	678	741
MEXICO	401	453	677	805	883
PANAMA		*(28)	*(30)		132
PARAGUAY	*(15)	258	*(306)		290
PERU	1,314	1,811	2,323	3,765	4,875
PUERTO RICO		*(10)	*(16)		53
REP.DOMINIC					44
URUGUAY	7,769	9,287	9,586	9,690	9,715
VENEZUELA	334	418	*(527)		791
TOTAL					70,758

* Figueres are estimates.

**LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA
BY STATES AND TERRITORIES
1996***

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	TAS	WA	NT	ACT	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	5,529	3,371	747	301	35	481	31	280	10,775
BOLIVIA	411	80	37	12	3	18	6	5	572
BRAZIL	1,755	596	420	120	31	334	13	90	3,359
CHILE	13,038	6,787	1,184	691	127	1,162	87	744	23,820
COLOMBIA	1,541	512	381	45	12	120	15	44	2,670
COSTA RICA	167	59	33	6	0	36	0	7	308
CUBA	231	77	66	14	3	10	0	0	401
ECUADOR	1,042	46	57	43	0	31	0	23	1,242
GUATEMALA	80	89	45	14	0	21	0	0	249
HONDURAS	92	25	27	3	0	16	3	7	173
EL SALVADOR	1,974	3,114	2,292	666	231	1,212	7	169	9,665
NICARAGUA	438	68	101	27	0	57	0	50	741
MEXICO	437	175	125	34	6	63	9	34	883
PANAMA	70	19	18	6	0	19	0	0	132
PARAGUAY	165	58	32	10	0	19	0	6	290
PERU	3,435	673	333	107	34	177	16	100	4,875
PUERTO RICO	24	8	6	6	3	6	0	0	53
REP. DOMINIC	15	7	6	7	0	3	6	0	44
URUGUAY	7,183	1,748	397	122	16	156	9	84	9,715
VENEZUELA	342	166	95	49	14	87	8	30	791
OTHERS									
TOTAL	37,969	17,678	6,402	2,283	515	4,028	210	1,673	70,758

*Australian Bureau of Statistics
1996 Census of Population and Housing
Birthplace - Persons (CCO5).

**LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA
BY STATES AND TERRITORIES
1991**

[illegible]

**LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA
BY STATES AND TERRITORIES
1986**

[illegible]

**LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA
BY STATES AND TERRITORIES
1981**

COUNT RY OF BIRTH	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	TAS	WA	NT	ACT	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	4,469	2,895	267	232	28	293	31	150	8,365
BOLIVIA	262	73	15	15	4	12	5	14	390
BRAZIL	944	366	149	55	6	178	7	38	1,743
CHILE	8,881	4,179	424	235	48	319	73	247	14,406
COLOMBIA	776	283	159	30	7	61	9	11	1,336
COSTA RICA									
CUBA									
ECUADOR	811	50	25	20	3	19	-	13	941
GUATEMALA									
HONDURAS									
EL SALVADOR									
NICARAGUA									
MEXICO	208	98	50	21	4	37	11	25	454
PANAMA									
PARAGUAY	158	58	20	11	-	14	-	2	263
PERU	1,272	305	94	56	24	83	12	40	1,886
PUERTO RICO									
REP. DOMINIC									
URUGUAY	7,653	1,616	75	107	5	55	9	52	9,572
VENEZUELA									
OTHERS	1,889	957	857	326	61	513	53	102	4,758
TOTAL									

Wray Vamplew, *Australian Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, pages 15-17.

**LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA
BY STATES AND TERRITORIES
1981**

COUNT RY OF BIRTH	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	TAS	WA	NT	ACT	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	4,469	2,895	267	232	28	293	31	150	8,365
BOLIVIA	262	73	15	15	4	12	5	14	390
BRAZIL	944	366	149	55	6	178	7	38	1,743
CHILE	8,881	4,179	424	235	48	319	73	247	14,406
COLOMBIA	776	283	159	30	7	61	9	11	1,336
COSTA RICA									
CUBA									
ECUADOR	811	50	25	20	3	19	-	13	941
GUATEMALA									
HONDURAS									
EL SALVADOR									
NICARAGUA									
MEXICO	208	98	50	21	4	37	11	25	454
PANAMA									
PARAGUAY	158	58	20	11	-	14	-	2	263
PERU	1,272	305	94	56	24	83	12	40	1,886
PUERTO RICO									
REP. DOMINIC									
URUGUAY	7,653	1,616	75	107	5	55	9	52	9,572
VENEZUELA									
OTHERS	1,889	957	857	326	61	513	53	102	4,758
TOTAL									

Wray Vamplew, *Australian Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, pages 15-17.

