Social Mobility of Greeks in Australia

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Detailed List of Contents

Abstract

Central to this thesis is the impact of immigration from Greece (Hellas) to Australia, particularly in terms of social mobility and political affiliation. The discussion of the theoretical framework includes an analysis of migration and social mobility, defining and placing both within socio-economic and socio-historical contexts. The interdisciplinary approach cuts across the fields of political economy, sociology, politics, law and demography. The study draws from both Weberian and Marxist traditions in order to offer the most comprehensive testing possible of the empirical analysis of the immigrant experience. As argued in Chapter 2, as a theoretical study this thesis seeks to determine the causes of present Greek-Australian social mobility and related traits, in terms of pre-migration, migration-settlement and post-migration socio-economic experience. Chapter 3 discusses the methods employed in the thesis; these include an empirical inquiry based on a questionnaire surveys, detailed personal interviews, and other primary sources for the trends and variables in social mobility such as Australian Bureau of Statistics data. To comprehend the values and cultural features which contributed to the decision to migrate, Chapter 4 examines the symbols of Hellenic national identity derived from a mythical past, including symbols and legends that have continued to shape everyday human interaction to the present. Within this framework, the dissertation outlines the outstanding features of the typologies of migration, from the pioneer settlers of the mid-to the late-Nineteenth Century through to the inter-war period. It includes biographical accounts of the "scouts" who pioneered Hellenic settlement in Australia, as well as of those who came after the initiation of chain migration from Greece. It examines in detail the socio-economic development of the Hellenic Nation State, as both a cause and effect of mass out-migration from Greece to America and Australia over the past century. It indicates how the major factors of economic under-development and under-employment forced Greeks to abandon their rural and farming communities, choosing first urbanisation then mass out-migration. It analyses Australia's history, its socio-historical development, and how its changing immigration policies affected public attitudes both before and after WWII. It focuses on the attitudes of Australian public towards the settlement of non-British migrants. The thesis argues that until multiculturalism was established, Southern Europeans experienced the closure to them of social structures, and that the general unreadiness by the host society resulted in its failure to capitalise on the skills and initiatives of Greeks from the late 1800s to the 1970s when multiculturalism was implemented. The chapter based on empirical investigation employed the SPSS-X

statistical package to analyse data gathered from the field survey. The findings show that change of residential area in relation to economic mobility was statistically significant and that immigrants' willingness to return home was either postponed or became a merely personal matter irrespective of economic gains. Occupational and accompanying economic upward mobility were found to have a statistically high relationship to party political affiliation in that length of time in Australia was seen to be influenced by employment and economic status. Finally, after considering a number of diacritical indicators relating to the forces of migration, post-migration experiences and social mobility of Greek Australians, the thesis presents reflections on the results of the research and delineates various suggestions for future research.

Acknowledgements

<u>Dedication</u>

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved mother Stavroula
Spyrea-Dimitrea, daughter of Aikaterini Spyrea,
who, not always understanding why, had faith in my
endeavours, a faith which has never dimmed.

Τα ξένα θέλουν φρόνημα,
θέλουν ταπεινοσύνη
θέλουν λαγού περπατησιά
κι αετού γρηγοροσύνη

Αναθεμά σέ Αμερική,
αναθεμά σέ πόλη
που σ'στείλα τον άνθρωπο,
και μ'στειλες το βόιδι!

Αικατερίνη Σπυρέα

To go abroad requires discipline,
requires humility,
requires the hare's speed
and the eagle's wings.

Curses on America
curses on cities,
I send you my man
and you send me a bullock!

Aikaterini Spyrea

Declaration

Statement of Authorship:

Except where reference is made in the text, this thesis is my work and contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis presented by me for another degree or diploma.

Signed

Date........30 / 6 /1995........

Abbreviations

ABS	-Australian Bureau of Statistics
AIMA	-Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs
ALP	-Australian Labor Party
AMA	-Australian Medical Association
BCN	-Bilingual Consultant Network
BIR	-Bureau of Immigration Research (subsequently BIMPR)
CPA	-Communist Party of Australia
DIEA	-Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs
ERM	-Ethnic Rights Movement
GOC	-Greek Orthodox Community
GOCM&V	-Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria
ICEM	-Inter-Government Committee for Migration
ILO	-International Labour Organisation
IRO	-International Refugee Organisation
L/LM	- Lower/Lower Middle
NCP	-National Country Party
NESB (or NES)	-Non English Speaking Background
NOOSR	-National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition (previously COPQ)
NSSG	-National Statistical Services of Greece
OMA	-Office of Multicultural Affairs
PASOK	-Panhellenic Socialist Movement
SBS	-Special Broadcasting Service
UNGA	-United Nations General Assembly
VEAC	-Victoria Ethnic Affairs Commission

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary migration from Greece has had various destinations in the industrially advanced nations of the world, including Australia. Following migrant settlement, receiving societies have paid little attention to the study of migration and social mobility from the migrants' perspective. In the studies currently existing it is maintained that the attainment of social mobility by migrants is a matter of time, which can be achieved, though perhaps not until the second or even third generation. The initial disadvantages and difficulties that migrants experience following migration and settlement can be expected to disappear over time. This view appears to be supported by the census data of the Australian Bureau of Statistics which clearly show social mobility as an aggregate statistic over an extended period of years. This proposition appears to be quite straightforward. It does not, however, explain the complexity of the steps, issues and factors in this seemingly linear and inevitable process; nor does it reveal the multifaceted and involved nature of adjustments that have to be made by individuals, families and whole communities both in the migrant and the host society.

This study, by contrast, explores the issues involved in the process of migration and settlement by examining the experiences of the Hellenic community and the way its members have struggled over the years in an endeavour to gain acceptance and greater social mobility in Australian society. Whereas many other studies have been carried out by people who have described ethnic population groups from an outsider's perspective, this study is carried out from an immigrant's view. While in general terms all ethnic communities that comprise Australian society do adjust to the social, cultural, economic and political circumstances in the host society, the nature of the

process of adjustment in the course of attaining mobility is neither simple and smooth nor predictable.

The basic research objective of this dissertation is to investigate the social mobility of Greeks in Australia. The study begins with the second half of the nineteenth century, and follows through the subsequent developments of the Hellenic[1] presence to the more recent post-World War II years. It describes the changes in relation to social mobility patterns of Greeks in the context of Australia's different stages of cultural and economic development, with particular attention to the period from World War II to the present time. Social mobility as used here refers to any movement in the occupational, economic, educational and residential hierarchy of the Australian social stratification system.

The discussion of the theoretical framework underlying the project includes analysis of both migration and social mobility. It defines and places them theoretically within both socio-economic and socio-historical contexts. The approach is interdisciplinary, as the framework of analysis draws on the fields of political economy, sociology, history, culture, politics, demography and law whenever considered essential to substantiate a point in the discussion about the migratory and social mobility experience of the Hellenic population in Australia.

Migration, like social mobility, is in essence a social process leading towards social change (Byrne 1977:248-249). Following settlement in their new country, the migrant family requires more material and orientation

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[1] Throughout this thesis, the author has used "Greek" or "Hellene" and "Hellenic" interchangeably. While "Greek" is more readily understood by non-Hellene Australians, Hellene-Australians prefer "Hellene" as a name which they use among themeselves. While the singular for Greek is Hellene (Eλληνας), the plural is Hellenes (Eλληνες).

assistance than families already established in Australia. As Byrne states, the family is the social microcosm in which the dynamics of personal and group adjustment to environmental stress largely take place following migration (Byrne 1977:248).

Most contemporary migrations have involved mass population shifts to places such as the United States, Australia, Canada, Western Europe and other industrially advanced regions in search of work and better opportunities for themselves and their families (Castles & Miller 1993). For most migrants, the socio-economic deprivations in their country of origin are generally significant causes of out-migration (Castles & Miller 1993). For those involved, migration, whether internal or external, remains an attempt at economic and social advancement. When the migrant[2] becomes an immigrant (settling permanently in a new society), theoretically s/he is then free to search for better socio-economic opportunities, indicating that the socio-economic forces that initiated the migration are still in action.

In order to understand better the difficulties implicit in the migratory experience, both migration and settlement need to be understood in the context of social mobility itself. Social mobility, like migration, is used to designate the phenomenon of movement within human societies. What makes the movement of people important is their belief that by moving or attempting to do so within or between given societies, they will be able to take advantage of potential opportunities and, ultimately, will improve their social and economic status within that society.

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[2] According to Byrne (1977:248), the term migrant in Australia, is used to distinguish those who are born in Australia from those who are not, while the expression migrant family, refers to those families where one or more persons are not born in Australia.

When Western sociologists speak about social mobility, they usually mean mobility within the social stratification system of a given society, that is, a society with structured inequality, where the population of some strata have more power, rewards and opportunities for advancement than others. Structured inequality occurs through property ownership, and/or access to the acquisition of control and power, granted through legitimate or tolerated action.

Often, the extent to which upward or downward movement of social status occurs depends upon the socio-economic structures of host societies and the extent to which such societies are characterised by structures and processes which are closed or open. For example, in caste or feudal societies, social positions are fixed and cannot be changed. Social positions and status are ascribed or inherited and transmitted across generations. These structures are unlike those of modern or post-modern societies[3] such as the United States and Australia, where social positions are gained through individual achievement rather than inherited by birth. Modern and post-modern industrial societies offer equal opportunities to all members of society in the competition for unequal positions, with the allocation of the available positions being made meritocratically (Giddens 1993:212-249). A major interest of sociologists in these situations is how the individuals concerned mobilise themselves, and what obstacles they face, occupationally, educationally and economically, in seeking to fulfil their aspirations and to achieve positions of higher status.

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[3] There are various theoretical assumptions as to the definition of post-modern society. However, by post-modern society it is meant here a society which assumes greater openness of institutional structures and greater democratisation of work and working tasks. It is assumed that such openness has coincided with greater mobility of labour between and within nation states, and also with increasing technological innovations in the areas of computer or microchip technology, satellite communications, transportation as well as with an increasing social, cultural and economic interdependency or such integration in a national and international context.

When social mobility is discussed, it is important to note that there are differences in the interpretation of data on mobility due to differing theoretical frameworks and theoretical presuppositions. The main differences occur between the Marxist and other radical sociological critiques and non-Marxist positions, notably the Weberian position.

This study draws from both the Weberian and the Marxist traditions in order to offer a more comprehensive testing of the empirical analvsis of the immigrant experience. Using a theoretical framework which draws on both these schools of thought, at the same time applying the relevant historical and sociological research methodologies facilitates, the measurement of differential rates in the social mobility of Greeks in Australia. Marxist analysis enables the researcher to ascertain whether there have been significant differences between Greeks in terms of achieved higher social class; and to determine if this relates, as Marxist theory claims it should, to corresponding changes in political voting patterns. In contrast, the Weberian theory provides the framework for the measurement of a wider range of social class categories within the social mobility imagined.

Furthermore, the social mobility of Greeks in Australia is placed in a longitudinal perspective and explores the *incremental* process, whereby the socio-economic and political incorporation of members of the Hellenic community into the general Australian society in structural and policy terms is effected. This process is discussed against the background of contemporary socio-economic and political changes taking place in Australian society, in which the pursuit of social mobility by Greeks exposed them to a new set of issues and specific socio-economic conditions. The impact of these conditions on Greek life and culture has had significant implications in terms of

maintaining continuity while at the same time making concerted efforts to achieve a higher degree of participation in the socio-economic life of Australia.

In contrast to the general view held by sociologists of mobility, central to this research are questions which relate to issues of access, equity and social justice that have been made available in Australia, not only for members of the host society, but also for migrants and other disadvantaged groups. There are also mobility questions relating to the actual or imagined ability of sections of society, such as ethnic population groups, to take advantage of opportunities made available by receiving societies.

Traditionally, and for many years after World War II (WWII), it was intended that migrants would settle in Australia permanently and that "assimilation" or "integration" would modify or eliminate the cultural differences between incoming migrants and members of the host society. Unlike many other Western countries, Australia intentionally recruited migrants for permanent settlement rather than as guest workers (Castles 1988). For this reason neither the Government nor the community considered it appropriate that immigrants maintain their cultural traditions in their new home. Rather, immigrants were expected to assimilate largely unaided; to deny and forget their origins, while wholeheartedly embracing the Australian way of life (Secretariat To The Committee To Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies 1987:14).

Ethnic population groups arriving in Australia *en masse*, especially through the chain migration processes which characterised the Hellenes and the Italians in the 1950s and 1960s, found themselves consistently encapsulated in the so-called "ethnic enclaves" residentially, occupationally and economically, often until subsequent generations broke away from the "social mobility traps". Many first generation immigrants were forced into the secondary labour

market (Storer 1975), especially in the manufacturing industry, due to a number

of social factors operating against them - including lack of appropriate language

skills, non-recognition of skills and qualifications gained overseas, and the lack

of readiness by the receiving society to accommodate its newly settled migrants.

Another view (Pascoe 1992) holds that migrants often moved to

particular geographic locations because these settings offered opportunities for

developing services, and enabled them to do their shopping in markets or shops

in their traditional ways, or live within walking distance from their work since

most of them could not afford a motor car following initial settlement. Such

locations allowed them through social interaction to identify with social and

geographic space and redefine with some consistency their world view of place

and belonging in the new social context, thereby establishing a sense of

continuity.

Hellenic migrant settlement has been a significant part of Australia's post

1945 non English-Speaking Background (NESB)[4] immigration program. The

historical longevity of the Hellenic presence in Australia, combined with its

significant expansion in terms of mass migration and settlement during the post-

WWII period, enables the researcher to conceptualise a number of important

research questions, pertaining to the social, economic and, political mobility not

only of the Hellenic community[5] but also of other migrant groups in this

country.

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[4] The term NESB, or NESBIANS as it is often jokingly referred to, has derogatory implications and is often regarded as a deficit term because it implies ethnic population minorities do not form part of the mainstream population group. The author is aware that the term has a variety of connotations and limitations and has used it to show something of the views and perceptions of people who migrated to Australia. The author is also aware that the term does not adequately capture the existence and identity of individuals and the different ethnic communities. Instead, the term "ethnic community" is gaining strong currency (Jayasuriya 1993) nationally and, is also a more acceptable term to use internationally. The term "ethnic community" has a long and well established history and is robustly defined in international law.

[5] Hellenic community, or Ελληνική   Παροικία=Ellenike *Paroikia* (Hellenic *Paroiki[es]* =plural) as the Greeks name their respective Australian Hellenic communities established in

As a theoretical study this dissertation seeks to determine the factors and related issues involved in the social mobility of Greeks in Australia by exploring pre-migration, migration-settlement and post-migration socio-economic experiences. As an empirical inquiry, it uses questionnaire surveys, detailed personal interviews and other primary sources such as Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data to establish trends and to identify variables relevant to social mobility. In contrast to the Weberian approach, however, this study uses a set of strategies which attempt to construct a more broad ranging and inclusive investigation and analysis of the experience of migration as well as of the social mobility of immigrants within Australian society. As a consequence, various methods and sources of information are utilised for a broader and more flexible approach to an exploration of the issues under investigation. Socio-historical material, statistical data and interview material used to build a questionnaire survey, comprise the main sources of information of this research. The first half of this dissertation documents historical evidence, a necessary basis for the second half, which explores the contemporary sociological aspects of Hellenic settlement and social mobility in Australia.

The research rests on the general hypothesis that the level of upward mobility of Hellenes in Australia is a continuation of the migration process. This process has its beginnings within Greece with people moving from impoverished rural areas to over-populated urban centres, firstly within Greece and subsequently to Australia, joining the world-wide Hellenic diaspora[6]. The

different Australian states, is here understood as a collectivity of individuals who are totally or partially of Hellenic ethnic origin, who share the Hellenic ethnic culture and who live and work in Australia.

[6] Diaspora or Hellenic Dispersement refers to the awareness in Greece (found both in Hellenic history and this nation's folk traditions), that there have always been Hellene travellers, adventurers, explorers and migrants in the History of Hellenism who go abroad and often establish Hellenic communities. Hellenic diaspora has been a product of many factors, including the island

process involves a multiple stage migration: from rural and urban centres in Greece to industrial urban centres of Australia and from inner urban industrial settings in Australia to newly developed suburbs and housing estates.

Migration was the end result of a drastic decline in the Hellenic economy, coupled with an inadequate government system, following the overthrow of the Turkish yoke and the frequent waging of wars. The system failed to: (i) provide work for the growing rural population; (ii) cater for the growing socio-economic and welfare needs of the country's population; and (iii) keep up with a modernising and changing world. These failures led to out-migration, a complex multi-faceted chain-like process, drawing relatives, friends and, ultimately, entire villages to new industrialising regions such as America, Western Europe and Australia.

Research on the social mobility of ethnic groups in Australia has generally used conventional quantitative methods which tend to focus on a single point in time. With conventional methods of investigation, the existing social and economic mechanisms of both host and migrant societies have been assumed to be stable and given. There has been extensive discussion as to whether mobility or social achievement is greater in some ethnic groups than others, and whether respective rates have been rising or falling.

A socio-historical approach allows these variables to be taken into account, by comparing their different effects under different internal and external conditions, acknowledging the difficulties involved in such a task. There are various limitations which face the contemporary investigator that usually arise from scarcity of data and the lack of relevant social history studies.

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nature of the country but also a product of Hellenism itself that often had to survive long periods of time abroad by establishing Hellenic *Paroikies* (Communities).

Evidence of the Hellenic migratory experience reveals an overlapping of related patterns across a series of historical Hellenic settlements during the period under examination, with the chain of migrant settlements and resettlements which took place during both the pre- and post-WWII periods in Australia. In each of these periods, and in each settlement stage, there have been countervailing tendencies, reactions or attitudes to the prevailing social, political, economic and mobility trends. Yet, each historical stage presents certain unique qualities regarding the patterns of Hellenic-Australian migration, as well as settlement and mobility indices. Examination of these patterns allows comparative analysis over a longer period of time.

What has been increasingly evident during the post-WWII years is that the level of involvement of various ethnic groups in Australia's social, economic and political structures is dependent upon the kind of framework of social incorporation. Much of the migrant success in Australia, as in any receiving society, is associated with the type of "social incorporation" model and its capacity to accommodate migrant workers and their families. The presence or absence of a formal social incorporation model militates either for or against the further development of a partnership with socio-economic opportunities for ethnic population groups in Australian society.

Government commitment to an Australian multiculturalism has at times been cautious, superficial or even suspicious about preserving ethnically diverse cultural heritages. It is often argued that Government commitment to multiculturalism has been retained as political rhetoric in order to calm down ethnic communities, particularly their leaders, who have occasionally "been alerted to the superficial character of multiculturalism". For almost twenty years, this model has remained an "ambiguous and ephemeral phenomenon in Australian politics" (Castles et al 1988:78).

In line with the foregoing, this thesis utilises **six specific hypotheses** in order to test the impact of socio-economic factors on social mobility of ethnic population groups. **Hypothesis One** of the thesis will examine the theoretical aspects associated with the decision of Hellenes to migrate in their efforts to achieve social mobility. The main socio-economic trends and needs of Hellenes prior to their migration will be defined in order to set the stage with the antecedents of the Modern Hellenic national character in regard to their social and cultural orientations. These factors are in turn explored in the Australian context, identifying a variety of themes, practices, traditions, and material culture as an uninterrupted continuity, actively operating in their new social environment. It is hypothesised that these themes are not only continuations of inherited culture from antiquity as expressed in folk traditions and customs and as revived by scholars of the nineteenth century, but also were reinforced by the nature of development of the Modern Hellenic State. This retrospective view will throw light on the dynamics behind current aspirations and social mobility of Greeks in Australia.

Hypothesis Two of the research attempts to explore how the social and economic changes or fluctuations occurring in Australian society, in the different stages of its historical development, have influenced the pattern and nature of the economic opportunities available to its own members and to members of its ethnic population groups, particularly the Hellenic community. In general, the study tests the hypothesis that Australia's economic development, like that of most other Western nations, has always been its first priority, and historically has shaped the formation of its immigration policies. The question explored here is whether in fact there have been discriminatory policies and public attitudes which have had a major effect on the experience of

immigrant groups in terms of achieving acceptance and upward social mobility in Australia.

Hypothesis Three proposes that there is an *inverse* relationship between the expectations and the aspirations Greek immigrants for social mobility and Australia's state of readiness, ability and willingness to recognise migrant skills and qualifications. In more general terms, the study examines the kind of socio-economic forces which operated behind the increasing participation of Hellenes in small business, as shopkeepers in Australia, until the early 1950s. It further examines the forces behind the increasing participation of the Hellenic population in Australia's manufacturing industries in the post-WWII era, especially from the 1950s onwards.

Hypothesis Four postulates that upward social mobility is dependent on the extent to which Greeks are *outward looking,* or participate in the socio-economic activities of the general society. Ethnic groups require time before they develop to a stage where they can identify their social status and determine the degree to which dominant social forces allow them to participate in the general society. Full engagement with the general society to the point of allowing movement within the terms of the dominant group depends on some very basic prerequisites. These prerequisites include concerns with economic security of the ethnic minority group, the construction of ethnic organisations as a means for collective ethnic community action and an adequate familiarity with the wider social system in general. These factors require a more advanced stage of ethnic settlement, as well as a response or commitment from the host society, particularly at a legislative level, to the legal rights of all ethnic and racial groups.

Hypothesis Five postulates that social mobility has a major bearing on political behaviour of Greeks in Australia. This hypothesis tests whether or not people's political party affiliation is determined by the nature of their social mobility and the extent to which it impacts on the political behaviour of members of the Hellenic community within the Australian political system in general.

Hypothesis Six examines whether, regardless of the length of time of the Hellenes' stay in Australia, the legislative innovations that followed in the post-1970s period have led to the emergence of "bipartisan acceptance". The hypothesis tests whether or not the legislative innovations have produced changes in the extent of participation and social mobility of members of the Hellenic community in this country. The importance of the legislative component lies in its ability to enable further improvements in the cultural and structural incorporation of ethnic population groups within Australia's socio-economic system, as has been expressed in the establishment of the various Ethnic Affairs Commissions.

Of the few studies on Greek Australians, most have dealt with the pre-1970 period, when much of the ethnic communities' concern was directed inwardly towards the individual, ethnic group life, ethnic organisational practices and ethnic social and cultural institutions. A study by Petrolias (1959), on the ethnic Greek and ethnic Italian leadership in Melbourne, found that Hellenic community leaders were predominantly involved within their own organisational institutions. Petrolias further found that the most important qualification for Greek leadership was a commitment to the preservation of ethnic values. Competence in dealing with the outside world, although appreciated, was not considered essential (Petrolias 1959). As Tsounis found, even the most politically active sector of the Greek Community, the progressive

left, the most outward looking sector, tended to give priority to internal community politics and conflict (Tsounis, Interview 1989). In fact, Tsounis saw little evidence of social mobility by Greeks into and across the wider Australian society, other than through ethnic Greek institutions. Reich's study (1981) of Greeks and Jews in Australia indicates that there were different historical and subjective factors which operated behind the socio-economic status, their ethnic organisations and the level of participation of each of these groups in the general Australian society.

An analysis of the 1981 census found that Greeks and other Mediterranean immigrants were still over-represented in the lowest echelons of society (Collins (1988:79). This apparent inequality places migrants in a disadvantaged position in comparison with members of the host society, who continue to dominate in positions of power, while controlling the "culture of the established society". The socio-economic and occupational "gap" existing between immigrants and members of the host society cannot be comprehended without a detailed understanding of the migrant experience in social mobility.

This thesis establishes a theoretical framework based on different perspectives of the migration phenomenon and the social mobility of immigrants. The kinds of research methods employed are described in some detail, followed by an outline of the cultural and philosophical characteristics which describe the Hellenic national character. A link is established between the previous theoretical chapters and the early Hellenic sporadic pioneer settlement of Australia, together with some biographical details of those pioneers. Attention then shifts to the political economy of the Modern Hellenic Nation State since Independence, which led to mass out-migration to countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia. An account of Australia's immigration policy and the host society's attitudes to Hellenic settlement follows, including

of a survey field investigation on the social mobility and political voting patterns of Greeks in Australia, from pre-migration to 1986, is then presented, followed with reflections on the theoretical implications and empirical conclusions.

Specifically, <u>Chapter Two</u> establishes a theoretical framework able to accommodate the complex range of factors which lead people to migrate from familiar to unfamiliar social and geographic space. In order to grasp the complexity of the external and internal socio-economic forces operating behind people's decisions to migrate, a multi-theoretical and multi-disciplinary approach is employed. In contrast to most writings, it is argued that migration, migrant settlement and social mobility cannot be understood or defined in terms of a single theory or the theoretical perspective of any one discipline.

To grasp the complexity of the migration experience adequately, the study adopts a range of research methods to deal with the key thesis questions. <u>Chapter Three</u> outlines and describes methods used, including questionnaires, two interview schedules and an exhaustive search of diverse references and sources. In the socio-historical framework of social mobility in Australia, the study links the Hellenic Australian experiences to historical and cultural themes stretching back to antiquity, thus exposing the nature of the underlying motivation and goal orientation associated with the upward social mobility of Greek Australians.

This aspect is further developed in <u>Chapter Four</u> which focuses on the Hellenic cultural features and values which contributed to the decision to migrate away from familiar social and geographic places to remote countries of the world such as Australia. The chapter provides an analysis of key symbols and values derived from the mythic past. It argues that myths and stories told in the *agora* became part of the "social memory", informing the ideas and

actions of those social actors which in turn help to explain both the migration and post-migration history and social mobility of Greeks in Australia.

In the context of these cultural themes, <u>Chapter Five</u> provides an analysis of the sporadic Greek pioneer arrival to Australia during the nineteenth century. Through an examination of the pioneer Greek settlers in Australia, it provides an account in terms of which the typology of sporadic migration can be understood. In considering their biographies, the chapter stresses that many of these individuals arriving singly, as isolated seamen, via different routes, eventually established themselves in Australia and, in the absence of Greek females, married local women and Anglicised their names, thus becoming the forerunners of chain or associational migration from Greece.

However, the typology of mass migration, which is the more advanced phase of Hellenic migration to Australia that took place during the post-WWII period, cannot be explained solely on the grounds of the achievements of the Greek pioneers to Australia. Behind the post-WWII out-migration (one of the largest "volunteer" migrations on record), operated a whole range of complex factors. To reveal the complexity of this type of migration, <u>Chapter Six</u> locates the migration debate in a broader historical conceptual framework, connecting out-migration to the socio-economic and political changes which occurred after the foundation of the modern Nation State in 1828; and indicates how Hellenic economic underdevelopment and underemployment were major factors in the abandonment of rural and farming communities, with people choosing urbanisation, internal migration and mass out-migration as solutions to economic stagnation.

Turning from what are seen as the "push" factors of migration to the "pull" forces that attracted Greeks to Australia, <u>Chapter Seven</u> provides an

Turning from what are seen as the "push" factors of migration to the "pull" forces that attracted Greeks to Australia, <u>Chapter Seven</u> provides an analysis of the arrival of Greeks in Australia in the context of Australia's immigration history. Treatment of this history includes an analysis of Australia's immigration policy together with relevant details of Australia's socio-historical development. Specifically, Australia's pro-British immigration policies and Australian public attitudes towards Hellenic migration both before and after WWII, are examined. The question of the origins of immigrants which was central to the nation's immigration policy is scrutinised, as well as the types of socio-economic mobility Greeks were afforded in Australia during the period preceding the abolition of the "White Australia" Policy in 1972.

<u>Chapter Eight</u> examines the social history of the Hellenic presence during the pre-and inter-war years until the dawn of Multiculturalism during the post-WWII period. The chapter looks at how Hellenic organisational life, which was the result of the mode of immigration in the Australian social context, initially led to the concentration of particular ethnic groups within a limited range of occupational practices and at the same time followed a particular pattern of settlement within the host society both during the inter and post-WWII years before the patterns began to change.

<u>Chapter Nine</u> examines the extent to which social mobility of Greek-Australians has begun to reverse previous trends, following increasing interaction and participation of the Hellenic Community and its leaders within the wider Australian society. It is shown how Hellenic community leaders no longer limit themselves to the activities of their own ethnic organisations alone, but participate instead within the organisations of both worlds, those which represent their own ethnic cultural and political interest as well as within the organisations of the general society.

This social mobility, upward and downward, is then measured in the first section of <u>Chapter Ten</u> using indices for individual progress against the collective advancement presented in correlated class ranking terms in the previous chapter. A single factor analysis is presented which relates to the social mobility of Greeks in Australia - namely the occupational, financial, and residential status of participants - collected from a sample, consisting of 353 participants, ranked and correlated to provide a perspective of the developing differentiation in class status rankings of present-day Greeks in Australia. The class patterns that emerge are of intra-generational and some inter-generational mobility, although the latter is not yet fully visible. In the second section of the chapter, the socio-economic characteristics of the participants are derived from a structured questionnaire survey and correlated with political preferences, which are shown to be changing for the second time since Greeks came to Australia.

After considering a number of diacritical indicators, relating to the forces of migration, the post-migration and social mobility experiences of Greeks in Australia, <u>Chapter Eleven</u> discusses the implications of the thesis for a better understanding of the migration experience. This discussion deals with issues of theory development relevant to ethnic diversity, the development of multicultural policies in Australia and the challenges posed by mass population movements in the 1990s.

Chapter 2

GENERAL THEORIES AND TYPES OF MIGRATION

Unlike pre-industrial periods, modern migratory forms, currents and trends are not stable in direction or in population volume. At the same time, migration, together with various forms of occupational social mobility, has now, more than ever before, become a necessary feature of post-industrial societies in the context of widened scope of an International Community (Richmond 1988:1; Withers 1990; Stahl et al. 1993). It is within this global context that there has been increasing labour mobility inside and between Nation States, through improvement in communications and cheap transportation in modern and post-modern societies. In the modern and post-modern periods, unlike earlier historical periods, it may be "anachronistic" to assume that people will always seek to remain permanently in any particular country to which they have migrated (Stahl et al. 1993). In very broad terms, this chapter establishes a theoretical framework to accommodate the complex range of factors which lead people to migrate from a familiar social and geographic space to an alien space. In contrast to most writings on migration, it is argued that migration cannot be understood or defined in terms of a single theory, such as neoclassic or Marxist, or in terms of a single discipline. This chapter suggests that such approaches provide only a partial explanation of the process of migration in general, and of social mobility in particular. It is argued that a multi-theoretical and multi-disciplinary approach is necessary in order to grasp the complexity of the subject of migration and social mobility of migrants.

Migration as a general term is used to refer to the geographic movement of an individual or group (Kuper & Kuper 1985:524; Cigler & Cigler 1985:6).

The motivation to migrate emanates from an ordered set of values that are of utmost priority to given individuals or groups of migrants, and which are not adequately met in the home country. For example, people migrate for better economic opportunities, as a result of political or religious persecution, or to escape various forms of exploitation, alienation, or cultural deprivation experienced in their country of origin. At the same time, migration, together with various forms of occupational mobility, constitutes the basis for the explanation of the reasons behind people's movements along the different systems of social stratification within, as well as between, Nation States in modern and post -modern societies.

The experience of migration involves not only people's geographic movement, but also questions of status as migrants within receiving societies. A migrant, whatever his/her status - for example, a refugee, a legal or illegal migrant - becomes an immigrant when a decision is made to remain in the new country and/or otherwise qualify for permanent settlement status granted by the immigration authorities of the new country. Generally speaking, only when a migrant has been granted permanent settlement status, may the goals which prompted the decision to migrate be fully pursued and realised.

When immigration involves permanent settlement in contemporary societies, it is usually legitimised through the operation of Immigration Acts implemented by the governments concerned. In modern times, other than *de facto* permanent immigration, only Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United States and Israel are said to still accept permanent immigrants *per se* (Richmond 1988:1). This acceptance, however, involves questions of protocol for each nation State, in accordance with the way immigrant citizenship rights are defined and conferred upon entry (Kritz 1987).

Social investigators now recognise that migration is a multifaceted social phenomenon comprising many different types or forms, as well as of many directions of migration currents (Richmond 1988; Salt 1989; Castles & Miller 1993). Whatever the form or type of migration, and its underlying causes, two geographic areas and three societies are usually affected. The areas are those of the out-migration (migration abroad) and in-migration (internal migration), the societies being the society of origin, the host society, and the immigrant group itself (Velikonja 1989:710). These areas or societies are interchangeably linked to the phenomenon of migration which is effectively a form of social mobility, involving processes of social transition which lead to social change. For example, when migrants move between or within nation States they may do so in order to improve their socio-economic opportunities. However, their full potential to do so is enhanced in democratic societies where social structures are more open, and where freedom of expression is encouraged. There, the migrant, acting either as an individual or as part of a collective social unit such as an extended family group, may be regarded as a social force which, by exerting its influence, ultimately contributes to social change within the receiving countries. As Byrne has commented, "the migrant family is the *microcosm* in which the dynamics of personal and group change, of acculturation and identity, and of adjustment to environmental stress, to a large extent, take place" (Byrne 1977:248). Viewed from this perspective, few of the characteristics of migration, either external or internal, can be explained outside the context of social mobility. From this view, it is necessary to understand a whole series of settlement issues linked to migrants' accommodation and success within receiving societies, such as upward or downward social mobility in terms of geographic, economic, cultural, political and other related aspects of social importance, all of which may have to be faced during migration-settlement.

Migration exerts a demographic effect because it involves movement of people between geographic and social locations. Together with mortality and fertility rates, migration constitutes one of the three factors which affect the structure, composition and distribution of a population. (Petersen & Thomas 1968:289; Wooden et al. 1990:62). Unlike fertility and mortality, which have a biological dimension, migration embraces social, economic, political and psychological dimensions. Because of the interrelation of migration, fertility and mortality, their different rates, together with the size of migration, may have a permanent effect on the demographic composition of a population. This effect has been felt not only in sending societies following mass out-migrations but also within industrially advanced societies such as the United States, Canada, Australia and Israel where immigration programs obviously have had a significant impact on the demographic composition and expansion of their population. For example, one-fifth of the Australian population, according to the 1986 ABS census, was born overseas (Richmond 1988:10). Moreover, as commented on in a Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) report:

> if [the immigrants] have distinctive fertility and mortality patterns which differ from the Australian-born, the immigration program can have an influence on patterns of fertility and mortality as well (BIR 1990:63).

There has been, over the last two decades, scholarly as well as governmental recognition of the social impact of migratory movements and the sheer diversity of types and currents of migration. Prior to the post-industrial period, most authors conceptualised migration as a one-way process or single-pattern movement over a single historical era. In this sense, international migration was regarded very much as a homogenous process, that is, a process directed towards single destinations with no significant re-migration. Consequently, research on migration remained limited within single scholarly disciplines. Whether they were geographers, economists or historians, most

authors treated migration mainly as a relocation of people within given geographic parameters (Conway 1973:3-11; Cross 1973:5-45). In addition, until well into the 20th century, most authors reflected on people's migration experience and its social mobility dimension as a supplementary, or side issue, rather than as a subject in its own right.

This approach to the subject was despite the systematic inquiries into migration *per se* which started to appear in specialised literature just over one hundred years ago with Ravenstein's "The Laws of Migration" (1885:167-235; 1889: 241-305). While Ravenstein was limited in his treatment of migration by his neoclassic economic approach, he did at least treat migration as a subject in itself. His writings coincided with the expansion of industrialisation and the development of the capitalist economic system within the affairs of the Nation State that increasingly sought to pursue its interests far beyond its national boundaries. The Nation State controlled political and military affairs and exercised the rule of law over society at large. As such, the administrative apparatus of the Nation State legitimised the interests of the bourgeoisie or capitalist class which, according to Marx, owned and controlled the means of production (Marx 1983). This control occurred through the legal protection of the profit-making advantages the Nation State provided to capitalist activities and interests. It was at this time, just over a decade prior to the turn of the last century, that Ravenstein, like Marx before him, noted that changes occurring in economic circumstances due to industrialisation were accompanied by population shifts from rural areas to newly built industrial centres. The initial migratory movements first became evident within Britain itself, then in the other Nation States of Europe (Jansen 1970:3-9), and subsequently spread elsewhere with external migrations to the United States, Canada, and Australia, often accompanied by internal population movements in each of these countries.

Despite the works of Ravenstein and the contributions made by authors from different scholarly disciplines, the subject of migration remained narrowly perceived and largely unexplored. Government immigration policy remained based on either the micro-economic or macro-economic imperatives of migration, as in the case of the United States and Australia respectively (Dawkins et al. 1992:110; Foster & Withers 1992:90). Such economic imperatives have remained constantly reflected in the selection criteria applied to potential immigrants by receiving societies, with the selection of different national groups exhibiting an order of priority based on race and ethnic origins, as well as the potential migrants' knowledge of skills or trades, and/or educational level. These priorities have been most obvious in the context of the immigration policies of receiving societies and have reflected assimilationist views and/or melting pot philosophies adopted by their governments. This set of issues relates to economics and development and also reflects the thinking of the times in connection to the level of tolerance of organised labour and of the host societies in general. Thus, governments organised the selection of immigrants in a way that minimised social upheaval or disruption, in order to show that immigrants serve the economic interests of receiving societies.

Countries with high immigrant intakes, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, not only chose migrants who, through lack of English and marketable skills, were limited to certain categories of work, but also anticipated that these immigrants would adapt and assimilate within the cultural framework of Anglo-Conformity. Within this framework there was a widespread but narrow view which asserted that migrants ought to forget their past way of life, their culture and language and adapt to that of their hosts. Until the 1960s, it was argued that migrants should adapt to the value systems of the host society (Gordon 1964: Price 1963; The Secretariat to the Committee to

Advise on Australia's Immigration Policies 1987:14-17). One of the effects of these assimilationist attitudes was the failure of different governments to address adequately what was actually meant by the words "migrant" and "migration". There was lack of consensus by both researchers and the international community, as to how the words migrant and migration were going to be understood and defined in the context of receiving societies (Gregory 1928; Petersen & Thomas 1968:289; Bowen 1977).

For their part, writers on migration were influenced by the requirements of their own governments' policy, and had little interest in human rights issues, such as the migrants' right to maintain their language and culture, or to repatriate. As a result, questions of possible re-migration were excluded for a long time from immigration policies as most writers saw migration from a narrow nationalist standpoint. Scientific inquiry into the subject of migration remained limited as it dealt with migration only in terms of single-factor analysis. This limitation occurred mainly because, unlike what was to happen in real experience resulting from population movements, and unlike how migrants themselves felt or thought of their migrant status, immigration authorities assumed that people migrate for single reasons, and that they migrate only once in their lifetime (Withers 1990:10-22).

However, socio-economic changes in the advanced industrial world brought about changes in people's understanding of migration. As time passed, more and more scholars and governments throughout the industrially advanced world began to realise that people migrate for all kinds of reasons, and it became obvious that migration should not be treated as a one-way relocation of migrants from the country of origin to the country of destination, or that, following settlement, migrants ought to forego their language and culture and adopt those of the new country. This view of change, whereby migrants who

acculturated fast were praised for their achievements and others who failed to do so were condemned by members of the host societies, was now regarded as simplistic. It is now known that currents of migration have changed both in volume and direction many times since the turn of the 19th century. It is also known that difficulties in migrant adaptation and integration by the 1950s in the United States, Canada and Australia led many people to return to their countries of origin. Following scholarly reviews of earlier theoretical works and policies associated with migration and the status of immigrants themselves, as well as increasing demands by immigrants, governments began formally to recognise evidence of existing problems in relation to migrant presence, including lack of tolerance and racial and cultural prejudice in the host society, especially towards certain ethnic groups. This awareness gave rise to legislation in the United States, Canada and Australia addressing prejudice and discrimination towards racially and ethno-culturally diverse groups living in host societies (Richmond 1988). The historical experience which generated legislation in each country was different, both in terms of migrant (size and settlement histories, race, and ethnic group origins) and also in regard to the status of the indigenous populations (such as the American and Canadian Indians or the Australian Aborigines). Through the implementation of legislation, however, the governments of Canada and Australia enshrined multicultural rights in legislation for newcomers to maintain, if they so wished, their ethnic identity and ethnic cultural practices and to make submissions to their host governments seeking funds for cultural programs to be carried out by their respective ethnic organisations. Immigrant adaptation and integration within host societies were reconsidered in the light of new developments conceived and defined within the framework of cultural pluralism (Gordon 1964; Schermenhorn 1970; Bowen 1977).

Within this context of cultural pluralism, theoretical contributions often came from a critical perspective that challenged conventional or traditional perspectives on migration. Researchers and governments increasingly recognised the subject of migration as a multifaceted and multi-dimensional social phenomenon, requiring complex research methods for analysis and definition. In contrast to earlier theories, contemporary research is increasingly studying the multi-factor causes of migration, addressing it longitudinally rather than merely as a one-way relocation of individuals within and between geographic areas. This approach, which permits the use of multivariate models of analysis, more accurately addresses the diverse factors associated with migration, and provides the capacity to consider a range of social factors which are connected to pre-migration, migration and settlement experiences (Goldlust & Richmond 1974:193).

