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Primljeno: 29. 12. 1990.

LABOUR MARKET RESOURCES OF YUGOSLAV IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA: EDUCATION, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND LANGUAGE FLUENCY*

SUMMARY

This paper examines work resources of Yugoslavia, using data from the one percent public use sample of the 1981 Australian Census. Author describes their educational background, work experience, and English language fluency, systematically comparing Yugoslavs with other immigrant groups, particularly Greeks, Italians, other Mediterraneans, and Eastern Europeans. In most respects, the Yugoslavs are more like the Mediterranean immigrants (Greeks, Italians, and others) than they are the Eastern European immigrants. A subsequent article will describe men's jobs and women's labour force participation, and how they are affected by the work resources described in this paper.

Introduction

The streets were not paved with gold, but Australia offered a new start in life, a peaceful situation, abundant work opportunities, and a high standard of living to the immigrants who streamed here during the long economic boom following the end of the Second World War. Australian politicians' reasons for allowing the large immigration were complex (23), and immigrants chose to come for many different purposes, but one stands out. »To have a better life here« was by far the most common reason immigrants gave in a sample survey asking why they came to Australia (33:33). For Yugoslav immigrants, the ingredients of »a better life« may well have included the opportunity to leave behind them political and ethnic tensions and a stagnant economic situation (2; 21; 30; 38), as well as the peace and prosperity Australia offered (43:2-12). Immigrants' actual lives in Australia, of course, had their ups and downs (e. g. 28; 47; 50) — for an autobiographical account see (5). For those coming shortly after the war, Australia was a sharp contrast to the places they had left. Because the battles had occurred elsewhere, Australian cities were undamaged by the War (with the exception of bombing damage

* This paper is based on results which I first reported in a presentation entitled »The migrants and the labour force« given to the symposium on »Migrants from Yugoslavia in Australia« which was held at the Australian National University, 20-22 July 1983. I would like to thank the other participants in the symposium for their comments on this paper, and also for providing expert advice on vexatious technical details such as typical ages for children to start school in the early postwar period. This paper is based on a larger project analyzing the labour market situation of immigrants in Australia. This project has been generously supported by the Department of Sociology of the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University.

in the small, remote city of Darwin). They must have seemed both safe and prosperous in comparison with Europe's ruined cities full of reminders of the recent (and in some instances continuing) bloodshed. Moreover, food shortages persisted throughout much of Europe for years after the War, and so the abundance of food astonished and delighted many new arrivals (Sydney Morning Herald 27 August 1988, p 75).

The long economic boom generated many jobs and a great demand for workers at all levels of the occupational structure (6). Particularly important for the Yugoslav and other Mediterranean immigrants were the abundant opportunities for blue collar work, both skilled and unskilled, and they flocked to those areas dominated by industries employing a great deal of manual labour (63). This residential concentration has prompted many local studies of the settlement process of various Mediterranean groups (e. g. 8; 9; 22; 27; 45; 64).

Moreover, manual work pays well in Australia: wages are high in absolute terms, and the wage gap between manual workers and those in higher status occupations is among the smallest found in industrialized market economies (31). Migrants from lower wage countries (Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean Region, and the Third World) have enjoyed major gains in income compared to what they might have expected in their countries of origin, according to the best available estimates (60). New immigrants in the 1990s may face a different situation as there has been substantial skill upgrading and shifts away from manual work in all industries (62).

To assess the work situation of Yugoslav immigrants in Australia, we must first see what resources they bring to the labour market. I focus on three resources. (1) *Education* is centrally important to occupational success and standard of living in Australia, as in all industrialized market economies (e. g. 6; 27; 34). Knowing how much education immigrants have is essential to understanding what kind of jobs they get (34; 19). (2) *Labour market experience* is important because it confers skills and also sets one's position in seniority queues. Employers tend to value Australian experience much more than foreign experience. So, in order to understand what jobs they get, how much they are paid, and their risks of unemployment, it is important to know how much Australian experience immigrants have (e. g. 4; 10; 18; 19; 25; 41; 54). (3) *English language fluency* is important in getting a good job and high wages in Australia (14; 18; 20), as also in the USA (42; 57). Language maintenance does not seem to affect work opportunities (14) but has substantial links with other aspects of social life (53; 56; 58).

This paper describes Yugoslav immigrants' »stocks« of these resources — how much education and experience they have, how well they speak English — and compares them to other immigrant groups, especially those from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean region. The companion article presents causal models showing how these resources affect men's occupational status and women's labour force participation.

Data and measurement

Data

The public use sample of individual records from the 1981 Australian Census provides the data, a large ($N = 144,365$) random sample of the population with very accurately measured variables. Population coverage is very nearly complete and standards of data preparation are very high (ABS 1983a). My analysis is restricted to men and women age 16 to 64.