**LATIN AMERICAN POPULATION IN AUSTRALIA
BY STATES AND TERRITORIES
1947**

COUNT RY OF BIRTH	NSW	VIC	QLD	SA	TAS	WA	NT	ACT	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	97	67	48	5	9	21	-	2	249
BOLIVIA									
BRAZIL	35	36	12	11	-	9	-	-	103
CHILE	33	35	14	4	3	16	-	-	105
COLOMBIA									
COSTA RICA									
CUBA									
ECUADOR									
GUATEMALA									
HONDURAS									
EL SALVADOR									
NICARAGUA									
MEXICO	30	15	5	2	1	7	2	-	62
PANAMA									
PARAGUAY	6	1	4	1	-	3	-	-	15
PERU	13	15	8	-	-	1	1	1	39
PUERTO RICO									
REP. DOMINIC									
URUGUAY									
VENEZUELA									
OTHERS									
TOTAL									

Wray Vamplew, *Australian Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, pages 15-17.

**BIRTHPLACES OF THE LATIN AMERICANS POPULATION
IN AUSTRALIA 1891-1981.***

BIRTH PLACE	1891	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947	1954	1961	1971	1981	TOTAL
ARGENTINA	24	45	95	270	258	249	313	350	1,806	8,365	
BOLIVIA											
BRAZIL	142	107	98	80	80	103	137	166	852	1,743	
CHILE	87	92	85	152	95	105	256	487	3,760	14,406	
COLOMBIA											
COSTA RICA											
CUBA											
ECUADOR											
GUATEMALA											
HONDURAS											
EL SALVADOR											
NICARAGUA											
MEXICO	29	61	65	81	84	62	57	58	229	454	
PANAMA											
PARAGUAY	1	8	21	17	17	15	20	27	155	263	
PERU	15	28	34	38	37	39	64	94	591	1,886	
PUERTO RICO											
REP DOMINIC											
URUGUAY	2	12	13	25	26	18	87	210	1,904	9,572	
VENEZUELA	-	3	2	5	6	5	16	29	270	423	
OTHERS											

* NO FIGURES FOR ANOTHER COUNTRIES

Wray Vamplew, *Australian Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987, pages 9.

THIRD PART

**LATIN AMERICANS
IN
NEW SOUTH WALES**

CONCENTRATION OF LATIN-AMERICANS BY REGION
IN NEW SOUTH WALES

Fairfield Liverpool	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA	1,108	1,423	1,609	
	BOLIVIA			92	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE	1,883	2,878	3,813	
	COLOMBIA			153	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			41	
	ECUADOR			66	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			705	
	NICARAGUA			185	
	MEXICO			22	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			414	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY	2,668	2,951	2,841	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			501	
	TOTAL			13,262	

CANTERBURY - BANKTOWN	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA	445	413	345	
	BOLIVIA			9	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE	754	734	672	
	COLOMBIA			65	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			9	
	ECUADOR			39	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			93	
	NICARAGUA			15	
	MEXICO			9	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			156	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY	634	553	449	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			226	
	TOTAL				

Inner Sydney Botany, Leichhardt Marrickville South Sydney Sydney	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA	508	456	496	
	BOLIVIA			72	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE	838	960	1,253	
	COLOMBIA			142	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			23	
	ECUADOR			344	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			74	
	NICARAGUA			19	
	MEXICO			39	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			255	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY	757	619	626	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			412	
	TOTAL			3,755	