In contrast to earlier accounts of migration, limited by overly simplistic categorisations of the phenomenon, individuals or groups of migrants are now increasingly being classified according to the specific category to which they belong, or in accordance with the kind of forces that either motivated or forced them to migrate. The most commonly employed typologies may be outlined as follows:

Major Types of Migration		
Archaic and Contemporary Migration	Mass and Independent Migration	Voluntary and Involuntary Migration
Refugee Migration	Colonisation Migration	Associational (or Chain) Migration
Internal and External Migration	Professional and Skilled Migration	Transient Migration
Conservative and Innovative Migration		Permanent Migration

Figure 2.1

Most types of migration presented in Figure 2.1, in spite of having distinct qualities and meaning, are often interrelated in that they overlap with each other and form part of the debate dealing with the complexity of the causes and effects of the migration phenomenon. Archaic migration refers to migration which occurred in response to some kind of ecological push resulting from the exhaustion of food or water supplies and generally due to basic environmental changes. Contemporary migration, however, occurs because of the availability of natural resources in the place of destination (Petersen & Thomas 1968). The features which apply to archaic and contemporary migration can also apply to mass and independent migration. What distinguishes mass and independent migration, however, is the role or the impact of socio-economic forces, as well as the size of population shift. Mass, as the word implies, involves very large population shifts, while independent migration involves the migration of isolated individuals, that is, sporadic migration or the migration of pioneers who migrate outside of chain or associational migration (Petersen &Thomas 1968; Schermerhorn 1970).

Mass and independent migration, along with voluntary and involuntary migration, are central to the study of most Greek migration to Australia. Mass and independent migration often tend to overlap, not only with each other, but also with voluntary and involuntary migration. What distinguishes voluntary from involuntary migration is the extent to which migration is the result of free choice by the individual or group (mass) concerned (Castles et al. 1988:81). If individuals are forced to migrate because of restrictions imposed on them or discrimination against their social, political, religious and related practices connected with their basic human rights, such people are classified as refugees and can be granted refugee status by receiving societies. Refugee migration generally occurs because of dictatorship, civil war, or colonisation. Colonisation also is a major type of migration and occurs due to population

pressures at home, or because of political, commercial, or even military considerations (Schermerhorn 1970). For its part, associational migration is usually the product of other types of migration as, for example, independent (or pioneer), mass, and/or colonisation. What distinguishes associational migration from other types of migration is the existence of strong associational or communal ties, feelings and concerns (Rex & Mason 1986).

All types of migration have as a point of reference the Nation State since all migrations occur within and between Nation States. As a consequence, all types of migration are indiscriminately categorised as either internal or external migration (Rex & Mason 1986:90). Since migration occurs nationally as well as internationally, this also sets the framework of most analyses of social mobility. The movement of people from point A to point B within and between Nation States or vice versa, is best realised and defined in a social mobility context, regardless of whether people cross an international border or not. Migrants, like all other people already settled in host societies, strive to become upwardly socially mobile within or beyond the national borders of their own country of origin. They aspire to migration hoping that social mobility will enable them to achieve their goals beyond their country's national borders. Consequently, migrants offer their occupational services in host societies, hoping that on arrival they will be provided with opportunities which produce benefits for themselves and for their families. Often out-migration includes most kinds of occupational categories ready to offer their services in receiving societies.

It is asserted (Adams 1968:29-48) that out-migration of scientists and other skilled personnel deprives developing societies of much of the "know how" normally needed for their industrial "take off" stage. The labour mobility of scientists has been conceived in terms of contributions to the national

interests of receiving societies for example, in the arenas of technological and economic development. In modern and post-modern times, professional and skilled personnel may be classified as transient migrants, as opposed to those professionals who are granted immigrant entry status. What distinguishes the transient type of professional migrant from the immigrant professional, therefore, is the residential and citizenship status granted by receiving countries. The transient migrant category also includes members of the diplomatic corps, teachers, engineers, scientists and guest workers, who cross national borders to work or to represent their country of origin, and in doing so maintain the sending country's citizenship (Richmond 1988:2). Generally speaking, all migration can be defined in terms of permanent or temporary status, depending on the immigration authorities of receiving societies.

Whether or not residential status is granted to migrants depends on a number of different but interrelated factors including the extent to which migrants fit conservative or innovative categories. Some countries, especially multicultural societies like Australia and Canada, attract both conservative and innovative types of migrants. Conservative migrants, as the word implies, may wish to conserve or retain their original life style, but if the migrant is classified as innovative, the contrasting situation may occur, that is, the migrant adopts and adapts to the customs and language of the receiving society.

Implicit in the discussion about the types of migration is the assumption that certain types, such as refugee movements, professional migration and a few colonising migrations, tend to be conceptualised as variants of models applied to labour migration. These variants generate some of the complications evident in current theorising on migration, since in general theories do not follow a uniform pattern nor do they attempt to encompass the totality of the different processes and/or aspects of the subject. Instead, theories tend to concentrate on

the specific aspects of the migration experience. Some of these aspects are, for example, the origins and effects of labour flows, or the socio-economic forces which determine movements of migration and the formation of their categorisations, including migrant direction flows, or even the determinants of stability of migrant movements, the uses of immigrant labour and their adaptation within host societies. These factors are the key issues of current theoretical interest in the subject (Portes 1985:57).

Overall, the various categorisations of migration offer insight into the phenomenon. Taken together, they do contribute to a fuller appreciation of what we term "Hellenic migration to Australia"; but individually, however, they lack the theoretical power to adequately explain Greek migration to Australia. Furthermore, although specialisation in defining key aspects of migration has increased, because of theoretical differences between disciplines, research still fails to encompass certain particular characteristics of migration evident in modern and post-modern times. Thus economists, drawing from the neoclassic and Marxist schools, refer to the economic impact of migration, while sociologists and demographers who draw from social themes associated with regional or national composition of given populations, provide accounts which relate to the causes and effects involved in the cycle of migration and re-migration. Between these two approaches, however, characteristics, which do not fit neatly into either approach, remain undetected and undiscussed.

Despite the diversity of approaches, the real value of contributions made by single disciplinary research is not denied. In fact, the different approaches to migration have, in one way or another, contributed towards or stimulated consideration of a wide range of factors and indices, and helped to answer more complex questions on the subject, irrespective of ideological background or directing theory. Moreover, theoretical trends on migration of the last thirty

years tend to emphasise reciprocity and inter-dependence in terms of understanding migration, and the extent to which it is beneficial to migrants as well as to the sending and receiving societies (Thistlethwaite 1960; Boyd 1989:630-661).

A number of attempts have been made to study and explain the typologies of migration and these have come from inter-disciplinary schools. Some of the better known attempts are set out in historical context in order to illustrate the contributions made by different scholars and/or different disciplinary schools of thought ranging from economic to psychological theoretical approaches. This information enhances the theoretical framework of the present study on Hellenic migration, and the social mobility of Greeks in Australia. The readings representing the different theoretical approaches on migration are illustrated by Figure 2.2 below, followed by a discussion based on the historical context of migration.

Theories of Approaches to Migration		
Neoclassic Economic Theory of Migration	Marxist Critique of Migration	Socio-historical Approaches of Migration
Sociological Theory of Migration	Demographic Theory of Migration	Multivariat e Approach of Migration
Socio-Psychological Theory of Migration	Psychological and Cultural Deprivation Theories of Migration	Multivariate Approaches of Migration
Globalisation and Migration (or Labour Mobility)		

Figure 2.2

Ravenstein (1885) examined how lack of labour in a given geographic region could be supplemented by migrants coming from another region where labour is plentiful. He also noted that people migrate because they follow the direction of migratory currents, or because the geographic distance covered makes it possible for people to re-migrate if they wish to do so. He argued that

tendencies to migrate vary between rural and urban regions, and between the sexes. Ravenstein (1889) regarded higher populated regions as a main cause of migration towards regions where resources of wealth remain unexplored and can provide migrants with satisfactory employment benefits. Furthermore, he stressed that migration can be caused by a nation's oppressive laws, heavy taxation, poor climatic conditions, and depressive social settings. The predominant cause of migration, however, is what he called "people's natural wish" to improve their economic status.

Although Ravenstein's work is a study of geographic movement of people, with its emphasis on the importance of economic opportunities, his work is an example of neoclassic economics of migration as a pull theory. Neoclassic economists are concerned with the benefits against the costs resulting from migration and this is central to their view of free market economy theory. They adopt this view in response to concerns raised over the last twenty years in countries such as Australia and Germany, as to whether or not migration is a true contributing factor to the economic development of receiving societies and not detrimental to sending societies. In these discussions, economists have been less concerned about possible advantages or disadvantages exhibited in the cost-related aspects of the migratory experience, and more with the extent to which contributions made by migrant labour have slowed down or increased the speed of developmental advancement processes of receiving societies.

The neoclassic economic theory emphasises the importance of individual motivation in pursuit of personal gains (Kindleberger & Herrick 1977:180). The spirit of the neoclassic model as studied by scholars since the end of the nineteenth century is to be found in its perception of economic stimulation and response mechanisms displayed by individuals and decision

makers. Policy-making draws from the neoclassic economic theory in order to encourage individualistic competition and promote monopolistic activities in the context of capitalism and the Nation State. For its part, the State as a corporate body and the arbitrator of the capitalist economic system, is limited to "essential services" in order to ensure the maximisation of profit to individual parties involved in the profit-making competition.

Underpinning the economic causes of migration and the economic policies of the modern Nation State, are developments of the neoclassic theory based on the work of Adam Smith on political economy written in 1776. His work analyses the relationship between freedom of trade and order of economic processes. He attacked the British mercantile system for its limitations on free trade, and argued that free trade based on individualism led to order and progress. This view stems from his economic theory on the supply and demand of labour, goods and factor substitution, which aimed at maximisation of profit. Smith stressed that all barriers to labour mobility should be lifted. He justified this position by claiming that the development of trading through the international distribution of labour, was of crucial importance for the general well being of all (Smith 1954:54-137). Smith's work was supported and extended by David Ricardo, a leading British economist, who helped to establish the classical economic theory. Ricardo (in Sodersten 1988) considered labour the most important source of wealth, and capital accumulation the key to rapid economic growth. He emphasised that the conditions that enable a nation's economy to reach its greatest potential were realised through income distribution and the use of the principle of comparative advantage in international trade. His views were further refined by Heckscher-Ohlin who argued that factor price equalisation was influenced by trade in compensating factors of production (in Sodersten 1988:41-46, 67-75). The transference of capital investment and labour from one Nation State to another meant that

potentially there would be an increase in world production. Combining the transfer of capital investment with labour, as well as with the transfer of technology, could lead to speedier developmental processes and to productivity increases that, in return, would be to the benefit of all (Ohlin 1952: 354).

In applying neoclassic economics, Thomas (1954) focused on the impact of economic development resulting from migration to the United States. He did this by examining the relationship between emigration and real income in Britain and economic fluctuations in the United States (prior to WWII). He focused on economic gains arising from railway construction and its cost output, against four substantial migrations to United States. As these migrations coincided with periods of relatively rapid economic growth of the North Atlantic economy (in contrast to the lower developing status of sending countries), Thomas, like other neoclassic economists, supported the theory of pull towards the host country, rather than push from the sending country.

In further stressing the neoclassic economic model, Kindleberger and Herrick (1977:180) claimed that migrant labour is drawn to regions where working conditions and remuneration are most attractive, and where benefits and returns generally could be maximised (Kindleberger & Herrick 1977:180). People migrated to receiving societies which usually possessed multiple natural resources, capital, technology, and higher wages for skilled and unskilled labour. Similarly, for the individual capitalist, migrant labour was an investment in human capital. The return on investment in migration could be measured as the difference in net earnings which were the result of the difference minus the costs between sending and receiving countries. In terms of neoclassic economic theory, migrants can be defined as "free riders" who usually take advantage of "external benefits", which have been created by the administrative elite, and the socio-economic process by which that elite

transfers wealth to itself from the rest of the society (Kindleberger & Herrick 1977). [1]

Charles Kindleberger (1967:4) claimed that countries like Britain, and some of the Scandinavian States, which did not experience an increase in the availability of labour, experienced a slower pace of development.[2] He believed that the availability of plentiful labour promoted developmental processes but it could not provoke them. This has been evident in situations where the levels of development reached by post-WWII Europe were determined by technological change and progress, but also by better organisational methods of production and distribution. Kindleberger (1967:4) described the income increase of 6-8 per cent per capita in the 1950-1960 period as super development; he also maintained that this achievement was due in part to migrant mobility of labour from agriculture to industry and related administrative services, but even more to the occupational practices of guest workers in West Germany, France, and Switzerland.

In the context of economic gains resulting from migration, other commentators such as Boyd (1989) emphasise the importance of remittances for the economic development of sending societies. Remittances (or the sending of money by immigrant workers to their family household) are said to "provide the litmus test of benefits from labour migration" . As indicated by Boyd, remittances are noteworthy for four reasons:

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[1] Initial outlays for transportation expense and foregone earnings while migrants look for work will be renumerated by anticipated higher earnings in the place of destination.

[2] The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Develoment (OECD) has also used the neoclassic economic model to explain and justify the causes for human migratory currents. This is shown in OECD publication listings of migrant categories required by host societies. As Descloitres (1967:35) comments, OECD publications make this apparent by stating explicitly that the main cause for migrant employment is the lack of labourers needed to fill in job vacancies in different places or sections of industry necessary for the economic development of receiving countries.

> Firstly, remittances show existence of social networks across geographic space. Secondly, they have economic effects in the sending country. Thirdly, remittances maintain the use of migration as household strategy. Fourthly, migrants send important messages about comparative opportunities and standards of living thereby stimulating future migration flows (Boyd 1989:651).

In viewing migration from a slightly different angle, Myrdal (1957:54) argued that the law of supply and demand of international trade leads to polarisation of development. He further hypothesised that countries or geographic regions with expanding economic activities tend to be attractive to migrants, and that migration is a selective process at least as far as the age of migrants is concerned. The latter is an essential factor in the assertion that younger-age migrants can contribute more towards the development, or the speed of the developmental processes, of receiving societies. Migration to receiving societies can have contrary effects upon the population structure of sending societies when migrants are younger, since they are regarded as the important force for the development of sending societies. He justified this theory by arguing that during the mass migration period towards the industrial centres and to the United States, the poverty of rural regions of Europe occurred largely because of the poor age population ratio that had resulted from migration. Also, when economically less powerful European States were facing problems during the 1960s with increasing unemployment or a surplus of labourers, the nations which were facing labour shortages took advantage of this oversupply, in order to maximise social and economic benefits from migration. In response to the labour demand, job seekers saw their movement elsewhere as a means of economic survival. Eventually, however, following developments in technology and increasing unemployment within these receiving States, a number of indices were adopted as criteria to reduce migrant entry.

Undoubtedly, certain types of people, who fall outside the socio-economic selection criteria of immigration policies of host societies, tend to remain less mobile for certain lengths of time, even within the boundaries of their own Nation State. Some of these people who are restricted from gaining migrant status and have to remain in their home countries often face limitations in the level of their socio-economic advancement. This situation usually occurs where out-migration did not solve the sending societies' development problems, and, consequently, the surplus of labour could not be absorbed by their manufacturing sector.

Central to the neoclassic theory of supply and demand is its connection to the criteria adopted by host societies for immigrant workers. There are various socio-economic indices which influence the supply and demand of workers, and/or influence them to migrate (OECD 1976:55-66). Some of the indices which influence labour supply are: the degree of industrialisation (on primary, secondary and tertiary levels) of the receiving society, the natural population movement, the duration of compulsory schooling, the occupational status, and post-occupational training. Labour supply is affected as well by the ratio of males to females occupied in industry, the return to employment of the economically active migrants, and their integration in the occupational practices. In contrast, a number of factors which influence labour demand in receiving countries are: the educational and occupational training of migrants, and the level of integration of first and second generation migrants. Labour demand is influenced further by the number of working hours performed in each occupational category, and the kind of welfare services that are available for the unemployed. Also, it is often conditioned by problems associated with migrant pensions, vocational issues, absences from employment, social conflict and political selection (OECD 1976:55-56).

There have been important objections, however, to the rationale adopted by the neoclassic model. Not all authorities agree with the neoclassic or external economic model of development and the justification it provides about the causes of labour mobility, and use of migrant labour. It has been criticised for maintaining that the same forces that cause migration to occur, also determine the social mobility between country or region and the direction of rural-urban migration. Much of the criticism directed against the neoclassic model has come from the Marxist radical critique, which regards certain typologies of migration, such as mass, voluntary and involuntary, as failing to provide sufficient explanation for the better understanding and analysis of labour mobility between countries under capitalism.

In delineating its criticism, Marxist radical critique portrays neoclassic economic theory as an artificial state of affairs, notably ahistorical, and sees it as a mechanistic mode of analysis of historical development, rather than a study based on stages of development. Marx (1983; Kamenka 1986:201-208) regarded socio-economic evolution as a process based on the dialectic materialism of historical development. This process was one where thesis and antithesis clash and combine into a synthesis. For Marx, capitalism as a mode of operation was doomed by internal contradictions which harboured the seeds of its own destruction. Periodic economic crises wreck the capitalist system and these crises grow in size and duration. A continuous class struggle occurs between owners of capital and production forces and the workers.

Radical critique associates migration of human labour with Marx's notion of the industrial "reserve army" [3] or with the use of the proletariat class

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[3] Generally, according to Marx (1983), the 'reserve army' is an inexhaustible reservoir of disposable labour power, and this is not limited to national State boundaries. Instead, it embraces every country, and by doing so extends along with it the class struggle under capitalism. Marx distinguishes three types of 'reserve army' or labour surplus: (a) the surplus-population existing in the floating form; (b) the relative

under capitalism (Marx 1983:589). Marx indicated that every special historic mode of production has its own special laws of population movement. He argued that, under capitalism, the working population "along with the accumulation of capital produced by it, the means by which it made itself relatively superfluous, is turned into relative surplus population; and it does this to an always increasing extent " (Marx 1983:591).

The "reserve army" is a product of the associated increase in labour productivity and an ever increasing level of capital accumulation. It is Marx's notion that a surplus of labourers, which he regarded as an artificial state of affairs under capitalism, was a condition purposely worked out by the capitalist system, in order to achieve greater profits through the exploitation of the working class. Exploitation is carried out through capital accumulation, labour control, as well as through the ownership of the means of production by the capitalist class (Marx 1983:632-633). The tendency in capital formation of increasing amounts of output is associated with rising unemployment, or with the creation of a bigger "reserve army". This army, consisting of unemployed workers, one may add, contributes to internal and external migration, as its members travel from place to place in search of employment.

For Marxists, migration will not relatively improve the workers' situation in host societies. This situation occurs partly because as capitalism advances internationally into the developing countries of the world, it uses all available labour to extract higher profits. In doing so, the domestic class struggle is extended worldwide, with the workers being exploited by the owners of the means of production. In the Marxist view, the capitalist class makes no contribution to the process of production, the source of all value is

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surplus-population existing in a latent form; (c) the relative surplus-population existing in stagnant form. Each of these types have distinctive features of labour surplus (Marx 1983:600-602).

the workers. They are the ones who contribute to the process of production (Marx 1983). Lenin discussion on imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism saw this exploitation of workers as a logical expansion of local capitalism to world dimensions. This expansion resulted from the 19th century colonial system (Lenin 1978).

Lenin's views on migration are founded on the law of unequal economic and political development amongst different Nation States created by imperialism, that is, the monopoly stage of capitalism. For him, imperialism, or finance capital, has created the new epoch of monopolies, bank cartels, the domination of the world market, and the exploitation of labour in other countries to amass vast profits. Because of the inequality between Nation States, workers from the less advanced countries of the world migrated to the industrially advanced nation States of Europe, as well as to the United States and elsewhere in search of material rewards. This inequality was a main cause of the division of the working class within different Nation States.

Unequal development exists within and between countries, and is reflected in the remuneration and special privileges granted to local as against immigrant workers. Engels (1962:119) referred to the special privileges which were given to British workers in contrast to immigrant workers. These privileges were given to them by virtue of their training and could not be replaced by members of the industrial "reserve army". By conceding privileges to specific organised sectors of labour, "above all to craftsmen", the labour aristocracy were in a position to utilise class consciousness to secure an opportunist non-revolutionary leadership for these sectors. This manipulation is the method of divide and rule, expressed in special advantages, taking the form of higher status symbols, rather than higher material rewards. This situation

misleads workers, causing some to identify with the capitalist instead of with the rest of the working class (Lenin 1977: 244-246).

One of the special features of the monopoly stage of capitalism, according to Lenin, was the decline in emigration from imperialist countries and the increase in immigration into these countries from the underdeveloped ones. Engels, and Lenin after him, also point out that imperialism had the tendency to create privileged sections among the workers and to "*fetch* " them from the broad masses of the proletariat. In doing this, imperialism bribed the upper strata of the proletariat thereby fostering, shaping and strengthening opportunism and permitting lower wages to be paid (Lenin 1977).

Samir Amin (1977) like Lenin before him, saw migration as a phenomenon connected to the capitalist system of unequal development between geographic regions. This unequal development could exist within single nation States as well as between countries or geographic regions and is characterised by development between the developed centres and underdeveloped peripheries.

Amin (1977:232) argued that the era of imperialism still continues, and it should be subdivided into two phases. The first phase stretched from 1880 to World War I (and perhaps to the 1930s), and opened with a structural crisis at the centre, which was overcome by the appearance of monopolies and capital exports to countries of periphery. The second phase of the imperialist system was marked at the centre by large-scale State intervention, by new forms of surplus absorption, and changes in the forms of dependency between Nation States. During the first phase of imperialism, the period of relative stagnation of real wages was at the end, and a period of relatively high wage increases began (Amin 1977:232). Also, the first phase was characterised by very high growth

rates of both the product at the centre and world trade. In contrast, during the second phase of imperialism, there was a tendency by foreign capital, particularly towards the latter part of the period, to asume direct domination. This domination took place through the adoption of the consumption patterns, and also, through technological domination of developing countries. During this time, the main source of growth shifted from export to import industries. This shift distorted the development of the peripheral mode of production, and instead created a problem of absorption which was solved by export of capital to the countries of the capitalist centre, and by an increase in the proportion of the surplus value spent on imported luxury goods. The importing of technology, and the production policies connected to small local import "substitutions" coming from monopolies, permitted this form of consumption of surplus (Amin 1977: 233-234).

Much of the blame for this kind of development has been associated with the role of the bourgeoisie of the underdeveloped countries. Amin argued that the bourgeoisie of these countries did not enter the phase of competition necessary to create the favourable conditions which could lead to a more advanced capitalist mode of production. Instead, the local bourgeoisie became dependent on the bourgeoisie of the developed centres of the United States, Western Europe and Japan. These countries were where the capitalist mode of production and capital accumulation were concentrated and mainly developed. From there, they were extended to the underdeveloped countries of the periphery where pre-capitalist conditions prevailed. Furthermore, Amin argued,

> the refusal to industrialise was accompanied by a division of the local bourgeoisie into a comprador section whose future was linked with foreign domination, and a national section which came into conflict with imperialism (Amin 1977:232).

The inability to industrialise led to underemployment or labour surplus within the developing economies of the periphery. The relationship between dependent (i.e. industrially underdeveloped) countries on the one hand, and independent (i.e. developed or industrialised) on the other, created a system of unequal capitalist regional or international development which promoted migration to the developed centres (Amin 1977:66-67). Under such conditions, however, it could be argued that migration did not constitute a natural relocation of individuals based on people's free choice.

Similarly, compared with earlier patterns of worker immigration, according to Castles and Kosack (1980), contemporary currents to Western Europe present two new features. The traditional Marxist conception of the industrial reserve army of men and women thrown out of work by "rationalisation and cyclical crises is hardly applicable today. Thus, immigration is of key importance for the capitalist system" (Castles & Kosack 1980:119-121). The authors argue that, from 1945, migration to the developed countries led to large numbers of immigrant workers taking more stable positions in the productive process (since the domestic reserve army was inadequate), so that their labour could not be dispensed with in periods of recession. This population led to their second point, that the role of the modern industrial reserve army conceivably might be fulfilled by other groups. As mentioned, one of those groups were immigrant workers in industrially developed European countries (especially West Germany), who had migrated there from underdeveloped areas of Southern Europe or from Third World economies, forming the "latent-surplus" population or reserve army which was imported into the industrially developed countries as the interests of the capitalists class dictated (Castles & Kosack 1980:119).

Furthermore, Castles and Kosack argue that under modern capitalism workers were divided to ensure their maximum exploitation. This division occurred between immigrant and indigenous workers. They were being "split along national and racial lines". By allowing this division to exist, the capitalist class of these countries offered its indigenous workers better conditions and status than its immigrant groups, encouraging "large sections of the working class to identify with the consciousness of labour aristocracy" (Castles & Kosack 1980:121).

In summary, it appears that migration is essential to the capitalist system for a number of reasons. It is essential because capitalism facilitates the exploitation of the working class worldwide. Migration is also used to provide the reserve army of labourers as traditionally conceived by Marxists, enabling the bourgeoisie to proceed with the segmentation of the working class within host societies. At the same time, the classic and neoclassic economic theories identify migration as a component of modern economic development, which is related to unemployment and the obvious needs of developing nations for capital investment and foreign exchange. The foreign exchange resulting from mass labour migration, return migration and remittances [4] is assumed to produce real income for the remaining population of sending societies.

Although remittances are noteworthy for the reasons mentioned, they do not, however, redress the economic imbalances between developed and underdeveloped economies. Migration outflows continue due to the economic structure and/or economic dependency of the developing nations.

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[4] Remittances are said to create or reinforce in some way the so called "migration mentality" or a kind of popular thinking across different Nation States of the world.

As previously noted, the economic or external model of migration draws from capitalism and the Nation State. Both neoclassic economic theory and Marxist critique tend to emphasise the importance of economics in defining migration. As such, the economic model completely ignores the social and psycho-dynamic model theories of migration. It is now accepted that migration is influenced not only by the powerful pull factor of host societies, but also from local developments and temporary influences.

In contrast to other theoretical approaches, socio-historical perspectives of migration are not limited to single factor analysis. Instead they stress that the influence often exerted on people to leave their home country could have a wide range of origins. Fairchild (1925:3-20), for example, established that the most significant causal forces behind the individual's decision to migrate, were the familiar ones of economic, political, social, and religious pushes. Human motives to migrate can be distinguished between those which have "subjective" and those which have "objective" causes, but all migration incentives "can hardly arise, without some exterior cause".

Similarly, Jones (1960:94) claimed that there was a further dimension of a subjective nature, namely the hopes and fears of millions of individual migrants which were no less important in understanding migration. In viewing the social history of European migration to United States in the 19th and 20th centuries retrospectively, Jones stressed that not only were the push and pull of economic forces present but there were also other subjective aspects. For example, some migrants were caught up in prevailing involuntary migration resulting from political or economic strife, and were classified incorrectly as voluntary immigrants or listed as refugees.

Unlike the socio-historical views, the demographers' and sociologists' scholarly perspectives usually employ the push-pull approach in their analysis of the migration phenomenon. Such authors distinguish between the associated factors involved in the process of migration and re-migration, which could be both economic and non-economic. When studying migration, demographers tend to speculate on whether or not factors which "push" populations from their countries, such as poverty, overpopulation, and social upheaval, were more or less important than forces which "pull" migrants to the place of settlement. These forces may be high wages, unoccupied areas, refugee migrations, the lure of distant lands, or the wish to be with friends happily settled elsewhere.

Sociologists, too, emphasise that there is a combined push versus pull principle in migration. The two forces involved work selectively on different migrants. The push factor includes unemployment and economic hardship, food shortages, racial or religious discrimination, political oppression, deteriorated environments, and overcrowding. The pull factor refers to job availability, cheap land, political and religious freedom, and educational opportunities. The forces relating to the "push versus pull" principle were "mitigated by inhibitory effects of sentiment, habit and fear of the unknown" (Broom, Selznick & Broom 1981:280).

Sociologists make observations on information obtained from migratory experience often based on a longitudinal approach. According to Goldlust and Richmond (1974:193), this is useful because it "permits the linkage of records of individuals". This kind of research was usually based on empirical method, and could include considerations of factors and indices of migrant experience from country of origin to country of settlement. Such an approach is time

consuming, and few of the studies have collected data beyond the third year of migrant residence within host societies.

The push versus pull approach of migration fails to deal with more subtle aspects found in the cultural and subjective or psychological make-up of a personality. It does not, therefore, constitute a fully adequate model to understand migratory movements, and the development of people's attitude towards out-migration. While the "push versus pull" considerations are central to external migration theory, they do not form the focus of the equally important internal model. This approach is human-centred, in that it is concerned with people's feelings and emotions. It considers individuals who are exposed to cultures or civilisations, not as mere organisms that strive egotistically to attain economic and occupational aspirations, or to take advantage of perceptible differences across national or regional boundaries.

In applying a human-centred approach one could argue that migration might be accompanied by mental pressure once in societies of settlement. Zubrzycki indicated that migration is often accompanied by great mental pressures, and that social workers find that this affects different ethnic groups differently (Zubrzycki 1973:1-10). He argued that pre-existing states of alienation have also been responsible for re-migration. Following these suggestions, Zubrzycki went beyond the mere push and pull of economic forces, in his attempt to provide sufficient explanations for the causes of out-migration. Immigration might be chosen as an alternative to psychiatric problems, resulting from financial, social, and interpersonal difficulties. He concluded that departures (re-migration) from Australia were generally due to complex reasons (Zubrzycki 1973:1-10).

The mental pressure to re-migrate or return home does not always result from the migration experience abroad; it is often embodied within the network of the migrants' cultures of origin. Traces of 'migration mentality' can constitute part of a culture's norms and traits encompassed within a nation's cultural framework and/or the kind of attitudes towards migration formed by certain people. This mentality can be an outcome of people's interaction with the geographic characteristics of their country, and could further involve people's past and present settlement histories, or myths, the value system of their society, and whether or not human experiences such as seafaring, travelling, and/or migrating have been important features of their history and traditions. Such an approach to migration seeks to trace the extent to which cultural traits of given nations reflect popular thinking which in turn enhances migratory movement across the world. For example, some people such as the Greeks (Andrewes 1984), the Filipinos, and other islanders, have settled for centuries over many small islands that are sporadically dispersed across the seas. As a consequence they tend to regard seafaring as a common feature of their culture, an attractive and even inevitable part of their lives. Cultural traits may be clearly apparent when observing the behaviour of people or listening to tales of migration and travel. The power inherent within a culture propelling individuals to migrate, or their habits of travel, can be part of the everyday life of a given people, regardless of whether the factors that sparked the migration in the first place still apply. Within this cultural framework, therefore, the need to meet challenges outside people's national borders may be seen as a norm.

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This cultural framework leads to Stunting and Liberating theories (or approaches) which stress the social and psychological element found in migration outflows (Martin & Meade 1979:6-7). The study of migration from a Stunting and Liberating perspective is a subset of the psycho-social framework. This perspective is generally disregarded by the other theoretical approaches,

yet it is an important aspect of migration at the experiential level, one that has an impact on the economic and related development level at least in terms of innovative choices about life's chances. These theories place increasing emphasis on the subjective experience of migration, in spite of the overlapping of conventional factors such as economics.

The Liberating approach to migration "is concerned with the fresh vision brought to bear by migrants on a group level as strangers" (Martin & Meade 1979:6-7), while on an individual level it directs attention to the release of individuals from the national or ethnic parameters of a culture. The Liberating approach frees participants' creative and critical faculties to enter normal maturity levels, so they can gain insights into more than one culture. The migrants' role in society is supposed to be that of "innovators and catalysts for social change and even as prodders of slumbering conscience" (Martin & Meade 1979:6-7). A Liberating mentality, as the word implies, encourages people to experience cross-cultural communication through their participation in different societal and cultural settings. In conceptualising the Liberating theory Cahill states that

> it highlights the inter cultural communicative aspect of inter-
> marriages which leads to the rupturing of monolithic groups based
> on ethnicity, religion or culture. It facilitates broader inter cultural
> interaction between various groups or societies which is the basis
> of intergroup co-operation (Cahill 1990:3).

The Stunting and Liberating approaches imply that the migration phenomenon is of a multifaceted nature and as such requires in depth analysis in order to be adequately understood. It is asserted that the various aspects of migration interact with each other since the migration experience is also an interactive process, related to multifaceted factors and indices, each of which exerts particular influence on the decision to migrate. Therefore, except for

purposes of specific analysis, migration cannot be treated discretely. In a study of migrants in Canada, Goldlust and Richmond (1974) found that post-migration experiences of adaptation, for example, could no longer be based on simplistic suggestions, nor could difficulties associated with immigrant adaptation be explained in terms of monocausal relationships between particular economic, biological, or even psychological variables. There has been a growing dissatisfaction with monocausal explanations of the migration experience, and an increasing recognition of the complexity of both the dependent variables such as the migrant's main motive to migrate, and correlated factors.

If the Stunting approach is adopted as a tool of analysis of migration, attention must be drawn to the possibility of immigrant self-hatred, and the concern of certain ethnic groups to be used as the scape-goats for the socio-economic or political failures of the established community. These outcomes could eventuate in ethno-racial definitions against migration on a group level; thus, attention is pointed to the defensive nature of migrants and their organisational practices. When the social status of a migrant group is attacked, the individual migrant is believed to produce insecurities, loss of a sense of identity, and organisational disorder.

An essential aspect of the Stunting approach to migration is its capacity to overlap with theories of cultural deprivation. This capacity is attributed to the cultural and intellectual poverty of people who are placed in the lower social stratification rankings of given societies. Cultural deprivation is often attributed to working-class children whose families have limited earning capacity or education, and/or to immigrant children who belong to the lower socio-economic stratum of host society. It has been found that cultural deprivation can handicap children from lower class backgrounds from achieving

satisfactory educational results or meeting parental expectations (Seitz 1977:21-22; Halsey 1972:8). The child's "normal" mental and psychological development can be inhibited, lowering the child's "maturational ceiling" (Martin & Meade 1979:6-7).

As well as the Stunting and Liberating approach to explaining the complexity of migration, Goldlust and Richmond proposed an equally important model which dealt with a wide range of issues connected with social mobility factors and indices of immigrant life. Their study employed an advanced research method and strategies to examine specific issues of immigration, which, when addressed by previous studies had foundered on problems of linearity and overgeneralisation (Goldlust & Richmond 1974: 193-225). Their study examined the impact of the migration experience upon the cognitive mechanism and psychological condition of individual migrants in connection to their adaptation within the society of settlement. Their model was somewhat compatible to the push and pull approach, but its advantage lay in the fact that it was based on a longitudinal or simple survey study model and applied regression analysis, in order to explore the more subtle or less apparent aspects of migrant experience. Their model assumed that the immigrant population is heterogeneous and is influenced by a variety of variables. The adoption of multivariate factors and smallest variable analysis allowed the independence or interdependence of several different issues to be considered together more effectively.

In contrast to subtle, multivariate analysis, most theories concentrate on the "objective" concrete factors, or features often reflected in popular reports and which are often influential in shaping the migrant's own constructions of explanation for their decision to migrate. Most factors, such as economics and politics, usually reported by the mass media, form what has been defined here

as the external model of migration. One of the outcomes of this model is that migrants experience difficulties in going beyond the rational explanations which led to their decision to migrate. They are unable to enunciate factors other than conventional ones such as economics, job opportunities, or even a house of their own in geographically open spaces.

Unlike the external model that remains at a "superficial rational" or external level, Luthke and Cropley (1990) pointed to the importance of confronting the deeper or internal psychological issues involved in migration. They viewed migration as a dissolution of attachments to objects, both at the place of origin (push area), and place of destination and settlement (pull area). They pointed to the interrelationship between concrete or objective and non-concrete factors, but argued that in the final analysis decisions are governed by non-concrete or non-rational factors. They also argued that the external or rational model theories containing the "push" perspective of migration were characterised by limitations in scope, especially when potential migrants were struggling to reach rational decisions in relation to voluntary migration. As Luthke and Cropley indicated, the external model:

> while undoubtedly of some value, is obviously limited in scope, especially as a source of insights and associated strategies and tactic for practical counselling of potential or actual migrants wrestling in their minds with the uncertainties of the decision-making process in the homeland, or with the stresses and strains of adaptation in the receiving society (Luthke & Cropley 1990:152).

To prove the strength of their internal model, Luthke and Cropley investigated the non-rational considerations as well as rational or concrete factors involved. They did this through empirical and theoretical research, questionnaire study and personal interviews. Participants were asked to respond to questions which related to the interrelationship between concrete or objective

factors and non-rational or psychological aspects found in people's motives to
migrate. To do this the following categories about migration were considered:

> (1) Concrete Motives (eg. house of one's own or job availability in
> Australia, need for a drier climate for health reasons). (2) Social
> Motives (reasons which make the wish to emigrate seem more
> rational and convincing to other people) (3) Cognitive Motives
> (reasons which make the wish to migrate seem rational to would-be
> migrants themselves) (4) Psycho dynamic (motives to migrate
> which includes, a desire for change and exposure to challenges, an
> urge to "avoid conflict-laden family relations", and earlier
> traumatic separation experiences (Luthke & Cropley 1990:156).

The authors found that motives to migrate included in category one, although
they were "plausible and commonsensical", were given low priority by the
participants. In contrast, the dominant categories were two and three, but when
these were further analysed it was found that these categories too were
associated with the fourth category. This finding meant that the "real motives
for emigrating lie with the fourth domain (psycho dynamic motives)", which
constituted part of their internal model approach.

The theoretical approach of the internal model is somewhat related to
false consciousness often resulting from an individual's disenchantment or
alienation inherent in the subject-object relationship, or from people's mental
and psychological state when trying to understand the meaning of social values
(often due to the rapid transformation of values). Depending on the strength of
its impact, alienation can deprive individuals or whole ethnic groups of their
ability to act rationally when making decisions about migration.

Because alienation often stems from people's dissatisfaction with their
society of origin, according to Fried (1970:29) only a small proportion may be
said to migrate voluntarily. The author maintained that it is not always the
poorest who migrate, but also a substantial number of migrants who are already
partially alienated, or dissatisfied with their country of origin because it does

not meet their physical and spiritual expectations. Similarly, data relating to migrants' social origins, skills and education suggested (Fried 1970:29) that it is not so much the most adventurous who migrate, but rather those who suffer continuous deprivation such as religious, social and political discrimination, whether due to racial or ethnic oppression, poverty or famine, or lack of opportunity or advancement.

In presenting the different theories of migration, it has been argued that single theories provide only a partial explanation to grasp the complexities of the subject. Again, part of the problem in single theory models is that their theoretical contributions to understanding immigration in its various forms and/or classification categories come from a various single disciplinary schools of thought, which do not follow a uniform pattern leading to a holistic model of migration. At the same time, migration currents have increased, and migrant categories have become more complex, thus making the subject matter more complicated to analyse and explain by single theories or perspectives.

The theoretical complexities of migration have expanded during the post-WWII period with the numbers, origins, scope and influences of migrants also expanding so that they have become a more permanent phenomenon of the contemporary global community. This trend towards globalisation appears to be increasing as civilisation proceeds towards the post-industrial or post-modern social system. Post-industrial societies, and the increasing penetration by capitalism of every corner of the planet, has led many more Nation States to be involved as either sending or receiving societies of migrants and, in some cases, both. Persons of diverse cultural and educational backgrounds travel across many more borders and oceans than in previous eras. This human mobility across the world occurs more and more. Migrants move internationally for better employment and rewards, in an increasing variety of forms and

occupational categories. Women, overcoming previously imposed gender differences, also seek social mobility status across Nation States of the international community. Like men, women are recruited either as individuals or groups more than ever before (World Council of Churches 1991; Stahl, et al. 1993). Labour mobility presents a significant movement of workers and professional personnel within regions from less developed States to newly developed industrial or technological sectors. Thus, the movement of workers now takes place not only from a developing to developed country but also vice versa, depending on the technological needs or project under way in the countries concerned. People migrate to take up potential employment opportunities available in industrially developing Third World countries. In most cases, migrant workers or professional personnel and their families who cross the borders of Nation States, are regarded as non-nationals while residing in Nation States providing employment, and are viewed instead as people in transit. Thus, unlike the industrial period temporary, contract and illegal migrants have become the dominant feature of population movement of modern and post-modern times over the last two decades Thus labour mobility across the globe often leaves migrants as an unprotected population without citizenship rights within such societies. They remain unprotected as long as their rights are not addressed by the national legislation of receiving States, or by their own State of origin while on an overseas employment mission (Stahl et al. 1993).

Although a number of international organisations and conventions in the last two decades have been expressing their concern about the protection of migrants, migrant status as a social category is determined differently by "settler societies" like Australia and New Zealand. Definitions of migrants' status may be subject to societal attitudes and legislation implemented by governments which in the past discriminated against certain rights for migrants.