These excellent data, the first public use sample released by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, are the best available because of their combination of large sample size and detailed measurement of key variables — especially birthplace (country of origin except for a small »not elsewhere classified« categories), age (in single years), duration of residence in Australia (in single years), and details of age left school and of postsecondary qualifications. From these data are calculated the theoretically appropriate measures (1) years of Australian labour force experience, and (2) years of education. The Census data also contains a sound measure of the third resource, English language proficiency. These data are publicly available in machine-readable form from the Social Science Data Archive, the Australian National University, Canberra ACT 2601 Australia. The more recent public use sample of the 1986 census is markedly inferior because the ABS, citing worries about confidentiality, greatly reduced the level of detail available on respondent's birthplace, father's and mother's birthplace, age, length of time in Australia, educational qualifications, and occupation — all key variables here.

Measurement

Education Years of primary, secondary, and tertiary education. The measurement of education follows Evans and Kelley (1989, 1990). Years of primary and secondary education are computed from information on the age at which respondent left primary or secondary school (available in the Census) and usual age to start school in the respondent's home country. Starting age is 5.5 for Australia, but varies widely among the countries which have sent immigrants to Australia, ranging from 5.5 for the Federal Republic of Germany and the UK up to 7.5 for many of the Scandinavian countries and Yugoslavia. Most people in our sample (age 16 to 64 in 1981) had started school in the middle 1960s or earlier, so we need to estimate a typical age at start of school for each country some decades in the past. In developing estimates of starting age, we have drawn heavily on the work of the Australian Mission to Study Methods of Training Skilled Workers in Europe (1969) and, for Eastern Europe, on the expert advice of Krzysztof Zagorski. I have cross checked the starting age estimate for Yugoslavia with experts attending the conference »Migrants from Yugoslavia in Australia« held at the Australian National University (July 1988). These estimates contain some error, both because in many countries children now start school earlier than they used to (so that estimates which are fairly precise for one generation are not for another), and because within many countries there was substantial regional variation, for example with rural children often starting school later than urban children. Despite their inaccuracies, these estimates of age at start of schooling are clearly an improvement over the usual procedure of assuming that all children in all countries start school at age five and a half. We then developed estimates of years of tertiary education, based on detailed information about the highest degree, diploma, or certificate. Apprenticeships in Australia involve some formal training, so we have estimated the increment they contribute to educational attainment. In converting the information about tertiary education into estimates of years, we have relied on the expert advice of Don Anderson. Finally, we add our estimates of years of school to years of tertiary education to arrive at an estimate of years of education. For more precise coding details, see Evans and Kelley (1989).

Australian labour force experience Years in the Australian labour force, estimated as age minus age completed education for those who were educated

in Australia. For those who were educated abroad, this is estimated as current age minus age at arrival in Australia. This is a reasonable estimate of work experience for men, but not for women because in Australia women's labour force participation rates are relatively low, and tends to be intermittent (12; 15). Although not a good measure of work experience for women, this measure gives a perfectly sound estimate of the number of years that immigrant women have spent as adults in Australia. That makes it worth looking at, because time matters to many immigrant adaptations (e. g. 34; 40; 44).

English use and fluency The Census asked people whether they spoke any language other than English at home, and those who did were asked to assess their fluency: speaks English very well, speaks English well, and speaks English not well, or speaks no English at all. The Census is conducted as a paper and pencil, self-completion questionnaire in Australia and the Census forms are readily available in many languages, so it is readily comprehensible for those with little or no reading knowledge of English.

Results

Yugoslav-born men

Yugoslav-born men in Australia average 9 years of education (table 1, top row), but many have substantially less schooling, and many others have substantially more (standard deviation of 2.6 years). Education, as used here, includes primary and secondary schooling, formal technical training leading to recognized certificates, and tertiary education. Fully 15 percent have completed only six years of education (or less), another 6 percent have completed seven years, and 17 percent have completed eight years. Many have gone a bit further, with 14 percent having nine years of education, 11 percent having 10 years, 22 percent having 11 years, and 11 percent having 12 years. But almost none have gone further than that: two percent have 13 years of education, two percent have 14 years of education, and less than one percent have 15 years or more. Thus, 38 percent have eight years of education or less, 58 percent have between 9 and twelve years of education, and only 4 percent have more.

In all, the Yugoslavs have very little education by Australian standards. We will see (in the companion article) that this has important effects on their job opportunities. Education also affects many other aspects of life. For example, among Australians in general, people with little education are substantially less interested in politics than are the highly educated (3:49). So, it seems likely that Yugoslav immigrants' low educational attainments would substantially account for their lack of interest and involvement in politics which has been noted by many observers (e. g. 29). But it may also be that some issues — such as whether Australia should continue to have the Queen as head of state — which excite great interest among the electorate at large (31) do not seem very important to new comers.

It is worth emphasizing that these are the educational patterns of immigrants in Australia. For the Yugoslavs (and for other groups as well) it seems likely that those who immigrated had different educational patterns from their compatriots who stayed home, but exploring those differences will have to await future research.

Table 1. Education Description, Yugoslav immigrants and other groups in Australia. Percents read across.