Outer South Western Sydney Camden Campbelltown Wollondilly	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA	184	208	248	
	BOLIVIA			27	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE	545	571	918	911
	COLOMBIA			38	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			22	
	ECUADOR			39	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			196	
	NICARAGUA			89	
	MEXICO			6	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			92	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY	261	268	291	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			90	2,098
	TOTAL				

Eastern Suburbs Randwick Waverly Woollahra	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA	198	213	304	
	BOLIVIA			33	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE	417	520	674	
	COLOMBIA			157	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			13	
	ECUADOR			77	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			17	
	NICARAGUA			6	
	MEXICO			29	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			206	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY	331	317	309	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			362	
	TOTAL				

Inner Western Sydney Ashfield, Burwood, Concord, Drummoyne, Stranfield	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			210	
	BOLIVIA			16	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			418	
	COLOMBIA			61	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			3	
	ECUADOR			27	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			12	
	NICARAGUA			0	
	MEXICO			13	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			190	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			313	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			198	
	TOTAL				

St. George-Sutherland Hursville, Kogarah, Rockdale, Sutherland	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			212	
	BOLIVIA			3	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			594	
	COLOMBIA			58	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			0	
	ECUADOR			94	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			13	
	NICARAGUA			0	
	MEXICO			22	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			188	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			371	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			278	
	TOTAL				

Blacktown-Baulkham Hills Blacktown Baulkham Hills	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			183	
	BOLIVIA			12	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			858	
	COLOMBIA			83	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			21	
	ECUADOR			61	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			246	
	NICARAGUA			60	
	MEXICO			18	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			134	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			338	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			362	
	TOTAL				

Central Western Sydney Auburn Holroyd Parramatta	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			357	
	BOLIVIA			12	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			886	
	COLOMBIA			46	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			9	
	ECUADOR			23	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			136	
	NICARAGUA			40	
	MEXICO			16	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			162	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			496	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			232	
	TOTAL				

Lower Northern Sydney Hunters Hills, Lane Cove, Mosman, North Sydney, Ryde, Willoghby	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			135	
	BOLIVIA			15	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			389	
	COLOMBIA			34	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			9	
	ECUADOR			15	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			17	
	NICARAGUA			0	
	MEXICO			27	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			149	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			98	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			178	
	TOTAL				

Hornsby-Ku-ring-gai Hornsby Ku-ring-gai	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			70	
	BOLIVIA			6	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			224	
	COLOMBIA			34	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			0	
	ECUADOR			0	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			23	
	NICARAGUA			3	
	MEXICO			21	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			84	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			36	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			178	
	TOTAL				

Manly-Warringah Manly Warringah	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			92	
	BOLIVIA			0	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			206	
	COLOMBIA			16	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			0	
	ECUADOR			6	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			6	
	NICARAGUA			3	
	MEXICO			3	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			145	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			35	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			113	
	TOTAL				

Outer Northn Sydney Blue Mountains, Penrith	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			116	
	BOLIVIA			3	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			248	
	COLOMBIA			9	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			3	
	ECUADOR			25	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			81	
	NICARAGUA			3	
	MEXICO			6	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			54	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			124	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			91	
	TOTAL				

Gosford-Wyong Gosford, Wyong	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			26	
	BOLIVIA			0	
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE			55	
	COLOMBIA			7	
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA			0	
	ECUADOR			0	
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR			3	
	NICARAGUA			0	
	MEXICO			3	
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU			34	
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY			38	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER			67	
	TOTAL				

Illawarra Kiama Shellharbour. Shoalhaven, Wingecarribee Wollongong	Country of Birth	Census 1981	Census 1986	Census 1991	Census 1996
	ARGENTINA			31	
	BOLIVIA				
	BRAZIL				
	CHILE	563	530	646	
	COLOMBIA				
	COSTA RICA				
	CUBA				
	ECUADOR				
	GUATEMALA				
	HONDURAS				
	EL SALVADOR				
	NICARAGUA				
	MEXICO				
	PANAMA				
	PARAGUAY				
	PERU				
	PUERTO RICO				
	REP. DOMIN.				
	URUGUAY	172	155	122	
	VENEZUELA				
	OTHER				
	TOTAL				