Host societies may define people of Anglo-Celtic origin, for example, as British citizens, and all non-Britons as migrants. This has traditionally been one of the difficulties associated with the rights of migrants in certain receiving societies, including Australia and New Zealand (Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, National and Regional Conference 1988). The possibility of inadequate protection of the migrant by Nation States has gained international impetus associated with questions of citizenship rights of migrants and migrant workers' rights within societies. The phenomenon of migration is now more complex than ever before, because, unlike earlier periods, it does not only entail economic considerations or a single theory approach but also humanitarian, political, and social considerations. The apparent complexities of migration, and the related shortcomings within Nation States to tackle migrant needs, have brought into play not only questions about the capability of the Nation State in its traditional role as arbitrator, but also have generated an increasing number of Non Government Organisations (NGOs) and International Organisations, ready to deal with the problems. Some of these organisations are the International Labour Organisation (ILO), The World Council of Churches and the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). The UNGA resolution 34/172 of December 1979 established an open ended Working Group to consider the desirability of a new instrument on human rights to be applied to migrant workers (World Council of Churches 1991).

The recruitment of migrant workers and the remittances sent to their families in sending societies while working abroad have created the latest form of financial interdependency on a global scale between sending and receiving societies. There are also many more questions raised by both scholarly theories and governments regarding the status of migrants in the context of an international community. As Shirley Hume has commented

> Many [Nation] States of employment now recognise that migrant workers and their families are a permanent rather than temporary part of their society (ie, the ongoing "guest worker" systems in many countries), requiring new strategies and policies for peaceful national integration. [Nation] States that have historically viewed themselves as relatively homogeneous, often find their own citizens opposing the permanent presence of migrant workers whose race and culture is considered distinctly different and are therefore seen as a threat to the national character. Tensions between nationals' and migrant worker communities are further exacerbated when the economy stagnates. As non-nationals in States of transit and employment, migrant workers and members of their families remain relatively defenceless, open to exploitation and often legally unprotected by national laws or civil rights codes. Hence, the need for international protection and universal standards (Hume 1991:3).

It follows therefore that theories of migration, and theoretical approaches of migration in general, have failed to provide a critical insight into the lack of civil rights granted to migrant workers and their families while in societies of settlement across the world. This failure indicates not only the limitations inherited in the definition of migration by receiving societies, but also the distinctive theoretical differences on migration that are attributable to different intellectual traditions and disciplinary backgrounds. These theory differences have maintained some kind of discriminatory profile towards each other, beside the fact that there are apparent similarities with overlapping indicators concerning, for example, the economic development within and between Nation States. Migration theory limitations are most apparent because they fail to address questions related to migrants' rights as members of an ever-increasing international community.

Finally, in spite of theoretical developments on migration by interdisciplinary research, the definition of migration remains basically the same. Migrant recruitment is still viewed in terms of economic inducement. It is in this context that migrant workers have been defined as the midpoint of a process that has ranged from involuntary labour extraction to the spontaneous

initiation of migration flow on the basis of labour demand in societies of migrant intake (Collins 1988; Freeman & Jupp 1992).

The first stage of the completion of the migration cycle is the actual contact between different ethnic groups following migrant settlement. From the moment of the initial contact onwards, the various migrants begin their struggle for socio-economic advancement within the host society. This occurs irrespective of whether people migrated because: (i) they suffered from the impoverishment of their home country's agricultural system, overpopulation, flood, or earthquake disasters; (ii) they are victims of political and religious persecution, war, revolution; or (iii) they wished/needed to join family relatives and friends. Whether voluntary or involuntary, research has shown that most people migrate in search of new opportunities or better financial rewards.

In theory, migrants have not been seen as conquerors but as newcomers to be utilised either temporarily as guest workers, or permanently as settlers, subject to specific government regulation and policy at the time of migration. In economic theory, at least, as far as the immigrants are concerned, destination societies are meant to provide much needed labour for a rapidly expanding economy, and as such, people have been given entry permits.

Following settlement and contact with members of the host society, there follows competition. The first phase is for real estate, and jobs with greater benefits and returns. With the minor exception of some professionals and skilled artisans (whose qualification are recognised), most migrants start their struggle for upward social mobility as unskilled industrial or agricultural workers. The outcome of competition is conflict for accommodation, better occupation, and remuneration. Then follows the establishment of relatively stable patterns of concerted action (with conflict in the competitive context)

until some kind of *modus vivendi* is arranged. The working arrangements by which members of different ethnic groups are able to approach one another with fixed expectations, constitute traits of, or are images of, ethnic stratification based on the host societies' social class structure.

To enable a better understanding of ethnic population groups in relation to social mobility, the study draws from the Marxist as well as the Weberian perspectives. This is done because as in migration theory there is no single theoretical explanation available which could provide a sufficient tool of analysis of social mobility of migrants or ethnic population groups following settlement within receiving societies. This combined approach provides a better and broader mix of theoretical elements to apply to the study of social mobility within ethnically diverse societies.

Marxism points to discrepancies between the ideology of equal opportunity and the reality in terms of chances for true mobility. This theory rests on the tenet that the highest social stratum is that which controls the means of production in developed capitalist societies, and that the working class has been faced with a reduction in occupational independence and self-employment. Under capitalism, class stratification is divided between "haves" and "have nots" -- two historically significant classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Like Marx, Weber was aware of discrepancies between objective and subjective location within the stratification system, though he argued that there was mobility of varying kinds and that people moved for different reasons from one stratum to the next. He did not reduce the question of stratification to class consciousness or a class dichotomy as perceived by Marx. He attempted to show that society was not monolithic or polarised in terms of power relations

where power was to be located in the antagonistic struggle of the two major classes, as if the society was not influenced by the role played by other social groups or social factors. Contrary to Marx, Weber distinguished status from economic class. Status, or the subjective perception of class, is the honour bestowed on a person by peers, while power is related to the ability of a person to lead others by compulsion or persuasion. Although Weber suggested that ownership of property is the basis on which a class forms, he added that the amount of property and skills a person had determined an individual's chances of owning goods, being successful and content with life (Weber 1968). Someone who is *nouveau riche* may not necessarily have an equal status. Status groups usually attempt to maintain their status privileges by excluding others from entry into their group through a process of social closure, as for example through endogamy, without implying that these groups always succeed in achieving this closure.

For Weber, the existence of classes, consisting of economic or property groups, status groups and members of organisations such as political parties, reflected how power was structured in society, and, like Marx, he stressed that even in capitalist societies there were two bases on which classes form: this includes those who owned property, and commercial classes. Although he regarded these two as a more traditional and pre-capitalist group of classes, whose position was determined more by what was owned than by what was done at the same time he believed that the commercial classes were associated with the emergence of capitalism. Class position in those terms was equivalent to the market situation in which people found themselves, and those situations determined people's "life chances" available in the society. He pointed to the link where limited life chances reflected lack of property as a kind of bargaining power which could be used in the market place, either as a means that would generate income or acquire certain kinds of rewards, such as

expensive consumer goods (Weber 1968). These rewards gave privileged classes a kind of prestige in the eyes of others. Rewards did not need to be determined solely by property ownership or lack of it. Individuals might lack property but they may be able to offer services or have "marketable skills" for which there is a demand. These services can include various kinds of material and non-material resources people possess, and which in return may determine their access to various kinds of rewards (Weber 1968). Weber identifies these individuals as "commercial classes". This analysis generates a scheme of six class positions. It is this scheme of multiple class positions that makes Weber's theory particularly useful when studying the social status aspects or the mobility of ethnic population groups in the context of the social stratification system and processes of contemporary Australia. Examples of class positions include the dominant entrepreneurial and property groups, the intelligentsia and people who possess specialised marketable skills (but who own no property), the petty bourgeoisie, and the manual working class made increasingly homogeneous by mechanisation. His approach enabled this research to apply additional indices in order to study the more subtle aspects of the way power is allocated in society, and thus proceed with a more thorough analysis of social mobility of immigrant life.

In contrast, in Marxist terms single indicators cannot account for real mobility nor do they explain the population masses of migrants who find themselves in single occupational categories. Although being employed in a white collar occupation is considered as non-proletarian, occupation alone is not sufficient to raise one to a higher class, that is, to the bourgeoisie. The latter owns and controls the means of production, and by virtue of that ownership is able to exploit the labour of the proletariat which only owns the labour which it has to sell to the bourgeoisie to earn its living. For these reasons both classes depend on each other. At the same time, they have fundamentally

opposed interests (whether class members are aware of this or not). The dominant class has its vested interests in maintaining the system as it is, while the proletariat (the exploited class) interests lie in destroying the system and replacing it with an alternative. Thus, class structure, for Marx, is both dichotomous and antagonistic under capitalism. There are also some intermediate classes, but they fall between the two main historical classes mentioned, and have some of the characteristics of each. Classes for Marx, then, cannot be either income or occupational groups. Income is not a fundamental generating factor, unless the capacity to generate income depends on the amount of property ownership and the control of the means of production.

Weber argued that there is a link between power, economics and, social class over different dimensions which are not limited by the dichotomy of two major class groups argued by Marx, and that possible "bases for the formation status groups include also the features of age, occupation, race, religion and ethnicity" (Najman & Western 1988:61). Weber's evaluation of class analysis can be based on one or more of a number of characteristics: for example, occupational prestige or sanctioned monopoly of occupational skills, and political access; hereditary membership of a particular family; ethnicity or race; education; and religion. Whereas status differences could lead to variations in life style, people in similar positions would tend to acquire the same sort of material possessions, follow similar leisure pursuits, have similar norms of family life and family size, and have similar tastes of food and music. These similarities in life style would lead to the formation of status groups. A status group is a group of persons making a claim for special privileges or treatment by virtue of a socially recognised position held (Weber 1968:302-305, 926-940).

In conclusion, drawing from both the Marxist and Weberian traditions enables a better understanding of the social mobility of immigrants within receiving societies. This mobility often begins with competition for jobs resulting in the distribution of ethnic groups into different kinds of employment. The social mobility of ethnic groups is characterised by experiences which become evident over time, as reflected in their various settlement features. The more advanced phase of the social mobility draws on the outcomes of the immigrants' struggles to achieve their goals, including their status in terms of social stratification, political participation, assimilation, segregation, integration and generally the level of their social incorporation within receiving countries. It is therefore the complexity of immigrant experience which necessitates the use of a combined theoretical approach to understand social mobility within receiving societies. Such a combined theoretical approach requires equally complex methodogical strategies in order to research on Hellenic group experiences in Australia, as is outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

One of the major limitations encountered in conducting this research project was the dearth of previous studies directly related to the present issues under investigation. The existence of related studies would have provided a starting point, as well as allowing for the comparison of findings. Hellenic language data and literature such as interviews, radio and TV programs, Hellenic books, Hellenic government reports and Greek organisations' minutes necessitated translation into the English language. Professional expertise was required to translate sources and considerable time was required for the researcher to collate the data obtained. There was the possibility of slight literary misinterpretations. The researcher also acknowledges that documents, including newspaper articles and media reports in general, should not be accepted as literal and accurate records of events, but as the author's (or the editor's) opinion.

Qualitative and quantitative methods were both applied in the present study as complementary to each other rather than mutually exclusive (Paton 1990; Bryman 1992). The qualitative aspect to the research utilising a field study approach provided the present thesis with raw material derived from subjective information, which was used in different ways: (i) to guide the formulation of problems which preceded the collection of survey data; (ii) to assist the discussion and analyses of various chapters, while at the same time providing the thesis with a balanced and systematic research strategy for discovering themes; and (iii) to associate the themes generated by the categories and discerning patterns suggested by the responses of participants (Paton 1990:390).

This study utilised a three-stage approach during the research process. Stage 1 employed qualitative methodology through formal interviewing, to establish a quantitative approach to the collection of data for the development of a theoretical framework for a social mobility questionnaire. Twenty seven (27) individuals were contacted, with seventeen (17) agreeing to participate in a formal interview. The formal approach was guided by an interview schedule comprising carefully selected and systematised sets of open-ended questions (see Appendix 1). The participants were Australian residents: elderly parents (30 per cent), younger immigrants who arrived in Australia during the pre and post WWII period (45 per cent), and individuals who belonged to the second generation of Hellenic Australians (25 per cent). One criterion for selection was that participants could articulate clearly the experiences of migration from its various facets. Stage II, utilising information from stage I, involved the use of a survey questionnaire made up of fixed structured questions (see Appendix 2). The choice of this strategy was subjected to the following considerations: (i) the need to employ statistical analysis; (ii) the time frame; (iii) monetary costs; and (iv) the geographical problems associated with administering a questionnaire to 1000 Greek residents of Australia. In Stage III, informal interviews were conducted to provide supplementary information related to participants' own experiences in Australia. Thirty (30) individuals of Hellenic origin were contacted. Nineteen agreed to participate in informal interviews. Complex "photo procedures" were applied, which provided the researcher with further information from the participants. Complex photo procedures refer to the identification of specific themes or sub-themes from that theme, as in photography, for further elaboration and subsequent development. Complex photo procedures also involved information being collected and

interpreted through induction, by detecting and analysing underlying themes suggested by the participants. This process involves an informal interview which helps the participants and the researcher to be relaxed in the interaction, while participants are encouraged to interact with each other. Interviewing was based on a broad set of questions derived from questionnaire survey (see Appendix 3), which allowed participants to dictate the subsequent situation by acting as either conferers or conferees to the interpretation and analysis of the material evolving. The purpose of this strategy was to maximise participant input with minimum interference by the researcher.

In justifying the research strategies adequately in this study, it is important to note that across the disciplines of social sciences current thinking acknowledges two broad philosophical perspectives, described as qualitative and quantitative research methods. Both are used to explain in a systematic manner the nature of social interaction. Generally, quantitative methods are supported by the positivist paradigm, leading the researcher to regard the world as made up of observable and measurable facts (Glesne & Peshkin 1992). Conversely, qualitative methods are supported by the interpretivist paradigm, portraying a world which in reality is socially constructed, complex and ever changing (Glesne & Peshkin 1992). Although some social researchers (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Schwandt 1989) perceive qualitative and quantitative approaches to research investigation as incompatible, others believe they are not mutually exclusive (Paton 1990; Reichardt & Cook 1979). Different authors believe that the skilled researcher can successfully combine both approaches. Rather than arguing which method is better, the researcher of the present study believes that both methods support and complement each other (Eisner 1981; Firestone 1987; Howe 1988). This

complementary approach enabled the researcher to explore, discover, uncover and understand the multiple social, economic and political factors that have a bearing on participants and the reality of their socially constructed world (Paton 1990).

In the quantitative part of the present study, the survey method was the most appropriate approach to use, allowing the researcher to collect data from a Hellenic population in Australia otherwise too large to interact with directly. By engaging in this method a number of strategic tasks became necessary in the application of the field survey. It meant that questionnaires were delivered, responses were coded, computers were employed, and data were analysed statistically (Denzin 1978).

The format of the questionnaire used was based on a standardised schedule (fixed choice), together with a small number of open-ended questions. Fixed choice questions were coded; responses from open-ended were categorised, then coded. The reason for using standardised schedules was to ensure that the wording and order of all the questions was the same for all participants. This technique was crucial in helping to maximise validity and reliability of responses (that is, to ensure unbiased responses), whether the questionnaire was administered by mail or by the researcher himself. Additionally, all questions were close ended or categorised so that when variations emerged between participants they could be attributed as "actual" differences in responses rather than in the meaning of questions or words of the instrument itself (Denzin 1978). The principles of formatting the questionnaire were based on Cicourel (1964) and Denzin (1978). In line with Denzin, the researcher followed three guiding assumptions:

    1. belief that all participants had a sufficiently common vocabulary [eg, in English or Hellenic language]. This allowed the formulation of questions

to reflect the same meaning for each of them. As the participants were Greeks living in Australia, the researcher was reasonably assured of fulfilling this assumption

2. possibility of finding a uniform wording for all questions that would be meaningful and understandable; this assumption was problematic because in the population sample surveyed, although representing a relatively homogenous population group [Greek Australians], the understanding of spoken and written English varied

3. a piloting or pre-testing of questions in order to design a schedule that reflected the assumptions to ensure an in depth pathway of themes and issues concerning this research and the construction of the questionnaire design.

To further ensure the reliability of the questionnaire design, Cicourel's principles were applied. These principles were reflected in the researcher's strategy in the construction of the questionnaire design by ensuring that "Every subject's response would have to be predictable on explicit theoretical grounds before the instrument could test the hypotheses on the social mobility of Greeks in Australia." In response to this principle, the researcher made an attempt to ensure that the questions were constructed with quantifiable variables and indicators which allowed the hypotheses to be tested. "Every question was formulated according to specific theoretical interests which required the research findings to either accept or reject the hypotheses associated with it." The researcher met these recommendations by providing questions that met the areas of the hypotheses connected with migration, settlement experiences, the political party behaviour of Greeks, and the general social mobility of Greeks in Australia. "That the questionnaire presumably created a set of identical interview format questions not only in terms of content and style, but also in terms of a common culture [i.e. Hellenic] or rules shared and understood by every participant." Questions were identical in that they remained the same and operated as fixed choice responses, with a limited number of open ended questions (in which case responses were

categorised and coded to enable comparison) which again were applied to all participants. The questions in English employed everyday spoken language, that is, language which was familiar and understandable when translated into Greek. The researcher acknowledged that translation was likely to occur. "The researcher further ensured that the wording of the questions and responses reflected the kind of typicality that the participants used in their daily practices".

Since most of the survey was made up of fixed choice questions, it was believed that this tactic should provide the most accurate and honest answers that could be given to reflect the beliefs, values and experiences of the participants. The "forced" character of the responses "restricted the possibility of the participants' perception and interpretation of items from becoming problematic." To highlight this strategy, the researcher included written (or verbally elaborated) examples. Finally, as argued in stage one of the research, "preliminary qualitative interviewing based on open-ended questions and pre tests were employed to help modify both theory and operational procedures" (Cicourel 1964:109-111).

Keeping Cicourel's principles in mind the questionnaire addressed social mobility patterns and trends encompassing the examination of specific factors in relation to the geographical-residential movement, occupational and financial status, and attitudes towards Hellenic and Australian cultural value systems.

The demographic factors in relation to geographical location, age, sex, and marital status were taken into consideration as the control factors employed in the construction of the questionnaire. Specifically, these control factors were:

1. geographical location of population sample; inner (147), outer

metropolitan (101), and country region (105)

2. age - participants had to be 25 years of age and over including second generation

3. sex - an attempt was made to maintain a balance between the sexes, with males constituting 218 and females 135 of the 353 participants

4. marital status: 328 married, 6 divorced, 8 widowed, 1 de facto, 9 single, 1 separated, 1 not stated

5. if married - one of them had to be of Hellenic origin

The sample of people who were chosen to participate in this study were Greek Australians who met the following criteria: (a) they had to be of Hellenic origin, irrespective of the country of migration, which, as well as Greeks from Greece itself, could include Greeks from Egypt, Greek Cypriots, Greeks from Romania and Greeks from Russia; (b) participants were required to have had completed a ten year residency in Australia; (c) second generation Greek Australians, aged 25 years or over, irrespective of whether they were of total or partial Hellenic origin, were also included in the study sample in order to chart, where possible, inter-generational mobility patterns and change.

Choice of participants was based on random sampling. Generally, random sampling refers to the selection of individuals from a given population where each member of that population has the same chance of being chosen (Babbie 1992:242). Keeping this general method of selection process in mind, a slightly different approach was adopted when selecting participants for the present study. The process adopted is appropriately termed random selection based on socially stratified random sampling. This is a variation of random sampling in that all population groups covered in the study are proportionately represented and the exact representativeness of the sample is known (Minichiello et al. 1990). In this

sense, the researcher is aware that a given population may be divided into various sub-groups which need to be taken into account when selecting a sample. This approach was utilised in order to ensure that each stratum/section was represented in the study. This sample strategy was adopted in order to enable response representation from a broad section of the Hellenic Community.

Contextually, in order for the social mobility study's findings to be fairly representative of the entire Hellenic community in terms of its social trends and developments, the process of the questionnaire distribution took the following form. Questionnaires were distributed to specific geographical regions, where population density included highly concentrated Hellenic immigrant settlements, most of whom were arrivals of the post-WWII mass migration period to Australia. The areas of distribution included: inner or industrial suburbs located north of Melbourne (Brunswick, Coburg, Thomastown); western suburbs (Maribyrnong, Footscray, Altona); outer, essentially residential and non-industrial, suburbs located east of the city of Melbourne (Doncaster, Templestowe, Bulleen and Box Hill); rural or countryside including the Riverland towns of South Australia (Renmark, Berry, Barmera, Loxton), where there are many Greek-owned fruit and vine growing farms. It was felt that these areas provided sufficient contrast to enable a general overview of Hellenic settlement in Australia. The questionnaire distribution and collection was carried out during the period April 1984 to August 1986.

Considerable effort was made to inform the Hellenic community of the present study. In an effort to improve cooperation between the potential participants and the researcher, and to avoid embarrassment in the Hellenic

community, the Hellenic media including the radio and newspapers were utilised in order to inform the Hellenic Community during 1984 and 1985 that a major field research on the Social Mobility of Greeks in Australia was underway. The Hellenic programs of Community Radio 3CR made regular weekly announcements about the questionnaire circulation for more than three months. In addition, Special Broadcasting Radio (SBS) 3EA in Melbourne produced a half-hour interview with the researcher, entitled Οριζόντια και Κάθετα (*Horizontal and Vertical*). Both the regular radio announcements and the interview aimed to inform the Hellenic public of Melbourne of the importance of the project, and at the same time stress the confidentiality and anonymity of the responses. Many participants telephoned the researcher to obtain more information about the study. Albeit time consuming, this strategy to inform the community proved fruitful and, at the same time, safeguarded the researcher from embarrassing experiences that often results from lack of information and trust.

The way participants were contacted varied according to each region under examination. In the inner and outer suburbs of Melbourne, the telephone directory and electoral roll (Hellenic sounding names) proved to be useful tools for contacting participants. The researcher contacted by telephone many of the participants in order to either inform them about the study or to clarify specific aspects of the study including the "real" research objectives. Clarifying concerns over the telephone was a rather difficult process in that it involved impersonal communication with participants who had no prior experience of participation in a questionnaire survey. Hellenic Community schools, and government schools where Modern Greek was taught across Melbourne's inner suburbs, were visited. There, teachers and/or Principals were personally contacted by the researcher to

discuss the study. Subsequently, questionnaires were distributed to senior public high school students attending day or afternoon classes, and to students of Saturday Schools of Modern Languages in inner or industrial suburbs. In the Riverland (S.A.) towns, some members of the Hellenic Orthodox Communities (koinotites), including the two serving Greek priests of the region, were very helpful in directing the researcher to individual Hellenic households in various and often rather isolated farm locations.

Some questionnaires were mailed; some were delivered to single recipients in certain areas, who in turn distributed them to individuals in their own group; the remainder were distributed by the researcher. All the recipients of the mailed questionnaire were contacted prior to mailing, and the questions were explained. When hand delivered either by the "messenger" or the researcher it was acknowledged that help by translating would be given as some recipients would not read English.

One hundred and eighty (180) or 51% of the final 353 sample for analysis was directly administered by the researcher. Other questionnaires were mailed, which has the drawback of possible lack of response, but was adopted for a number of reasons, such as:

1. participants requested the researcher to give it to them to study the questions

2. they wanted to complete the questionnaire in their own time, perhaps because they were self employed

3. they had other personal and family commitments.

First Stage of Data Collection From Field Study:

Qualitative Research: Formal Interview Schedule

In every case, as is explained in the subsequent section, the researcher sought the full consent of the participants. The qualitative information was gathered from a purposive sample of seventeen (17) participants. Formal interviews were guided by an interview schedule involving carefully systematised sets of open-ended questions. Those interviewed comprised three different groups of people:

1. pre-war

2. post-war elderly Greek immigrants

3. second generation Greek Australians.

The participants were "experts" from NSW, Queensland, South Australia, with the majority from Melbourne. "Experts" were those individuals who, through their own special interests and actions, knew well the social, political, cultural and organisational needs of the Hellenic Community of Australia. The participants provided detailed personal accounts in respect of their oral, socio-economic and migratory history, as well as experiences of other members of the Ελληνική Κοινότητα και Παροικία *(Hellenic Koinotita and Paroikia,* i.e. Hellenic community and its institutions) of Australia in the format of self reflection and story sequence analysis. As discussed, the purpose for this was to provide information that served as a guide in the construction of the designated social mobility questionnaire based on quantitative methods These interviews took place over the course of a year. Some of the interviews were lengthy and took up to two hours each. Of benefit to the researcher was the fact that many of the interviews were accompanied by much interest and involvement on the part of the

participants. Their exceptional hospitality encouraged the researcher to continue his project task. All interviews were taped with permission from participants, then translated, when necessary, and transcribed.

Second Stage of Data Collection From Field Study: Quantitative Sample Responses

Of the total one thousand (1,000) questionnaires (consisting of eighty questions) circulated and distributed in the geographic regions under examination, 500 hundred were returned (a 50% response rate). Three hundred and fifty three (353) were cleared to become the net sample. Incomplete questionnaires, those with a majority non response to questions, and those filled in by the under-aged participants were discarded. Reasons for poor completion were lack of proficiency in English and also lack of adequate trust. Despite the advertising, there were doubts about anonymity of responses, particularly in relation to participants' financial position, which made many individuals hesitant to respond. However, many of these and other difficulties were solved upon personal contact with the participant. Further consultation with the participants was often required, especially when they wished to be provided with further explanation of and justification for the subject matter and objectives of the study. Consultation was done in three ways: (i) by telephone communication between the researcher and the participant; (ii) a personal visit to the participant's premises, which often established trustworthiness between the researcher and participant; and (iii) by the goodwill of a third party, for example the local community priest, or a school teacher, which often established trustworthiness.

Of the 353 cases coded, typed on a computer cassette tape and fed into SPSS-X on Vax computer program, 218 cases were male and 135 cases were female. Two complete sections relating to language and culture were not utilised in this present study. In the final data analysis, frequencies, cross tabulations, graphs and multivariate statistical methods were utilised to produce and present the social mobility findings of this study as outlined graphically in Chapter 10.

Third Stage of Data Collection From Field Study
Informal Conferencing: Interview

The researcher undertook another nineteen (19) interviews in the form of informal conferencing. This involved an interview process where several themes were suggested for discussion by key Hellenic Community activists in Melbourne and the metropolitan area. The informal conferencing strategy applied complex photo procedures by broad questions initially being raised by the researcher, followed by the participants dictating the subsequent situation. This approach enabled the researcher to observe, listen and detect underlying themes through analytic induction, which fitted the objectives of this study. During the conferencing, the participants discussed issues such as events and perceptions relating to the history and formation processes of Hellenic organisations in Australia, the role of the Greek church, and political concerns within the Hellenic community of Australia. These interviews were undertaken in order to supplement information obtained from the structured questionnaires, in an attempt to build a more comprehensive picture of social mobility, especially in terms of conflict, and its effect on the attitudes of the minority ethnic group in their interaction with an Anglo-Celtic host group. Most of the participants were post-WWII immigrants, and all were in some way or another associated with various types of Hellenic

Community activities and institutions. Most of them had been "eye witness" to or directly involved in the formation of different types of community organisations founded in various Australians states (such as Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales and Queensland). At the same time, some had been political activists within the Hellenic community as well as within the mainstream society political party organisations. About half of these interviews were also completed in the space of one year, between 1986 and 1987 and the rest in a later period as required by the researcher during the ongoing course of the project. In order to ensure thorough and maximum information collection, the interviews were tape recorded and directly transcribed for analysis.

Identification Process

An important feature of the field study was the need to establish identification with a significant number of the participants and also the need for careful explanation to the participants regarding the objectives of the study. In this context, it is worth mentioning the amount of time spent during the verbally-administered questionnaires in interacting with and sharing through discussion the participants' experiences. During this time the field study went through a number of research phases, often starting with visiting and identifying the participants in their immediate family, social or working environments. This phase was named by the researcher as the "acquaintance and identification phase". Then followed either one or two other phases which involved further interviewing and the occasional need for clarification and confirmation of points expressed by participants during interviewing.

Extensive travelling to different States was necessary, in particular to South Australia for a period of approximately ten months. The author's personal attendance in the participants' immediate social and working environments provided the opportunity to exchange greetings and express interest in the Hellenic Community and to listen with patience and understanding to their experiences of the Australian society's social and cultural practices. Due to this interaction, participants had the opportunity to either directly or indirectly ask for assurances as to the value and confidentiality of information. In most cases truthful and reliable insights were given when assurances were made apparent. The importance of assurances was considered vital, particularly where confidentiality was paramount in areas such as the participants' work experience, their economic status, and their political behaviour in Greek and Australian party politics.

The field study required the interviewer to be a good listener, able to hear and record the exact words, to capture the mood and effective components of language and style, and to understand the context from which the participants were perceiving their experience in the world. The process occasionally involved the inspection of documentary evidence, diaries and photographs made available by participants, as well as collecting relevant information when making direct observations of a situation under investigation.

The success of a study such as this, as various authors (Babbie 1992:446-469; Paton 1990: 353) have suggested, depends upon the adequacy of professional codes of behaviour adopted by researchers before they go into the field to undertake a research study. Misinforming participants by not identifying oneself as the social researcher of the project is also unethical in social research. The

researcher made sure that the participants were aware of his research status, and he provided a telephone number and address to the participants. The thesis acknowledges the involvement of people as participants who consented to share their experiences and perceptions in this study. The protection of the participants' identities is therefore recognised as an important ethical issue. Also, because social research has the potential to intrude into people's private lives, the researcher assured people that their decision to participate in the study was voluntary; that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any stage without the researcher revealing any of their details. In this study, the researcher needed firstly to ensure that no participant would be injured or harmed by the way the information was going to be used, assuring them further that the specific purpose of the information was the Hellenic migration and settlement experiences in Australia. Additionally, the information received was not to be exposed or published without the consent of the participants. The study made clear to participants at all times that the information which they provided was protected by anonymity and confidentiality from exposure, unless participants consented to the use of their names.

All participants were contacted before the study field survey was commenced and were carefully informed about the objectives of the study. As discussed, it is ethically fundamental that no interview be performed without the full consent of the participant, and that the responses remained anonymous as outlined in the introductory page of the questionnaire. Participants were advised that the information which they consented to provide was to be used as grouped data only, to make an objective report on issues. They were also assured that the thesis would be completed and a summary report would be available on request. As with any form of research, the researcher sought the mutual trust of the

participants, asking them to share their experiences, to be open and have no fear about it. Once trust and rapport were established, participants felt respected, safeguarded and sufficiently at ease to participate in both qualitative and quantitative interviewing.

When employing qualitative methods, significant emphasis is placed on the rigour of the study, whereas a study based on quantitative methodology measures its consistency against validity and reliability tests (Sandelowski 1986; Bulmer 1982:31), as well as applicability. Reliability in quantitative research is measured and verified more against external than internal consistency and validity. Findings derived from quantitative research are measured for external or objective validity that enhances one's confidence that biases have not produced conditions which are not comparable to the natural or observable world. While applicability is important in quantitative research, its verification is also subject to external validity. In the present study, responses provided by each participant were measured for "consistency" in terms of their internal and external validity. Internal validity, however, is a product of measures for "consistency" calculated on the basis of the form of scales or indices concerned with the internal coherence of a scale as in statistics, but which in reality constitute reflection measures based on externally observed phenomena. Thus, external aspects of "consistency" in the survey on the social mobility of Greeks in Australia, were acquired by testing "consistency" over time, and by administering testing over a number of different cases based on the same questionnaire.

In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research methods often are criticised in terms of scientific adequacy. As discussed, applied research methods

frequently consider whether or not a given research method will or will not manage to achieve what in quantitative research is defined as reliability, validity and objectivity, all of which in qualitative research are criteria of adequacy or rigour. According to Sandelowski (1986), qualitative research needs to be evaluated against the criteria of rigour. She outlines four factors which provide the framework of rigour: credibility, fittingness, auditability and confirmability. These factors can be matched by a further four which Paton (1990) and Leininger (1990) define as rigour: truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality.

The strategies which were employed to ensure credibility included accurately transcribing the data personally. This was done firstly by checking the transcription several times by reading it and listening to the tapes simultaneously. Secondly, the verbatim transcriptions were given to several of the participants for their verification. Further into the analytical phase, two additional stages of validation were included. The first was at the completion of step three and this involved checking that the researcher had not changed the meaning in transferring statements from the text-analogues into the formulated meaning or that the researcher had not taken statements out of context. The second stage of step three involved precautions to ensure credibility of the data for each interview analysed. Each transcript was taken up to step four of the data analysis without reference to other transcripts, in order to protect the meanings from one interview contaminating the meaning of another interview. The researcher believed that it was important to stay within the world of one participant at a time.

Unlike applicability in quantitative research, where research strategies need conditions that create confidence comparable with the reality of the natural world,

in qualitative research it is "fittingness" which is the proposed criterion (Sandelowski 1986:32). Fittingness is judged against qualitative research when the "findings can fit" into the contexts of the study investigated and when individuals not involved in the study view the findings as meaningful and applicable in terms of the reality of their personal lived experiences (Yonge & Stewin 1988). Applicability, however, reflects on the effectiveness of the text used in qualitative research. Thus, in order to meet the fittingness for this study, the participants selected had to meet certain key criteria. For example, the stories which participants told about their lived experiences, in both Greece and Australia, had to "fit", into the categories of the broader framework of this study in terms of fittingness (applicability), or in terms of "grounded and meaningful experience". To "fit", participants were selectively chosen so that insights of their lived experiences were provided in order to ensure consistency of input at all times (from original meanings) without distortion.

In qualitative research, consistency is measured by auditability (Sandelowski 1986:34-35). Auditability is achieved when the researcher ensures that the process of analysis used to describe and interpret the data are presented in such a way that his "decision trail" could be followed by another researcher, who could arrive at similar findings given the data used, the situation and the project's perspective. The researcher followed the Sandelowski rationale, which is the following: (a) how much interest was initiated in the study; (b) how the researcher viewed the things studied; (c) the purpose of the study; (d) how the subjects were approached, how the data were collected; (e) from what kinds of social settings were data collected; (f) the impact the subject or evidence as well as the researcher had on each other; (g) how long data collection lasted; and (h) how pieces of

evidence came to be included in the study or how they were reduced/transformed for analysis, interpretation, and presentation; (i) how the various elements of the data were weighted; and (j) the inclusiveness and exclusiveness of the categories developed to contain the data, and the techniques employed to determine the truth value and applicability of the data.

The rigour of qualitative research is assessed by confirmability, rather than by objectivity (Sandelowski 1986; Leininger 1990; Yonge & Stewin 1988). To assure confirmability, when it became necessary to clarify a point of view or an aspect of a participant's story sequence, or even to keep the participant on track, guiding questions were readdressed or redeveloped to clarify meaning. In order to increase the research rigour, the author went back to each participant where possible to verify information. Participants were asked to read the information they provided to the researcher. Finally, confirmability is achieved when auditability, credibility and fittingness are established.

Strengths of The Study

Although the study has taken a lengthy period of time, it has given an opportunity for in-depth analysis and time for reflection on the findings in relation both to current developments in migration and to current developments in research methodology. One of the strengths of the present study is the application of both qualitative and quantitative methods to deal with a number of different research hypotheses. Applying both methods has enabled this study not only to provide insights into the extent of migratory issues, but also to capture the lived experiences of the participants. The survey responses were translated into statistical data which provided information on migratory issues. Meanwhile, the

qualitative responses allowed the author to interpret and uncover the common themes of the participants' specific experiences as migrants, thus assisting him to have a deeper insight of Greek migrants from a multifaceted approach.

Often a well-structured question helped to elicit responses which contained messages between the lines, helping to reveal inferences. These inferences obtained were often corroborated with other sources of information, thereby gaining important insights (Yin 1989:63-64). This strategy allowed the researcher to observe, share and record the experiences and life-styles of the groups under study that otherwise could not have revealed themselves. Conversely, the conferencing procedure involved a small group of individuals. This strategy seemed to enable individual participants through reflection to share details of events experienced and at the same time eliminate any sense of alienation and instead, where necessary, develop feelings of belonging amongst themselves. This encouraged participants to open up and to share their personal biographical experiences through the story narrative sequence during the complex photo procedure. As essential themes emerged, the interaction and discussion became more intense, leading to the uncovering of other factors which enhanced the researcher's understanding of the migratory issues. The researcher's role was to understand, reflect and analyse the issues involved with the story narrative sequence.

Many participants replied in the Greek language, particularly in areas where they were asked to supply information that was not restricted by the standardised or quantified questions such as the response classified as "other", and also even when the participants needed to report on the basis of their emotional reaction to a

question relating, for example, to economic status or political behaviour. This enabled participants to feel more confident in the way they could handle communication especially the more subtle aspects of their lived experience and the significant aspects of their subjectivity which were vital to the values which they upheld.

Documentary Evidence as Data

It is important to stress that, given the use of various sources of information, the study's findings are based on the convergence of information and not on data from a few sources alone. One important source of information has been existing studies partly related to the researcher's area of work. Such literature was consulted for comparative purposes and for the provision of relevant theoretical arguments concerning social mobility theories and the history of migration. Various official Australian and Greek records, reports and statistics were consulted. In Australia these documents included Census and Hansard records which provided data for immigration policy, employment and population trends and related issues. Other additional sources of reference employed have been reports published by government ministries such as the Department of Immigration and Ethnics Affairs (DIEA). This source provided the researcher with primary information as to the Australia's immigration policy and assessment schemes regarding entry into this country. The main Greek resources used were the National Statistical Service of Greece, the General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad, and the National Centre for Social Research in Athens.

Newspapers and magazines were frequently reviewed during the research process. Greek-language magazines and journals, in particular, were widely read;

the majority dated back to the earliest editions of this century. These sources allowed for the provision of further knowledge into the socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of Greek immigrant experiences in Australia. The media of television and radio, particularly documentaries and programs related to migrant themes, illuminated and corroborated information obtained from other, more accepted, sources.

Both private and general correspondence proved valuable for information regarding the teaching of the Greek language and other bilingual programs; this information concerned the formation of organisations and confirmed the reliability of the people's biographies and other publications. Personal correspondence was included from both various institutional organisations and professional individuals, as well as from individuals recognised by the Hellenic Community as its leaders. Other people's private correspondence was also used. All these sources together proved extremely useful in that they provided supplementary information and further clues about the social history of events over different time periods.

In conclusion, by employing a range of research techniques, including qualitative and quantitative methodology, this study on the social mobility of Greeks in Australia has been able : (i) to avoid, as much as possible, research bias and research limitations: (ii) to minimise considerations occasionally found as parts of the strengths and weaknesses when applying one type of research method; and (iii) to control for the lack of related studies on Greek Australians. This study also allowed the use of secondary research data. By adopting a range of methods the study has been able to draw on sociological and socio-historical evidence to investigate the various hypotheses, longitudinally, addressing pre-migration,

migration-settlement and post-migration socio-economic experiences of the social

mobility of Greeks in Australia. The socio-historical approach enabled the study to:

(i) examine Hellenic migration as an assertive factor behind social mobility trends

following the processes of settlement and resettlement of Greeks in Australia; (ii)

understand the forces which operated for or against the Hellenic presence in

Australia in each historical period and in each settlement stage; and (iii) compare

the social, economic and political fluctuations of the host society in each historical

period. Yet, as has been argued, to adequately conceive the forces behind Hellenic

migration and social mobility of Greeks in Australia, we need to understand the

more subtle psycho-social aspects of Hellenic culture which underpin the Hellenic

national character and the Hellenic connection with Australia.

Chapter 4

HELLENIC VALUES AND NATIONAL CHARACTER

As well as understanding Hellenic migration to Australia in terms of the theories and types of migration, it is also important to comprehend the particular values and cultural features which contributed to the decision to migrate either sporadically or as part of mass out-migration. To understand the significance of this decision for individual pioneering Greeks who travelled to Australia, it is necessary to identify the Hellenic cultural values in which they were nurtured. This chapter examines the legends and symbols of Hellenic national identity derived from a mythical past - symbols that continued to shape everyday human interaction through the ages, and legends that underpinned the open debates and stories told in the *agora* through time. These stories are embedded in their historical heritage and philosophy, the passion for freedom and democracy, the pioneering pursuits and the strong individualism contrasted with the need for gregarious living, and a balance between mind and body. As argued, these themes, legends and symbols became part of the "social memory", informing the "mental map" with the development of ideas and actions of those who identified with Hellenic history. It is this relationship which helps to explain the factors behind the decision to migrate and the ways they continued to influence the post-migration experience of Greeks in Australia.

Greece, or Ελλάς *(H)Ellás)* as Greeks prefer to call their country, is a contemporary Nation State built upon at least three thousand years of history and culture that have moulded a national identity and national character. Two of the most important features of the development of the Greeks as a people are the country's geographic location and long-established traditions and culture.

The country is located in the South-eastern region of the European Continent and the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula. It constitutes the point of convergence for diverse national cultures, and it is at the crossroads of three continents: Asia to the east, Africa to the south, and Europe to the north. The geophysical environment (about three thousand islands spread across the Aegean and Ionian Seas) has itself created a unique natural structure where localised customs have developed over the centuries. This diversity of geographical and cultural features have left their mark on the Hellenic character.