ORIGINS	Years of education (%) in each category											Mean	Standard deviation		
	6 or less	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15+					
IMMIGRANTS from:															
Yugoslavia	15	6	17	14	11	22	11	2	2	0	9.1	2.6			
Women	27	8	26	12	9	12	4	2	1	1	8.0	2.8			
Greece	41	11	9	8	7	6	10	4	1	3	8.2	3.2			
Women	50	11	8	8	6	7	7	2	0	2	7.6	3.0			
Italy	31	5	13	14	12	8	10	4	1	2	8.6	2.9			
Women	39	6	13	13	11	8	6	2	0	1	7.9	2.9			
Mediterranean NEC	16	7	7	13	15	13	17	6	1	5	9.7	3.3			
Women	22	5	8	18	19	11	12	3	0	3	8.7	3.5			
Eastern Europe	5	2	12	15	16	12	16	12	1	10	10.8	2.7			
(except Yugoslavia)	6	3	13	14	18	12	18	5	1	11	10.5	3.0			
Northwest Europe	0	3	8	13	19	18	15	10	3	9	11.0	2.5			
Women	1	2	9	18	21	18	13	7	2	8	10.7	2.3			
English speaking countries	0	0	1	13	24	23	15	9	2	12	11.6	2.4			
Women	0	0	1	15	30	22	14	7	2	9	11.2	2.0			
Third World countries	4	1	2	5	10	14	33	10	1	21	12.1	3.1			
Women	8	2	4	8	13	16	27	7	1	15	11.1	3.3			
AUSTRALIAN BORN, with parents from:															
Australia	0	1	2	14	23	23	17	8	1	10	11.3	2.3			
Women	0	1	2	16	30	22	13	6	1	8	11.0	2.1			
Other English speaking countries	0	1	3	16	23	22	16	7	2	11	11.3	2.4			
Women	0	1	3	21	30	20	11	5	1	8	10.8	2.1			
Mediterranean region	0	1	1	6	15	23	24	18	3	8	11.8	2.1			
Women	1	0	2	7	22	24	21	12	2	8	11.4	2.1			
Elsewhere	0	0	1	6	15	22	22	17	3	12	12.0	2.4			
Women	0	0	2	9	19	23	20	13	2	12	11.7	2.3			

SOURCE: 1% sample of unit records from the 1981 Australian Census.

NOTES: Computed from information on age left school and on highest educational qualification.

Comparison to other Mediterranean-born men

Greek-born men average about a year less of education than Yugoslav born men, about 8 years vs 9 years (table 1, rows 1 and 3). Indeed, fully 61 percent of the Greek-born men have eight years of education or less, whereas only 38 percent of the Yugoslav men have this little education. But, at the other extreme, twice as many of the Greek-born men (8 percent) have at least some tertiary education — 13 or more years of education — as do the Yugoslavs (4 percent). In other words, most Greek men are less educated than most Yugoslav men, but nonetheless, the Greeks have a larger elite.

Italian-born men (who average about eight and a half years of education) are intermediate between the Greeks (who average about 8 years) and the Yugoslavs (who average about 9 years). At the bottom, 49 percent of Italians have 8 years of education or less. This is decidedly smaller than the 61 percent of Greeks at this level of education, and decidedly larger than the 38 percent of Yugoslavs (table 1, rows 1, 3, and 5). Nonetheless, the Italians, like the Greeks, have a larger educational elite than the Yugoslavs, with 7 percent of Italian born men, 8 percent of Greek born men, and just 4 percent of Yugoslav men having at least some tertiary education.

The »other Mediterraneans« — too few from any one country to analyze separately — have more education than the Yugoslavs, an average of a bit under ten years of education, compared to 9 years for Yugoslav men (table 1, rows 1 and 7). Towards the bottom of the educational hierarchy, 30 percent of »other Mediterraneans« and 38 percent of Yugoslavs have 8 years of education or less. But, at the other extreme, 12 percent of the »other Mediterranean« men have 13 or more years of education, compared to only 4 percent of Yugoslav men.

Comparison to other men

Men from Eastern European countries — mainly Poland and Hungary — average almost 11 years of education, nearly two years more than Yugoslav born men (table 1, rows 1 and 9). Towards the lower end, 17 percent of Eastern European men have 8 years or less of education, compared to 38 percent of Yugoslavs. And, at the higher end, 23 percent of Eastern Europeans have at least some tertiary education, compared to 4 percent of Yugoslavs.

And the contrast is at least as great between Yugoslav born men and immigrants from Northwestern Europe, from the English-speaking countries, from Third World countries, and for all the Australian born groups. Men in all these groups average at least two years more education than the Yugoslav men. At the bottom end, in none of these groups do more than 11 percent have eight years of education (or less), in contrast to 38 percent of Yugoslav-born men. And, at the top end, in each of these groups at least 19 percent have at least some tertiary education, compared to only 4 percent of Yugoslav-born men.