The strength of this cultural diversity as expressed by locals is one of the most obvious elements of Hellenic national life. As in ancient times when Hellenes administered their affairs by city-states separated by names and by geographic boundaries, modern Greeks, although unified under one State, also distinguish themselves according to the names of their respective regions, such as Macedonia, Epeiros, Thessaly, Dodecannesos, Eptanessos, Pelloponnesos, Sterea (H)Ellas, and Thrace. Thus, whilst emphasising their Hellenic origin, Hellenes speak with pride about their particular place of birth and the local customs which often are unique in their character. The geography of the country is identified as one of the most influential factors shaping people's attitudes, in particular, the geographic diversity in terms of mountainous slopes, islands and seas.

Greece's location in the midst of three continents has meant that, historically, Hellenes have witnessed many conflicts over territorial, cultural and racial issues. As a result, the society has been a proverbial battlefield of social and political unrest from within, though often the cause of this unrest has had its roots in external pressures. This historical background has been maintained in the life of Hellenism, as a result of direct experience, developing an awareness of the importance of their geographic location, their political and

cultural history and the potential of invasion by "barbarians" (i.e. non Greeks). It is apparent that modern Hellenic culture and the identity of the Hellenic national character have been subject to an interplay between the influence exerted by the local geographic location and the features of localised customs. From recent history, one major example of external factors helping to shape the national character is the 1821 Struggle for Independence against the rule of the Ottoman Empire, the time when Greece became a modern Nation State. Though some parts of the country gained freedom shortly after this Revolution against the Turks, the Struggle for Independence continued well into the twentieth century with further parts of the country joining the Nation State whilst other parts remained under Turkish rule.

Due to historical longevity and cultural diversity, it is difficult to describe the Hellenic national character in precise terms. Nonetheless, the history of Greek people is underlaid by certain uniform cultural characteristics and values that could be proposed as common to all Greeks irrespective of local cultural variables. These key values have been maintained despite the numerous invasions of the last two thousand years. The people have managed to maintain their traditions and customs relatively intact within the broader uniform cultural framework of Hellenism during invasions from the Romans, the Arabs, the Crusaders and the Turks (the centuries of Ottoman rule). This cultural stability is reflected in their Hellenic national identity today despite the fact that the Ottoman occupation hindered communication amongst Hellenes living in different territories of their country, to a greater degree than previously experienced under other invaders. This restricted communication did not stop the Hellenes from practising their customs and traditions, particularly in the more remote areas away from the occupying Turks, who were mainly garrisoned in the larger towns and cities. Hellenes continued their traditional life

styles in the mountainous regions, as well as on the islands, where they were isolated and were able to maintain key Hellenic values.

According to the historian Vakalopoulos (1983), outstanding features of the national character remain intact to this day. Hellenic individualism and love of freedom has been shaped by a number of factors that tend to exercise their influence on the nurturing and socialising of people. He stresses that,

> The passion for freedom and strong individualism, gave birth to feelings towards the need for equality ever since Homer's epoch. There were no major social differences. The people spoke always in the singular and the king never stood higher than the people. Thus, although the country was subjugated first to the Romans and later to the Turks, the Hellenes had the capability to live free in the nearby or distant mountains and the [geographically] spread out islands (Vakalopoulos 1983:109-110).

The physical environment itself isolated sections of the population. This isolation hindered the development of communication between people from different regions but fostered the continuation of cultural variety. In ancient times, the country's division into a multitude of natural regional territories contributed to the establishment of small independent city states (i.e. poleis), where the citizenry was encouraged to pursue individual and political rights. A consequence was the enhancement of localised forms of individualism. As Vakalopoulos argues:

> The influence of the conquerors did not occupy the whole of the life and the soul of the Hellenes. Consequently, the ancient characteristics expressing the individualised and mainly group-like life style survived, although in forms of fluid diagrams (Vakalopoulos 1983:108).

In addition to the factors of individualism, other features have contributed to what appears to be a common body of Hellenic culture. These features are social, historical and philosophical experiences that have been

common to all Greeks irrespective of regional location. All Greeks share a common language, common institutions, a common religion, and strong feelings for the family, especially the extended family unit, with a distinctive set of family values (Bottomley 1979; Storer 1985a).

In writing about the Greek national character, one of modern Greece's best known playwrights and scholars of social history and culture, the late George Theotokas, reflected on the question and gave the following description:

> Odysseus is suffering from this position that modern history has placed him in, and does not want to accept it as definite. Resting on the prow of his ship, under the star lit night of the Mediterranean, he is dreaming of the Renaissance that escaped him and another Renaissance, his own, that he promised to himself and which he wants with all the strength of his soul. A Renaissance of Hellenism, a new flooding of intelligence, strong and long lasting, that would develop again all the charismata of the Hellenic people and thus decorate (this people) with glory. Such is the golden vision that the 'Hellenic demonic' plays on occasions in the eyes of Odysseus in order to keep him in restless καημό = *kaemo*, [that is in restless yearning] (Theotokas 1961:68).

Moreover, Odysseus' yearning is undoubtedly linked to Hellenic history and cultural identity. It is the long and glorious history that keeps him in restless καημό. As a consequence, when Hellenes today think of their identity, they tend to extract cultural material from debates and written works. They also project present-day experience backwards on to ancient philosophy and culture, through self-reflection selecting outstanding features from both their present and ancient histories. This attempt to locate meaningful and exemplary explanations of contemporary life in ancient cultural and literary traditions means that the modern Hellenic national character is constantly informed by and related to the works of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides and others. For example, modern Hellenes identify with Aristophani's classical play about the man who, unable to stand women any longer, leaves his village

to go to the mountains, where he believes, in the exclusive company of the trees and animals, this peaceful environment will stimulate his mind. However, over time Aristophani's protagonist realises that he cannot live by himself, and that women cannot be as bad as loneliness and isolation. He returns to town to share his life with his people, including of course, women. Similarly, Hellene readers of Nietzsche's book about Zarathustra, find many things in common with the author's hero. Like his Hellenic counterpart, Zarathustra, in the prime of life, leaves his village and the serenity of its lake and journeys to the mountain to search for spiritual stimulation and time for introspection. Zarathustra returns after ten years because he realises that neither the Sun, the Moon, nor the trees can share the power of his "wisdom" with other people.

In contrast to the themes of seclusion and retirement from life, it is equally true that the theme of Hellenes as a gregarious people requires attention. Aristotle, one of the best known Greeks to propose this theme from a philosophical perspective, argued that the elemental unit of anthropos, the human being, is that s/he is what Aristotle termed a *political zoon*, that is, a community animal, or a social and political animal. Aristotle held that humans only develop their full spiritual and psychological potential in the context of the polis, that is within the city-state (Stocker & Langtry 1986:26-38). This philosophy is one of Aristotle's great pronouncements about the nature of human life and human organisation. In stating it, Aristotle drew upon the scholarship of Socrates and Plato as well as his own experience of the polis of ancient Athens. Similar views were held by the Oracles of Delphi, Dodoni and Dion.

The individual, therefore, can when necessary survive in isolation and solitude, but does not thrive on mysticism alone. The Hellenic spirit demands the *agora*, the marketplace, the square, the kafeneion, the harbour, the piazza,

where there are people; and this gregarious element is a feature of modernity as well as the ancient village or polis. In these social settings new ideas and discoveries can be tested through dialogue, by the fire of debate. The spirit of the *agora*, with a free and open exchange of ideas, is conducive to independent thought and resourceful action, which is of vital significance to the Hellenic conception of participatory democracy. Clearly, the environment of the *agora* and the experiences gained from personal involvement in public debate are very enriching in terms of the intellectual stimulation of daily life. It is the *agora* that allows individuals to initiate cultural development, political discussions, and personal or group interaction. It is within this social milieu that what the Hellenes call Φιλότιμο = *philotimo* [1] is best tested, ensuring that at all times Hellenes remain a sociable people as much as strong-minded individualists, sharing a common set of values (Vlachos 1968; Kouvertaris 1971; Vakalopoulos 1983).

Values are usually defined as abstract constructs, often contained in meaningful or effective socio-linguistic terms reflecting underlying assumptions about the nature and functions of language and culture, regarding the nature of human beings' relationships to the concrete world. Human values are subjectively defined and yet have concrete effects and psychological implications in the way they contribute to the meaningful shaping of everyday human transactions (Berger, Berger & Kellner 1973; Dimitreas 1981;1994). Throughout the long history of the Hellenic world, questions about values have been pursued with immense interest and passion by citizens engaging in exhaustive debates, both of an academic and popular nature. Central to these discussions has been the issue of the importance and ranking accorded to values

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[1] *Philotimo* means one of many things or several things at the same time including: self-esteem, honour, pride, and altruism, democracy, fairness, egalitarianism, generosity, the definition of work, diligence, co-operation, collaboration, individualism, egoism.

in human affairs. The placement of values, in order of priority, reflects the universality of choices by people in terms of which values are most or least important in Hellenic life. The following remarks are suggestive of the values which are mostly emphasised in and talked about in terms of priority within the Hellenic value system.

> A people's soul can best be discerned in their perceptions of the supernatural, in the wisdom of the man in the street, in their collective social action, and in the melody, tempo, and the lyrics of their popular songs. An old drinking song that could be heard in the local taverns of Attica as early as the fifth century BC., describes the Greek hierarchy of the needs: "To mortal man, the first gift is Health; the next is Beauty; third is Wealth that no shame attends; the fourth is to be young amongst one's friends" (Burn 1930:40).

Fame also has been considered an important element of Hellenic life. It has been regarded as an essential aspect of the much sought after quality of honour. As an alternative to fame, some Greeks have sought honour through the accumulation of wealth (Andrewes 1984:227), but this behaviour has been criticised, especially in regard to the effects of excessive wealth. What has been and still remains central in Hellenic society, when it comes to wealth, is concern with the way wealth is both acquired and distributed. Historically the core of the Hellenic value system centres upon honour and fame rather than wealth *per se*. To cite a modern popular saying, widely held as a high ethical value, Η τιμή, τιμή δεν έχει και χαράστον που την έχει (honour has no price and (praise)worthy is the one who has it)[2]. If a person is poor and honest, this person is still honoured, and has a place in society (Monos 1976).

People with honour in Hellenic society are categorised as having *philotimo,* those with a deficit of that value as *aphilotimoi.* To be regarded as aphilotimos *(aphilotim(oi)* = plural), that is, to be stripped of honour, integrity

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[2] This saying forms part of the tradition which is mentioned often amongst Hellenes. I am intebted to my mother Stavroula Spyrea-Dimitrea for reminding me of it as a central value so often througout my life.

and self-esteem, generosity, altruism, and egalitarianism is (when applied seriously) one of the gravest social condemnations. Living for wealth or for the sake of accumulating more and more riches carries no honour when this practice lacks moderation; above all it fails to effect a healthy balance of mind and body, both for the individual concerned and for other relevant members of society. This matter has been emphasised by ancient classical scholars, and traditions found in modern Hellenic society point to its continuing relevance. Pericles sums up this view in the eulogy for the first dead of the Peloponesian wars when he states:

> One's sense of honour is the only thing that does not grow old, and the last pleasure, when one is worn out with age, is not, as the poet said, making money, but having the respect of one's fellow men (Thucydides 1985:150).

The folly of the pursuit of money is dramatically illustrated in the tragic Hellenic story of the mythical King Midas. Endless passion to amass wealth for its own sake arouses suspicion in modern Hellenes, and the myth of Midas is a significant theme in everyday Greek conversation. The newly rich are urged to be cautious, and the undesirable consequences of amassing excessive amounts of wealth are stressed. These attitudes are related to the view that the practice of increasing wealth jeopardises the desirable balance of moderation often referred to as παν μέτρον άριστον (the golden mean). Thus, when Hellenes think of individuals like the shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis behaving like another Midas, they tend to suspect that this state of affairs must have serious implications for the individual's personal and family life, as well as his social status.

For Greeks, the impermanence of wealth and the means by which it is acquired are important issues for debate. They are frequently concerned about the means by which wealth is acquired, considering human preoccupation with it to be undesirable. Solon, the lawgiver of Athens, declared: "Wealth, I desire

to possess, but would not have it unrighteously". It is believed that by the very nature of human destiny, there will be an eventual retribution if wealth is acquired "unrighteously" or by unethical means. A related concern is that acquisitiveness is to be feared because it becomes a passion often reducing men to what in Hellenic mythology is the most despicable condition of all: slavery (Kouvertaris 1971).

This matter of slavery, and its opposite, freedom, is a major Hellenic preoccupation, with freedom and humanness inextricably bound together. Hellenes have always maintained a very strong sense of freedom, and it is a theme of extraordinary importance in Hellenic culture and one emphasised throughout both ancient history and modern nationhood (Andrewes 1984:293; Theotokas 1961). True freedom was viewed not only as a physical state but also as a spiritual and intellectual condition. Freedom has been a theme in Hellenic tradition long before the Classical period. A character greatly admired by modern Hellenes has been the demigod Prometheus, who came to be regarded in Hellenic mythology as the Liberator, who risked his life by attempting to steal from the Gods the great prize of logic, in order to give it to mortal people. Caught by the Gods and chained to a rock, with a falcon daily devouring his liver, which grew again over night, Prometheus remains a strong symbol of universal human liberation within the Hellenic tradition.

Freedom as first propounded in Hellenic mythology has been concretised in major historical events. Leaders in the Struggle for Independence against the Ottoman Turks campaigned under the banner of freedom in order to gain the support of compatriots to overthrow the enemy. Moreover, this call for freedom not only came from intellectuals, from poets and literary figures, but also from ordinary (even illiterate) people. These individuals stepped forward with slogans of freedom reminiscent of classical Athens, or Sparta's Νίκη ή

Θάνατος (Victory or Death), Ελευθερία ή Θάνατος (Freedom or Death). The retention of this tradition becomes manifest in contemporary Hellenic life through banners displaying slogans of freedom on National Independence Day (celebrated each year on both the 25th of March and 28th of October), honouring those who gave their lives for this great ideal, which today, is characterised as the eleventh commandment (as the Hellenes often say and one which was not included in the Bible). An apt encapsulation of the meaning of freedom is contained in two poetic lines of the famous verse by the eighteenth century Hellene poet, Regas Feraios: καλλίτερα μιας ώρας ελεύθερη ζωή παρά σαράντα χρόνια σκλαβιά και φυλακή (an hour's freedom is better than forty years of slavery and imprisonment). Feraios was later executed by the Turks for espousing such ideals about freedom, but his verses were learned by heart by many of his compatriots, and his famous slogans calling for freedom became even better known during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The importance of freedom is also emphasised in modern Hellenic literary works. It is highlighted in the literary works of eminent poets and prose writers of the twentieth century, such as Yiannis Ritsos, Odysseus Elytis, Kostas Varnalis and Kostis Palamas. In the works of Nikos Kazantzakis, one of the nation's better-known modern writers, freedom is clearly of foremost concern. In *Zorba the Greek,* as well as *Captain Michalis,* Kazantzakis is clearly making personal and national freedom the dominant issue. Many of the works of these writers show that accumulated wealth has no value compared to the preciousness of freedom.

Like freedom, which has strong origins in the life of ancient Greeks, a number of other related ideals which constitute part of the living experience of modern Hellenes have their origins in the social and cultural perceptions of their

ancient ancestors. The ancient and classical Greek city-states or poleis, especially Athens and Sparta, set down distinctive paths and trends for the future well-being of their respective societies that remain landmarks of Hellenic heritage. In both Greece and Australia these ancient ideals and values often find expression in everyday discussions, academic debates and social gatherings. (They are discussed in subsequent chapters). Athens had developed its political system through a number of stages that reflect a shift from aristocracy to democracy, whilst Sparta maintained, for fourteen hundred years, a monarchical system of government that provided the city with political stability. Athens became the principal city of the arts and sciences, and its value system centred upon the goal of making its citizens *kalos kagathos* (beautiful and ethically good). This goal was conceived as the embodiment of excellence and was achieved through educational training that emphasised a balance between mind and body. On the other hand, although the polity of Sparta pursued this same goal of producing citizens with a harmonious balance between mind and body, what emerges as this city's outstanding feature is not the cultivation of the arts, but the concern with military prowess and an emphasis upon Το Λακονίζειν Εστίν Φιλοσοφείν *(To laconizeen estin philosophein* = to speak laconically is wise).

Ancient Hellenic values that remain influential in modern Hellenic culture play an important role in shaping people's views about what is good. An example is the term ευδαιμονία *(eudemonia)*: goodness, happiness, a concept of the good. This value is probably as important today as it was in the classical polis, where individuals of the *demos* insisted on having the social conditions necessary for satisfaction and happiness, as a right. This right was invariably understood in terms of public contribution furthering the well-being of the citizenry. As early as the eighth century BC, the epithet *aristos* was used to confer honour that stemmed chiefly from military exploits and successes. In

Homeric Athens, social position was based exclusively on a military career and the contributions made in protecting the well-being of the city. In contrast, during the classical period, the military ceased to be uppermost form of social position and was replaced by other forms of honour. For example, to be considered *kalos kagathos* meant being seen as a distinguished and respected citizen, and resulted in highly preferential treatment by both officials of the polis and ordinary citizens. At times, the status of individuals considered *kalos kagathos* was regarded as comparable to the status associated with any other kind of fame. Viewed as highly honourable by the state, a person with this status would be given favourable treatment to the point of being granted an acquittal when brought as a defendent before a court of law.

It is important to note that in Ancient Greece the various forms of honour and fame were achieved through social mobility by individual effort and accomplishment within the structures of the polis. They were not a birthright, or conferred because of class origin. By its very nature the social system of the polis had to be an open one where individuals from different social backgrounds could pursue their interests as they wished and on an equal footing. Pericles made this clear when he stated that fame and honour are not inherited (Thucydides 1985). At the same time, Isocrates lauded the path of individual effort: "It is the most experienced and the most capable who in any field of action deserve to be honoured" (Isocrates 1938:131). An impressive example of this attitude is reflected in the story about Leonidas, the king of the Spartans, who, questioned about his family tree by a group of Peloponesian kings, responded by saying: "if the rock is strong, it does not need the support of stones". With this metaphoric statement Leonidas made the point that one does not need royal blood to be a good and worthy king. Today, Greeks refer with pride to Leonidas' statement about the significance of the family tree, often

to support an argument during a popular discussion, or in reference to a related statement which conveys a similar meaning.[3]

The notion of honour is therefore linked in Hellenic society to all forms of liberation, material and non-material. Over time the situation changed from one where honour was bestowed in exchange for military efforts, to another where the well-being of the city-state and peaceful accomplishments were given greater importance. As a result, political activity became the critical source of fame. Involvement in politics became a more central source of fame than the amassing of wealth, a point emphasised in many works of Hellenic history and philosophy. For example, Solon and Pericles advocated the bestowal of honours in the public political and artistic spheres of life, spheres in which they believed citizens should be encouraged to participate. Whilst both Solon and Pericles had brilliant military and political careers, their fame was primarily based on contributions to the establishment of a more democratic and peaceful political society: Solon was known as ''the lawmaker'', Pericles as ''the statesman''.

The city became an obvious political focal point for honour by virtue of the importance it had in Greeks' lives: even a citizen's identity was inextricably linked to the citizen's birthplace. The "seven wise men of antiquity"[4] were always identified by name and city of origin. This practice of giving importance to the relationship between a city and the individual was incorporated into the

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[3] In the form of contemporary Cretan folklore or demotic verse known as μαντινάδα (mantinatha), a relative statement is used to make a point in reference to a person's intellectual, ethical or physical ability. An example, and often quoted in everyday discussion by people of Cretan origin in Australia and in Greece, reads as follows: Σαν είναι ο τράγος δυνατός δεν τον κρατάει μάντρα (if the billy goat is strong, he will not be contained/restricted by the walls).

[4] The Seven Wise Men of Antiquity were: Solon the Athenian, Thales of Militus, Cleovoulos from Lindos, Chilon the Lacedaemonian, Pittakos from Lesbos, Dias the Prineus, Periandros the Corinthian.

philosophy of the Olympic Games. The Hellenic conception of the city fostered the development of the highest forms of social organisation and attracted the best from both the provinces and overseas Hellenic colonies. The most skilful craftsmen, the best poets, the sophists and the most renowned philosophers, the most persuasive lawyers and orators, and the most sophisticated *hetaerai* could be found in the polis.

The basic prerequisite for attaining status in the city was strict respect for and adherence to its laws. This was no minor matter, and the Greek conception of the inseparable relationship between duty and obedience to the law is illustrated by the inscription on the monument erected in Thermopilae where, in 490 BC the King of Sparta, Leonidas, and three hundred Spartans fought to their deaths against the invading Persians: "Oh, passerby, tell the Lacaedemonians that we lie here in obedience to their laws." This obedience to state laws was often accompanied by a humble philosophical and dialectic frame of mind. Thucydides, for example, writing about the Spartan king Archidamus' speech delivered in Sparta during the Debate and Declaration of the Pelopponesian War, has been recorded as stating:

> We are not carried away by the pleasures of hearing ourselves praised when people are urging us towards dangers that often seem to us unnecessary; and we are no more likely to give in shamefacedly to other people's views when they try to spur us on by their accusations. Because of our well-ordered life we are both brave in war and wise in council. Brave, because self-control is based upon a sense of honour, and honour is based on courage. And we are wise because we are not highly educated as to look down upon our laws and customs, and are too rigorously trained in self-control to be able to disobey them (Thucydides 1985: 83).

In broad terms Hellenic culture has its roots in the symbols and images of the Olympian Gods, and the cultural and philosophical heritage of these Gods has been represented by the Apollonian and Dionysian traditions. Apollonian or Dionysian traditions are expressed in modern Hellenic language,

in food, dance, celebrations of all types, and in the social lives of Greeks, as well as in their ideologies, and philosophies of life and religion. In a sense, the Apollonian and the Dionysian traditions constitute the two sides of the same coin which are depicted and described by the activities of everyday Hellenic culture.

The Apollonian tradition epitomises Helios, sun, and light. Intelligence is depicted in the form of light, often represented through Apollo and the qualities of the mind as contrasted with the body. The Dionysian tradition epitomises the physical aspects of life, the hedonistic face of Hellenic culture, the emotional side of human nature. One tradition relates to a person's intiution, the intellect and generally the qualities of the mind, the other, to a person's body, to the animal or hedonistic side, which is heavily directed by instinct. It could be said that the Apollonian side of a person often stands apart, aloof; contrariwise, it can be bewildering to observe the Dionysian side of life when primitive lusts and animal drives produce suffering, and cause a being to be torn apart as Dionysus was himself.

The Dionysian sphere of Hellenic culture has strong links with Hellenic notions of honour and fame. The ancient Hellenic value system involved a strong orientation towards the body, and emphasised the physical attributes of youth and their associated pleasures as related to the Dionysian sphere of life. In order to compensate for extreme emphasis upon the body or physical impermanence, it is logical for the Hellenes to be preoccupied by lasting and enduring pursuits, enabling them to develop notions of honour, prestige and fame, so that, having died, others will continue to talk about them as exemplars of ideals rather than of materialistic pursuits.

The modern Hellenic conceptualisation of the notion of honour has constituted a major component of a cultural ideology which can be traced back to ancient times. From being the nexus between the Dionysian emphasis upon the physical and particular forms of honour, it eventually found impressive expression in the phenomenon of the Olympic Games, a series of contests based upon fair competition between athletes from different states and social classes.

> [Eventually material rewards that were granted to Olympic victors] paled into insignificance however...when compared with the immortality with which their fame endowed them and of which the simple crown of olives was the guarantee. It is not surprising, therefore, that kings and rulers strove with all their might, alongside ordinary men, to win the crown of honour that would guarantee to them the right to perpetuate their name by erecting a statue of themselves in the Sacret Altis. An inscription accompanying the statue included the name of the victor, his father's name and the name of his city, and often also the contest proclaimed by the victor (Ekdotike Athenon 1982:137).

This passage implies that not only were the victors in the Olympics the most highly regarded individuals of their polis, irrespective of social background, but also that the Games highlighted aspects of deeper pedagogy and enculturation representing the supreme values of Hellenism and accepted as such by every participating Greek city-state. The Olympians honoured the Gods and the "good contest" with their naked bodies.

In Classical Athens, the education of the young was aimed at achieving the simultaneous development of the two elements of life: the Apollonian *mind* and the Dionysian *body*. A fundamental principle of this education was that physical exercise was part of social life and was inseparably connected with the cultivation of the mind. The Olympics were an expression of this concern, involving the citizens of every city-state, with the cultivation and the harmonisation between physical and mental. The gathering of the Hellenes at the Olympic Games was an event of great importance, signifying the universal

gathering of free men who, in an atmosphere of truce, experienced the ideals of peace, freedom and equality; these ideals were conceived and made real by the men reared with this simultaneous representation of "the beautiful and the good".

Later on in Hellenic history, especially after the seventh century, the growth of Christianity and the fear it inspired of the vigour, power and generally the institutional nature and physicality of the human body, attenuated the influence of sport and the sporting spirit, displacing them into the sphere of artistic expression. Body movement found significant expression in the Italian Renaissance (Hellenic Ministry of Culture 1989:26), and later in the art of the rest of Western Europe. However, through the centuries, the Hellenic traditions and customs as practised in the more isolated mountainous regions and on Greek islands continued to emphasise the importance of the human body. Despite the restrictions on freedom of speech imposed on the Hellenes by Ottoman rule, these values survived into contemporary culture, mainly through their having been protected by transmission into hundreds of demotic or folkloric songs and festivities. These festivities and songs have extolled various bodily characteristics and personality traits, such as beauty, bravery, generosity and caring for others with what Greeks today call a λεβέντης op παλικάρι (leventis or palikari), an individual who is philotimos [5] and is characterised by a strong sense of freedom.

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[5] Philotimo requires that the socio-economic structures of a social system be open and democratic, enabling all citizens to pursue their socio-economic goals in a fair way. As an ancient Greek compound noun, philotimo means "philos & timi" (friend & honour), but at the same time it produces a whole series of related meanings. It is often linked to words and notions like democracy, altruism, individualism, group or family pride and integrity, progress, being a good worker, truthfulness, achievement, freedom, and in certain circumstances self-sufficiency or self-reliance, in the sense of being related to diligence (procomenos) and work (douleia´= work but not douleía as slavery). It is interesting in this context to note that when in countries of settlement like Australia, Hellenes expect to have access to these social and economic opportunities and thus not to have to resort to socially unacceptable means to succeed.

The increasing influence of Christianity on the one hand and the rule by the Ottoman Empire on the other, impelled those who upheld strongly the Hellenic traditions and customs associated with the human body, to keep practising the body-related culture for four centuries, particularly in remote rural settings. While a significant part of the Hellenic culture remained insulated from foreign influences, both Christianity and the Ottoman rule adversely affected the Greek reverence for law.

The moral teachings of Christianity and the Hellenic lifestyle, made necessary by Turkish rule, fostered an attitude of indifference towards law and discipline especially when the Turks regularly monitored and intervened to disturb the social practices of the people. From the Greek point of view, Christianity remained above all a mystical, apolitical and an <u>ecumenical</u> philosophy of life. It glorified revelation through ecstasy and the guidance given by one's inner light. This emphasis upon ecstasy generated a strong affinity with the Dionysian element of Hellenic culture. Also, by making the quest for salvation supreme Christianity encouraged the individual to disregard the law of rulers when this law happened to conflict with personal conceptions of the divine Christian law. By transferring law to the metaphysical realm, Christianity thereby transferred along its path crucial aspects of the Greek concept of honour and self-esteem *(philotimo)* to the metaphysical spheres (again encouraging a wider acceptance of the Dionysian emphasis). The effect of this transference was to minimise the importance of the state as the administrator of civil society, and to make political careers unimportant as sources of achievement and fame *(philotimo)*. Moreover, by marginalising the state as the administrator of civil society, the effect of the Ottoman rule was to eradicate open debate from taking place in the *agora* (and other social gatherings) and to discourage direct political participation in community affairs. During this period, two distinctive features stand out in the history of

Hellenism. Firstly, civil affairs of the state, placed under Ottoman rule, resulted in the granting of additional powers to the Greek Orthodox clergy, and especially the Patriarch, who became directly responsible for civil and all religious affairs of Orthodox Christians. Secondly, the Patriarch became the representative of Christians. In other words, the Patriarch was responsible for the Ethnos (nationhood, peoplehood) of the Christians.

The abolition of the civil state by the Turks and its replacement by the clergy and above all by the oriental despotic administration from 1453 until the nineteenth century, had adverse and perhaps unexpected consequences for both the occupied Hellenes as well as for the rest of the free world. Hellenes could not participate in the administration of the state and exercise constructive criticism, unless they were willing to compromise with the Ottoman administration. Unwilling to do this, people often resisted or violated laws and regulations imposed by the Turks. This civil disobedience grew through the period of Ottoman occupation, as these rulers suppressed not only freedoms traditionally prized by the Hellenes, but also undermined innovative practices in both the arts and sciences. This latter form of suppression forced many educated and talented Greeks from the fifteenth century onwards to flee to Italy and other European countries, where they contributed to the flowering of the Renaissance. This migratory outflow of talented people robbed Hellenes of the opportunity to have their own Renaissance at home; it undermined the Apollonian side of the Hellenic character, the main source of Hellenic manly behaviour, honour and pride. Yet this migration brought about the establishment of expatriate communities that made up the European Hellenic diaspora prior to the industrial revolution, which drew its inspiration from Greece and, like a good Odysseus, participated in her struggle for Independence and emancipation.

To preserve the important quality of *philotimo* under this domination, and to honour those who had died for the attainment of universal human values, the Greeks were forced to make one of two choices: to modify their definition of humanhood allowing for periodic states of bondage, or to prove that even under the cruelest domination by the Ottoman rulers they could preserve a degree of civil autonomy and identity. They chose the latter option, and while the Hellenic Orthodox Patriarchate compromised under pressure with the new administration, many Hellenes who were insulated from direct Turkish rule continued to live in traditional ways, maintaining their strong sense of freedom. Also, whenever an opportunity arose, the Hellenes circumvented and ridiculed the Turkish laws doggedly and enthusiastically, rejecting the rule of oriental despotism abusive of and in conflict with the Hellenic *philotimo*.

In the migrant context, because the Hellenic character carries with it a strong sense of *philotimo* to the countries of migration, including Australia, the social and political nature of the country of settlement can have a marked effect on the attitudes and behaviour of the Greeks in social mobility. Traditionally, in the Hellenic national character, there has been strong resistance to compliance with the directives given by a master, or a superior ruler, who exercises authority over people. Because the tenets of *philotimo* are unknown or misunderstood by members of host societies where Hellenes live and work, their experience is characterised by compulsion and degrees of suppression over their activities by rulers or people, particularly in the early phases of settlement. When such compulsion or force is used, what is normally understood or seen as δουλειά – douleiá (in the sense of <u>work</u>), is transformed into its δουλεία (douleía in the sense of <u>slavery</u>). This notion of δουλειά/δουλεία is an important one for Hellenes and is used in everyday discussion. This term is spelt the same way regardless of the meaning intended,

the meaning being chosen by simply moving the accent from the last to the second last vowel, thus denoting the opposite idea (Kouvertaris 1971:39).

In the context of working for an employer, Hellenes tend to despise what they define as αφεντικά (*afentiká*) namely: the "bossy" behaviour or what Hellenes in Australia refer to as μποσσιλίκι (*bossiliki* : a compound term which is Hellenised by Hellene workers of Australia and is a derived from the English word "boss")[6] . When an employer's behaviour becomes authoritarian, when s/he imposes their *"bosiliki"* over an employee, it is like using the powers granted to them through the ownership of their business or their employers to interfere in their employees' freedom to perform their work, such behaviour being regarded as abusive of the employee's sense of *philotimo*. Working for others has not always been desirable in the Hellenic tradition, unless *philotimo* has a full and central application in human interactions in the work place, and unless working conditions guarantee a "fair" spiritual as well as material independence for employees. Although it could be argued that the concept enables people to be as individualistic as possible when necessary, at the same time it requires such individuals to be careful and not upset the independence and harmony of others that is granted to them through philotimo. *Philotimo* in this sense is not a rigid concept which does not allow change. Change is inevitable and *philotimo* requires social actors to cooperate with their fellow workers or bosses and it was necessary that they act not individualistically or egocentrically, when their working tasks affects the work undertaken by other. Collaboration with others went without saying and was part of being altruistic and generous to other workers who were contributing towards the making of products. *Philotimo* and its underlying

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[6] The Italians in the US or Australia similarly refer to il bosso, whom they distinguish from il padrone, and two styles of employment.

meanings with the need for flexibility in attitudes and values, in order to allow for democratic interplay in human interaction, was evident not only when Greece gained its Independence from Ottoman rule during and after 1821 but even when Greeks migrated to other European and intercontinental destinations such as America, Canada and Australia (Kouvertaris 1971; Bottomley 1976; Dimitreas 1981, 1989, 1994; Storer 1985). Greeks became one of the most law-abiding ethnic population groups in the new countries of settlement. This reversal in attitude towards legal and political institutions, as discussed, has been related to the implied meanings connoted by the concept of *philotimo*, especially when *philotimo* interferes with the sense of an individual's freedom, as it did under Ottoman rule. In fact, it could well be argued that the preservation of Greece's good name and the peaceful establishment of Hellenic communities abroad, including Australia, has been mainly due to the Greek immigrants' sense of *philotimo*.

The same cultural indicators that are in operation when attempting to define *philotimo* also explain the Hellenic behaviour in their gatherings and organised festivities in Australia. The habits and behaviour patterns that characterise the Hellenic personality are largely distinguished by concrete socio-linguistic communication involving face-to-face "organically" defined rules and expectations in social interaction. In contrast, the British Australian cultural experience, from a Hellenic perspective, appears to be the opposite, especially where human interaction occurs within an urban environment, in which human communication is dominated by a reserved, impersonal, bureaucratic and abstract public culture administered from above. As a result, these cultural realities represent barriers that often alienate individuals from directly participating in a given social situation. Traditionally, after migration, Hellenes maintained an all-embracing communal framework of interaction in human relationships in Australia, in accord with their culture. Concretely practised

through personal contact enhanced by strong demotic themes - such as folk songs, music, regular celebrations, an extensive and traditional cuisine - a focused view of the life was shared by the community as a whole.

It is understandable that in times of deep political instability, war and especially dictatorship, Hellenes felt a strong desire to leave their native land in search of what they perceived as democratic societies, such as Australia, with a tradition of freedom of speech and tolerance. This expectation is an important factor in the decision to migrate, particularly when the *agora* is unable to function effectively at home. The search for places where "freedom of speech" is practised is a significant pull factor, holding the promise of allowing community life to continue uninterrupted as in the *agora*. Given that the *agora* has functional importance for "place and placemaking" and generally is an informal public forum where people practice participatory democracy in the Hellenic tradition, it is not surprising therefore to find that it is recreated in the new environment.

The attitude of escaping the social, political and physical restrictions of Greece by travelling or migrating to faraway places constitutes part of the historical and mythological Hellenic culture of seeking to escape non-democratic conditions in order to re-establish the *agora* in an environment where it is possible for individuals to participate. For example, Odysseus, the crafty king of Ithaca, no doubt needed to escape the unnerving condition of boredom occasionally felt in the social space of a single *agora* and travelled to distant and unfamiliar places in search of pleasure and knowledge. However, in spite of the lures and pleasures of beautiful amazons and powerful women such as Calypso and Circe, Odysseus returns home to face the challenges awaiting him in the *agora*. Others like Dionysos, the God of wine, who travelled across Asia to India for the enjoyment and celebration of life in conditions of

brotherhood, kept practising a form of living which he learned in the *agora* symposia at home and which he took with him to those far away places.

The theme of escaping from the *agora* and returning to it, as in the case of Odysseus, or recreating it in far away places, as in the case of Dionysos, is a theme to be found throughout Hellenic mythology and history of migration. Odysseus' adventures away from Ithaca, involving him in endless struggles on earth and the seas for many years, relate to one of Homer's main themes of discussion. The theme was of particular concern to Homer because his hero's experiences at home and abroad were a matter for ideology and cultural challenge. As Monos comments:

> the starting point of the world's most famous saga is to be found not only in the romantic frivolity of a love affair but in the anxious and wandering spirit of a paradoxical race who possess thirst for adventure and a knowledge of faraway places, juxtaposed to a powerful attachment to home, to gods, to festivities and traditions of the native land (Monos 1976:19).

Similarly, as in mythology in the period prior to the industrial era, Hellenic out-migration contributed to the flowering of the Italian Renaissance. This migration occurred following the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (and thus the collapse of the Byzantine Empire) in 1453 AD. The Hellenes lost their freedom and therefore the right to shape their world in the open debates of the *agora*. Migration became a flight from tyranny, and countless descendants of Odysseus started a migratory pattern that has continued through the centuries. For the first time Hellenes experienced a state where independence of thought and action was severely curtailed, a state where their traditional mode of life could not be exercised. As a consequence, the offspring of Hellenism would often choose self-imposed exile, and migrate to distant lands of the New World.

From the fall of Constantinople to about the eighteenth century, Hellenes migrated chiefly to Europe, where they became immigrants in what they regarded as countries populated mainly by non-Greek Orthodox Christians. Despite the ancient echoes of paganism, which resounded through everything Hellenic, the basic Christianity of the Hellenes, suffering at the hands of the "infidels", evoked the brotherly concern of the Catholic Church, which recognised the Hellenic contributions to the philosophy of Christian religion and the development and establishment of Christianity (Monos 1976). In this way Hellenic refugees established communities in Europe from the fifteenth century onwards, and continued to do so until the twentieth century. These communities became centres for the preservation and dissemination of Hellenic language and culture and contributed to the life of the Renaissance through the revival of classical arts. Refugees, being both gregarious and determined to practise and preserve their languages and traditions, contributed to the preservation of Hellenic values and provided the foundation for the flowering of European Renaissance.

Hellenes have also migrated from their homeland for a variety of other reasons. In peaceful or more tolerable periods of their history, it was the merchants, scholars and adventurers who left, and their motives included not only the obvious economic and political aspects, but also a desire and a curiosity about people in other lands. "Possessed by restless minds, full of enquiries, they have always been tantalised by what lies beyond the *agora* ", the towns, the mountains and/or islands, and beyond the Ionian and Aegean seas (Monos 1976:20).

As myth has it, those who leave the *agora* behind are expected to return home eventually, like a good Odysseus. Moreover, Hellenes who travel or migrate abroad for either a short or long time are expected to renew the strength

of their wisdom as a good Odysseus did before embarking on his return trip. The idea of returning, therefore, is a key theme for those who migrate for whatever reason, whatever length of time. It is often expected that having gained greater experience living abroad, they reassert their original views with an increased vigour upon returning home.

As an anxious and wandering spirit the Hellene travels abroad to face the challenges of the unknown. This travel often occurs during long periods of peace and tranquillity when the Hellene becomes bored, restless and melancholic with life in the *agora*. At such times, overcome by feelings of stagnation, wanderlust becomes manifest. As settlers in countries of migration, they do not forget the values and ideals which comprise the good life, the perfect polis, and the debates of the *agora* which have been pursued with limitless energy and imagination by the Hellenic soul in its attempt to maximise mental and physical satisfaction in a changing world. While abroad, the Hellene may embrace new ideologies, become interested in trade, colonise remote and seemingly romantic lands, or migrate to alien countries and establish communities. Migration and the establishment of communities in, until recently, alien lands is the latest form of Hellenic migration, and has occurred in the last few decades with migration to Australia, the United States and Canada.

Once the number of Greek migrants in any one place is sufficient to allow them to found their own institutions, their determination for *agora* environments becomes a priority. Like their ancestors, these migrants use their "modern" *agora* settings to gather collectively to debate issues of personal and social interest within societies of settlement. They often spend hours debating history, philosophy, or the meaning and function of culture within their *agora* settings such as the kafeneion (cafe). The modern *agora*, or "small parliament" as Hellenes refer to it, is vital to direct participatory democracy and

communal responsibility. By drawing on their legends and stories which are part of social memory, they inform themselves about modern day social phenomena and discuss ways of dealing with their experiences in migration and post-migration.

The term modern has been used here in relation to the *agora* because in Australia there is no equivalent *agora* to that most often found in Greece. Usually, an appropriate model of an *agora* is set up in one of the busier and culturally diverse parts of town or village, encompassing or in the vicinity of one or more of the community institutions. A typical *agora* normally includes buildings painted in a variety of colours and architectural forms, institutions such a central community head office, a church, social clubs, markets, coffee houses, the tavernas, or even a court and police station, a main town or village square shaded by trees and a place suitable for sitting and for walks. Individual attendants of a modern *agora* therefore, as in ancient times, expect to gather and meet with people who represent the various sections of the community who are drawn from all walks of life, and these range from a court judge to professors and the unemployed.

Finding a suitable place for a modern *agora* has been a challenging task for Hellenic settlers in countries such as Australia. Numerous difficulties have existed due to the fact that the division of social and geographic space and urban planning had already been predetermined and planned by the requirements of the earlier British and other settlers. This division of space also means that the limits of the geographic location and architectural patterns of an *agora* have already been set out prior to mass Hellenic settlement. Thus, finding a modern *agora* in Australia which is suitable to their perception of division of space, is a theme of interest in itself, one which often attracts much discussion amongst the Hellenes, when wondering where is best to go and meet other people to have a

debate and "pass a bit of time" as they often say amongst themselves. At the same time, the existence of an *agora* abroad often works as a pull force that attracts the interest of potential travellers, tourists or even additional migrants from the Hellenic world.

Upon settlement in new societies, migrants go through processes of adoption and adaptation in the new social space before they are sufficiently equipped to be incorporated within the new environment. Often the starting point for their adjustment in the new environment is readily identified with or partially reworked by earlier settlers or migrants. The speed by which migrant adjustment occurs within the broader Australian space patterns, depends not only on the host society's willingness to accept them as immigrants, but also on its readiness to accommodate them in terms of the existence of appropriate structures and policies to meet the objective and subjective cultural needs.

In light of the conditions and use of space in Australia, the Hellenes have had to recreate the *agora* taking account of the physical and social conditions as to what constitutes an *agora* or "place and place making" in the context of receiving societies. This redefinition becomes necessary since what constitutes "place and place making" within receiving societies may be at variance with the "place and place making" characteristics of sending societies. Modern *agoras* are found in varying forms and stylistic content in Greece and in countries of migration. Taking the Australian city of Melbourne as an example, immigrants have chosen the geographic location of the Ελληνική Γωνιά ("Hellenic Corner") in Lonsdale Street to establish their *agora*. Surrounding this Greek *agora* in Melbourne are some highly significant institutions that remind them of similar environments of Grecian *agoras*. This rather modern division of space in the city of Melbourne includes the headquarters of the Greeks' major lay community organisation (the Greek

Orthodox Community of Melbourne and Victoria), and the major lay community organisation of Greek Cypriots. The characteristic features of the geographic and architectural division of space of "Hellenic Corner" constitutes, therefore, a redefinition of the Greek migrants' own concrete perception of "place and placemaking".

As Pascoe (1988:155) observes, in his study of Italians in Australia, there is an immigrant's sense of "place and place making". This constitutes a division of urban space in accordance with its various but consistent criteria that makes this space in some way distinctive, to suit a given immigrant group. As observed in the Italian study, the Hellenic Corner "embeds certain cultural values in the new environment".

In conceptualising the significance of people's identification with space, one needs to proceed "by means of linguistic analysis and understanding of the meaning and division of space" through both the micro-environment, as well as the larger-space tableaux of locality, suburb, and community (Pascoe 1988:155). This observation is also made on the basis of the writer's own knowledge and frequent contact with members of the Hellenic Community located at the Ελληνική Γωνιά (Hellenic Corner) of Melbourne. Certain features related to division of geographic space, as well as architectural shapes and cultural characteristics as appropriated by Hellenic immigrants, reflect similarities with what constitutes the perception of "placemaking" of an *agora*.

According to Pascoe (1988:155-156), the division of space could be traced back to the countries of origin. Thus, this particular location within the city of Melbourne is one of the areas frequently used by people of Hellenic origin and serves as the traditional model of an *agora*. This example contains within it Hellenic institutions, such as the Hellenic Lay Community forums,

social clubs and brotherhoods, together with markets, restaurants and bookshops and bodies which administer Hellenic language schools, self-help charitable societies and churches. The *agora* allows social actors to participate in the full range of issues relevant to their lives in Australia. It is also within this environment and others like it, scattered around Australia, that Hellenes present and market the icons of their cultural heritage in the form of religious and historical artifacts, books, magazines, newspapers, pictures and statues of ancient heroes which they brought with them. At the same time, it enables them to present themselves in a wide range of traditional and contemporary costumes and colours, particularly when celebrating their national days and other significant cultural events, thus engaging in familiar behaviour and interactive styles.

The meaning therefore that Hellenes attach to the division of space such as the "Hellenic Corner", is inextricably bound with their cultural traditions and norms enabling them to enjoy stimulating and amicable interaction in a place reminiscent of home. Consequently, "place and placemaking" meets both their subjective needs and provides for objective cultural practices. It provides the necessary space and opportunity to gather the knowledge, confidence and self assurance that are prerequisites for extending into and interacting with the general society. The combined operation of the two together, the physical and social sphere of the *agora*, function as an inseparable force that ultimately stimulates people's minds, in order to keep up with their search for precedent, for the meaning of life, and the concept of the "good", as their ancient ancestors did in similar social settings. They pursue this objective through continuous dialogue for example about politics, cultural identity and related activities enacted within the Hellenic παροικία (*Paroikia* = Hellenic community abroad) of Australia.

The definition of *paroikia* implies both κοινωνία (*koinonía* = community and society), and a perception of themselves as an ethnic population group with a distinct cultural heritage. The location of the *agora* is the appropriate place for people of migrant origin to rediscover their identity, within the Australian social reality. Much of this rediscovery occurs through discussions about the *paroikia*.

Given that different ethnic population groups use different terms to refer to their own individual community, the term *paroikia* is a concept used by Greek Australians to refer to their own community. Italians in Australia, according to Pascoe, use the term *comunitá*. This term is "described in the Italian language newspapers as it also recurs in the speeches of political leaders, and in the discourse of political speech" (Pascoe 1992: 85). As in the case of the Italians, the term *paroikia* is used widely by the Hellenic media, academics, and generally by Greek Australians, although *paroikia* is somewhat different in that there is an inter-relatedness with the *agora*. For example, *Paroikia* denotes an implicit commitment to one's sense of *koinonia* (community, society), the term *agora*, though overlapping with the term *paroikia, is* also used to denote what the Italians define as *comunita*

Through debates in the *agora*, Greeks in Australia test whether they are or are not κοινωνικοί = *koinonikoi,* that is, socially committed and concerned. Social commitment is tested and contested through fiery discussions that often resemble parliamentary debates amongst members of rival parties. Often the *agora* debates are associated with the extent to which Greek migrants adhere to the ethical codes of κοινωνία (society). Adherence to the ethical codes is a major theme which brings out the dimension of *koinonikotita* (sociability), as it relates to the level of attachment and loyalty to the host society and the ideals of the "old country" (Greece).

The function, therefore, of "place and place making", as a geographic and linguistically defined social space, enables individuals of Hellenic origin to participate directly in social discussions about themes derived from day to day experiences. This participation has multiple benefits for given Hellenes. It enables individuals to inform themselves about current social issues and concerns. While "place and place making" informs *social memory* and generally the *mental map, agora* debates help to eliminate and diffuse tension often occurring due to a sense of powerlessness, alienation and anxiety caused by the new social and physical environment. The place making of an *agora* then also serves to cushion them from the harsher aspects of reality arising out of the migration experience.

Fundamental to social mobility of migrants within receiving societies, then, is the extent to which they are able to adopt and adapt following settlement. The extent to which they will or will not be successful depends upon a number of factors associated not only with their own value systems, but also with factors connected to the value system of receiving societies. These include the different factors that led to migration, the size of the migratory group, the period and processes of settlement and resettlement, and the immigration policy of the receiving society. All of these factors will be explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 5
HELLENIC CONNECTION WITH COLONIAL AUSTRALIA

Early chapters have outlined a migration typology, in terms of which general phases of migration can be understood. The preceding chapter provided an overview of Hellenic cultural themes, legends and symbols forming the backdrop to Hellenic migration to Australia. This chapter brings these two approaches together through an examination of the Greek pioneer or "scout" settlers in the Antipodes, analysing the biographies of those migrants who arrived in this country via different routes, during the various decades of the nineteenth century. They were very much isolated individuals, usually seamen, trying their luck in a range of occupations and social situations. As a group these pioneer migrants need to be understood in contradistinction to the Greeks who came later and who, in terms of the typology of migration used in this thesis, contributed to the formation of subsequent phases of migration.

To aid understanding of the pioneer Hellenic settlement of Australia the chapter outlines outstanding features of their migration typology. General information is provided about Hellenic knowledge about the Antipodes, prior to Hellenic migration, as this rests between myth and reality. A connection between independent or pioneer Hellenic migration with British colonisation of Australia is then examined. An account of the demographic composition of Hellenic settlement areas follow - together with information regarding the general social mobility histories of these pioneers. Finally, it is argued that as pioneers became acquainted with the new land and established themselves within it, they paved the way for subsequent Hellenic migration to Australia through relatives and friends laying the foundations for the later phases of Hellenic migration. Against this background, the chapter establishes that

Hellenic migration had an Australian destination since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Information about early Greek pioneers of Australia rests on scattered evidence that range between myth and reality. Merging accounts (mixing myth and reality) provide a repeatable patterned structure for expressing significant experiences and events in ongoing life and culture through identification with themes drawn from tradition, values and history. This structure enables people to be informed about and to identify with themes which are important to them in their daily lives. The significance of this information is that myths and stories, as told from one generation to the next, can stimulate and enhance people's drive towards migration. This drive is evident in many accounts of Greek pioneer settlers in Australia where, in many instances, their decision to migrate was a consequence of fantasising and romanticising accounts about other people's adventures in a remote and unknown place of the world, such as the South Land.

In examining the corresponding social history of Italian migration to Australia, Pascoe defines the pioneer Italian migrants as "scouts" (1992:86). In his narrative Pascoe identifies three *generic* typologies of Italian migrants: the "scout" migrant type, the "farmers" and the "builders". The Greek migrant settler types are at variance with the Italian in all but the first category. Unlike the Italian "farmers" who follow the "scouts", and the "builders" who follow the "farmer" settlements (which are part of the Post-WWII mass migration), the migration by Greek "scouts", is followed by the "shopkeepers" and "manufacturing workers", during the second and third phases of Hellenic migrant settlement respectively. There is a fourth phase involved in Hellenic re-settlement, the "self employed"/"employer" category, which started to become the dominant category during later stages.

In an attempt to evaluate the arrival of the first Greeks to Australia, the historian Michael Tsounis (1988b:42) argues that the early pioneers came to Australia for a number of different reasons, which single feature explanations cannot encompass. He argues that when people are exposed to certain "types of notions about the shape of the world", they become fascinated and are provoked. In their fascination, they too want to know more about the world where these stories have taken place, wishing that they could also travel to experience the challenges of an outside world, of which they know little. As Tsounis says, the Greek pioneers came to Australia:

> to improve their lot, to come and explore a far away unknown land and help pave the way for others. The very name Antipodes, if Greeks heard it, sounded curious enough, like anapodes, the 'upside downs' (Tsounis 1988b:42).

However, historical records of Greek pioneer arrivals to Australia are scant; the first Greeks to "set foot on Australian soil are shrouded in obscurity and myth". As the authors of the first Greek book published in Australia, titled H Ζωή Εν Αυστραλία *(E Zoi En Afstralia = Life in Australia)*, stated, "one could more easily discover the South Pole than the beginnings of Australia's Hellenism". The authors stated further that from the available information, all they could say, with reservation,

> was that about sixty years ago, there existed individual Greeks in Australia of whom most were sailors and who served in various ships. The elderly Konstantinos Argyropoulos who is still living, arrived in Australia 60 years ago ... Argyropoulos says that while he was serving as a sailor on an English ship during the year 1854, he heard of the existence of some rich and auriferous continent by the name of Australia, and thus decided to migrate (Cominos 1916:87).

More recent research has partially eliminated some of the obscurity which covers early Greek presence in Australia, and it is now known for certain

that there were Greeks in Australia much earlier than the arrival of K. Argyropoulos in 1854. It is also known that some Greek scholars living outside mainland Greece knew about Australia much earlier than Captain Cook's Voyage to the "Unknown South Land" of the Antipodes. As Hugh Gilchrist (1985:2; 1992:1018) comments, the Antipodes or the Unknown South Land of Australia became better known to modern Greeks as Νέα Ολλανδική Γη *(New Holland Earth)*. New Holland appeared in a map of the world in the book titled: Εισαγωγή εις τα Γεωγραφικά και Σφαιρικά *(Introduction to Geographical and Spherical)*, written by Chrysanthos Notaras at Padua in 1700, showing about two thirds of the Australian coast line. Subsequently, Hellenic geography books referred to Australia as a British prison or penal colony following the initial European settlement of Australia in 1788. At the same time "Australia appeared as a textual reference" in the book titled: Γεωγραφία, Παλαιά και Νέα *(Geography Old and New)* written by Meletios, a priest, who later became Archbishop of Athens. Thus, the Greeks of the Ionian islands and those living mainly in Greek islands and abroad had access to more information and came to know more about Australia than those within mainland Greece, where Turkish rule prevented the free flow of information and the emergence of a Greek press (Gilchrist 1985; 1992).

The Antipodes as a subject finds resonance in Hellenic themes drawn from Antiquity. Based on the popular mythology handed down from one generation to the next in Greece's and Australia's Hellenic community forums or the *agoras*, earlier pioneers to Australia maintained links with the ancient mythological tradition when telling stories of their own experiences, which, like Odysseus's (Ulysses') adventures, went on for many years, on land and sea. The accounts the pioneers provided were often re-inforced by stories told by later generations, through the oral tradition of re-telling in repetitive sequence and by many different people. One such story, drawn from history, refers to

Nearchos' 2000-ship expedition south of India. The story suggests that Alexander the Great's fleet, under Nearchos' command, voyaged south of India for several weeks[1] and arrived in Australia in 325 BC. Another account suggests that Australia was discovered by Athanasios Diakos, one of the Greek Independence leaders of 1821 killed by the Turks . These stories demonstrate that some researchers' accounts of pioneer arrivals in Australia draw from both history and folk culture and by, mixing the two, provide explanations where myth and reality cannot be distinguished and much less separated (Gilchrist 1985; 1992:20).

Other accounts (Deliyiannis 1989:2) emphasise Hellenic elements in the initial British settlement of Australia. For example, a Greek-Australian author in an address to members of the Hellenic Community in Melbourne, read the following: "We have indications, although as yet not verified, that there were some Greek convicts aboard the first ship in 1788". This view is further enhanced by generalised statements occasionally found in migration literature postulating that there were some Greeks and Italians in the first voyage (Jupp 1991), as yet not verified because of the way individual names have been written in the initial records due to the practice of Anglicising foreign names. However, some names may have not been recorded correctly, thus obscuring whether they were of Hellenic or Italian origin.

Again intertwined between myth and reality, is the story of a Greek sailor named Damianos Ghikas from the island of Hydra (Gilchrist 1985; 1992). Legend has it that he had been captured in 1802 by an Algerian pirate

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1 Such views are often shared by people from all socio-economic backgrounds, that is, by individuals who often participate in popular culture discussions within Hellenic cafes and Hellenic Community forums in Australia.

ship, only to be recaptured later at Gibraltar by a British warship[2]. The captain of the British ship thought that he was a pirate, and put him aboard a vessel which was *en route* to Sydney (Gilchrist 1985). It has also been said that after many adventures in the Barbary coast and five years in Australia as a convict, Ghikas finally returned home, like a good Odysseus, following a request put to the British government for his release by the Archon of Hydra, Koundouriotis. He "brought with him 106 gold pounds" (Tsounis, in *Chronico* 6-7, 1987:111), a "handsome present" given to Ghikas by the English captain in recognition for saving him, his ship and crew from Algerian pirates.

People also speak of a legendary Greek seaman who in the 1850's managed to save himself from a shipwreck by swimming some 300 miles to Melbourne. From there, he went to the goldfields in Ballarat and took part in the miners' uprisings at Eureka Hill in 1854 (Gilchrist 1985: Vondra 1979).

Similarly, as a part of myth and legend, in 1817 or 1818, a leading writer in the *Sydney Gazette,* the colony's first newspaper, "allegedly noted with some chagrin that children were not safe out in the streets after dark because of Irish, English and Greek riffraff" (Vondra 1979:28; Alexakis & Janiszewski 1988:45; 1989:12). It has been suggested that these Greeks had been imprisoned by the English because they were regarded as common law-breakers as well as revolutionaries and had been either transported to the colony of New South Wales as convicts, or were waiting in New South Wales while searching for new berths on (various) visiting merchant ships between Australia and Europe. Some may have jumped ship hoping to find a better life for themselves in the new land.

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[2] Although it is mentioned (Gilchrist 1985) that Ghikas was taken captive along with his crew numbering about 32 individuals, no other information is recorded about his crew.

It is possible, as Alexakis and Janiszewski (1989b:12) claim, that Greek sailors attached to British trading or naval vessels may have sojourned in Sydney during the early formative decades of European settlement: this is more realistic. But, again, it is impossible to fully separate myth from reality. However, practically each one of the stories and myths told tends to create a link between the present status of people and their past experience, irrespective of whether or not such links are of cultural or psychological significance. What seems to be of outstanding importance in this connection is the fact that in the absence of adequately documented history, myths and stories have a functional role in informing social memory .

In contrast to myths and stories told by people, historical accounts provide a much more realistic picture regarding the Greek connection with Australia. For example, "Grecian Vessels" are recorded as having utilised the coastal ports of New South Wales (NSW) for "refreshing" purposes as early as the late 1820s. According to Alexakis and Janiszewski, names which imply a Hellenic connection such as George Greece "are found within the colony's early chronicles" (Alexakis & Janiszewski 1989b:12).

Beyond the myths, research has revealed that the very first Greeks in Australia were seven young men who arrived in chains on 28 August 1829 at Port Jackson aboard the convict ship "Norfolk" (Cigler 1988; Gilchrist 1985 Vondra 1979:28). Different researchers have given different accounts about the identity of these early Greeks. By some accounts they have been identified as heroes of the "Hellenic Independence Struggle" and by others as pirates of the Mediterranean Sea or Australia's first Greek convicts (Tsounis 1988b:42).

The reality seems to be that these Greeks had been arrested in the Mediterranean sea from aboard the Hellenic schooner "Heracles" in 1827

(Cigler 1988:1459-1460). Heracles was sailing about forty miles from the Lybian coast on its way to Alexandria. Alexandria was then an important Turkish base which was being used to suppress the Hellenic national revolution (Tsounis 1988b:42). They were nine young Greek males whose ship caught up with the English brig "Alceste" and took some of the material it was carrying. "Heracles" was later intercepted by "Gannet", a British Royal Navy anti-piracy patrol vessel. The "Heracles" crew was arrested and taken to Malta where five months later they were tried on charges of piracy, despite "insistent claims" by the accused that they were not pirates and that they "had acted under the cause of Greek Liberty"; it was revealed that the sailors had taken articles which they required for personal use, but they had not taken military goods (Alexakis and Janiszewski 1988:45; Gilchrist 1985;1992).

The court hearing took place in the British court of Malta. The hearing was chaired by a hero of the Greeks, Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, victor of Navarino's battle against the Ottoman Turks -- which had occurred only five months before the court case. During this battle the English navy along with the Russians and the French had defeated the Turkish-Egyptian fleet in the Gulf of Navarino in south west Peloponnesos. The court acquitted two of the nine and condemned the remaining seven Hellenes to death on charges of piracy against a British ship (Tsounis, in *Chronico* 6-7, 1987:110; Gilchrist, 1985; 1992). According to Tsounis, "Patriots more than pirates were the seven Greeks, and all of them were from the revolutionary shipping community on the island of Hydra" (Tsounis 1988b:42).

The convicted Greeks pleaded for clemency to King George IV, who changed their sentences to transportation to New South Wales. The prisoners Andonis Manolis, Damianos Ninis and Georgios Vasilakis were sentenced to life. Ghikas Boulgaris (or Jigger Bulgary), Konstantinos Strombolis, Georgios

Laritos and Nikolaos Papandreas were all sentenced to 14 years and were transported aboard the convict ship "Norfolk", arriving at Port Jackson on the 29 August 1827 (Cigler 1988:1459-1460; Gilchrist 1985; 1992:25). On arrival, two of the convicts were assigned to work on James MacArthur's vineyards in Camden Park near Sydney and were apparently still there in 1831 when the explorer Thomas Mitchell "noted seeing Greek pirates at work training vines to trellises that had just been erected according to the method of their own country" (Gilchrist 1985).

Illustration 5.1. Tombstone of Antonis Manolis, one of the seven Greek "Pirates", who decided to remain in Australia after the British authorities granted them freedom. (Source: Gilchrist, H., and also Hellenic Newspaper *E Kathemeriné*, Sunday 28 Nov. 1993.)

The Greek convicts were freed in 1836 following negotiations between the newly-liberated but small Hellenic State (it had only gained its independence in 1821) and the British authorities. Five of them sailed from Sydney in 1837, while two decided to make Australia their new home. Four reached London and possibly Corfu and a fifth was shipwrecked and put ashore on the coast of Brazil (Gilchrist 1985:6; Tsounis 1988b:42). Of the two "Greek convicts" who had settled permanently in Australia, namely Ghikas Boulgaris and Andonis Manolis, both married British women. Andonis Manolis married a local woman

local woman and lived in the Picton district of the colony of New South Wales. He worked as a gardener and vine dresser and died at the age of 80, but left no descendants. Manolis is referred to as the very first Greek gardener in Australia. Ghikas Boulgaris became an itinerant shepherd, married an Irish woman and settled at Bombala. He died at the age of 67 and was survived by nine children (Gilchrist 1985).

The stories of these early Greek scouts left their mark in the memories of people living in Greece and Australia. Approximately one hundred and fifty years later, the elderly residents of the island of Hydra still relate the stories told by the four returnees to that island. As a Melbourne Greek radio and newspaper journalist, Rena Frangioudakis, said in an interview (19/12/1987), these young Hellenes had returned home to Hydra following many years of struggle on the high seas and in Australia. Frangioudakis was researching "the so-called Greek convicts" when an article published in 1985 by the Athenian-based magazine *Ena*, referred to these "convicts" in recollections by the elderly of Hydra. Shortly after, Frangioudakis travelled from Melbourne to Hydra and "found these lovely old people" and interviewed them. They told her several stories about these Hellene pioneers to Australia and how they got back home. These interviews were played on the Greek language program, on radio 3EA of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), shortly after her return to Australia. She further stressed that:

> I went to Hydra to interview some of these elderly people who recalled the stories about the so-called "Greek convicts" of Australia, some of whom had returned home. It appeared that those young Greeks were charged by a British Colonial Court because it failed to accept their testimonies that they were not "Greek pirates" but individuals who had the legal right to fight against the oppressors of their country the way they did, to liberate their people from the Ottoman oppression. It was evident at the time that while Great Britain was helping the Greek uprising against the Ottoman Empire, at the same time it was providing the Turks with war material to suppress the very same revolution ... and it is for this that the nine Greeks arrested by the British navy vessel were tried. Britain was a

powerful colonial power and had the capability to use force against small nations, suppress their revolutions and arrest as it did, what they called law breakers, in order to transport them to the new colonies of Australia where European population was needed ... Anyway, those young Greeks eventually returned to their home island of Hydra, like a good Odysseus (Frangioudakis, Interview 12/12/1988).

Apart from the so called "Greek convicts", amongst the early Greek settlers known to have arrived in Australia before the 1850s were Samuel Donnes (Andonis?), John Peters, Aikaterini Plessas, George Morphesis, George North (or Tramountanas) and Andreas Lekatsas. Donnes and Peters are believed to be free Greeks who settled in Australia. Donnes, the son of a sea captain from the island of Cefalonia, arrived in Australia in 1837 and married in Sydney, shortly after his arrival at the age of twenty two, a woman named Mary. Donnes was remarried eighteen years later to Catherine Riley. He had six children from both marriages. He worked first as a seaman and later as a gold miner in New South Wales and Victoria and died at the age of 58 from chronic bronchitis. Peters, also a lone seaman, possibly from Samos, landed in Sydney about 1838 and married an Irish women. They had 16 children together. He became a gold prospector and farmer. He died in Sydney in 1880 and was survived by a dozen children and two hundred descendants (Gilchrist 1985; 1992). Morphesis, and Andreas Lekatsas (or Lucas) were sailors from Ithaca (Cigler 1988). They were crew members of a British vessel and jumped ship on arrival at Port Melbourne in 1848.

North (Tramountanas) landed at Port Adelaide, South Australia, in 1842 and worked as a seaman for several years. Subsequently, he became a farmer on Eyre's Peninsula (near Venus Bay) and married an English woman named Lydia Vosper. He raised a family and died at an old age in 1911 (Tsounis 1988b:42). After disembarking from his ship, Lekatsas headed for the

"there are indications that he was in Ballarat at the time of the Eureka Stockade" (Vondra 1979:30).

There were no women amongst the very early Greek settlers. From the early beginnings of Greek arrivals in Australia, and for many decades to come, males outnumbered females. Gilchrist (1985;1992) credits Aikaterini Plessas as the first Greek woman to have arrived in Australia. She was from Epeiros and arrived in Sydney in 1835.

Illustration 5.2. Aikaterini Plessas, first Hellene women known to have arrived in Australia. (Source: Gilchrist, H., and also Hellenic Newspaper *E Kathemeriné*, Sunday 28 Nov. 1993.)

According to Gilchrist (1985; 1992), "Aikaterini and her mother were abducted by Mouktar Pasha (son of Ali Pasha), and were kept in his harem. She was betrothed to his physician, Ioannis Koletis. When Mouktar rebelled against the Ottoman Turks and was eventually executed, Koletis (who later became the Prime Minister of the newly founded Modern Greek State) broke his

engagement with Aikaterini. She then fled to Messolongi under the protection of the British garrison. There, she married James Henry Crummer, an Irish policeman who became a Major of an English regiment, later posted to the garrison of the colony of NSW in 1835, and later still became a magistrate and served in Newcastle and Port Macquarie. Aikaterini bore Cramer eleven children, five of whom died young (Gilchrist 1985; Alexakis & Janiszewski 1988:46).

The only other Greek woman who is known to have arrived in Australia in the 1850s is Diamantina Roma. From some accounts she was of Veneto-Greek descent, daughter of the Count and Countess Roma of Corfu. She became the wife of Sir George Bowen, a philhellene, who became the first Governor of Queensland in 1851. Before migrating to Australia, he was appointed president of the Ionian University (in 1847) and in 1854 chief secretary of the Ionian Islands (Gilchrist, 1985; Alexakis and Janiszewski 1988). Lady Bowen held a prominent role in the society of the new colony as an active worker for charity, her contribution being immortalised by having the town of Roma, Roma street in Brisbane, and the Diamantina River named in her honour (Cigler 1988:1459-1460).

According to Alexakis and Janiszewski, an attempt for increased migration from Greece was being contemplated in 1849 by Earl Grey, Britain's Secretary for War and the Colonies. The idea of Hellenes from the Ionian Islands (under British jurisdiction at the time) migrating to the Western Australian colony interested him because they would grow their native produce such as olives, vines and figs, and would teach the settlers from northern Europe (principally the British) how to cultivate these crops. Migration from the Hellenic world increased at the time, but not to the extent envisaged by Grey. The lure of gold, the Ottoman repression of their country and the myths and

stories related by other travellers were responsible for this increase (Alexakis &
Janiszewski 1989b:12).

The discoveries of gold in Australia from the 1850s to the 1870s
stimulated the growth of Hellenic immigration to Australia. The 1850s is
marked by a more regular Hellenic migration which remained small until the
turn of the century. About that time, what had begun as a migratory trickle
became an accumulative action of individuals, which gradually increased over
the decades and is to be distinguished from the conscious collective
undertaking, a feature of later phases of Hellenic migration. Gold fever affected
Greek sailors and fishermen serving on British vessels, many jumping ship
successfully and making their way to the gold fields of NSW and Victoria. By
the 1850s, Greeks began to appear in the lists of ships' deserters in both the
NSW Government Gazette and the *Victoria Police Gazette,* though many had
Anglicised their names (See Appendix 4) (Alexakis and Janiszewski 1989b:15).

According to Gilchrist, reference has also been made to John Dunmore
Lang's meeting in 1852 with some other Greeks of the time. One mariner was a
native of Corfu returning to Europe from Sydney, the other Greek was a settler
operating a Sydney coastal vessel (Gilchrist 1985: 6-7).

At the same time other Greeks settled in Australia and succeeded in
establishing themselves in the new country. Ten Greeks are known to have
arrived, married local women and settled in Tambaroora, NSW. An impressive
account has been given by researchers about the early Greek pioneer to
Australia, Michael Manusu. He was one of the few successful men who made
their mark. Manusu, a well educated man from the island of Mytilene who
spoke four languages (Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and English), arrived in
Australia in 1849. Manusu was a ship's officer who abandoned his ship to take

part in the goldrush at Aruluen, NSW. He married Sarah Balwin and had nine

children, giving each a Hellenic and English name. After Araluen he worked

for a landowner and bought his own farm and hotel. He appeared to be a very

mobile individual, both geographically and socially. Geographically, he moved

with his family from the south to the north of NSW and then further inland near

Mudgee, in central NSW, where he became a wealthy grazier (Tsounis, in

Chronico 6-7, 1987:111; Messaris, May 1988). In the words of Messaris:

> In June 1862, Manusu became the third Greek to be naturalised in
> NSW. By this time he had settled down on a farm of 320 acres he
> purchased at Eurodalla, after working as a tenant farmer on the vast
> estate of the celebrated Thomas Sutcliffe Mort. Manusu prospered
> during this period. The first of his children Sarah, Amelia,
> Christopher, Angelina, Pericles, Achilles, and Themistocles were all
> born on his farm. During this time he became the owner of the
> Widgett Inn at Bodall and conducted a business at nearby
> Nerringundah. In 1865 he was listed as the licencee of the "Grecian
> Inn" at Eurodalla, arguably the first Greek in Australia to run such an
> establishment [3] (Messaris, May 1988).

Like other pioneers during that period, dispersed in various parts of

Ausralia, Manusu gave his children, and also his hotel, names which evoked

the memory and represented important signifiers of connectedness and

continuity with the cultural mythology of his heritage. By giving the children

two names, the pioneer Manusu also demonstrated in concrete terms a tradition

of openness, tolerance and respect for the rights and heritage of others.

Recent research (Wilking, Interview 10/08/1989) has revealed the story

of Gerasimos Metaxas, who, like Manusu and others before him, jumped ship

in search of his "luck". According to his grandson, Lou Wilking, he

abandoned the English ship in which he was serving at the Port of Melbourne.

After abandoning his ship, Metaxas went to the Ballarat diggings where he

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[3] Michael and Sarah had twelve children most of whom followed different but in some cases
successful careers across the socio-economic structure of the Australian society (Messaris,
May 1988)

worked for several years as a gold miner "until he had an accident with his leg" and later became a hawker. He had a kind of mobile shop that provided the gold diggers with the goods they needed. Like other surviving members of the Metaxas family, Lou Wilking believes that his grandfather was present at the Eureka Stockade and had taken part in it. He proudly stated that

> my grandfather must have been there during the Eureka uprising. He was there when John Myers was there. They must have started business about the same time. He has left excellent memories in our family. He was a man of self esteem and hard work. If it was not for the accident on his leg, my grandfather could have been very wealthy like the Myers family and our family would have been much better off today (Wilking, Interview 10/08/1989).

As in the case of most pioneers of his time, Metaxas married a local women, named Hannah Maria Perkins, who was originally from England. As in the Manusu case, the Metaxas descendants uphold with pride the memory of their grandfather as a distinguished pioneer and entrepreneur, a man of high esteem, acknowledged for his integrity and dedication to his family. Metaxas died in Ballarat at the age of seventy one (Marriage Certificate 1864; Death Certificate, 1907). Dr Spyridon Candiotis is another important early arrival whom Gilchrist credits as being the first Greek Medical Practitioner to have arrived in Australia. He arrived in Melbourne in 1853 and " achieved notoriety in lawsuits at Flemont in Queensland" (Gilchrist 1985).

There were others who arrived during this time, but the first officially recorded Greeks to arrive in Australia were Nicholas Emellen and George Doicos, both from Athens. They landed in Melbourne in 1850 and 1851 respectively and went to the goldfields of Bendigo. Nicholas Emellen who arrived as a teenager and later became a labourer at Port Melbourne (Gilchrist 1985:12), married an Irish woman and had three children (Gilchrist 1985:12). According to his descendants, George Doikos headed for the diggings in NSW,

becoming a miner and farmer. Other early Greeks such as Leonidas Koledas, Athanasios Avgoustis, George Falangas and Athanasios Cominos also made their mark during this early period. Koledas, for example, arrived in Sydney in 1860 from the island of Andros. He married an English woman and during his struggles for progress he

> became entangled in a long legal case over a mining dispute which also reached Queensland's Parliament in 1884, although to no avail. He was, however, successful in a subsequent mining venture and eventually became the manager of a mine called Pluto (Gilchrist 1985).

According to Gilchrist, there were other individuals who made their presence evident in different ways within their new society. Amongst them were Eugenios Genetas who served for two years with the Native Mounted Police in Queensland's outback. Genatas is recorded as singing the Hellenic national anthem at a dinner organised by the Bowens in 1862 in Rockhampton. John Doscas was a councillor at Cottlesloe, near Perth, for about forty years. Athanasios Kaparatos was awarded the Royal Humane Society's medal for his actions in saving ten people from drowning in the Tamar River near Launceston (Gilchrist 1985:15-16). Kaparatos, by risking his life for others, revealed himself as a παλικάρι (*palikari* = brave, good looking, proud, generous, humble, *philotimos*) who, like the heroes of Greece's history and mythology, upheld a strong sense of φιλότιμο (*philotimo*) worthy of a human being.

Despite the end of the convict system, the granting of partial autonomy for self government to the Australian colonies in the 1850s, and the long economic boom due to the "gold rushes", the number of Greeks who ventured to Australia was small. Nonetheless, it is during the 1850s and 1860s that a

number of Greeks, nearly all of them young and single men, settled in various towns around Australia and in particular in the NSW and Victorian goldfields.[4]

Illustration 5.3. The Carkoe (Korkou?) family in Gerogery NSW in 1906. The elder Nicolaos (centre) was born in Athens in 1829 and migrated to Australia during the goldrush of the 1860s, spending his working life in goldmines. (Source: Gilchrist, H., and also Hellenic Newspaper *E Kathemeriné*, Sunday 28 Nov. 1993.)

Due to lack of appropriate statistics at the time, not all accounts are consistent when trying to calculate the actual numbers of Greek pioneers arriving and departing. According to Tsounis, "perhaps forty or fifty Greeks came in the 1850s and another hundred or so in the next twenty years during Australia's first great economic boom"(1988:42). While some made their mark and stayed in Australia, others were reported to have gone back to Greece either to settle or for other reasons, returning to Australia at a later time. In relation to Gilchrist's

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[4] The discovery of the "actual" number of early Greeks to Australia has not been an easy enterprise for those researchers who have attempted to search the official records of the different ex colonies of Australia because many names of these Greek pioneers seem to have been Anglicised. See Appendix 4 for a list of names that have been partly or totally Anglicised.

Gilchrist's estimates, Messaris observes that the number of Greek arrivals in the 1850s was approximately 200 individuals, progressively increasing in each subsequent decade and reaching between 400 and 500 people by the 1870s (Messaris, May 1988; Gilchrist 1992).

Only a few desired to settle permanently, usually waiting until they had established themselves in some sort of business before bringing out wives and families from Greece. For the majority, however, Australia was a place where they could make a fortune, hoping to return to Greece to enjoy in comfort the hard earned fruits of their labour .

Generally, the Hellene miners rarely met or lived and worked together. The "tyranny of distance", and the lack of stable and profitable employment, in a society which was showing signs of discrimination against many non-British residents, impeded the formation of stable Greek communities. Yet, some individuals, like those in NSW and Queensland, signposted their presence as the Hellenic ethnic frontier of the Antipodean diaspora. However, by the 1870s there had been a "massive exodus" of Hellenes from Victoria due to the decrease in number of miners and lack of opportunities in the goldfields. They moved to South Australia and Queensland from the 1850s onwards and ventured into the outback. A few went to Tasmania in the 1860s and several to Western Australia in the 1870s. The first arrival in Darwin was in 1869 (Alexakis & Janiszewski 1989b:15).

Of the individual Greek "scouts" who arrived sporadically at different Australian ports and slowly made their way inland, eventually "some ... met and clubbed together". As noted, the earlier settlement of these pioneers was very much one of individuals independently wandering about at the goldfields

and elsewhere in search of rewarding work. No doubt these pioneers must have discovered many things during their travels while in search for work. As Tsounis comments, "possibly the most exciting discovery was that there were other Greeks in the Antipodes doing much the same thing. Once they met, they clubbed together" (1988b:42).

Although Greek scouts came from diverse places of the Hellenic world there were few Greek women who accompanied their male migration. According to the Census of 1871, there were only 13 Greek women throughout Victoria (cited in Alexakis & Janiszewski 1989b:15).

Some collective settlements had existed in the Braidwood district south-west of Sydney and Arcadia in Victoria in the late 1860s (Alexakis and Janiszewski 1988:45-60; 1989b:15-16). A number of Greek miners who came from different areas of Greece, including Crete, the Aegean and Ionian islands as well as the mainland, gave rise to the so-called "Greek Town" forming in effect a "collective" Hellenic settlement in the Central Western goldfields, located near Hill End, Tambaroora, New South Wales (Gilchrist 1985). This settlement, which consisted of approximately twenty Greek miners who searched for a golden future at the diggings, represents an early account of an attempt at "place and place making"; with identifiable Hellenic features, it enabled them to live gregariously, and in accordance with their *agora* traditions (although not an *agora* in the complete sense of the word). In the absence of sufficient numbers of Greek women, however, like the Greeks who preceded them, they "fathered a respectable number of Australian born children" borne by their English, Irish and Australian wives. Like Manusu and others, they too followed the custom of giving their children two names, one Greek and one non-Greek.
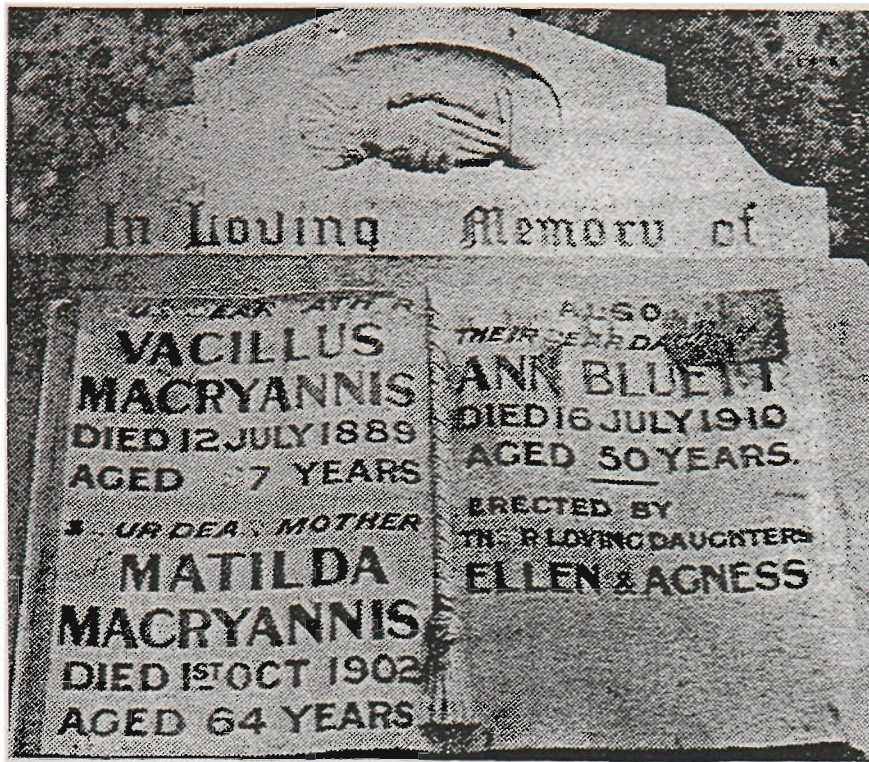
Illustration 5.4. In the absence of Hellene women, Hellene males married local women of Anglo-Celtic background. Old Catholic Cemetery, Tambaroora, NSW. (Source: "Greek-Australians in their own Image", National Project Archives in 90th Anniversary Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney and NSW, 1988.)

There are 14 or 15 Greek graves in the nearby Catholic Cemetery where they were buried after falling victim to tuberculosis, a disease which often afflicted miners (Gilchrist 1985; Alexakis & Janiszewski 1989). The end result of Tambaroora's Hellenic settlement was no different from that of the isolated pioneers in search of fortune. As gold production fell during the 1890s in the region, Tambaroora's population declined and eventually most of its residents, including the Greeks, departed for other parts of the country. As there were no major or stable Hellenic community settlements anywhere else in the country, geographic or residential mobility for these pioneers remained very much a predominant feature of the period for several decades.

No longer able to depend on alluvial gold diggings, at the end of the goldrush, the former Greek gold diggers began to orient themselves towards other types of occupations. Greek miners from New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania started entering a variety of

occupations, such as farming, maritime employment, labouring, small trading enterprises and, eventually, community, professional and administrative fields (Alexakis and Janiszewski 1988:55; 1989b:15). This early period of Hellenic settlement was the beginning of the inclusion of these early Greeks into diverse occupational practices across the socio-economic structure of the host society.

The material rewards individuals gained from working in Australia enabled some to return home and, no doubt, to spread the good news. For example, Lekatsas was amongst the first Greeks to come to Victoria during the goldrush of the 1850s. After working at different jobs for twenty years, he returned to Ithaca like a worthy Odysseus. But like Kazantzakis' Odysseus who had learned to enjoy the physical and mental challenges experienced abroad, he wanted to leave his native Ithaca again for more adventures and re-migrated to Australia.