Particularly striking is the difference between the Yugoslav-born men, who average 9 years of education, and the Mediterranean second generation — the Australian born sons of Mediterranean parents — who average nearly 12 years of education. This is an extremely large educational gain of three years in one generation (gains of a bit over year are common in countries

where education is expanding). Indeed, 29 percent of Mediterranean second generation have at least some education, compared to only 4 percent of Yugoslav immigrants. Education through university was free in Australia in this period (e. g. 26), which may have facilitated the second generation's achievements in school. This is eloquent testimony to the success of immigrant parents and of the Australian school system. But it also may generate the large »generation gap« noted in qualitative research on Yugoslav immigrants in Australia (e. g. 49), because more and less educated people differ in areas of life ranging from interest in politics to patterns of contact with relatives to leisure time pursuits to (of course) jobs and income.

Research has shown that the children of Mediterranean immigrants actually go further in school than children from comparable socioeconomic backgrounds (Clifton, Williams and Clancy 1986; see also 55; 59). The reasons for their extraordinary achievement are not yet known, but a series of case studies has led one researcher to propose a »migrant success ethic« as a possible explanation (7). In any event, the pattern is not limited to Australia, as broadly similar findings have been reported for Canada (51), and immigrant children seem to be doing very well in schools in the Netherlands and West Germany.

Yugoslav-born women

Yugoslav-born women are less educated, averaging a year less of education than Yugoslav-born men (table 1, rows 1 and 2). They average 8 years of education, but many have less and many others have more (standard deviation of 2.8 years). A substantial 27 percent have 6 years of education or less, another 8 percent have seven years, and 26 percent have 8 years. Quite a few have gone a bit further: 12 percent have nine years of education, 9 percent have ten years, 12 percent have 11 years, and 4 percent have 12 years. Only a handful have more education than that: 2 percent have 13 years, 1 percent 14 years, and 1 percent 15 years or more. Thus, 61 percent have eight years of education or less, 37 percent have between nine and twelve years of education, and only 4 percent have more. (Percents do not add exactly to 100 because of rounding.) More women than men are at the bottom of the educational ladder (61 percent versus 38 percent), fewer women than men are in the middle (37 percent versus 58 percent), and the same numbers of women and men are at the top (4 percent each).

Comparison to other Mediterranean-born women

Greek immigrant women average about half a year less education than their Yugoslav-born peers. At the bottom end, 69 percent have eight years of education or less, compared to 61 percent of Yugoslav women. But the educational elites are about the same size in the two groups, with 4 percent of women in both groups having at least some tertiary education.

Italian-born women average about the same amount of education as their Yugoslav peers (eight years). At the bottom end, 58 percent of Italian-born women have eight years of education (or less), almost exactly the same as for Yugoslavs (61 percent). And the size of educational elites is nearly identical as well: 4 percent of Yugoslavs and 3 percent of Italians have at least some tertiary education.

Immigrant women from the remaining Mediterranean countries are, on average better educated than Yugoslav women (by somewhat over half a year). At the bottom end, only 35 percent of these women have eight years of education or less, compared to 61 percent of Yugoslavs. But the size of educational elites does not differ greatly, with 6 percent of these women having at least some tertiary education, compared to 4 percent of Yugoslavs.

Comparison to other women

On average, Yugoslav women have two and a half years less education than do immigrant women from Eastern Europe (8 years versus 10.5 years). At the bottom end, 61 percent of Yugoslavs have eight years of education (or less) compared to only 22 percent of Eastern Europeans. In the middle — 9 to 12 years of education — are 37 percent of Yugoslavs, compared to 62 percent of Eastern Europeans. And, at the top, 4 percent of Yugoslavs and 17 percent of Eastern Europeans have at least some tertiary education. Clearly, in terms of educational attainment, Yugoslav immigrant women in Australia are more like their Mediterranean than their Eastern European peers.

Similarly, Yugoslav born women (and other Mediterranean born women) are much less educated than immigrant women from Northwestern Europe, from the English speaking countries, or from the Third World, and are also much less educated than any of the Australian born groups.

Note, in particular the very high educational achievements of women born in Australia to parents who immigrated from the Mediterranean region — the second generation (see also 61). They have completed, on average, 11.4 years of education — three and one half years more than women in the parental generation who immigrated from Yugoslavia. Moreover, 22 percent of them have at least some tertiary education, as compared to only 4 percent of Yugoslav immigrant women. This is tremendous educational upgrading in one generation. As in the case of the second generation Mediterranean men, the impressive educational success of the second generation Mediterranean women bears witness to their efforts, their parents efforts, and the opportunities provided by the Australian educational system. Note also that the »gender gap« in education is much smaller in the Mediterranean second generation (a bit under half a year, on average) than among Yugoslav immigrants (a bit over a year, on average). Thus, the second generation has more education than did their parents, and moreover, men and women in the second generation are more similar in educational attainments than were their parents among Yugoslav immigrants.

Labour force experience

In market (and semi-market) economies, workers earn more and get better jobs as they become more skillful and experienced. For immigrants, work experience in the new country is particularly important, as employers generally value local experience more than foreign experience. Because of limitations in the data, I estimate potential work experience as time in Australia for those who immigrated as adults, and as time in Australia since finishing education for those who immigrated as children. For nearly all men

these will be quite good estimates of actual work experience, but they are poor estimates for women because women's participation in the work force is intermittent (see 12).

Yugoslav immigrant men

The migration stream from Yugoslavia has slowed down, so that there are few beginners in the Yugoslav workforce in Australia. As of 1981, 9 percent of Yugoslav-born men had four years of potential work experience in Australia or less (table 2, row 1). Somewhat more, 15 percent, had between five and nine years of Australian experience, and fully 36 percent had between ten and fifteen years. There were 13 percent with fifteen to nineteen years of experience, and another 13 percent who had between twenty and twenty four years of experience. Only 13 percent had 25 years of experience or more. Thus, 24 percent had less than 10 years of experience, 49 percent had between 10 and 19 years of experience, and the rest, 27 percent, had at least 20 years of experience.

The relatively small numbers of beginning workers will mean that some all-Yugoslav firms will either have to age with their workers, or begin recruiting new workers from other ethnic groups. It will also make cultural maintenance more difficult than in groups refreshed by a steadier flow of immigration.

Comparison to other Mediterranean men

As for Yugoslavs, beginning workers are rare and highly experienced workers common among Greeks and Italians. Among Greek men, 14 percent have less than ten years of experience, 51 percent have ten to nineteen years of experience, and 35 percent have at least 20 years of experience. Among Italian men, 14 percent have less than ten years of experience, 33 percent have between 10 and nineteen years of experience, and the rest, 53 percent, have more than twenty years of experience. Only in the remaining group of other Mediterraneans are beginners common: 38 percent of them have less than ten years of Australian labour force experience, another 30 percent have between 10 and 19 years of experience, and the rest, 24 percent have at least 20 years of experience.

Comparison to other men

Many Eastern European men came to Australia shortly after the Second World War, and so are even further along in their careers than Yugoslav men. Of Eastern Europeans, 16 percent had less than ten years experience in 1981, 25 percent have ten to nineteen years of experience, and 59 percent have more than 20 years of experience. Although the change is less drastic, the migration stream from Northwestern Europe, too, had been slowing somewhat, so 19 percent had less than ten years experience, 32 percent had ten to nineteen years of experience, and 49 percent had more. By contrast, the migration stream from the English speaking countries came in a steadier flow, and so there are many more beginning workers: 39 percent have less than ten years experience in Australia. Even more extreme is the situation of

Table 2. Potential labour force experience in Australia, people aged 16 to 64 years in 1984. Percents read across.

ORIGINS	Years of potential experience (% in each category)											
	0 to 4	5 to 9	10 to 14	15 to 19	20 to 24	25 to 29	30 to 34	35+				
IMMIGRANTS from:												
Yugoslavia	9	15	36	13	13	5	7	1				
Women	9	19	39	12	9	6	5	1				
Greece	6	8	22	29	12	19	3	2				
Women	6	10	21	29	20	9	3	1				
Italy	6	8	17	16	16	25	10	3				
Women	6	10	16	22	20	18	6	2				
Mediterranean NEC	18	20	23	15	7	9	7	1				
Women	19	25	20	15	8	9	3	1				
Eastern Europe	10	6	10	15	13	11	32	2				
(except Yugoslavia)	10	6	13	15	16	8	31	1				
Northwest Europe	9	10	16	16	19	18	11	1				
Women	11	9	16	14	18	18	12	1				
English speaking	21	18	21	16	8	5	6	4				
countries	23	17	20	16	9	6	5	4				
Third World	46	24	15	5	5	2	2	1				
countries	15	16	15	6	4	2	2	0				
AUSTRALIAN BORN, with												
parents from:												
Australia	16	15	13	12	9	8	7	19				
Women	16	14	13	12	10	8	7	21				
Other English	11	10	9	10	9	10	11	29				
speaking countries	12	10	9	9	9	10	11	31				
Mediterranean	44	24	10	4	4	4	4	5				
region	41	23	13	5	5	6	2	6				
Women	35	24	14	6	2	3	4	11				
Elsewhere	33	21	15	6	3	4	4	14				
Women												

NOTES: Computed from information on age, age at immigration, and age left school.

SOURCE: 1% sample of unit records from the 1981 Australian Census.

immigrants from the Third World, most of who had just arrived: fully 70 percent had less than ten years of experience. Of the remaining groups, the children born in Australia to Mediterranean parents are the most interesting. In 1981, they were just coming of age to start work: 68 percent of them had less than ten years of experience or less.

In comparing the work patterns of immigrants, these differences are important to keep in mind. For example, the typical worker from Yugoslavia, Italy, or Greece would be in mid-career while the typical worker from the Third World and the typical second generation Mediterranean worker would be just beginning their careers.