During his stay in Ithaca, Lekatsas persuaded his brothers and encouraged other compatriots to follow him and migrate to Australia. Four of his brothers (Georgios, Antonios, Panoyiotis and Marinos) migrated and established themselves as shopkeepers in Melbourne (Tsounis, in *Chronico* 6-7, 1987:111). By his actions, Lekatsas is said to have initiated chain migration from Greece which later was to bring hundreds of Ithacans to Australia. As Price observes (1963), the Ithacans became one of the major Greek groups to settle in Australia prior to WWII.

A similar example of success and chain migration is the story of a family connected to Athanasios Kominos (or Cominos) who arrived in Sydney in 1870 from the island of Kythira. He worked for his passage to Sydney as a seaman after hearing of the goldfields from a Kythirian called Jack Melitas who had just returned home (Price 1963; Kennedy 1976:48). Cominos worked at

different jobs as an unskilled labourer and also at the old Balmain coal mines in Sydney along with another Greek, John Theodorou, from the island of Psara. Cominos, apparently, fell sick and lost his job at the colliery. Fish was the main food he liked eating at the time and, as he waited for his meal, he was "intrigued by the ease with which a Welshman called Hughes prepared it", by simply dipping the battered fish into boiling fat. Along with Theodorou he bought a fish-shop in central Sydney and did so well that he was later able to take over oyster leases on the Hawkesbury, while Theodorou looked after the restaurant (Price 1963; Kennedy 1976:48). Cominos then extended his business activities as a merchant in fish and oyster farming and earned the title of New South Wales "oyster king". More importantly, business success provoked the migration of numerous Kytherans to that state (Tsounis, in *Chronico* 6-7, 1987:111), typifying extended migration from the same regional communities (Gilchrist 1985; Price 1963). As Alexakis and Janisjewski state:

> the characteristic feature of Cominos' successful business endeavours brought to Australia other members of his family to join him. With his business expanding, Comino commenced to bring out his brothers to assist, and more oyster saloons and fish restaurants were eventually opened. With news of such an impressive success quickly reaching Kythira, the "steady stream" to Sydney of Comino's relatives and friends was rapidly joined by others, also eager to try their hand in the food catering trade. Kytherian chain migration to NSW had been set in motion (Alexakis & Janiszewski 1988:51).

Just as the Cominos family pioneered the oyster farming industry in New South Wales, similarly Athanasios Avgoustis and George Falangas pioneered it in Western Australia. In spite of the initiation of chain migration from the Hellenic world during this period, the migratory movement to Australia remained limited to a few individuals even after the 1880s. This situation was unlike the first Hellenic migration to America, which became a mass out-migration by the end of the 1880s (Saloutos 1964; Vlachos 1968; Bombas 1989:16). Greek pioneer migration to America had preceded that of

Australia by many decades, following the earlier European settlement of that country and the shorter distance between Greece and America. In contrast, many are said to have contemplated the "gold rush" of the Antipodes, but "searching for their luck" in a land requiring four or five months sailing proved to be too far from home (Gilchrist 1985:21).

Apart from their dream to "amass wealth and return home", Australia had a very low profile as a country and as a society until well into the twentieth century. Europeans generally tended to regard the Australian social structure as being by and large England's "dumping ground" for social outcasts and criminals. The rawness of Australia, at the time, could not have appealed to them much either, with only a "few far flung coastal cities and towns" and with a largely unexplored and hostile interior. At the same time Australia's population, which remained largely of English and Irish stock, did not take kindly to the so-called "foreigners" (Vondra 1979).

With the advent of urbanisation, the increased chain migration from Greece, occupational diversification in the cities in the late 1870s, and the social and economic condition for family life, stable Hellenic settlements in Sydney and Melbourne were created. However, it was not until the 1880s and 1890s that organised community settlements were able to be adequately developed, while organised Hellenic settlement in Northern Territory took place after 1910.

It appears that the biographies of Greek "scouts" reflect the Odyssean adventurous mind and the willingness of modern Hellenes, like their ancient ancestors, to venture into new and unexplored territories. In their new place of settlement, being bound by what they experience, they find it difficult to detach themselves from these experiences. Their inability to return home and the permanent settlement in the new land has been contained in a Kastelorizian

laconic lament, composed and sung in Australia early this century. The verse which follows captures the sense of physical distance as well as longing (melancholia) and isolation from home that many Greek immigrants have felt at different times: "Australia is an island where you can sail with ease. But once you go and settle there it's difficult to leave" (Tsounis in *Chronico* 1987:117).

Early Hellenic settlement in Australia occurred in many different ways and for different reasons. Through the individuals who arrived in Australia either as sailors or as seekers of fortune, links were developed by those who returned to Greece to stay (Tsounis 1988b:42) and continued to speak with interest about their experiences (and about the mysteries) in the unknown land of Australia. Their stories were no doubt often fantasised and romanticised by their compatriots who, in turn, ventured to journey towards the South seas.

Whatever the reasons for their decision to come to Australia, Greek pioneers until the 1870s were predominantly males who travelled alone. In examining some of their biographies and looking retrospectively at the Hellenic value system and national character, one obtains a clearer understanding of their socio-economic and occupational distribution. Broadly speaking, Greek pioneers of Australia followed similar social mobility patterns, making concerted efforts to improve their socio-economic status in the host society. It is evident from the biographies discussed that, in spite of the many challenges that faced them, they were able to engage with the new society by drawing on the rich reservoir of their traditions and culture. Their cultural history provided the bases for their achievements and successful settlement within the socio-economic structures of Australia.

Whether links between these early pioneers and the Hellenic world were developed through those who went back home and the impressions they made

on returning (with wealth or gold), or in some other way, these links blended with the stories, legends and myths derived from Hellenic tradition to form an interplay which informed people's decision to migrate to Australia. The social experiences of these pioneers were responsible for the Hellenic connection with colonial Australia, which was created and maintained regardless of whether they stayed or returned to Greece. The nature of their social mobility, including their occupational shift from mining to other industries which they often pioneered, their geographic mobility, and the degree of inter-marriage with local women, played a part in laying the foundations of Hellenism in the Antipodes. They did this by rendering their experiences in traditional imagery, thus making Australia accessible to ordinary Hellenes as a friendly and hospitable land. The outcomes of the pioneer experiences created a *diaspora* in Australia and a bond with the Hellenic world which paved the way for the subsequent waves of chain and mass Hellenic migration, especially in the post-WWII period, which is examined next.

Chapter 6

THE CAUSES OF HELLENIC MIGRATION

The preceding chapter provided a prosopographical account of the Greek "scouts" who pioneered Hellenic settlement in Australia, linking their migratory patterns to the kinds of occupations they undertook in Australia, as well as to the subsequent initiation of chain migration from Greece. The aim of this chapter is to locate Hellenic migration in a broader historical and conceptual framework, connected with the socio-economic development of the Hellenic Nation State. It argues that this development was both a cause and effect of mass migration from Greece to America and Australia over the last century. In particular, a connection will be drawn between economic underdevelopment and underemployment in Greece, and the various waves of urbanisation, internal migration and emigration which have characterised the country's development since the formation of the Hellenic Nation State in 1828. With this connection in mind, the analysis focuses on Greece's political and economic development since Independence (from Ottoman rule in 1821), and discusses the impact that this development has had on migration. The final section of the chapter examines other miscellaneous causes of Hellenic migration, including the influence of the cultural history.

The Greek demographer Nicos Polyzos (1947), in his historical account of the process of migration, has identified three types of Hellenic migration:

1. the "agrarian" emigration of antiquity;

2. the "commercial" emigration of the Middle Ages;

3. the "industrial" emigration of the twentieth century.

Firstly, the "agrarian" emigration resulted from population pressures in the city-states. During this period the Greeks went abroad in search of territory,

settling in places such as Asia Minor, North Africa and Sicily. Secondly, the "commercial" emigration stretched from the beginning of the Western Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century. The causes of emigration during this period were due to trade considerations. This emigration was directed towards destinations such as Venice, Genoa, Corsica, Vienna, Asia Minor, Egypt and Russia. Thirdly, and in contrast to the preceding two emigration epochs, the "industrial" emigration of the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries involved the emigration of workers (including professionals, scientists and students) from Greece to the industrially advanced metropolitan centres of the Western capitalist economies. Migration from contemporary Greece towards advancing economies has continued almost uninterrupted since Independence.

Many of the causes of out-migration from contemporary Greece were a product of an interplay between different factors which created economic underdevelopment. Some of these factors included lack of industrial development accompanied by lack of investment in secondary industry, and lack of cultural change to help bring about economic transformation. Government neglect towards agricultural modernisation, as well as a lack of policies addressing the needs of the rural population, and the political conflict which undermined most forms of economic development, kept the population dissatisfied, leading to the belief that their economic problems could be resolved through migration.

The liberation of Greece in 1821 and the founding of the Modern State in 1828 were not sufficient either to stop the continuing out-migration, or to encourage the return of hundreds of thousands of expatriate Greeks, who due to the Turkish occupation were living in self-imposed exile in various overseas communities in Europe and elsewhere. For many, repatriation

remained but a dream, either because of the failure of the political administration of the modern Hellenic State to curtail the immediate *en masse* out-migration, or because it did not develop policies which would encourage repatriation (Vgenoupolos 1985:38).

Following Independence, much of the nation's contemporary development was characterised by political conflict . This pre-occupation has led Hellene Governments to either down play or ignore most mass out-migration from their country. During the brief administration of Greece's first President, Kapodistrias (1828-1832), and the subsequent three decades of King Otto's administration, the newly liberated State was preoccupied with political problems. Between 1833 and 1862, Otto was busy with conflicting political interest groups, connected with the Independence leaders, and the Fanariot diplomatic corps who had successfully administered the Ottoman Empire. As Saloutos observes,

> Kapodistrias proved unable to restrain the revolutionary leaders who were followed by the agricultural masses. The political orientation of the nation was unfocussed and unrealistic. Similarly, the young and inexperienced Bavarian King Otto was granted authority to control the newly liberated State whose revolutionary leaders under different conditions would have become statesmen (Saloutos 1964:11).

Until the post-WWII period, political pressures were also exerted by the great European powers of France, England, Germany and Russia, who pursued their capitalist self interest within the newly born Nation State. They regularly intervened in the running of the newly liberated nation's political administration. Russia and Germany exerted more pressure than England and France, adding a major strain to the nation's internal affairs by burdening the country's political administration with conflicting political demands that often rendered the country's foreign policy provincial and contradictory (Saloutos 1964). The vested interests of European powers in the Hellenic State

brought about its political and economic dependency. European expansion did not take the form of extensive industrial investment in the new State; instead, it set the stage for lasting political control by establishing a patron-client relationship between themselves (individually or in treaty) and the emerging Hellenic State. Otto's autocratic style of government had led him to ignore the Hellenic revolutionary leaders and instead he looked forward to the possible regeneration of a nation based on the model of the powerful and despotic Byzantine state. Consequently, in the absence of democracy, he "was faced with political and social unrest which ultimately curbed his powers" (Saloutos 1964:12; Svoronos 1972). With continuing political unrest the government had little time or will to deal with internal economic problems.

The country's development was deprived of the social change which the industrial revolution had brought to Western Europe, although the Greeks of the Diaspora, who were exposed to the change under way abroad, contributed towards a cultural renaissance of the Hellenic Republic. However, the "brain-drain" that had taken place during Turkish rule had left their country without the intellectual resources necessary for speedy development. In part, their contributions substantially helped to embody the wishes of the Diaspora Greeks, as the newly established University of Athens was influenced by the revival of the ideas of the Greek Classics in Europe. Only a few decades after liberation this institution became the spiritual centre of all Diaspora Greeks (Svoronos 1972:91-101).

Central to internal and external Hellenic migration during the century from Independence to WWII, were difficulties with land distribution, agricultural and industrial developments. All three were exacerbated by political instability and disastrous investment policies. In 1833, of an estimated 120,000 farm families, only 20,000 were proprietors, and in 1842, of an

estimated 5 million acres of land, two thirds remained uncultivated (Vgenopoulos 1985:38). The Hellenic government breached a promise of distributing free land to landless peasants who had fought for the liberation of that land during the Independence struggle, giving them instead, under the Donation Law of 1835, "the right to purchase small plots by annual payments over 36 years. This law was not very popular and its implementation proceeded at a snail's pace" (Mouzelis 1986:39).

It was not until 1871 that the first effective landownership policies of Premier Koumoundouros were established. These policies allowed the residents of Peloponnesos to purchase small land holdings, thus becoming private owners. The second major land reform laws were implemented more than fifty years later in 1923 by Premier Venizelos. By this time (between 1890 to 1920) out-migration to America was occurring on a mass scale. To highlight the status of rural life in Greece at the time, Vlachos has quoted an extract of a letter sent by a potential migrant, who outlines the reasons for his wish to migrate to America. The words of this person undoubtedly epitomised the thoughts and feelings of many who chose to migrate to other destinations, including Australia.

> Why remain to struggle for a piece of bread without any security for the future, without honour and independence?.. Why not open your eyes and see the good that awaits you?... Harden your heart and seek your fortune abroad, where so many of your countrymen have already made theirs ... Or are you waiting to cultivate the barren lands?... Have you not seen how much progress you have made thus far? (Vlachos 1968: 54).

Land reform laws involved government gaining access to large estates previously controlled by a handful of individual landlords and distributing it to repatriated Hellenes. These reforms were a result of a government desperate to accommodate 1.5 million Hellenic refugees (mainly in Northern-Central

Greece) from Ionia (that is Hellenic Anatolia), and 18,000 from East Romelia (in 1906), following the eruption of Balkan nationalism and the defeat of Greece by the Turks in the "Catastrophe of Asia Minor" in 1922. Meanwhile, special treaties already signed with Turkey safeguarded the land rights of Turkish Chiflik owners in the central north provinces of Greece, even after liberation was completed in 1913. These treaties were detrimental to the Hellenic peasants who were the true owners of the land, but who never achieved ownership because they did not have the control of the political administration of their State. As a result, they often chose out-migration (Saloutos 1964; Vgenopoulos 1985; Mouzelis 1986). By 1936 land reform laws enabled the distribution of a total of 425,000 acres to 305,000 families. These laws were unpopular with the large property owners in Greece, but helped to moderate the size of out-migration of rural peasants (Filias 1967:128).

Linked to the slow implementation of land laws, were the almost non-existent rural welfare policies. Farmers throughout the country lacked basic social welfare measures such as government planning to increase arable and irrigated land, and/or a bureau to offer advice about agricultural production (Malliaris 1982:335). Consequently, in spite of a partial economic improvement, many chose out-migration in order to escape a degrading life of poverty. In the absence of welfare incentives, migration from the countryside therefore became a necessity. Migration became necessary also because many peasants owned plots that were too small to support them or because much of the land remained under feudal ownership. For example, as Filias (1967:113) observes, of the 2,658 villages of Thessaly, Macedonia and Epirus, 1,422 belonged to powerful landlords. The government gained control over the liberated lands following Independence, but according to Mouzelis refused to sell them by auction, and its stand on the issue was a serious hindrance to land reform (Mouzelis 1986:39).

Agriculture was pivotal to the country's future because of its interrelatedness with demographic distribution, skills, economics and migration. This element is highlighted by the fact that almost fifty years after the war of Independence, approximately 82 per cent of the population lived in small communities of fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. Despite rapid urbanisation during the latter years, in 1928 the peasant class still comprised 67 per cent of the total population, and in 1950 about 50 per cent of the Hellenic population still lived in rural communities. According to Price (1963), during this first period the contemporary mass out-migration to America (the 1880s-1920s), the size of that migration was so large that many villages were left empty or half-empty (Price 1963:115). Between the 1880s and 1920s, this migration, mainly to America and partially to Australia and elsewhere, brought about a dramatic reduction in the rural population of Epirus, Peloponnesos and several islands. So great was the impact of the loss of population to migration that cultivated land was either converted to pasture or abandoned altogether (Svoronos 1972:100-103).

Price (1963) stipulates that another factor was the phylloxera disease in the wine growing areas of Europe:

> A currant crop failure due to phylloxera in Dalmatia and France in the 1880's caused a shortage of wine, which resulted in farmers all over Greece pulling out century-old olive trees to plant vines. In the short-term this led to high prices for wine and the consequent increase in the export of Greek wines and currants (Price 1963:115).

The long-term consequences for Hellenic agriculture were dire. In the 1890s the French changed to grafting classic stock on to phylloxera-proof American roots, leading to the recovery of the French market. The demand for Hellenic wine weakened and, along with the uprooted olive trees (which take at least fifteen

years to reach commercial size), greatly undermined the largely agricultural base of the Hellenic economy. The French went further and imposed protective tariffs which literally legislated Greek currants out of the market; Russia adopted a comparable policy (Saloutos 1964:29). Thus, both the massive out-migration of 1890-1906 to the United States, and the increased numbers of Hellenes departing to Australia during these years, were mainly attributed to the decline in the price of currants, the major export crop (Kennedy 1976:45; Saloutos 1964:29).

Modernisation of agriculture and capital investment in the agricultural sector continued to be deficient, depriving rural communities of the opportunity for economic growth. In spite of positive recommendations, and substantial injection of funds to the rural community by the Agricultural Bank in 1929, the situation did not improve (Filias 1967:116). By the beginning of WWII, agriculture remained underdeveloped because capital investment was being directed towards other sectors. In a nation whose economy remained based largely on agriculture, nationally there were only 1578 tractors for farming in 1939, and the utilisation of chemicals and fertilisers remained severely limited as their prices were too high for small farmers to afford (Filias 1967). Because investment in farming remained practically non-existent, farming methods remained largely archaic and feudal in structure.

Along with poor agricultural development, inadequate policies failed to foster development and economic growth in the secondary industry. Between the years 1840 and 1860, for example, industrial development in metal works in Greece was non-existent. In addition, many of the industrial goods consumed in the Hellenic Kingdom were imported from overseas, so that while the skills to make simple metal objects such as pocket-knives were unable to be found, the same goods "were sold so cheaply in Paris" (Tsoukalas 1977:262). Economic

improvement was taking place at a snail's pace and by 1876 the nation's "industrial sector was still in an embryonic state" (Rodakis 1976:31,36). At this time the country's first official statistics revealed that there were few industries: 89 small manufacturing industries employing 4,959 men, 1,230 women, 627 boys and 524 girls - many of whom were the employers' families (Tsoukalas 1977:36). Even by 1885, both industry and agriculture were in a "primitive state" (Svoronos 1972:100). At the same time, due to a lack of sufficient urbanisation, there was a shortage of industrial workers for the moderately expanding modern industries (which could have lead Greece to social change). As a result, Hellenic capital searched for greater returns in trade.

Migration was also the product of the continuous imbalance in capital investment allocated to different industries. Between 1880 and 1890 the only industries which had expanded their activities, other than banking, were merchant shipping and trade. In spite of this expansion these industries were faced with increasing competition from other countries. Some, such as the textile and ship-building industries that had flourished earlier (Hellenic merchant ships had been sailing under foreign flags before Independence), faced increasing competition from foreign markets. It was these industries, along with the building industry, which continued to emerge within expanding Hellenic cities, while the secondary and heavy industrial sector stagnated. This imbalance in economic development has been an important feature in Hellenic migration. Investment in such areas as the merchant marine tended to encourage expansion in the tertiary sector, but not in the secondary industrial economic sector, which was necessary in order to generate more employment opportunities.

Hellenic political events during the 1880s and 1890s involving conflict between rival political parties further aggravated the socio-economic disorder of the State, and contributed to the deteriorating living conditions of the poor and

landless. As a consequence, many chose migration as an escape from hardship and desperation, a state of affairs that generally continued from 1880 to 1920. Premier Trykoupis was a capable politician who dominated the Hellenic political arena for fifteen years. His policies for development and industrialisation were, however, both cursed and blessed by the rising middle classes: cursed because they were expensive, and blessed because they supported modernisation and road construction policies, public works programs, the setting up of the substructure for industrial "take-off", and restoration of the balance of payments incurred from army expenses during the fifteen year annexation of Thessaly (Svoronos 1972).

Initially, Trykoupis' reforms were opposed by the conservative forces. The conservatives, represented by Koumoundouros and later by Deliyiannis' leadership, and supported by King George of Greece, leader of the ruling oligarchy (who once curbed the powers of Otto but strengthened the position of the 1864 Constitutional reform), were a strong opposition who were more concerned with politics than with economic reform. These conservatives were an old urban class who clung to power, but they continually failed to recognise the country's urgent need to industrialise, and thus keep pace with the related developments in other European States (Svoronos 1972:100-105).

Following the socio-economic changes of the 1880s and particularly the 1890s, some industries flourished while others failed. Banking, for example, recorded rapid growth. Apart from the Ionic Bank, the National Bank largely controlled the government's financial activities, and several other bodies were established. These included a number of banks and insurance-finance organisations (Svoronos 1972:101). The sharp rise in banking investment occurred during the period of Greece's economic crisis between 1880 and 1910 when the balance of payments was very high. It rose

from 46.9 million drachmas to 337.2 million by 1910, thereby increasing its initial capital seven times (Svoronos 1972:255).

In the same period (1894-1910), Greece as a nation remained capital-starved. While banking was booming, returns from farming remained small and tenuous. Increased interest rates imposed another burden on the rural population. Many lenders were extracting interest rates of 10 per cent upwards. Such businesses proved so profitable that villagers who had returned to Greece from the United States during this period often became money lenders while capital investment continued to favour the traditional industries such as shipping (Saloutos 1964:1-30).

Opposition to the conservative class increased in intensity, and political and social unrest spread throughout the country. This unrest produced many new political parties and factions which contributed to the political instability. Trykoupis himself held office on five occassions, three of which lasted from five days to a few months. His expensive public works programs, involving the construction of many sea ports, the opening of the Isthmus of Corinth, and the extended railway line and road construction, had transformed the country within ten years (Tsoukalas 1977:246-250). However, the unstable political climate, together with the client-patron activities of Greek governments with other Europeans States, forced the country into an economic crisis, with national bankruptcy being declared in 1893. Bankruptcy intensified the economic and political crisis, and its after-effects caused a massive exodus of people who migrated to trans-oceanic countries - principally the United States but a few hundred to Australia (Malliaris 1982:1-15). Premier Trykoupis was held responsible for allowing extended foreign banking and large borrowings in the name of "Public Works", when in fact a very small proportion of these loans (about 6%) was used in productive works. The rest was directed to improving

the National Bank, the Bank of Epirus-Thessaly, and for repayments of internal-borrowed loans (Svoronos 1972:104).

The national bankruptcy of 1893 and its socio-economic aftermath led to what has been described as the "tragic" defeat of Greece in the Greco-Turkish War in 1897, which finally put Greece's economy under the jurisdiction of International Financial Control (Rodakis 1976 :3). The cost of the war, together with the previous expensive public works program, led to the imposition of higher taxes. Loan repayments absorbed 40-50 per cent of government earnings. From a loan of 639,739,000 francs, only 359 million was granted to Greece as a net total between 1879 and 1890. The rest was used to service loans. The costs were greatly disproportionate to the net loan ultimately received by the country. The outcome of the defeat disturbed public calm and set in motion public inquiries into the affairs of the government which undermined political stability and the economic credibility of the State (Rodakis 1976 :104).

In contrast to difficulties related to Government borrowings, the last quarter of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century saw an influx of foreign and Hellenic Diaspora capital which, despite its extremely exploitative character, contributed significantly in assisting Greece's economic development (Mouzelis 1986:8). For the first time in the country's history, the Diaspora formed a financial unity with the local Greeks. This act, according to Tsoukalas (1977:246), worked to concentrate capital in the hands of a few, and encouraged profit-making operations that ultimately impacted on the government's approaches to economic management. It is equally significant that sources of capital investment in the country remained mainly Hellenic (including within the Hellenic Diaspora).

By 1914, increasing investment in the merchant marine placed Greece in tenth position internationally amongst the nautical powers (Svoronos 1972:102), and second to Norway in proportion to its population by the end of the Balkan Wars (Tsoukalas 1977:330). This industry made high profits, ranging between 15 and 25 per cent, and in periods of national economic crisis such as 1890-1910, profits often doubled and tripled (Tsoukalas 1977:265). This meant that Hellenic shipping capital underwent a very sharp growth from the 1880s onwards, as the industry expanded into countries such as Turkey, Russia, Egypt, and the Balkans. Such a move was aided by the famous "Independence Loans" that ironically brought about the economic subordination of Greece to its lenders, namely England, France and Germany (Malliaris 1982:365). This investment expansion of the shipping industry provided minimum employment in proportion to the volume of investment. With the exception of some coastal cities, where it generated significant numbers of jobs, the industry did not provide a major employment base even though many administrative, technical and financial management services depended on the merchant marine (Malliaris 1982:326).

With the destruction of the rural economy and consequent national urbanisation, the building industry increased, but expanding cities failed to develop proportionate industrialisation, becoming instead current market places for consumers, which created employment for dealers of tertiary goods. Profits were so significant that even in moments of national bankruptcy the consumer industry flourished throughout the pre-WWII period, absorbing large numbers of workers and making large capital gains (Tsoukalas 1977:255; Saloutos 1964).

During this time, class disparities were aggravated by the apparent arrogance of the educated and privileged minorities of the cities

towards the neglected and "down trodden" peasantry. Extensive government taxation had become of alarming concern to the rural classes, who found it extremely difficult to make payments. Taxation had become a cumbersome problem for the masses, and despite the lodging of frequent grievances to the government against the primitive methods of taxation, reform proposals were rejected. High taxes burdened the rural classes, which as late as the 1890s, comprised approximately 75 per cent of the working population (Saloutos 1964:13). Government taxation amounted to a tenth of the gross national product during the nineteenth century and this revenue was now being collected from the rural classes by private contractors. This practice contributed to an escalation of the general restlessness, causing a substantial evacuation from the countryside to both the cities and abroad in search of better living conditions and rewards (Saloutos 1964:1-30). By the end of the nineteenth century economic and political instability had resulted in a country in which it was, at least for rural groups, difficult, if not impossible, to live.

The first twenty years of the twentieth century was a period of transition and social change across a number of socio-economic indicators. For the first time various pressure groups were forming amongst both professionals and peasants. The uprising of the propertied classes in Thessaly in 1905-10 had attracted national interest (Saloutos 1964:11-14); and the middle class for the first time since "Independence" had grown to half a million. These were significant developments in a country which had initially failed to develop a sufficiently large and thriving middle class capable of reinforcing the developing social forces required to bring about social change.

During this period, economic confidence was gradually renewed, especially following the re-valuation of the drachma, and the middle class made its presence more noticeable by increasing industrialisation and trade. However,

despite the fact that the economy was on its way to recovery, the slow pace of industrial development and the depression of 1911 precluded rapid improvement of conditions (Filias 1967:115; Fairchild 1911:81). It was not until 1913, and more significantly the beginning of the first World War, that internal trade and multiple industrial investment began to flourish (Tsoukalas 1977:61).

Overall, the socio-economic circumstances of these three decades (1890 to 1920), including a drought and the currant crisis, and the lack of appropriate protective policies that would have made the agricultural economy competitive, operated as push factors, which prompted Greeks to leave. Consequently, in the first twenty years of this century 402,000 emigrated, mainly to the United States. The number of Greeks arriving in Australia also increased significantly compared with the second half of the nineteenth century (Price 1963; Tsounis 1971; Gilchrist 1985; 1992). Out of this group, 90 per cent belonged to the 15-40 year age group, which was considered the most important working population for industrialisation. Such emigration prompted Fairchild to say that "Greece has always been a splendid place to go away from to make a fortune" (1911:9). The young and able were exhorted to leave for trans-oceanic countries like America and, for some, Australia.

During the 1920s and 1930s industry in general continued to expand, but, due to lack of developments in heavy manufacture, urban centres often became the forums of people's transition from the rural communities to their subsequent trans-oceanic migration destinations, rather than as a permanent dwelling (Filias 1967). By the period of the world recession of the 1930s, after fifty-years of manufacturing development, Greece had not managed to build a strong secondary industrial infrastructure able to expand and eventually absorb more labour. The new industries lacked technical innovation and the necessary

private and government protection measures (Malliaris 1982; Filias 1967). As a consequence, market competition with other countries ended up crippling the national economy (Malliaris 1982:1-10).

Modernisation produced neither industrial capacity nor directives that would solve the main unemployment problems, with the number out of work rising from 75,000 in 1928 to 150,000 in 1935 (Filias 1967). For example, between 1911 and 1938 approximately 600 proprietary limited companies were established; however, these were mainly small textile and food-producing firms. The tertiary sector continued to dominate development, due largely to the nationalism of the "Young Turks" who forced residents of Hellenic origin living in countries under Ottoman rule to flight, and who in turn boosted the activities and spending in the tertiary sector. Many of these refugees transferred their capital to Greece, where it was invested in manufacturing and banking: at the same time they stimulated the tertiary industry, because, as refugees, they had additional consumer goods needs. As investors they managed to secure very high interest rates ranging from 30 to 40 per cent per annum, but this compounded the plight of the poor peasant borrower (Saloutos 1964). Merchant shipping, which had almost 67 per cent of its carrying capacity destroyed during WWI, experienced a very sharp rise in development (Svoronos 1972:131). The growth of this industry depended upon the ongoing devaluation of the drachma, low-paid labour, and some protective governmental policies that ultimately hit the consumer.

The Great Depression between 1929 and 1932 had a strong impact on the national economy and its public works programs. Between 1923 and 1932, the total borrowing was 1,654 million gold drachmas; in spite of the tax burden this reached 114 gold drachmas per head in 1928-1929, compared with 29.1 in 1920. At the same time, a minority, which through overseas borrowing

controlled the financial integrity and independence of the Hellenic State, imposed their own terms (Svoronos 1972:130). Despite improved measures in the industrial sector, National bankruptcy was declared once again in 1932 (Svoronos 1972:101). Even when the economic crisis of the early 1930s had passed, and business and living conditions had returned to normal, the value of trade dropped from 172.05 to 87.05 gold drachmas per head between 1931 and 1939. Despite some reduction in the balance of payments, the budget continued to show a deficit. Exports were only 50.65 per cent of imports in 1921-30, and 54.81 per cent for the 1931-1939 period (Svoronos 1972:101).

In the twenty years between 1920 and 1940, politics and military conflict, as distinct from economic conditions, were responsible for both internal and external migration. Migration continued throughout the period, although in somewhat smaller numbers than the previous twenty years (1900-1920), and with many returning home after a short stay abroad. Of the 200,000 Greeks, or 5 per cent of the workforce, who had emigrated between 1920-1940, approximately half had returned to Greece by the late 1930s (Malliaris 1982:365).

Both internal and external migration continued to the beginning of WWII - despite the large re-migration taking place, the expansion of the country's national borders and increasing industrialisation, all of which played important roles in partially slowing down migration by 1917. The annexation of the Ionian Islands in 1864, of Thessaly in 1913-14, and of Western Thrace and Epirus in 1920, encouraged significant numbers of people to return to Greece. Almost half of all males who had migrated to the United States between the 1880s and 1917 returned home, while many returned home from Australia to fight in the battles of WWI. Australia continued to experience a significant increase in Hellenic migration. One reason for this increase was that chain

migration between Greece and Australia was already in operation following the settlement of Hellenes in the latter country. The expansion of national borders coincided with a population density increase, despite mass out-migration. Population density increase grew from 34 per square kilometre in 1889 to 37 in 1920. Although this increase is statistically insignificant, its importance lies in the fact that it was the first time such an increase had been noticed since Independence (Filias 1967:115; Saloutos 1964:260).

The 1930s were characterised by social unrest and workers' strikes and a noticeable increase in available workers (See Figure 6.1). These developments coincided with political upheaval, resulting in the rise of an active militant left-wing movement and the rise to power of the anti-communist regime, the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas in 1936 and the development of a plethora of unions. For example, there were 1199 workers unions in existence during 1928, with their membership reaching 269,000 by 1939 (Svoronos 1972:131). The Metaxas military regime forced many to leave the country for various destinations and, as Petropoulos has argued, many thousands of Greeks were forced to self exile as political dissidents to either or as refugees in European and overseas countries, including Australia (OECD 1988).

Improvements in Industrial Performance of Greece 1877-1938

Year	Number of Factories	Number of Manufacturing Workers	Manufacturing Indust. capacity in C. V.
1870	170	7.300	n.a.
1889	145	n.a	1,967
1917	2.213	35,000	70,000
1938	4.515	140,000	277,000

Figure 6.1

Source: (Svoronos 1972:101, 102, 130).

During the period of and after WWII, the issue of migration was overshadowed by the tragic consequences of the war. Between 1940 and 1949 one million people, approximately 8 per cent of the population, died as a result of the war, the subsequent internal political troubles and the civil war of 1946 to 1949 (Iatrides 1981:1-36). Within a period of less than a decade, Greece faced the most acute population crisis of its modern history. This unprecedented state of affairs was beyond the reach of governmental controls, and exerted terrible pressure on the country in the following two decades. With these bloody events, and the destruction of the country's social, cultural and economic networks, Greek demographer Nikos Polyzos was prompted to predict in 1947 that massive migration from Greece would be under way from "all social levels of society, unless drastic social and economic structural changes were implemented" (Filias 1967:119).

By 1950, Greece was politically and economically in ruins, making migration almost inevitable. Agricultural production had been reduced by more than 70 per cent. The merchant marine had lost more than 70 per cent of its total carrying capacity once more, and the socio-economic and industrial structures were in ruins (Svoronos 1972:145). This destruction caused a decade of unprecedented national hunger and poverty, leading to social disturbance on a scale that shook the roots of the nation's traditional culture and values system. The situation attracted the interest of several foreign powers, initially the British and then the Americans, who successfully "seduced" important members of Greece's administration into pursuing personal or individualistic interests (Clogg 1985). This "seduction" undermined the nation's sovereignty and eventually inhibited the exercise of its full rights and unrestricted foreign policies, destroying its self-determination, and making it almost impossible to establish a clear focus for future political directions (Iatrides 1981:1-36).

The Americans, who had taken over the "de facto rights" granted to them by the British in 1947 in defending Greece against communism, played a decisive role in shaping the country's post-war political and economic future. Under extensive assistance granted in the context of the Truman Doctrine during and after the Hellenic civil war, the United States encouraged modernisation and supported centre-right political administrations. According to Mouzelis (1986:135), the conservative nature of Hellenic-American patron-client networks weakened the "social pact" by creating exclusivist or more direct control of Hellenic society's affairs by systematically excluding people who were supporters of the centre-left factions from government decision-making. As Mouzelis states:

> The communist party was outlawed, and all left-wing sympathisers
> kept out of the state apparatus and public life, through an intricate
> system of legal and illegal means (Mouzelis 1986:160).

By the mid-1960s, economic and political developments in Greece were steadily undermining the traditional system of political control and State administration. The growing socio-economic inequalities due to poverty and the massive population shift to the cities had created a high level of discontent, which, when articulated in the political arena, threatened the stability of the democratic elected system of government. At the same time, there was increasing worker discontent, more or less directly linked to the growing inequalities of capitalist development and the electoral decline of the Right. One indicator at the level of unrest was the extraordinary increase in strike action. As Mouzelis (1986:138) observes, the number of working days lost per 1,000 doubled from 48 between 1959 and 1960, reaching 271 in 1963 and 519 in 1966. This conflict occurred in 1963 and 1964, when the Centre Union forces under the leadership of the political veteran George Papandreou triumphed over the traditional conservatives with the unprecedented winning of 53 per cent of the vote (Mouzelis 1986:138).

The social, political and economic order of the Hellenic democracy ended, when the "Colonels"-led army became alarmed at growing popular support for George Papandreou's agricultural and educational reforms, and united to prevent him returning to power. This was an American-proposed and approved military coup but it was upstaged by a lower-ranking group from the IDEA, the Secret Band of Hellenes, established in 1944 by officers who were hard line anti-communists (Mouzelis 1986).

The coup was headed by Colonel George Papadopoulos and a number of military officers who, with American CIA and Israeli backing, staged a coup on the 21st April 1967 and presented the King with a fait accompli (Mouzelis 1986:144). The Junta administration that followed was characterised by political repression and persecution, especially of communists. The Junta collapsed in June 1974, brought about by both the uprising of Athens Polytechnic students against the military and the failure of the Junta-directed coup in Cyprus against the Makarios administration. Petropoulos (OECD 1988) has estimated that approximately one hundred thousand Greeks migrated to various destinations as political refugees during the Junta's seven-year military administration of Greece, in order to avoid political persecution or the unpleasant social and political climate of the military. This political climate was followed by political repercussions which ultimately led to the subsequent Turkish invasion and occupation of almost 40 per cent of Cyprus. An evacuation of approximately 200,000 individuals who became refugees in their own land (that is, within Cyprus), along with an out-migration of many thousands of Hellene-Cypriots to Australia, Canada, England and elsewhere in the World occurred during the subsequent years.

By destabilising the political and social life of Greece, and at the same time offering opportunities for out-migration, foreign intervention was a major causal factor in the contemporary Hellenic out-migration. This migration had a major unprecedented impact on the nation's demographic composition. Between the end of the Axis occupation and the beginning of the civil war, Hellenic out-migration again began to rise to very significant population proportions. As Polyzos (1947) had predicted, this time it was not only the landless peasants who were emigrating, as it had been in the period 1880 to 1920, but also skilled and educated people. Not only was there migration from deprived areas, but also from advanced ones (Polyzos 1986; Saloutos 1964; Filias 1967).

Unlike the trans-oceanic nature of pre-WWI out-migration, accounting for 75 per cent of the total population movement, the distinctive feature of post-WWII out-migration (particularly from 1954 onwards) was its mainly European orientation. This is the most distinctive feature of post-WWII migration. Emigrants were attracted to industrially advanced societies of Western Europe; for example, between 1955 and 1974, 728,756 migrants, or 61.8 per cent of all migrants, sought work in European Economic Community nations (Vgenopoulos 1985:42). Trans-oceanic migration accounted for only 406,195 (or 35.3 per cent) for the same period, with Canada the country of popular choice with 214,068 or 18.16 per cent, the United States second and Oceania (chiefly Australia) third, absorbing 174,565 or 14.81 per cent of the total. These figures do not include migration from established Hellenic communities outside the geographic borders of Greece such as Romania, the Soviet Union, Egypt, the Middle East and other places (Price 1975). There was additional Hellenic migration to various Mediterranean countries, as well as South Africa and Asian countries (the last being mainly after 1965).

Post-WWII Hellenic migration has been described by several authors as the *greatest mass exodus* of modern Hellenic history. According to Mouzelis this exodus was so massive that in the course of these two decades (1950s and 1960s) one and a half million of a total population of nine million left the country (Mouzelis 1986:138). Between 1955 and 1974 alone, permanent migration reached 1,179,076, and temporary migration 966,744 (Vgenopoulos 1985:42). In this period annual permanent migration averaged 58 954 persons, so that between 1955 and 1960 migration exceeded natural population increases in Greece by 32.8 per cent. The same phenomenon occurred during the peak migration years of 1963, 1966, 1969 and 1971 (Malliaris 1982:356). Permanent migration from Greece culminated in a record number of 117,167 in 1965, with another sudden upsurge in 1970-1971. As Malliaris (1982:356) observes, it was by all accounts an impressive record for a small country like Greece.

Overall, the economic factors which caused the pre-WWI urbanisation and mass out-migration were again in operation during the post-WWII period. According to Mouzelis (1986:115-160), migration had its roots in the inter-war agrarian reforms which had partly eliminated the big landed property-owners in favour of independent small land holders. Land fragmentation often prevented the consolidation of labour units[1] that could have led to more efficient mechanisation, modern cultivation methods and to the "regeneration" of labour employment. The most striking feature of post-WWII economic development in Greece was the dramatic drop in agriculture which, after a somewhat brief upward trend until 1958, decreased its share of the GNP from 29.7 per cent in 1954 to 23.9 per cent in 1964 and ultimately to 16.1 per cent in 1973, a drop of

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[1] Food shortages during World War II, especially in cities, had also encouraged rural migrants to retain ownership of their small land blocks, hoping sooner or later to return to their beloved and historic localities.

13.6 per cent in only two decades. In real terms, despite urbanisation and out-migration, both agricultural production and industrial production doubled between 1952 and 1972, but reforms were inadequate to slow down migration. The mountain location, once symbolising glory, security and freedom, and which as late as the 1930s supported more than half of the Greek people, had by the 1950s dramatically changed its image to that of backwardness and deprivation, with a marginal and problematic status economically. Similarly, social justice and welfare considerations enshrined in the lives of the peasants were inadequately addressed. The merchant marine reached its pre-war heights under Greek and foreign flags, claiming third place internationally (Wagstaff 1985:10). In real terms, however, secondary and manufacturing industries did not show an increase, but rather a decrease. In 1951, 450,400 people, or 14.2 per cent of the nation's active workforce of 3,189,400, were employed in secondary industry, in contrast to 484,400 or 13.2 per cent of 3,671,400 in 1961. During the decade from 1951 to 1961, the country's labour force increased by 15 per cent, but secondary industry absorbed only an annual average of approximately 7.1 per cent (Filias 1967:123), demonstrating that employment did not improve (Vgenopoulos 1985; Mouzelis 1986). As a consequence, unemployment and internal and external migration continued to feature throughout this period.