Women

Among immigrants from each country, men and women have similar amounts of potential labour force experience in Australia. This is partly because many of them immigrated as families, so there is little age difference between men and women. As I mentioned in the section on measurement, this measure of potential work force experience is an insufficiently accurate estimate for women, so I will not discuss it in further detail here. But I give the figures in case researchers working on other issues could make use of a measure of years spent as an adult in Australia (for which purpose these data would be fine). The process of becoming an Australian citizen would be an example of such an issue (34; 16), as would the changing ethnic composition of immigrants social networks (44).

Language

Language fluency is important at work (e. g. 14; 57), and for many other aspects of life as well. Language maintenance is essential to ethnic cultural continuity and distinctiveness (e. g. 53); by contrast, language shift is an important indicator of assimilation (e. g. 58). Shifts from one's mother tongue to any language other than English (the dominant language in Australia) are very rare, so I will refer to those who speak a language other than English at home as speaking their native language. I will also assume that those who speak only English, speak it »very well«.

Immigrants learn English in many different ways. Some have studied English as a foreign language in school or university in their country of origin. In pre-airplane days, immigrants had weeks to practice English on ship-board en route to Australia (and often not too much else to do then). As immigrants settle into Australia and develop friendships (and sometimes courtships) with the Australian-born their informal opportunities to learn English expand. Moreover, opportunities for formal language study exist: English language classes have been fairly widely available in Australia for many years, but there is not overwhelming demand for place in those classes, nonetheless, learning a new language in adulthood is not easy.

Yugoslav men

Language maintenance is very high among Yugoslav men. Only a tiny minority, 14 percent have shifted language and so speak only English at home. Fully 86 percent continue to use their mother tongue (see table 3).

Table 3

Language description: language maintenance and English language fluency. Yugoslav immigrants and other groups in Australia, 1981. Percentages read across (may not add exactly to 100, because of rounding).

ORIGINS		Uses only English	Uses another language and speaks English:				English fluency scale	
			Very well	Well	Not well	Not at all	Mean	Standard deviation
IMMIGRANTS from:								
Yugoslavia	Men	14	30	36	19	1	75	26
	Women	9	25	37	27	3	67	28
Greece	Men	6	24	40	28	2	66	27
	Women	3	22	31	40	4	59	29
Italy	Men	13	31	36	19	1	74	26
	Women	7	30	32	28	4	67	30
Other Mediterranean	Men	14	37	29	18	2	77	27
	Women	14	33	25	23	5	72	31
Eeastern Europe (except Yugoslavia)	Men	34	32	25	8	1	85	23
	Women	22	35	30	11	1	82	24
Northwest Europe (except Britain)	Men	51	32	15	2	0	94	14
	Women	42	39	16	3	0	93	16
English speaking countries	Men	99	1	0	0	0	100	2
	Women	99	1	0	0	0	100	2
Asia and other Third World	Men	34	27	23	14	2	81	26
	Women	36	26	19	16	3	80	29
AUSTRALIAN BORN, with parents from:								
Australia	Men	99	0	0	0	0	100	3
	Women	99	0	0	0	0	100	3
Other English speaking countries	Men	100	0	0	0	0	100	2
	Women	100	0	0	0	0	100	2
Mediterranean region	Men	50	44	5	1	0	97	10
	Women	48	46	4	2	0	97	11
Elsewhere	Men	85	12	2	0	0	99	7
	Women	85	13	2	0	0	99	6

SOURCE: One percent Public Use Sample of unit records, Australian census 1981.

NOTES: Scoring of English fluency scale: Speaks only English and speaks English very well are scored 100, speaks English well is scored 67, speaks English »not well« is scored 33, and speaks no English at all is scored zero.

A minority of Yugoslav immigrant men, 44 percent, are fully fluent in English — speaking only English, or using another language and speaking English »very well« (table 3, top row). Another 36 percent speak English well. A nontrivial minority, 19 percent, have considerable difficulty with English, speaking it »not well«, and one percent cannot speak any English at all. Thus, nearly all Yugoslav men have some English, but many are less than perfectly fluent, as shown by their mean score of 75 on the English

fluency scale. The prevalence of weak English skills among Yugoslav men probably partly reflects their low levels of education, as prior research shows that, in general, less educated immigrants have less command of English (13).

Comparison to other Mediterranean men

Language maintenance is very high among men in all the Mediterranean groups (table 3, rows 1, 3, 5, and 7). It is highest among the Greeks of whom 94 percent continue to use their native language, and only 6 percent have shifted entirely to English (see also 57). And the remaining Mediterranean groups are not far behind: 87 percent of Italians continue to use their native language (only 13 percent have shifted entirely to English), and 86 percent of Yugoslavs and «other Mediterraneans» continue to use their native language (only 14 percent have shifted entirely to English).

English fluency levels are also broadly similar among the Mediterranean groups. Of the «other Mediterraneans», 51 percent are fully fluent in English — speaking only English, or using another language and speaking English «very well». Another 29 percent speak English well, 18 percent «not well», and 2 percent not at all. Their mean English fluency score is 77. Of the Yugoslavs and Italians, 44 percent are fully fluent, 36 percent speak English well, 19 percent «not well», and 1 percent not at all. Their mean English fluency scores are 75 and 74. The Greeks are somewhat less fluent. Only 30 percent are fully fluent, another 40 percent speak English well, 28 percent «not well» and 2 percent not at all. Their average English fluency score is 66, somewhat lower than for the rest of the Mediterranean groups. Thus, a substantial portion of the men in each Mediterranean group is not fluent in the dominant language.

Comparison to other men

Language maintenance is higher among Yugoslavs (86 percent) than among Eastern European (mainly Polish and Hungarian) and Asian men, of whom 66 percent continue to use their mother tongue at home, and 34 percent have shifted entirely to English. Language maintenance is lower still among Northwestern European men, of whom 49 percent continue to speak their native language and 51 percent have shifted entirely to English. In terms of cultural continuity, language maintenance in the second generation is of great interest. The second generation with Mediterranean parents has much lower levels of language maintenance (50 percent continuing to speak a language other than English, 50 percent having shifted entirely to English), than do any group of Mediterranean immigrants (between 6 and 14 percent shifted to English). Thus, there is substantial language shift in the second generation, but decidedly less than occurs in other countries of immigration such as the USA (58).

Yugoslav men are less proficient in English (average fluency score of 75) than are the Asians (average fluency score of 81), the Eastern Europeans (average fluency score of 85), or the Northwestern Europeans (average fluency score of 94). The second generation in all groups is almost entirely fluent in English, so we can see that the linguistic deficit of the Yugoslav parental generation is not passed on to their children.

Yugoslav women

Language maintenance is even higher among Yugoslav women, 91 percent, than among Yugoslav men, 86 percent (compare rows 1 and 2 of table 3). A mere 9 percent of Yugoslav women have shifted language and so speak only English at home. This finding implies that a substantial portion of the Yugoslav second generation (the Australian-born children of Yugoslav immigrants) grew up in homes where English was probably not the usual language.

Only about a third of Yugoslav immigrant women, 34 percent, are fully fluent in English — speaking only English, or using another language and speaking English »very well« (table 3, row 2). Another 37 percent speak English well. A substantial minority, 27 percent, have considerable difficulty with English, speaking it »not well«, and three percent cannot speak any English at all. Thus, nearly all Yugoslav women have some English, but many are less than perfectly fluent, as shown by their mean score of 67 on the English fluency scale. Yugoslav women are less proficient in English than are Yugoslav men, on average by 8 points on the English fluency scale. Some immigrants who speak little English go through life untroubled by their linguistic isolation, and many may feel that the »costs« in time and effort required to gain full mastery outweigh the benefits. Nonetheless, there are less job opportunities for people not fluent in English (12; 14). Moreover, most Yugoslav immigrants are now robust, self-sufficient, and middle aged, but their lack of fluency will present new difficulties as women grow old (often outliving their husbands) — for example increasing risks of loneliness and incapacity to cope effectively with the bureaucratic organizations dispensing various benefits to the elderly.

Comparison to other Mediterranean women

Language maintenance is very high among women in all the Mediterranean groups (table 3, rows 2, 4, 6, and 8). It is highest among the Greeks nearly all of whom (97 percent) continue to use their native language, with a tiny 3 percent having shifted entirely to English (see also 56). And the remaining Mediterranean groups are not far behind. Fully 93 percent of Italians continue to use their native language (only 7 percent have shifted entirely to English), and language maintenance stands at 91 percent among Yugoslavs. Language maintenance is slightly less common among the »other Mediterraneans« of whom 86 percent continue to use their native language (and 14 percent have shifted entirely to English). In all the Mediterranean groups, differences between men and women in language maintenance are very small, but in no case is language maintenance more common among men than women. All in all, with regard to language maintenance, as in topics we've covered earlier, the similarities among the Mediterranean groups are more striking than the differences.

English fluency levels are also broadly similar among women in the Mediterranean groups. Of the »other Mediterraneans«, 47 percent are fully fluent in English — speaking only English, or using another language and speaking English »very well«. Another 25 percent speak English well, 23 percent »not well«, and 5 percent not at all. Their mean English fluency score is 72. Of the Italians, 37 percent are fully fluent, 32 percent speak English well, 28 percent »not well«, and 4 percent not at all. Their mean English fluency score is 67. The Yugoslavs also have a mean fluency score of 67. Among Yugoslavs, 34 percent are fully fluent, 37 percent speak English well, 27 percent »not well« and

3 percent not at all. The Greeks are somewhat less fluent. Only 25 percent are fully fluent, another 31 percent speak English well, 40 percent »not well« and 4 percent not at all. Their average English fluency score is 59, somewhat lower than for the rest of the Mediterranean groups. Thus, a substantial fraction of the women in each Mediterranean group are not fluent in the dominant language. In all four Mediterranean groups, men are more fluent in English than women, but the difference is not great (5 to 8 points on the 100 point English fluency scale).