A feature of post-WWII changes, which further hampered the exploitation of arable land, was the rapid increase in rural land sales. In 1959 there were 59.5 thousand blocks of land sold, and by 1964 this had risen to 103,000. The sales did not coincide with the creation of larger properties that could have led to more efficient farming units and increased production. On the contrary, these land sales took place during a period of mass migration when cultivation was being drastically reduced. The new landowners were "urbanites" investing from a speculative viewpoint only (Filias 1967:130). These figures do not include thousands of smaller blocks of land, in some of the country's top

locations, sold to tourists from the late 1960s until the present day - properties which previously had been important to small land holders as cultivated land.

As well as the labour shortages problem and loss of available land, there was also a demographic crisis. Between 1951 and 1961, the rural population recorded a 10 per cent increase in only 31 out of 147 rural residential localities or *Oikismoi;* at the same time the urban population increased by 25.5 per cent. The urban and semi-urban population, which amounted to less than 27 per cent of the country's population in 1920 and less than 47 per cent in 1940, had increased to 56.2 per cent by 1961, with a striking rise to 68 per cent in 1971. Rural localities were left with 35.1 per cent or 3,081,731 of the total population, and these people lived in some 19,933 rural residential localities of fewer than 2,000 inhabitants. By the mid 1960s population centralisation reached the point where one third of the total population was settled in 5 per cent of the land, and another half in 15 per cent (Filias 1967:13, 115-121).

Post-WWII out-migration, urbanisation and rapid industrial growth led to dramatic changes in the distribution of the labour force, with a relative decline in agricultural labour. The occupational structure eventually became similar to that of the developing countries of South America (Mouzelis 1986:140). As before WWI, the out-migration of skilled labour further hampered the development of some industries, particularly those which depended on the establishment of local technician-developing networks (Filias 1967). Rural migration also weakened the development of socio-economic structures which, in turn, caused faster evacuation of people from the countryside. In the single year 1963-64, for example, the nation lost to migration 150,000 persons. Migration itself became a cause of further migration, which led to labour shortages (especially in agriculture) that became

apparent as early as 1965. Subsequently, labour shortages became a characteristic feature of practically every sector. As Wagstaff comments:

> The migration of the more active people in the population has produced an actual shortage of agricultural labour and thereby retarded the spread of various high-value but labour-intensive crops, such as citrus and vegetables (Wagstaff 1985:19).

The cycle of post-WWII migration was completed in the mid-1970s when, for the first time in the post-war period, repatriation exceeded out-migration by a mere 172 individuals (this being the difference between 24,448 persons to 24,276) (Malliaris 1982:39). This trend, where repatriation exceeds out-migration, continued from the mid 1970s until 1987, with the re-migration average of 40,000 per year (*Neos Kosmos*, 5 June, 1988:1). Nonetheless, the mass migration and settlement of Greeks in Australia between 1947 until the mid 1970s, prompted the Melbourne writer Vondra to state: "no wonder that it is often said that there are more Greeks living outside Greece than within it" (Vondra 1979).

Out-migration and remittances sent home from working abroad remained an "exclusive" method used by the Modern Hellenic administrations to tackle the unemployment problem and a substantial amount of their cash economic needs (Vgenopoulos 1985). The migrant and seaman remittances were influential in economic development, accounting for 13.9 per cent and 9.7 per cent of exports in 1955 respectively, rising to 24.4 per cent and 19.2 per cent in 1971 (Vgenopoulos 1985:64-66). Remittances or migrants' investment from the United States, Canada, Asia and Australia to Greece for 1991 were approximately 690 million dollars. Of this capital, 14 million dollars came from Australia (National Bank of Greece 1990).

However, Hellenic migration to places like Australia cannot be understood without an examination of non-economic and non-political factors. As discussed in Chapter Four, the nation's cultural forces, traditions, and the history of Hellenic migration itself, together with the continual waging of wars, have both inhibited economic improvement and encouraged modern Hellenic migration. However, a variety of other intrinsic and extrinsic factors, operating either singly or in combination, and which operated to alienate or disempower people from taking part in policy-making affecting their own destiny, can be viewed as forced migration to distant lands.

It has often been argued that the Hellenic value system required individuals to make immense psychological and material sacrifices to the demands of the family unit and society. Many people migrated to distant lands such as America and Australia because of a commitment to their family's values and beliefs. One such value has been the concept φιλότιμο (*philotimo*). *Philotimo* has remained a core concept of the Hellenic language, cultural ideology and history, influencing people's ways of behaving within different social circumstances and societal settings. The concept implies individual and/or family pride, self esteem, honour, faithfulness, altruism, individuality, progress, prosperity, freedom of choice, democracy, fairness and much more. People migrate to make a fortune because of individual and family pride, obligation and/or commitment; that is their *philotimo*. Large sums of money have been sent back to Greece by sons who migrated to assist towards the purchasing of dowries for sisters and/or the education of relatives. Conversely, re-migration has also been linked to the concept of *philotimo*. In fact, it has often been argued in *agora* settings that it was Odysseus' *philotimo* which brought him back to Ithaca after many adventurous years abroad.

Migration to Australia and elsewhere by single men and, especially, women has often taken place to avoid family humiliation connected with the marriage system. That this humiliation has a direct or indirect association with economics or cultural practices, such as the dowry system, cannot be doubted. Before the 1980s when the PASOK (PanHellenic Socialist Movement) government passed legislation that overruled dowry requirements, many families migrated in order to be able to finance a dowry. This legislation removed the burden from families who suffered economic hardship, particularly impoverished agricultural families. Presumably under the new legislation, people will not have to comply with the obligation to respond to the dowry system because of family self esteem, honour or family *philotimo*. However, the custom continues and remains operational under a new name. Instead of a dowry, people simply define the new situation as a "financial start" or "family assistance" for the newly-wed. This help/assistance again can be conceptualised as people's *philotimo*. *Philotimo* in this case is encapsulated in the traditional Hellenic philosophy of child rearing. This philosophy requires the Hellenic family and the society to provide the newly wed with sufficient support and time in order to devote themselves to their children. Part of family commitment, therefore, entails upholding the traditional belief that a "newly established family" is entitled to have as much time as possible for child nurturing and parent-child interaction.

Philotimo, along with other related cultural values, is also directly connected to institutional education (Dimitreas 1981). Education received by family members abroad led them on most occasions to seek permanent residence abroad, following the completion of their studies and the granting of citizenship by such countries. Education has led to a Greek "brain drain" of intellectuals who have left to pursue their careers in different countries around the globe. In fact, education is traditionally regarded as the most important value, after health,

in the hierarchy of national values and aspirations of the Hellenic culture. Accordingly, education *per se*, or even the failure to qualify for tertiary admission in Greece, has caused a considerable amount of internal and external migration, often of either the student or the entire family. Much of this migration appears to be due to the absence of universities or other related institutions within the rural localities of the country. The existence of universities within the rural areas might have helped slow the continuous urbanisation and encouraged the decentralisation of urban population. Education is particularly important when considering the fact that those involved in farming occupations suffer from a low status profile (Tsoukalas 1977).

The Hellenic system of land inheritance has also been implicated in emigration. A farmer's land is normally divided between his sons and daughters. In situations where the daughters have not been provided marriage dowries they receive land and/or a home for themselves. This inevitably leads to smaller and smaller holdings, and perhaps to an inheritance of less fertile mountain land, unless one or more of the sons migrates (Kennedy 1976:45). Alternatives to land inheritance, as well as to migration, were found in the acquisition of a traditional trades, skills or in tertiary education. However, employment opportunities for people with such skills were limited. Similarly, high enrolments in law or medicine by people seeking to escape the hardship of agricultural work created a surplus of qualified people in such professions. As Saloutos comments, "Perhaps the hardship of rural life accounts for the incentive to improve working skills. Small wonder then, that in 1907 Greece had one lawyer for every 888 people" (Saloutos 1964:8).

Migration does not only occur because of abstract value concepts such as *philotimo* and the way human beings interpret and apply the meanings of such value concepts in every day human transactions. There are other cultural

phenomena that relate to the physical world, such as the geographic location of countries. In fact, when people decide to migrate, both subjective and objective social and cultural dynamics are usually in operation. Some authors stress the importance of particular aspects as being having exceptional influence on people's behaviour. In a Hellenic Government publication about Greece's geographic location on the world map and its social effects on people, the authors state:

> Hellenes are sea people ever since the country was inhabited. The Aegean islands, where some of the earlier advanced civilisation appeared, exist very close to each other. This helps travelling, movements (mobility, migration), and inspires the imagination of the traveller to find out about other countries. It is the Hellenes islands through which the first Greeks passed to go across to Ionia (Hellenic Anatolia) (General Secretariat for Greeks Abroad 1985:13).

Similarly, Andrewes' (1984) work, on the history of Greek society comments on how the power to travel is exerted by the social space and geographic location of the many islands of Greece. The need for people to travel across from one island to the next is described as a natural phenomenon in people's daily activities. This view is reinforced by the conditions of Greece that allow people to enjoy their conversations and share experiences in the open air, under the sun and the trees. In Andrewes' words:

> Greece itself is deeply penetrated by the sea, and there were sailors in the Aegean already in Neolithic times ... But for very many Greeks the sea was an essential element of life, never far out of mind as it is seldom long out of sight. Their poets at all times rejoiced in the sight of a fine ship, and even Hesiod, though he hated to leave the land, still felt obliged to include a section on sailing in the poem of instruction which he composed for farmers. The Greeks were inevitably led out into the Aegean (Andrewes 1984:2).

Andrewes further stresses the importance of human interaction and human behaviour within social gatherings which, he believes, are influenced by the prevailing climatic conditions in Greece:

> The social effects of the climate must not be forgotten. For most of the year, the Greeks could work and eat and talk in the open air, somewhat scantily clad, seeking the shade rather than the sun; and this had a large effect on his way of life. Farming left some time to spare, even for industrious Hesiod, and the ancient Greek spent most of it talking with his fellow-farmers, as his successor does today in the village cafe ... Consequently, the Greeks lived a very public life. The pressure of the community on the individual was greater than it is in climates where man must shelter indoors for most of his leisure time. It was harder to hide from disapproval, more essential to display what might earn praise (Andrewes 1984:14).

The climatic conditions and the physical environment enable the Hellenes to establish communal interaction and eventually to build the *agora* culture where through they learn about the society, politics and economics, philosophy, the arts and the world outside. The impetus therefore to migrate, willingly or otherwise, has also been associated with other physical environmental forces. Mountain terrains (which constitute 70 per cent of the total land) are not easy to cultivate -- due to high elevations, steep slopes, thin soils, and snow in some areas above 1,000 metres -- which make these regions economically less productive (Wagstaff 1985:10). Various types of natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods have also contributed to rural hardship and the desire to migrate. For example, a statistical survey of buildings between the years 1801 and 1978 shows that the average number of buildings destroyed in Greece as a result of earthquakes was 900 per year with approximately 50 deaths per year (Malliaris 1982). Saloutos has also emphasised the importance of earthquakes, quoting an observer's rather astonishing account of the lived experience:

> within the twelve months passed or little more, she has rounded a full cycle of calamity-and earthquake well nigh destroying Zante, a constitutional crisis, national insolvency or the next thing to it. And now, in the very throes of her economic distress, she is prostrated by a fresh visitation from heaven (an earthquake), which is without parallel in her modern history. It has shaken the solid core of Greece from Isthmus to Thermopylae, as well as the great island of Evoia rocked it up like a ship in an angry sea (Saloutos 1964:32).

More recent earthquakes have resulted in large-scale population migration elsewhere. Earthquakes caused major destruction to Kefalonia in 1954 and Kalamata in 1986. Both these catastrophies were accompanied by significant population shifts. Kalamata for example, whose population prior to the earthquake in 1986 was about 52,000, lost 10,000 to other areas of Greece and to other countries such as Canada, United States and Australia (Interview, Committee members for Kalamata Appeal, Melbourne, January 26th, 1988). Migration has also been influenced by volcanic activity which has forced the populations of the Lipari Isles of north-east Sicily, Thera and Lesvos in the Aegean, and Ithaca in the Ionian seas (Price 1963:25), to seek homes elsewhere.

People also migrate in search of adventure, or when encouraged by "chain letters" from earlier emigrants already established in an overseas destination. Greek peasants, lacking adequate information, formal education and material wealth, read letters sent by friends or relatives from abroad or listened with fascination to stories told by those who returned home, about Australian prosperity. Stories often told were of gold from the diggings, of wealth easily attained, especially when people spoke of streets paved with gold. Less exaggerated stories told of opportunities to acquire wealth, of enviable salaries and working conditions, and also of the openness of the Australian social structure.

Hellenic migration to Australia, especially during the post-WWII period, has been influenced by both the chain of letters and by the individuals returning home. Lekatsas recounted, for example, on his return to Ithaca after 20 years in the gold-diggings (1850-1870), the stories of wealth, wonderful adventures, and success in the Antipodes, resulting in the emigration of large numbers of his relatives and their friends by the 1880s (Kennedy 1976:45).

The chain of letters sent by Greeks from Australia boosted the country's image, making it look like the everlasting "lucky country". The effect of more recent letters was not very different. Photographs depicting colourful clothing, TV sets and well-furnished lounge-rooms, fostering perceptions of glamorous images, stimulated people's interest and desire to migrate. Motor bikes and other commodities portrayed in coloured photographs were coveted. Visits by loved ones also gave vivid accounts of comfort and success and rarely, if ever, showed the contrary images which reflected the reality of the frequently exploited migrant workers, who spent their working lives on the factory floor.

The often colourful advertising also disturbed the social harmony and manipulated the masses because it made promises to people seeking information which were rarely realised. Although it was impossible to measure exactly how effective these advertising campaigns were, it is certain that representatives of receiving countries had identified and portrayed the dreams and aspirations of the lower socio-economic groups in Greece (Interviewees, Grambas, Trahanas, 11 September 1991). As the following interviewees stated in regard to advertising in Greece:

> through successive advertising in Greece, trans-oceanic long distances especially Australia, were made to appear short, and the journey comfortable, exciting and romantic ... Travel agents and other authorities such as Government officials spoke about journeying by passenger ships across the seas as one of the most unforgettable experiences ... Life upon passenger ships were said to be a continuous dream of a great life that involved great meetings of people of all social backgrounds ...The journey itself was made to appear as a part of an exotic scenery in an adventurous paradise, while stop overs and related experiences in the sea ports of the East, were made to sound interesting, safe and, the 'most unforgettable' experience one could imagine, and the Indian Ocean, was discussed as a mystery journey with the most exciting and romantic events (Interviewees, Grambas, Trahanas, 11 September 1991).

The Hellenic State, by encouraging emigration as a routine way of containing its unemployment and underemployment problems, continued to play the part of Pontius Pilate. It permitted the mass media to convey the propaganda of private capital in receiving countries. The owners of passenger ships and the travel agencies all contributed to the creation of false stories or unrealistic views and myths of the migration experience that simple peasants accepted unconditionally, just as they had during the pre-WWII period of the Greek migration to America (Vlachos 1968; Saloutos 1964).

International organisations operating in post-WWII Greece were also responsible for encouraging migration from that country by offering advice, seminars and free passage to travel. For example, the role played by the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) as well as the various church organisations in selecting, training, and funding individuals to migrate cannot be underestimated. Through their operations such organisations, particularly ICEM or DEME (Διακυβερνητική Επιτροπή Μεταναστεύσεως εξ Ευρώπης), as it became known in Greece, played an instrumental role in fostering migration on a national level, with its representatives visiting the rural towns and selecting potential recruits who were willing to migrate and work in Australia.

Political upheavals were responsible for sudden large-scale population movements (Saloutos 1964; Price 1963:116). Threats to civil and political rights, such as freedom of expression, were at the core of much Hellenic migration abroad. The birth of Turkish and Balkan nationalism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century resulted in religious conflicts between Moslems and Christians, and by 1912 fears for reprisals prompted many thousands of Greeks to migrate before the "catastrophe" of Asia Minor. As discussed, others (1,500,000) migrated as a result of the defeat of the Hellenic

Army in 1922 in Smyrna and due to Turkish retaliations which followed, or because the Turkish government imposed restrictions on the commercial activities of islanders, forcing them to flee. Most of Australia's Greek families from Smyrna and other towns of the "Hellenic Asia Minor" were forced to leave when the Turkish authorities extended military service in 1947 to include Christians. Other political acts of aggression, such as the so called "progrom" against the Hellenic population of Constantinople in 1956, forced more than 250,000 Greeks to seek refuge in other countries. Similarly, Ankara's abuse of the Lasagne Treaty of 1923,[2] led to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, causing more than 200,000 Hellene-Cypriots to migrate to various places including Australia.

However, even in Greece itself, the unstable political situation often had undesirable social consequences, forcing many people to migrate even when they did not have economic reasons to do so. Economics often overlapped with political factors, making the distinction between the two difficult to establish. In fact, according to the social investigator Nicos Petropoulos' report on OECD (1988), when studying the Hellenic migration, political migration from Greece was in three distinctive periods: firstly, the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas in 1936-1940; secondly, during the civil war of 1946-1949; and, thirdly, "the dictatorship of the colonels" under the leadership of G. Papadopoulos in 1967-1974. The Civil War made life politically intolerable and unsafe both in the *agora* as well as in the private arena. Lack of safety was a product of anti-communist campaigns and restrictions on freedom of speech as well as the use of direct and indirect scare tactics, made many individuals fight or flee to foreign lands, while

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[2] This treaty had established the borders between Greece and Turkey and had divided the populations between the two countries.

others already abroad often made an ultimate choice not to return home to Greece due to the undesirable political climate. The OECD document states:

> While there are no statistics on the number of Greeks who emigrated as a result of the dictatorships, it is commonly known that large contingents of Greeks in Sweden, in Germany, Canada, and the United States were political refugees of the 1967 dictatorship. The Civil War itself was responsible for the departure of some 100,000 Hellenic political refugees (including 25,000 children) who found themselves in the socialist societies. The third type of Hellenic political emigration was the outcome of political transformations in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and Africa (revolutions, movements of independence, nationalist movements, etc.) which compelled an indeterminate number of Greek descendants from earlier periods of emigration to take refuge in Western countries (OECD 1988:2-3).

Migration from Greece has been inextricably bound together with political and economic developments. These two factors combined with small and mountainous land holdings, the waging of continuous wars, and the paucity of natural resources, have, along with Hellenic cultural forces, contributed to the development of a domestic political system which inhibited industrialisation and encouraged out-migration.

Internal and migration abroad were a product of political and economic underdevelopment, coupled with the need for agricultural reform, and the absence of a sufficient middle class to enhance industrial expansion. One of the major obstacles to economic development was the lack of capital investment in both agriculture and the manufacturing industry. The main reason for this situation was that capital investment remained concentrated in industries which generated high profits and minimum employment (Filias 1967:115). This situation made migration an attractive proposition in spite of the generous capital contribution made to the country by Hellenes of the Diaspora. Both Classic and neo-Classic theories of economic development which encompass the view that migratory inflows and outflows have a

balancing effect regarding the economic development of underdeveloped and developed economies (Kindleberger 1958:436) have not solved Greece's underdevelopment problems. Neither has the implementation of such theories provided sufficient employment to curtail Hellenic migration in over one hundred and sixty years of modern Hellenic history up to the mid 1970s.

Partly because of the intervention by the other European powers, and partly because of the political developments of the new Hellenic State, there were both domestic and externally imposed limitations upon the political and economic development of the new State. The essence of migration can be attributed to both the immigrants' motives or choice but more so to action taken by the State. In this context, it makes sense to conceive the typology of Hellenic migration from its causal effects such as economics and politics which matter more in understanding out-migration. However, despite the contributions by the neo-Classic schools to explain migration, by reducing massive migration *exodus* to the individual's personal choice, this model fails to provide a complete picture and understanding of the causes behind out-migration. Similarly, the Marxist explanations ignore other alternative explanations of migration. Thus it has been argued that central to understanding the Hellenic migration, especially migration *en masse*, is a conception of the complexity and the strength of the forces behind migration. It is equally important to understand that today's division of the world into mutually exclusive territorial authorities is an added factor with which the Nation State has to contend, crucially influencing the trends and pattern of migration currents between other Nation States within a global economy.

It is within this division of the world that out-migration from Greece has been justified by the hope that remittances will be sent back home to compensate for the loss of human labour, and to provide the starving

economy with much needed capital. It is through remittances that traditionally Greece has both resolved unemployment and achieved national development by exporting real human resources. In theoretical terms remittances have meant that Hellenic migration in the context of classic and neo-Classic economic theories has been considered as a "blessing" by conservatives or Right wing government administrations, and a "curse" by restrictionists or those sections associated with the Centre and Left of the political spectrum. Supporters of conventional right wing views have held the hope that, in the long term, migration would contribute to the revitalisation of economic development and capital investment. In view of unemployment and underemployment, and the obvious need of developing nations like Greece for capital investment and foreign exchange, the conservative forces have accepted an easy and short-sighted solution to solving the problem by encouraging migration. It has been further claimed that even with population growth at a high rate, large-scale migration may produce real income for the remaining population if the rate of remittances sent back to the home country is considerable (Kindleberger 1958: 434-438). At the same time, it was hoped that the effects of migration would improve the long-term trade of the sending country, and also contribute to its development through skills learnt while abroad. This type of exchange was taken for granted both in the earlier and more recent periods of migration, even though nationalistic preconceptions are regarded as outdated in light of the new entities like a United Europe having become a reality since the 1960s (Vgenoupolos 1985:40).

As well as the economic and social developments of the modern Nation State responsible for shaping the patterns and trends of Hellenic migration currents, it is the complexity of the Hellenic past that reinforces the present. There are three thousand years of culture and philosophy of life which, having left their mark upon this nation, continue to exert influence on the nature of

the modern Hellenic national character. The glory of antiquity and the many struggles for freedom by the new State, together with the persistent efforts of Greek migrants for socio-economic achievement and/or social mobility, are obvious forces behind migration to "remote lands" such as Australia, as will be shown in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 7

AUSTRALIA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY AND HELLENIC MIGRATION

The preceding chapter analysed the political, economic and cultural dynamics behind Hellenic out-migration in modern history. This chapter focuses on the arrival of Greek migrants to Australia in the context of Australia's immigrant history, and formal attitudes towards Hellenic settlement during this century. Specifically, an outline of Australia's immigration policy is provided, in the context of the nation's socio-historical development. Any investigation along these lines must include a consideration of the changing criteria for the immigration policy and, from the perspective of this present thesis, how the policy has favoured or disfavoured Southern Europeans, particularly Greeks. A specific aim of the chapter is the examination of factors that shaped Australia's immigration policy and which were behind the selection or recruitment of migrants and post-migration phases. This examination will throw light on the extent to which Australia's socio-economic structures, including employment opportunities for non-British migrants, were open or closed to Greeks and to other ethnic immigrant groups.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the discovery of gold, especially in the eastern colonies, brought to Australia an influx of immigrants, mainly from the British Isles and New Zealand, but also from America, Germany, Poland, Scandinavia and Hungary. According to Borrie, "Three-quarters of the increase of the population in the decade was due to net migration" (Australian Immigration and Population Council 1976:23). The discovery of gold did not, however, bring significant numbers of Greeks to Australia even during the

subsequent decades of the gold rush period. The few Greeks and other Southern Europeans arriving at that time were mainly seafarers, adventurers or "scouts" (Gilchrist 1985). During the gold rush of the 1850's, white Australian society became increasingly diversified as a result of the accumulation of wealth by various individuals. For the first time cities boomed as trade centres, and an economic middle class developed and began to challenge the social and political supremacy of the large land holders. This diversification led to the formation of socio-economic groups which produced an attitude of an independent spirit intent on economic success. At the same time, immigrants from Britain and Ireland succeeded with blending into this new society through inter-marriage, forming the new ethnic identity which formed an Australian social majority, one which, by the late 1860s, was "ready to claim the continent as its heritage" (Borrie 1954).

It can be stated that from the outset Australia's immigration policy traditionally gave preference to the selection of certain national groups over others. One way in which this preference was clearly manifested was the provision of fully paid passage assistance schemes to Australia. This formal preferential treatment was subsequently reflected in Australian attitudes towards and treatment of its immigrant groups. Upon Federation in 1901, when immigration and associated policies became a Commonwealth responsibility, preferential treatment was reflected in the enactment of the Immigration Act, and what became known as the "White Australia Policy". The implementation of the "White Australia Policy", the Dictation Test and the later suspicion against the entry of migrants from the countries of Southern Europe (Borrie 1954:16), were all connected with the need on the part of the host society for immigrant adaptation to Australian living standards. The states continued to provide their own assistance schemes to migrants, a course

in line with the Act, until 1920, when immigration became the sole responsibility of the Federal Government (Borrie 1954:9).

Assisted immigration could be said to have been a key feature of Australia's settlement history, beginning with the landing of the first reluctant contingent in 1788, and ending in 1981 (Kern 1966:31; Australian Immigration and Population Council 1976:23-29). Even before the end of transportation to the mainland in the 1830s, much of the labour supply to the colonies had been in the form of assisted migration. Between 1810 and 1820, 42,000 assisted immigrants arrived compared with only 10,000 non-assisted immigrants. Although Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land) remained the exception, with transportation continuing until 1850, there was nevertheless "a rapid increase in free migration after 1830" (Kern 1966:14; Australian Immigration and Population Council 1976:23-29). While non-convict and non-British immigration was encouraged from 1810 through to the 1820s, the number of Southern European immigrants, including Greeks, remained negligible until the 1830s. Until the 1850s, the population grew spasmodically; initially, it was comprised largely of convicts and military personnel, then augmented by free settlement. For example, in 1828 convicts constituted forty per cent of the population of New South Wales. Some 601,000 immigrants arrived between 1850 and 1860, many of whom were assisted, and the total non-Aboriginal population grew to 1,145,000 (Borrie 1954:14; Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976:23).

It is the kind of assisted migration, which encompassed the payment of both passage and accommodation costs, right up to the large scale, post-WWII immigration, which historically distinguishes Britons and Northern Europeans from the immigrant waves of Southern Europeans. The nature of this assisted migration changed from coercive (forced or involuntary convict) to non-

coercive (voluntary, free migration). Hellenic migration to Australia, therefore, can neither be sufficiently understood nor defined outside the context of Australia's formal attitudes towards both British and Southern European migration, from early colonisation to the present day.

According to Borrie (1954), the formation of national unity and pride that emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century, expressed in strong Australian egalitarian feelings, eventually spread the seeds of democracy within the colonies. However, despite this democratic dimension, Australia's social evolution remained, by and large, restricted in that it took place within the "bounds" of the British Empire (and later the British Commonwealth of Nations), owing its allegiance to a common crown, which was never true of the European and American experience in the nineteenth century. For example, the French Revolution placed its emphasis on liberty, equality, and fraternity, while the American War of Independence expelled the British and established a democratic Republic. Australia's physical isolation from the ferment of such social and political ideas, a ferment which had borne fruit in the democratic institutions of America and Europe, and the migration to this country that followed, served to sustain the British connection until well after WWII (Borrie 1954:13).

Australia's Immigration Policy and subsequent social, economic and political developments within the country, have been deeply rooted in these experiences from the nineteenth century. In particular, during the period of colonisation by the British, the perception of Australia held initially by certain employers was that of a plantation settlement drawing cheap coloured labour from the Pacific and to a lesser extent from Asia. The introduction of cheap labour brought Kanakas to work in the cane fields, Indians as pastoral workers, Afghans as camel drivers, and Chinese for the gold fields. This

period, particularly from around 1860 to the turn of the century, was one of

sustained migration, which varied in response to socio-economic changes. The

impact of cheap labour upon Australian society was significant, in that it

changed the perceptions of political and economic democracy (Borrie

1954:15):

> [The effect of cheap labour was to strengthen] the egalitarian
> tendencies of Australian democracy which demanded a fair cut
> of the national product for the wage-earner and the small
> property-owner. The sharpness in the antagonism between
> employers and employees which was characteristic of Australia
> in the latter half of the nineteenth century was in part the product
> of the very simplicity of the social structure. It was a case of
> every man thinking himself to be as good as another, if not, as
> once was said, twice as good as another (Borrie 1954:16).

A major consequence of these perceptions was that sentiment about

constraining immigration began to strengthen. The Chinese were the first

ethnic group to experience major constraints. As early as 1854, public opinion

forced the Victorian colonial government (constituted three years earlier) to

pass the Chinese Restriction Act, imposing limits on the entry of Chinese to

the colony. By 1887, all other colonies had followed Victoria's example

(Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976:5, 23). By the 1880's,

both popular and formal attitudes towards Chinese immigration, coupled by

this time with opposition to the Kanaka labour force, led to the development

of racist ideology and the operation of a "White Australia Policy" within the

colonies (Borrie 1954; Jupp 1991).

The antagonism towards the Chinese was due to both racial and

economic causes. The Chinese were considered culturally incompatible with

Europeans in terms of their obvious difference in appearance, their social

organisations and general cultural activities. The white Australian population

was fearful that the Chinese were different in so many ways that they would

never fit in with the rest of society. There is evidence of particular concern by

Queenslanders who feared that the Chinese, through their diligence and hard work, could soon gain significant economic power. Also, as the numbers of Chinese increased, the fear emerged that they might take over vast unsettled areas of the colony, and so "swamp the white population" (Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976:5, 23). Legislation restricting the Chinese followed and,

> [as] Chinese numbers also began to increase in north Queensland, there were riots on the remote Palmer goldfields in 1877. The immediate response was the passage of Queensland legislation restricting Chinese access to those goldfield areas which had already been worked over by Europeans (Jupp 1991:45).

Initially, the government's goal was restriction and not prohibition of the Chinese, but once the former was established the latter was inevitable. This process was illustrated by the reaction to attempts to introduce Indian labourers as pastoral workers in the 1880's. Again, the fear was that the Indians would abandon their designated occupations and drift into competition with European labour, eventually dragging down wage levels and living standards for all workers. Both liberal and trade union opinion opposed the drift for the same economic reasons (Jupp 1991:45).

Host society attitudes towards non-Britons were connected to measurements of living standards, as these were interpreted by organised union labour and by white Australian employees generally. Popular and organised labour attitudes were therefore a key determinant in shaping Australia's immigration policy prior to and after Federation. As Borrie observed:

> This was undoubtedly the hard core of labour policy, but how far this concept of protection of economic standards was intermingled with suspicion on racial, social or other grounds was seldom, as far as white migration was concerned, put to a test; for assisted and free migration from Britain and Ireland continued to flow in quantities sufficient to meet the country's economic requirements (Borrie 1954:16).

According to the Australian Population and Immigration Council (1976), the census in the year of Federation (1901:23-24) showed the non-Aboriginal population at 3,773,801, of which more than 77 per cent had been born in Australia and 18 per cent in the United Kingdom. For the period 1851-1900 assisted migrants totalled approximately 575,000, or about one third of the total arrivals, with unassisted immigration between 1861-1900 adding another 766,000 (Borrie 1954:9)[1]. There had also been net settler losses during the economic depression of 1892-1899. Up to this point Southern Europeans, including Greeks, were not included in the colony's Assistance schemes -- as argued in Chapter Six -- and as shown in Figure 7.1, the number of Greeks in Australia remained rather small until Federation:

Hellenic Migration to Australia 1860-1900

YEAR:	No. People
1860	400
1880	600
1900	1000

Figure 7.1

Source: (Price 1963:3,4,5; Gilchrist 1985:13)

Following the "Immigration Restrictions against Asiatics" after 1888 and the Premiers' Conference of 1896, each colony enacted a "Restriction Bill" applicable to all races. By these activities the colonies had already decided the future form of the "White Australia Policy" that was to be implemented by the Commonwealth in 1901.

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[1] Until 1967 referendum the Population Census did not include the Aborigines. It was estimated that their number had fallen to 95,000 by 1901 (Borrie 1954).

Because of the racial implications of White Australia, the British

Imperial authorities suggested an alternative package which included the so-

called "Dictation Test", and which applied to all non-British individuals. This

Act, which had a precedent in the immigration laws of Natal (Borrie 1954:6),

prohibited the entry into Australia of any person who, when asked to do so,

failed to write out on dictation a passage of not less than fifty words in any

European language. As Jupp stated:

> The language [on which the dictation test was based], did not
> need to be one understood by the immigrant. The object of the
> test was entirely to facilitate exclusion (mainly racial), rather
> than to ascertain whether immigrants were literate. A 1905
> concession allowed testing in non-European languages but this
> was never implemented. The test could be applied to Europeans
> if there were reasons for excluding them (Jupp 1991:48).

The Act remained the keystone of the restrictive aspect of Australia's

Immigration Policy until 1958, when it was abolished, and there were no

exceptions to this rule other than in the case of Japan. Concessions were

granted to Japanese immigrants in response to their government's criticism of

the selective bias imposed by the Act of 1901. The test was applied at the

Immigration officers' discretion.

The conception of Australia as an outpost of Western civilisation in

Asia was reinforced by the assistance schemes run by the different colonies

which had brought to Australia forty per cent of the 1.3 million immigrants

from the British Isles between 1860 and 1919, when medical examination of

new immigrants was transferred to the Commonwealth (Appleyard 1971:1).

During the first forty years of this century, there were two periods when

assistance was again offered to prospective settlers (having previously been

largely abandoned because of the country's economic instability between the

1890s and 1906). Firstly, between 1905 and 1914, population gain from net

immigration was 282,000, of whom 162,000 settlers received assistance. This

assistance consisted of free or part-paid passage, and free land offered to British immigrants (Sherington 1980:113; Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976:22-29). Secondly, the Empire Settlement Scheme operated between 1921 and 1930 with the aim of distributing the white British population to the colonies through migration. Australia was one of this scheme's main participants, bringing a further 215,000 assisted immigrants out of a total net immigration of 313,000 (Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976). Both schemes were based on the "White Australia Policy" which continued to serve as an agreement reflecting selection priorities of potential groups who wished to migrate to Australia.

Up to 1945, the Australian states, and later the Federal government, distinguished between Northern and Southern Europeans, providing assistance only to Scandinavians, Dutch, Germans and others as alternatives to Anglo-Celts. The Assistance Scheme did not extend to Southern Europeans because Northern Europeans were regarded as more assimilable within the Australian social, cultural and labour market structures than Southern Europeans (Borrie 1954). Of the main Southern European groups, the 15,000 ethnic Greeks and the 40,000 Italians estimated to have arrived in Australia by the outbreak of World War II, had predominantly paid for their own passage and accommodation (Price 16/3/1993; 1993; Tsounis, Pre-war Communities 1989b:3; Vondra 1977). They achieved this largely on the backs of earlier immigrants, with Hellenic migration largely shaped by the personalities of those pioneering migrants, and on family and local ties (Price 1963:133; Kern 1966: 61-62). According to Price, often the first-comers not only persuaded others to emigrate but also paid the costs of travel and board, and in addition found or offered them employment. Alternatively, potential emigrants sold land or borrowed to raise the money. But in either case, the Greeks, like the Italians and others, did not benefit from government assistance. This was the

main pattern of Southern European migration until WWII, with more than 80 per cent of Southern Europeans estimated to have entered Australia in this way between 1890 and 1940 (Price 1963:62, 134, 248). This system of chain-sponsoring relatives distinguishes the mainstream of Southern European immigration from Britons and Northern Europeans. Initially, apart from sailors, the only ones who could afford their ticket were:

> businessmen, migrants who had once gone to America and saved enough, soldiers receiving accumulated pay on discharge from the army after WWII, and peasants able and willing to sell enough land to cover their expenses (Price 1963:98).

Again, only 7 per cent of Southern Europeans during this period came outside associational migration and the "chain of ties in this period" (Price 1963:109).

Occasionally, Australian employers brought out a few unskilled or skilled persons from Southern Europe, but this practice did not become common before WWII (Borrie 1954:46-47)[2]. Unlike most migrants whose employment depended entirely on whatever jobs British-Australians were willing to offer them, the Greeks created their own path to employment and prosperity. This became increasingly evident between 1890 and 1920, when there was an expansion of Hellenic ownership in the restaurant, fruit and fish trades (Price 1963).

Yet, while Greeks of Australia were returning to Greece to fight in the wars, many more arrived between 1910 and 1920, reaching around 6,000 persons by 1921. According to Borrie, "Up to three-quarters of the arrivals must have come to settle in Australia, because the 1921 census shows 3,650 Greeks born in Australia" (Borrie 1954:45). However, in the absence of figures giving departures by nationality or birthplace, the pattern of return

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[2] There were two known exceptions to this. These were the 335 Northern Italians (in 1881), and wives and children of Maltese plantation workers already settled in Australia to replace the Kanakas as coloured labour (Price 1963:98; Borrie 1954:9)

migration to Greece is unclear. From different studies (Price 1963; Tsounis 1971a), it appears that the total Hellenic immigration increased rapidly after 1920, although migration from Australia's previously traditional Hellenic sources, the islands of Ithaca, Kastelorizo and Kythera, declined even when immigration restrictions were lifted in 1920. There was an increase in intake in 1923 but re-imposition of the restrictions in 1924 led to a corresponding decrease in the quota for Southern Europeans in that year (Price 1963; Kennedy, 1976:5).

In 1925, the Immigration (Amendment) Act was put into practice, resulting in further restrictions aimed at Southern Europeans. This legislation was based on Canadian law, but replicated and firstly imposed by United States Immigration Authorities in 1924. The American restrictions were successful in reducing Southern European and especially Italian intake to that country. However, Australian restrictions that followed suit produced a reduction in Southern European immigration with the exception of Italians. The numbers of Italians almost doubled from 3,200 to 6,000, while Greeks numbered only 700, and like Yugoslavs, Maltese and Albanians did not fill their quota of 1200 individuals per year between 1925-1927, with migrants coming from only few Hellenic and Italian localities. Migration at this period reached its peak in 1925 (Price 1963:90-92).

In the light of cultural discrimination, as well as economic discrimination coming from organised labour against the non-British, the Government was forced to prohibit entry to any alien who did not possess a written guarantee regarding employment prospects and accommodation support from compatriots following settlement. Once again, guarantees of economic independence were required during the resettlement period. The imposition of restrictions on immigration from Southern Europe was partly

based on estimates of unemployment amongst Italians, Greeks, Maltese and others in Australia. This requirement imposed a hurdle similar to the 1901 Immigration Act's discriminatory Dictation Test. Consuls in Europe were also requested to discourage persons with inadequate English, by refusing to issue them with passports or visas (Price 1963:88-91; Borrie 1954:46).

By requesting guarantees of economic independence, together with the Australian percentage of unemployment at the time, and the distance and expense of travelling out, the government threw the burden of migration costs solely onto the shoulders of immigrants, or their relatives already settled in Australia. Greek Australians were wary of accepting this role of providing support to their relatives who wished to join them abroad. Because of the nature of immigration policy, the country's economic crisis and the increasing xenophobia towards non-British migrants at the time, the assistance scheme did not extend to Southern Europeans.

Unlike the preferred British migrants who were granted privileges or favourable conditions for bank loans and for the acquisition of land, Southern Europeans, even those who were British subjects, received no assistance at all. As Peter Alexander, Greek migrant, arriving from the British Protectorate of Cyprus in 1923, recalls:

> You fought battles on your own. I couldn't afford to pay any other fare because I didn't have any money. I went to a Greek family staying in the city; I had only one address of a Greek club which was run by a Greek Cypriot. After a week or ten days I got a job on a farm that was run by a Greek, not far from the city (Alexander, Interview 29-1-1987).

Another elderly participant, John Black (Mavrokefalos), resident of Melbourne, who came to Australia from the island of Ithaca, described the economic situation surrounding his arrival:

> We learned that there was no chance for us to get free land, even though it was promulgated overseas that the government here in

Australia was helping adults, at least males by 1926. That is, those who wanted to go onto the land, with both land and with loans to cultivate it, until it became ready to produce, and so start the loan repayment. That was done only for the returned servicemen of WWI. I came in 1926 with an uncle of mine who was 50 years old; he went back in three months. We learned that there was no chance for us to get free land or anything, so I stayed in Sydney for two years. My first job in Sydney was in a cafe (Black, Interview, 5-5-1987).

Archival material for the period shows that the situation of newly arrived Greek immigrants had been of serious concern to the Greek Consul General in Sydney. According to the Athens-based newspaper *Ithaki* (1928, 1 May), the Consul reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1928, providing a descriptive account of newly arrived Greek immigrants socio-economic status in the context of the socio-economic conditions of the host Australian society. The newspaper commentary claimed that the Consul's report

paints the condition of Greek immigrants there [in Sydney] with gloomy colours, providing relevant information for the first nine months of the year ending in 1927 when 1202 Greeks migrated as in contrast to 248 for first nine months of 1926 (*Ithaki*, 1 May, 1928).

As indicated in Figure 7.2 below, migration from Greece to Australia shows a steady decline during the second half of the nineteen twenties, with newly-arrived Greek and Yugoslav adult males totalling only one-third of the reduced quota in 1929-1930.

Southern European Migration 1929 - 1930

Arrivals / Departures

Nationality	Males	Females	A/D*	Arrivals	Departures
Italians	2,804	3,856	72.7	1,367	432
Yugoslavs	504	947	53.2	260	98
Greeks	497	873	56.9	215	118
Maltese	201	457	44.0	68	20
Spanish	99	105	94.3	47	28

Figure 7.2

Source: (Price 1963:93) * Arrivals as proportion of departures.