Comparison to other women

With regard to language maintenance, as in the other topics previously covered, the Yugoslavs are more like the Mediterraneans than like the Eastern Europeans. Yugoslav women have higher levels of language maintenance (91 percent) than do Eastern European (mainly Polish and Hungarian) women, of whom 78 percent continue to use their mother tongue at home, and 22 percent have shifted entirely to English. Language maintenance is lower among Asian women, of whom 64 percent continue to speak their native language and 36 percent have shifted entirely to English. Language maintenance is lower still among Northwestern European women of whom 58 percent continue to use their mother tongue and 42 percent have shifted entirely to English. Language maintenance is decidedly more common among women than men for Northwestern Europeans and Eastern Europeans, but among Asians it is slightly more common for men than women.

In terms of cultural continuity, language maintenance in the second generation is of great interest. The second generation with Mediterranean parents has much lower levels of language maintenance (52 percent continuing to speak a language other than English, 48 percent having shifted entirely to English), than do any group of Mediterranean immigrants (between 3 and 14 percent shifted to English). Thus, there is considerable language shift in the second generation, but decidedly less than in other immigrant-receiving countries such as the USA (58).

Yugoslav women are less proficient in English (average fluency score of 67) than are the Asians (average fluency score of 80), the Eastern Europeans (average fluency score of 82), or the Northwestern Europeans (average fluency score of 93). The second generation in all groups is almost entirely fluent in English, so we can see that linguistic deficit of the Yugoslav parental generation is not passed on to their children. In all these groups except the Yugoslav, there is little if any difference in fluency between men and women. By contrast recall that for the Yugoslavs, Greeks, Italians, and »other Mediterraneans« women are less fluent in English than are men (although the differences are not great). Here, once again, the Yugoslavs are more similar to the Mediterranean groups than to the Eastern Europeans.

Discussion

Thus, we have seen that most Yugoslav immigrants in Australia are not highly educated. There is a small elite with tertiary education, but the vast majority have rather little education. In this the Yugoslavs are quite different from Eastern immigrants in Australia and quite similar to Mediterranean groups (Greeks, Italians, and »other Mediterraneans«). It is also noteworthy that Yugoslav women have, on average, about a year less education than do Yugoslav men: more women than men are at the bottom of the educational ladder,

fewer women than men are in the middle, but the (tiny), tertiary educated elites of men and women are the same size. This educational »gender gap« narrows considerably in the Australian-born second generation. Another important point is the great educational success of the second generation: immigrants' Australian born children have gone far in Australian schools. Thus, the limited education of Yugoslav parents seems much less of a detriment to their children's educational performance than one might have expected.

Most Yugoslav immigrants have been in Australia for some years. This means that there are relatively few among them who are just beginning their careers. It also implies that most have been in Australia long enough to be familiar with local institutions and customs, and long enough to have developed local social networks.

Most Yugoslav immigrants are not fully proficient in English, although a substantial minority of men (44%) and a smaller minority of women (34%) speak English fluently. In this aspect of life, once again, the Yugoslav immigrants are similar to the Italians, Greeks, and other Mediterraneans, but quite different from Eastern European immigrants. Full proficiency in English is attained by nearly all members of the second generation, so here once again, we see substantial change from the Yugoslav immigrants to their Australian born children.

A huge majority of Yugoslav immigrants continue to use their native language at home. More than 85% continue to use their native language among Yugoslavs, Greeks, Italians and other Mediterraneans. This is more than for any of the other immigrant groups. Moreover, for the Yugoslav and other Mediterranean groups language maintenance persists to a substantial degree into the second generation, about half of whom continue to use a language other than English.

In sum, the Yugoslav and other Mediterranean immigrants have smaller »funds« of labour market resources than do most other groups in Australia. But their children's »funds« of labour market resources are as high as those of most other groups. Many immigrants report that they came to Australia seeking better opportunities for their children, and my results suggest that their hopes have been fulfilled to a considerable degree.

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TRŽIŠNA KONKURENTNOST JUGOSLAVENSKIH IMIGRANATA U AUSTRALIJI: OBRAZOVANJE, RADNO ISKUSTVO I JEZIČNA KOMPETENCIJA

SAŽETAK

Autor istražuje radne resurse jugoslavenskih imigranata u Australiji, koristeći podatke na bazi jednopostotnog uzorka australijskog popisa iz 1981. Utvrđuje njihov obrazovni nivo, radno iskustvo i englesku jezičnu kompetenciju, te ih stalno uspoređuje sa drugim useljeničkim grupama, posebno Grcima, Talijanima, drugim Mediterancima i Istočnoevropljanima. U većini aspekata Jugoslaveni su sličniji Mediteranskim doseljenicima (Grcima, Talijanima i drugima), nego Istočnoevropljanima. Članak se bavi zaposlenjem muškaraca i učešćem žena u radnoj snazi i to povezuje sa utjecajem navedenih radnih resursa imigranata.