According to Price (1963), although it is not evident in Figure 7.2, in reality departures exceeded arrivals when the number of settlers returning to Australia after visiting their home country along with dependent children (and other non quota persons) from Europe are added. During this period both Yugoslavs and Greeks reached only about two-thirds of the quota. According to Price, "Quite clearly factors other than reduced quotas were involved" (Price 1963:92-96) The Labor government continued to impose restrictions and in 1928 and 1929 halved the quotas for Southern Europeans in response to increases in their unemployment rates and, in 1930, completely prohibited entry except of close relatives with considerable financial resources (Appleyard and Amera 1978:11; Price 1963:91). As Price has indicated, of the forty Greek islands from which Greek migrants had come to Australia, "only thirteen became major districts of origin for further migration" (Price 1963:96). The other twenty-seven who also had representatives in Australia by 1924, and could have increased their numbers under the sponsorship system, did not take advantage of their already settled compatriots in Australia. The islands of Dodecannesos, Kasos, Kythera, Ithaca, Kastelorizo and Lesbos had hundreds of representatives in Australia, but due to the economic situation reduced their rate of immigration between 1924 and 1932 (Price 1963:96).

The Lyons United Australia Party Government, which succeeded Labor in 1932, adopted similarly restrictive policies towards Southern European immigration in the light of Australia's slow economic recovery. These changes affected even British immigration, though to a much lesser extent, the Government ceasing assisted passages until 1938 when the Empire

Settlement scheme was renewed with migration from Britain on a passage-loan basis. A year later, however, immigration to Australia was halted by the events of WWII.

Meanwhile, Australia's immigration policies towards Southern Europeans remained highly discriminatory. In 1934, the Lyons government required independent migrants to possess 500 pounds as a financial guarantee. This sum was reduced in 1936 to 50 pounds as socio-economic conditions improved, and only applied either to dependent migrants or to those intending to enter occupations in which there were vacancies (Sherington 1980:92). These new measures were aimed at keeping the number of new adult arrivals at a manageable level. In practice, 900 Greeks, 3,000 Italians, 400 Yugoslavs, 100 Albanians and 100 Maltese arrived between 1937 and 1939, which constituted a considerable increase in Southern European immigration, in spite of the fact that during the economic crisis (1929-1935) almost 35 per cent of all Greeks who had come to Australia left for unknown destinations (Price 1963:90-96).

Up until 1936 four-fifths of new settlers were British, whilst between 1936 and 1940 other European immigration rose to two-thirds of the total net increase (Borrie 1954:37). During this time, European immigration to Australia went through its first major change in composition. Although there was no evidence to suggest change in formal attitudes or race and ethnic relations, nonetheless, for the first time in Australia's immigration history, there was an impressive shift in migrant intake from Northern towards Southern Europeans.

Net Immigration by Nationality 1921 - 1940

Northern Europeans			Southern Europeans			
YEAR	German	Scandinavian	Italian	Greek	Yugoslav	Total Net
1921-25	194	1,213	13,582	3,391	412	179,668
1926-30	1,184	507	10,446	1,774	2,116	124,650
1931-35	152	-128	1,523	-194	-39	-10,886
1936-40	7,302	108	7,650	3,478	1,600	43,128

Figure 7.3

Source:(Borrie 1954:39)

The trend was in favour of Southern Europeans until 1940, in spite of both economic and social trends in Australia in the opposite direction. Between 1930 and 1940 Greeks were Australia's second largest Non-British ethnic population, after Italians (Price 1963; 1993: 40; Borrie 1954; Vondra 1979:24). However, the demographic composition of Greeks did not change very significantly despite non British immigration and, as in the nineteenth century, was one of excess of males with only few females venturing to travel to Australia. Greek-born males outnumbered Greek-born females almost four to one, and Italians three to one; "two-thirds of Southern Europeans before 1940 were male" (Price 1963:113-114). Over time, there was only a moderate change in terms of the sex ratio between Greek immigrants. While in 1921 there were 16 Greeks females to each 100 males, by 1947 the sex ratio had increased to 35:100 (Price 1963:35). Inter-marriage with British Australians was not as frequent for Southern Europeans as for Scandinavians, who seemed to inter-marry and assimilate into the broader Australian society earlier, perhaps because they lacked sufficient numbers like the early Greek "scouts" who inter-married successfully with local women, and did not pose a

threat to the status quo. Price (1963) and Tsounis (1971a) have suggested that most Greeks appear to have left their families in Greece with the intention of returning when having saved enough money. Along with their family waiting their repatriation, there were the myths and legend of the Hellenic culture linked with stories of returning home, including the *agora* of their home country as a pull force, where they could take part in the stories told, and share their own experiences abroad. All these factors operated as pull forces that made many behave in ways that were somewhat different from other European settlers. Their cultural make up, together with the lack of inter-marriage with local women up to the start of WWII, operated as discouraging factors towards further Hellenic immigration. However, as the sex ratio started to become more balanced, immigrant settlement also began to mature, with changes in immigrants' employment orientation. As Price comments, "Jobs for easy earning give way to jobs offering greater security following permanent immigration" (Price 1963:113-114).

Until 1945, besides the Immigration (Amendment) Act of 1925 and some short-term restrictions imposed by the authorities, there were other serious obstacles to the full participation of Southern Europeans in the cultural, economic and social life of the host country, with host society attitudes demanding immigrants to assimilate. The degree of assimilation often became a cause of discrimination against migrants' national origins, and such discrimination came from both formal authorities and popular attitudes.

World War II changed migration policy directions radically, when near invasion by Japan revealed Australia's vulnerability to outside intruders and led Australian politicians to advocate an increase in population through immigration as a means of defending the country. Prime Minister Curtin had been instrumental in bringing about a change in policy, but by the end of the

War, the main advocate had become the Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell. To the security rationale, Calwell added that the incentive to immigrate would stimulate economic development, especially in view of the low birth rate in Australia since the turn of the century. Although he estimated an intake of 2 per cent of the total population to be an optimal migration figure, and this became for a while a yardstick for future planning by both government and private enterprise he did not have a clear perception or thought out policy as to what was to occur in terms of changes in immigration policy in later years Natural increase had proven to be only half this figure, having averaged 1 per cent over the previous five years (70,000 in 1945 when the population was 7 million) (Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976:24; Hugo 1986; Castles & Miller 1993).

During the ensuing three decades of the post-1947 period, rapid population expansion took place through preferential immigration with priority given to migrants from the United Kingdom. Calwell responded to demands of sectional interests, the unions, employers and public opinion by paving the way for increased migration with selective immigration. In outlining this preference, he expressed the hope "that for every foreign migrant, there will be ten people from the United Kingdom" (Calwell 1972:35), a hope which found concrete expression in the two assistance agreements entered into between Australia and Britain in 1946 and 1947, which provided for free and assisted passages for Britons who wished to immigrate to Australia.

According to Calwell (1972), by 1947 there were over 400,000 Britons anxious to settle in Australia. However, despite his desire to commence migration *en masse*, and his success in convincing the British that his priorities were more vital than theirs, Britain was unable to provide the

necessary shipping, and "the program was in danger of collapse". Under these conditions, Calwell turned to non-British areas, the Government's selection priority being Northern Europeans countries, and in 1947 officially announced a preference for displaced persons to fill in labour shortages and for rebuilding Australia's industry after the war. They were selected on the basis of age and skills. After contacting the International Refugee Organisation (IRO), Australia agreed to take 12,000 Baltic immigrants, and subsequently 170,000 (out of one million refugees or displaced persons) were settled in Australia between 1947-1954, with the IRO providing ship transport (Sherington 1980:133). Britain's inability to provide the numbers and types of immigrants required forced Australia to sign further agreements with the Netherlands and Italy (1951), Malta (1952), and West Germany (1952). Although the British migration program continued to grow with the signing of the agreements, non-British immigration had come to stay, thus breaking away from the official pre-WWII and customary attitude toward Southern Europeans: namely, that they simply "came to make money and go home". Thus in August 1952 the acting Minister for Immigration announced not only that the annual intake would be halved, but also that only half the quota would be British. Not only would the wives and children of Southern Europeans already in Australia be admitted, but non-British schemes would replace the Displaced Persons Scheme (Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976; Sherington 1980). This decision formalised the acceptance of non-British Europeans as assisted migrants for the first time and is regarded as a milestone in Australia's immigration history (Appleyard 1971).

The change was reflected in Australia's membership after 1951 of the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (I.C.E.M.), which (as previously mentioned) was established to provide transport and financial assistance to potential immigrants from non-British countries. Through

I.C.E.M., Australia made informal tripartite agreements with Austria and Greece (1952), Spain (1958), Belgium (1961), and other European Countries (Australian Population and Immigration Council 1976:26). All immigrants, including the displaced persons of 1947 to 1953 (Northern Europeans 1950s and Southern Europeans 1950s and 1960s), were selected on the basis of age, occupation, education, health, and employment or business prospects.

The 1952 Agreement with Greece was based on Australian government assistance to Greek immigrants on the basis of a two-year contract. For its part, the Hellenic Government refused to share costs in assisting migration schemes involving I.C.E.M. which, as an organisation, was responsible for the selection and dispatch of many thousands of Greek migrants to Australia. The Greek-Australian agreement of 1952 granted assisted passages to heads of houses and single males who, in many cases, were individuals selected by the I.C.E.M. travelling teams of recruiters. Appleyard claims that this provided a rare opportunity, for working class Greeks in particular, to emigrate to Australia without either a personal sponsor or immediate cash for the fare out. Through an empirical study of Greek migrants, he presents a positive picture in relation to the role and process of migration through I.E.C.M. (Appleyard 1971:12-20).

According to Trahanas and Grambas, for some migrants the scheme was more or less a modern form of slave labour, designed to fill the factories of the industrially expanding countries:

> [it] was a migration which had clear intentions on behalf of the industrially developing countries and that was to drive, as it did, people who needed work from the rural areas and villages of Greece to the middle of nowhere, across the oceans of the world, simply to exploit their labour for the sake of profit. It did this by converting them from agricultural workers into industrial robots overnight with no consideration of the risks of those workers' lives, and the impact on their families for the sake of international capital controlled by the élite class of the world (Interviewees Trahanas, Grambas, 14 May, 1991).

Grambas, like Trahanas a post-WWII migrant, stressed that this migration was unprecedented in the History of Hellenism, in that:

> it was ironic to think that instead of moving the factories to Greece, that is, to the country where the workers were, the international élite, the international capital, through the successful propaganda machine of I.C.E.M. for migrant recruitment, entangled governments and people in ... the biggest deception in the history of Hellenism, by removing indigenous people away from their social and cultural roots, away from their homes, away from their families, away from the social and physical environments in which they had lived for thousands of years and knew how to cope with their surroundings and to stimulate their lives, find happiness; that is, they knew how best to organise themselves and get on with their lives. Instead, with this migration, they were transferred to the most remote of all countries in the world, to Australia, where capital and human investment were taking place at the time. It is also ironic that this uprooting of the Hellenes and also of other people from their homes, contemporary economists, especially, *the neo-classical economic rationale define not as forced but voluntary migration* (Grambas, Interview 12/3/1991).

According to Grambas (Interview 12/3/1991), a post-WWII Greek immigrant of Melbourne, the I.C.E.M. or DEME (Διακυβερνητική Επιτροπή Μεταναστεύσεως Εξ Ευρώπης) as it became known in Greece, represented Australian Government interests in an attempt to select the best migrants. It often propagated and manipulated public opinion in Greece in order to achieve its objectives by recruiting as many young Greek immigrants as possible. He also asserted that I.C.E.M. was one of the most intelligent schemes of the Australian authorities for the recruitment of young Greek workers. Its role was to select the best and the fittest Hellenic labouring hands for the newly developing Australian manufacturing industry of the 1950s and 1960s.

These people were mainly young females and males, 17 and 35 years of age, who were hardly ever given sufficient information to help them develop a mature decision about migration and life abroad. The stories told by sailors and the few returned migrants about their adventures or the chain of letters sent from abroad usually provided accounts mixed with the legends and

myths drawn from their culture and related to success of life in unknown lands. Similarly, while the Hellenic cultural and demotic tradition embraced its migrated children with its many ancient and modern folk songs about migration and life abroad, it could not stop them from migrating, and thus often operated as both push and pull force. In reality potential migrants from Greece had little if any specific information about the world outside other than the images created out by the stories told in the *agora*. The stories of the *agora* combined with a thirst for adventure and, because of their youth and their need for experience, excited young Hellenes about life outside the boundaries of their own *agora*.

According to various participants, one of the worst aspects of I.C.E.M.'s role as an organisation of migrant recruitment was the function performed by its Hellenic appointed agents who were employed to assist in the recruitment of Greek migrants. Some of these individuals were interpreters, with "inside" knowledge of Hellenic culture. These staff were not used for interpreting purposes alone, but as instruments for propaganda according to the instructions of Australian officials. For example, in telling young Greeks about the great occupational and wealth opportunities in domesticated environments available in Australia, interpreters contributed to the propaganda stories and helped I.C.E.M. to achieve its objectives. During the campaign to recruit potential migrants to come to Australia, I.C.E.M. showed various kinds of films and displayed colourful portraits and photographs, presenting Australia's glamorous geographical sights which were shown extensively throughout the nation in order to appeal to the youth by presenting images of the endless beauties of Australia. In doing this, Australian officials in Greece never told potential migrants what really awaited them after arrival in Australia, such as the real picture of the migrant reception camps like Bonegilla and Tatura, or the kinds of jobs they were

going to be designated as labourers in factories and construction. Among the films and colourful photographs, Australian representatives never showed anybody what a factory looked like, or explained what it meant to work in a factory, if you had not worked in one before. Instead, propaganda agents, and their own doctors operating under the I.C.E.M. banner, would campaign and select young people under the age of thirty five from the Hellenic countryside. As Grambas, and also Trahanas (Interview, 14 May, 1991) described:

> by 1954, I.C.E.M. officials were going from town to town searching for the healthiest, the strongest, and those who it was thought, were determined to work (not that anyone suspected what factory labour was, as it became known later). They were checking everything, our social activities, and whether we were on the right or left of the political spectrum. In selecting potential immigrants, they were doing so as if people were horses and not humans ... they checked our legs, feet, spine, eyes, ears, head, arms, hands, and so on, to see if we were one hundred per cent healthy, fit and muscular. When examining people's health status, they checked our teeth, and occasionally suggested that we should take one or two teeth out, *so they will not have to bother about it if we came to Australia* ... Those who had the slightest health problem were rejected ...! Unfortunately, all this happened in a period in which Greece itself was experiencing an economic stagnation and was searching for a new future following the end of World War II and the Hellenic Civil War. As a result, our EΘνικό Κέντρο *Ethniko Kentro* [National Centre = Greece], through its silence, contributed to the evacuation of the countryside and the migration of some of our better talented and most productive youth (Interviewees, Grambas, & Trahanas 14 May, 1991).

During the period 1946-1952, before the formalisation of the large-scale assistance scheme, only 8,962 permanent settlers, the excess of arrivals (10,325) over departures, came from Greece. Most of the Greek immigrants during the earlier post-war years were Greek-Egyptians and Greek-Cypriots, whose numbers had risen to 5,988 and 4,670 respectively between 1946 and 1954. The bitter civil war in mainland Greece at first limited departures from there (Tsounis 1975:24-26). Many of these earlier arrivals were family members of the 15,000 Greeks who had come to Australia before WWII

(before or after the 1930s Depression). Some families had been waiting a long

time. As one Greek woman who arrived in 1951 stated:

> My father came to Australia in 1927, when he was eighteen years
> old. He worked for a few years and returned to Greece in 1937.
> My mother and young brother came to Australia in 1951. My
> father sent us the money (Quoted in Sherington 1980:142).

During the first four years of large scale migration between 1947-

1951, 310,000 assisted migrants out of approximately half a million total, of

whom 40 per cent were British, arrived in Australia. Besides the displaced

persons from Europe (170,000), there were 120,000 British, 10,000 Maltese,

and 10,000 others (including many Dutch people from Indonesia). In the same

period, there were 160,000 unassisted immigrants, including 70,000 British,

30,000 Italians, 15,000 Jewish and other refugees, 10,000 Greeks and

Cypriots, and 10,000 Dutch (Australian Population and Immigration Council

1976:25). This trend, whereby non-British arrivals exceeded British arrivals

continued until 1965. This means that post-WWII immigration never met its

planners' targets: net immigration fluctuated above and below the projected

one per cent annual growth. The nature of immigration sources resulting from

refugee status, economic recession in some countries, and post-WWII

reconstruction in others in the early 1950s and 1960s, changed Government

priorities (Sherington 1980:140). In broad terms, of the approximate total of

five million people arriving in Australia between 1947-1980, only just over

three million settled, approximately 33 per cent of that being from Britain and

Ireland. Northern Europeans totalled 9 per cent, while the remaining 58 per

cent came from over 100 countries, with Italy contributing 8.8 per cent,

Greece 5.2 per cent and Yugoslavia 4.2 per cent (Price 1981:4). The picture

had changed dramatically (Tsounis 1975) when the Commonwealth

Assistance Scheme came into operation in 1952 in order to initiate new and

large-scale migration to increase the number of migrants. This was achieved

by granting assisted passages to several thousand heads of Hellenic families, in order to "ensure" settlement by family migration and to reinforce increases in chain migration. The numbers in Figure 7.4 below tell part of the story, with the periods 1953-1955 and again 1967-1971 representing the highest Hellenic intake under this scheme.

Assisted & Unassisted Greek Immigrants, 1945-1982

Year	Assisted	Unassisted	Total
1945-1948	1	2,199	2,200
1948-1949	6	1,485	1,491
1949-1950	25	1,696	1,721
1950-1951	3	2,224	2,227
1951-1952	8	2,671	2,679
1952-1953	494	1,485	1,971
1953-1954	**3,368**	**1,993**	**5,361**
1954-1955	**9,593**	**3,292**	**12,885**
1955-1956	3,972	7,226	11,198
1956-1957	3,060	6,649	9,709
1957-1958	1,911	4,634	6,545
1958-1959	2,074	3,362	5,436
1959-1960	2,184	4,466	6,650
1960-1961	2,085	5,921	8,006
1961-1962	2,763	9,458	12,221
1962-1963	3,052	9,726	11,778
1963-1964	2,646	13,417	16,063
1964-1965	3,518	14,378	17,896
1965-1966	2,723	13,306	16,029
1966-1967	3,031	7,482	10,513
1967-1968	**4,491**	**5,210**	**9,701**
1968-1969	**6,397**	**6,030**	**12,427**
1969-1970	**6,490**	**5,357**	**11,847**
1970-1971	**6,406**	**4,551**	**10,957**
1971-1972	3,148	3,637	6,785
1972-1973	1,278	1,994	3,272
1973-1974	632	3,283	3,915
1974-1975	5	2,502	2,507
1975-1976	0	1,632	1,632
1976-1977	4	1,852	1,856
1977-1978	1	1,314	1,315
1978-1979	1	909	910
1979-1980	8	1,058	1,066
1980-1981	10	1,334	1,344
1981-1982	8	1,533	1,541
TOTAL	68,990	154,715	233,654

Figure 7.4

Sources: (Immigration Department statistics, quoted in The Australian Government Commission of Inquiry into Poverty 1975:20; Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics No. 13, 1982, Canberra, 1983.)

This increase in Hellenic migration to Australia coincides with periods of political instability in Greece. This instability, as argued in Chapter Six, worsened during the second period (1967-1971), when the military had curtailed political freedom in Greece, after taking control of Government by force.

Under the Commonwealth Assistance Scheme, Australia received a total intake of 29,444 Greeks, 16,933 of whom had been assisted, between 1953 and 1956. As shown in Figure 7.4, between 1945 and 1959 there were 63,423 "permanent and long-term arrivals" from Greece (excluding Greeks from Cyprus and Egypt), of whom 24,515 were assisted by the Australian Government.

The total intake of immigrants peaked in 1958-1959 and again in 1964-1965 when it reached 17,896. with over 50 per cent being assisted in the latter years (1965-1982). Assistance had diminished almost totally by 1982, although some of those not assisted by the Australian Government before 1967 may have received interest-free travel loans from the World Council of Churches (Henderson 1975:20).

In contrast to Greeks, 85 per cent of British settlers and 60 per cent of Germans, Yugoslavians, Maltese and Eastern Europeans arrived under the Assisted Passengers Scheme between 1947 and 1974. Southern Europeans, particularly the two major groups, the Greeks and Italians, were significantly under-represented in the Scheme; only 34 per cent of Greeks and Cypriots, and 20 per cent of Italians were assisted. In fact, according to Henderson's report into poverty, for the whole of the period 1947 to 1972, of approximately 214,304 Greek immigrants, only 72,449 received government assistance; the rest were sponsored (Henderson 1975). Furthermore, of the

239,723 Greeks registered between October 1945 and June 1982, only 74,447 (31 per cent) were assisted, compared with 66 per cent from the United Kingdom, and 62 per cent from the Netherlands until 1966. For Italians, only 16 per cent were assisted up to 1964 (Collins 1988:31; Appleyard 1978: 12; Stoller 1966:21).

The scheme's discrimination against the Hellenes and other Southern Europeans before and after WWII, as manifested in the distinction made by the Immigration Department between assisted and non-assisted Northern and Southern European migrants, can be traced to the "White Australia Policy", which remained the same until 1966. Even after arrival, the discriminatory immigration policy was reflected by the type of accommodation provided to assisted immigrants by the Australian Government. Accommodation provided set the pattern of social stratification from the very beginning with lasting effects on the migrant experience of this country.

Many began their lives in their new country in the Bonegilla and other migrant reception camps. The majority of the first large assisted Greek group, consisting of approximately 30,000 people during the 1952-1958 period, passed through the Bonegilla camp rather than hostels or other better-class accommodation. Bonegilla, an ex-army camp, located close to Albury, near the borders of the states of Victoria and New South Wales, and converted to hostels in order to accommodate the 170,000 Displaced Persons between 1947 and 1952, continued to provide the "neat" solution to the Australian Government's problems and, as the Government used to argue, to the problems of the migrants themselves. Such reception and training centres provided Australian governments with the power to bargain for jobs and with practical solutions for immediate Southern European accommodation and subsequent settlement.

The immigrants who went through Bonegilla have their own version of

life in that place, one which often conflicts with the official view. In an article

entitled "Bonegilla, That's How We Started", the editors of *Parikia-Greek*

Australian Monthly Review wrote:

> From what the memory holds, Bonegilla covered a land size of 400 acres. and had the capacity to provide, in its 400 [corroborated iron] camps housing for up to 3,500 persons. The whole army camp was used as a reception centre mainly for Southern Europeans. The Anglophones were sent to hostels in the large towns and cities. For the length of time an immigrant stayed there, s/he was given free meal, [and] in addition, a single person was given 30 shillings and a married one with children 50 shillings as pocket money" ... The whole of the Bonegilla camp was organised in a military way ... with individual [and very small housing] blocks as ... The blocks were numbered and the newcomers were sent there on the basis of predetermined arrangements: There were the men, and there the women. There were the Hellenes, there were the Italians, and there the Northern Europeans... (Mourikis, in *Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review*, December 1985: 20, 26).
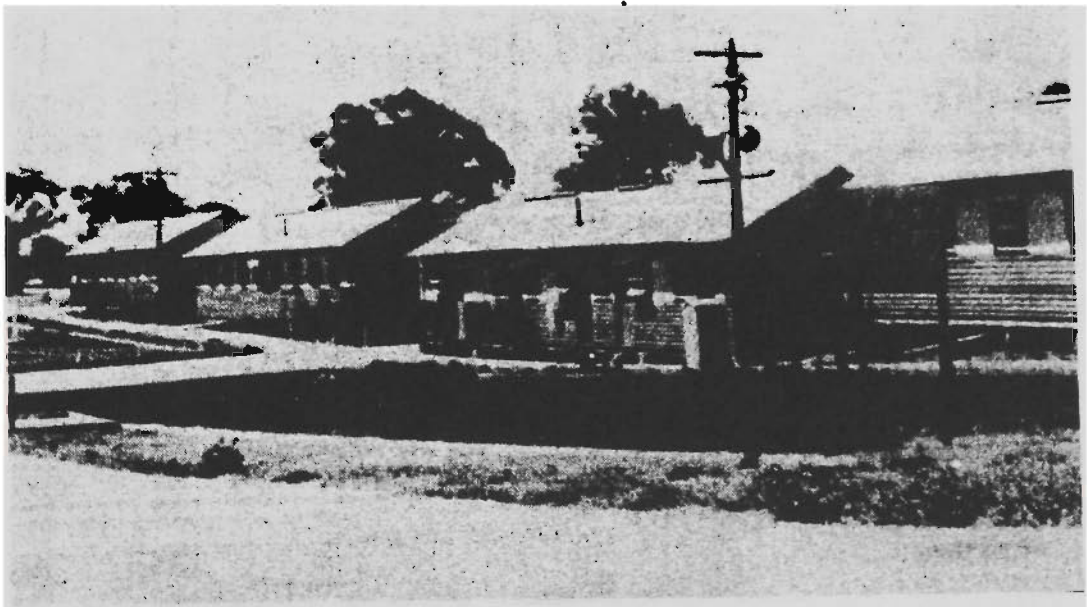

Illustration 7.1. Bonegilla settlement camp, where non-British migrants, and especially Southern Europeans, were segregated. (Source: *Parikia-Greek Monthly Review*, Dec. 1985:21.)

According to another inmate:

According to another inmate:

> In Bonegilla certainly we did not have the appropriate [housing] infrastructure because of the mass immigration ... As it is known [in Bonegilla] immigrants resided temporarily immediately after arrival in Australia. In 1954 I lived in Bonegilla for 36 days. As many people from the Hellenic Community know, the conditions of living there were frightening. When it was cold we were freezing and when it was hot we were asphyxiated. It is only when one lives in a [tin!] hut that one understands what migration and refugeeism is all about (Messinis, in *Greek Kosmos,* Wednesday 14 October 1992:10).

In a letter written to the editors of *Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review,* Trahanas stated that:

> Unforgettable will be for me the way by which people were distributed to [potential] employers. The distribution was done by the office according to the needs and the demand. While some were being taken by the employers themselves, others were sent by buses and trains to the various jobs. The length of residence in Bonegilla varied according to the conditions prevailing in the country. However, those who remained in the military camps for months were not few. And this provoked insanity to many ... as it happened with Nikos ... he was sent to Melbourne ... and later we heard that our compatriots collected money and sent him back to Greece (Trahanas 1986:4).

Illustration 7.2. A single haircut in the open space at Bonegilla enabled Hellenes to gather and pass their time together while waiting for employment offers to come. Source: *Parikia-Greek Monthly Review,* Dec. 1985:21.)

For the Australian Government the advantages derived from cheap accommodation and the completion of the two-year contract were obvious from the beginning. Governments and employers were able, as they did, to place migrants in jobs which they wanted them to do without the newcomers being able to negotiate fairly (Calwell 1972:13; Mourikis, in *Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review,* December 1985:26, 27).

Once in Australia, Greek migrants, like others, felt restricted because of the existence of the contract which they signed in Greece without clarification as to its implications if they decided to break it. Generally speaking, the views amongst the participants interviewed by the present author on the question of the contract and the extent to which it limited them varied. Some "feared" being punished or penalised by the government authorities if they ran away from designated jobs and remained there until their contract expired. Others claimed that once they were designated to a job, although worried of being caught, they ran away from it and were never prosecuted because the authorities were not trying hard to find them, while others claimed that, if found by the authorities, they were returned to their initially designated jobs.

According to the editors of the *Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review* (December 1985:26), Bonegilla, as a government reception and training centre for immigrants, operated in such a way as to control migrants. Through the Bonegilla camp, the Government pre-determined the migrants' experience in Australia for the first two years of occupation and settlement, since agreements had been signed between migrants and government authorities. However, escape from Bonegilla was entertained by many and many did escape. This escape was regarded as an escape from "containment", an escape towards "freedom", an escape outside the restricting wire fence,

away from total uncertainty and unemployment within the camps that often lasted months before they were assigned to work, so that migrants could take "'responsibility in their own hands" (Mourikis, in *Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review,* December 1985:26, 27).

Apart from those who were hosted in what the Hellenic media has traditionally called the "concentration camp" of Bonegilla *(Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review,* December 1986), others, who were influenced by the chain of letters sent home that helped to establish chain migration, were sponsored or at least aided by other Greeks in Australia, a pattern which continued to dominate Hellenic and Italian post-WWII migration. In the immediate post-WWII years, the sponsors were generally pre-WWII settlers. This pattern was the salient feature of immigration from Greece between 1947 and 1966, and is one by which all but a few were not nominated by relatives already established (Price 1966:22).

Three-quarters of all assisted settlers arriving between July 1947 and September 1964 were in family groups. Many of those who came from Greece and Italy during this period were not well represented in Australia before WWII, and since only a portion was assisted by the Government or other organisations, like the Church, they in turn started their own chain migration (Price 1963:279). While sponsored migrants depended almost entirely on their sponsors for housing and finding a job, those who came by the I.C.E.M. program were often the first from their village to settle in Australia, and therefore had no village associations or settler links to help them adjust to the new country. For various reasons these individuals found limited support from the general Hellenic community. In part this reflected the uneven sex ratio of Greek immigration in the early post-war years (up to 1964) which had been mainly a movement of predominantly male workers

from rural Greece to urban Australia, particularly to the industrial suburbs of

Sydney and Melbourne. As a result, in some cities, noticeable social problems

were created amongst these immigrants. The imbalance between Greek men

and women was a cause for concern to the community at large, and led to the

initiation of sponsored fiances and marriages by proxy, as one interviewee

attests:

> The migration of young Hellene women in mass numbers from
> Greece was a political as much as an economic and population
> question as far as Australia was concerned. The Australian authorities
> adopted this view on the advice given to the Prime Minister, that if
> Hellene females were brought to Australia in sufficient numbers, this
> would be the only way to offset remigration and to keep the Hellenes
> in this country. Even Greek advisers were used to provide their point
> of view to the Australian Prime Minister at the time to whom it was
> suggested that unless you brought enough Hellene women to
> Australia, Hellene males will either return to Greece, or remain
> bachelors for good and they will keep sending their money to their
> relatives in Greece. These advisers based their view on the Hellenic
> American experience, where mass migration during the first twenty
> years of the century, had shown that almost half of all Hellenes who
> migrated there had returned home to marry, often in older age, or
> remained bachelors mainly in the United States. So Australian
> authorities seemed to have listened to their Hellene advisers that
> Hellenes once married to their kind of girls, will settle in Australia,
> raise families and produce children which was what Australia was
> after anyway (Grambas, Interview, 12/3/1991)

Under these circumstances, the government introduced a new

immigration program to reduce the high male ratio, and satisfy the many

critics of proxy and related (for instance, "wharf side") marriages. The scheme

became known as the Single Greek Workers Scheme, favouring a much larger

intake of females than males (*Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review,*

February 1986).

During the early post-WWII years of 1945-1949 the ratio of females to

males was greater (See Figure 7.5 below); thereafter, the male ratio was

greater until 1956. The females who arrived during 1945-1949 were priority

immigrants, since they were mainly the wives of Greeks who had settled

before the 1940s, and whose reunion had been prevented by WWII and the civil war in Greece (*Parikia-Greek Australian Monthly Review*, February 1986:39). By 1956 the overall ratio of males already in Australia was double that of females with 25,470 men to 13,014 women. After 1957, many more females than males arrived as privately sponsored immigrants offsetting the imbalance in the sex ratio.

Male and Female Arrivals, 1945-1971

Year	Males	Females	Total
October 1945-June 1948	874	948	1,822
1948-1949	614	689	1,303
1949-1950	1,178	862	1,040
1950-1951	1,034	612	1,646
1951-1952	1,279	786	2,065
1952-1953	955	650	1,605
1953-1954	3,366	1,723	5,089
1954-1955	8,639	3,888	12,527
1955-1956	7,431	2,856	10,287
1956-1957	3,729	5,039	8,768
1957-1958	1,848	3,662	5,510
1958-1959	3,516	3,252	6,768
1959-1960	4,349	3,729	8,078
1960-1961	3,658	8,576	12,234
1961-1962	5,508	5,760	11,268
1962-1963	8,861	8,693	17,554
1963-1964	8,128	7,821	15,929
1964-1965	5,413	5,059	10,472
1965-1966	5,063	4,840	9,843
1966-1967	6,241	6,038	12,279
1967-1968	5,931	5,607	11,538
TOTAL			202,334

Figure 7.5

Source: (Australian Immigration, *Consolidated Statistics*, Canberra, 1971)
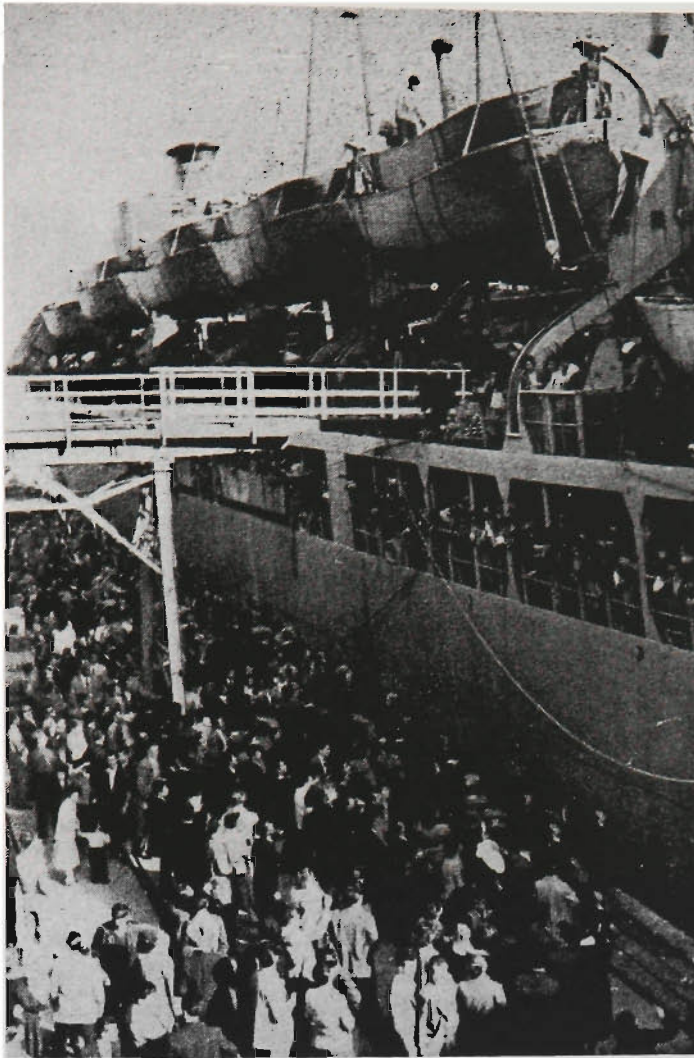
Illustration 7.3 Arrival of Chandris Line's Patris in 1951 with a shipload of young Hellene migrants, with waiting compatriots on shore. Migrants arrived at Australian ports with hopes, but little else, as shown by the ubiquitous suitcase, the humble starting point of a thousand dreams for their new life. (Source: *Parikia-Greek Monthly Review*, Feb. 1986:44.)

At the same time, many men went home to bring brides back, or had them sent over by friends or relatives. After this, steps were taken by the I.C.E.M. and the Immigration authorities to make the numbers between the sexes almost equal as seen in Figure 7.5. Shiploads carrying mainly men until 1956, with the help of the I.C.E.M. scheme, were substituted by "shiploads of brides" until 1962, and thereafter shiploads carried both large numbers of men and women.

Illustration 7.4. The "Tasmania" with its load of 850 brides arriving at the Port of Sydney in October 1958. (Source: *Parikia-Greek Monthly Review*, Feb. 1986:39.)

Illustration 7.5. Shipload of brides were supplanted by airloads of brides. Here Hellene brides brought out under the auspices of ICEM, are welcomedat Melbourne's Essendon Airport by Father George Loutas in June 1986. (Source: *Parikia-Greek Monthly Review*, March 1986:50.)

By about 1967 Turkey too had become a source of immigrants in lieu of the dwindling supply of other European labour. By this time the White

Australia Policy had begun to be dismantled, being completely abolished by the Whitlam government in 1972. At the same time, along with other Southern European migration, the whole of Hellenic migration slowed down after 1971-1972. By this time Greece as a country which had supplied labour hands to the industrialised nations had been exhausted (and instead it had slowly started receiving migrant labour from other countries for its own industrial needs). In addition, with the end of the Assistance Scheme by 1981, mass immigration from other nations of Europe was also over, and while Hellenic Migration to Australia remained, it became restricted to few hundreds individuals annually ever since.

Since the decline of Australia's manufacturing boom in the mid-1970s, and the end of the White Australia Policy, new demographic challenges faced the nation with non-European immigration which was never anticipated by the architects of immigration in the earlier post-WWII days. The abolition of the White Australia Policy in 1973 meant the end of racial appearance and European origin as the most important criteria for immigrant selection.

At times, however, the arrival of many people went beyond the nation's ability of immigrant control, as set out in the point system -- introduced to monitor immigrant selection on the basis of immigrant skills, qualifications and availability or not of sponsorship in Australia (Hitchcock 1990): it was a system which had been systematically refined over two decades so that selection of immigrants served the national interest best. For example, the arrival of 10-15,000 Indo-Chinese refugees or "boat people" annually between 1978-1982 operated outside the point system, while through subsequent chain migration and family reunion the Indo-Chinese immigration increased their numbers significantly. By the 1980s 40 per cent of Australia's immigration intake included individuals from backgrounds previously excluded, such as

Chinese, Filipino, Malay/Indonesian, Indian and Vietnamese (Castles & Miller 1993; Freeman & Jupp 1992).

According to Castles and Miller, post-WWII waves of Asian migration had linkage in Australia's foreign policy and this nation's historical obligation towards the Indo-Chinese following Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War on the side of the Americans (Castles & Miller 1993:102), because that war had caused the destruction of the Vietnam's economic and political order. The demographic change which ensued from Asian migration generated strong reactions that came from ordinary Australians and also from conservative academics such as sociologist Bob Birrell and the historian Professor Geoffrey Blainey. The whole affair of this reaction became better known as the "Blainey debate", a debate which stirred up the immigration for several years in the 1980s.

As opponents of family reunion, Birrell and Blainey argued that a more generous family reunion immigration policy would bring many low-skilled migrants (Birrell & Birrell 1981:273-275). Although the views of such academics had a strong impact on Australia's Immigration "debate", their often racist remarks against Asians in Australia were not well received by the general public, particularly since they placed their emphasis on homogeneous British culture, while opposing immigration for family reunion. Counter accounts raised by other academics regarded Birrell's and Blainey's views as a setback in the immigration debate, by condemning them as being anachronistic or products of assimilationism, since in reality such views were reminiscent of the "White Australia Policy" (Markus & Ricklefs 1985). Strong opposition against Birrell's and Blainey's views came from the Ethnic Communities Council which included the Hellenic community, because such views undermined Australia's multiculturalism for which non-British migrants

had struggled so hard to establish (*Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia* (FECCA) 1984).

Although Birrell's views against low skilled and in favour of selected skilled migration found some support on the basis of environmental costs, because of the spending needed for social infrastructure and micro-economic considerations, this perspective had little influence on the making of immigration policy. In contrast, the FitzGerald Report (1988) on immigration had argued for a substantial intake increase (but better targeted), especially of skilled immigration in order boost productivity and economic improvement in a period of high unemployment. Since the late 1970s, the Ethnic Communities Council, including the Hellenic community which formed part of this body, have for the first time and in consultation with governments, been active participants in the making of Australia's immigration policy and have consistently argued in favour of the rights of migrants to bring out immediate members of their families. This view found much support within the Hellenic community because Greeks knew that family reunion was a vital part for many immigrants who had left their families behind.

The Hellenic Community along with other ethnic communities who became embodied by FECCA (Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia) and their participation in the immigration debate by the late 1970s, constituted a departure from the pre-1970s practices when the immigration policy was determined by politicians and bureaucrats, according to employers' interests (Collins 1975; 1986; FECCA 1984). Participation by ethnic communities in the immigration debate had enabled the development of policy to become less discriminatory by obtaining a widened scope of legal limits, with a "broadened focus for migrant economic skills", while "preserving the overriding commitment to family reunion" (Freeman & Jupp 1992: 9).

Australia's immigration history, then, has moved from one of coercive and discriminatory immigration to one in which selection criteria are based on migrants' skills and abilities and measured by a point system. While migrant intake remained strongly grounded on the economic benefits of immigration, at the same time it had enabled organisations and individuals other than unions and employers to participate in the immigration debate. This participation included the views and opinions of ethnic communities, such as the Hellenic, which until the pre-Whitlam period were excluded from participating because the patrons of White Australia regarded Greeks and other non-British migrants as "lucky to be here", and consequently they were not welcomed to share their views on immigration. As the next chapter indicates, host society attitudes were not favourable for non-British migrants and in this context Australians objected to the full Hellenic participation in the social and economic life of the country.