

CHAPTER 3: SETTLEMENT AND ADAPTATION OF FIRST-GENERATION GREEK PROFESSIONAL MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

Multiculturalism is the basis upon which the multitude of races and cultures present in Australia can peacefully co-exist and, in its full expression, it also facilitates the settlement and adaptation of migrants to their new society. Edwards described multiculturalism as 'a nation's grand flirtation with change and emotions', but he was unable to predict the future development of Australia, which combines 120 different nationalities²³⁵.

The Australian Government has promoted multiculturalism through the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), by stressing the importance of cultural identity, social justice, tolerance and equality of opportunity, all of which are essential elements of the fabric of Australian society. Unfortunately, this campaign was launched a few years after the majority of participants had arrived in Australia, when many of them had already experienced some form of social or professional discrimination.

The notion of settlement and adaptation of migrants, and especially professional migrants in their new environment, is a complex issue influenced by such factors as social interaction, difficulties of communication in English, financial concerns, inappropriate employment, a feeling of insecurity for the future, the migrant's age and others.

According to Bottomley, in order to better understand the way professional migrants react to their new environment, it is necessary to know the complexity created by the pre-migration social structures of the society from which the migrants came and the conditions that prevailed when they entered the host society²³⁶. It will only then become possible to evaluate the meaning of changes suffered by individuals, as they settled and tried to adapt themselves to the new society and to achieve professional recognition.

The views and feelings of the participants about the Australian social system expressed in their interviews, show that each person looked at the future from their own perspective. No 10 was full of surprise and admiration for the multicultural blend and prosperity of the Australian society²³⁷, but despite the rosy picture presented of Australia and the fact that many Greek migrants, including professionals, looked at this country as the 'place of many opportunities',

²³⁵ K. Edwards, 'A Marriage of Cultures', in *Time Australia Magazine*, Special Issue, The New Australia, 14 March 1988, p. 79. In 1988, Edwards did not want to accept that a system which attempts to combine so many nationalities in a single society, could work efficiently.

²³⁶ Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, op. cit. pp. 15, 16.

²³⁷ 'The multicultural concept is, in theory and practise, something I would have never imagined it to be as fascinating as we now see it developing in our society'.

and many of them felt misled and became disillusioned²³⁸. Their sentiments of disappointment have been supported by writers such as Price, on the basis of results presented in a census and information from the Australian Immigration Department²³⁹. He claimed that for various reasons, about 13% of the total of 300,000 Greek migrants in Australia, returned to Greece permanently²⁴⁰. Price has made some reference in his work to professional people, but neither he nor Isaacs could be more specific on the number of professionally qualified Greeks who returned home disappointed²⁴¹. The only sketchy information which is available on professionals who found it difficult to settle in Australia in the 1950's and 1960's and decided to return to Greece, has been given by participants No 1, 5 and 9.

At their arrival in the alien Australian environment, many migrants needed some assistance to overcome their early settlement problems and, in addition to that, professional migrants were also faced with the problem of recognition or the fear of having their qualifications down-graded. Professional recognition and employment, had a positive effect on their settlement in Australia. It appears that, a large proportion of the respondents, made two serious miscalculations in their decision to migrate. The first was that about 40% of them could not speak English, and the second that 50% were ill prepared to face the conditions of cultural adaptation in the new society.

Many ordinary migrants felt isolated and despondent with the new social system, and resorted to living in suburbs with large concentration of their fellow countrymen for better communication among themselves. The professionals upon arrival, realised that their future in Australia depended on social contacts and proficiency in the English language, and many of them managed within a short period of time to improve their language skills. The least improved were the older individuals and those professionals who were able to deal predominantly with Greek migrants (clergy, doctors, teachers and a few individuals from other groups). This observation has also been confirmed in a Government report (DMS)²⁴², in which it was said that even with time, a large number of professional migrants showed very little improvement in

²³⁸ No. 35 said that Australia was described as a paradise, but I was deeply disappointed from the conditions I experienced as a professional migrant.

²³⁹ Price, Greeks in Australia, op. cit. pp. 20, 27. See also Australian Immigration Department, A Biography and Digest, No. 2, AGPS, Canberra. 1970, pp. A79 and A94.

²⁴⁰ *ibid* pp. 29, 46.

²⁴¹ This was confirmed through personal communication of the Author with Dr C. Price who said that at some stage, there were several professional Greeks in Adelaide, but he did not attempt to collect any personal information about their professional status in Australia. See also, E. Isaacs, Greek children in Sydney, Australian National University Press, 1976, p. 40.

²⁴² Decade of Migrant Settlement, (DMS) Report on the 1973 Immigration Survey, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, pp. 91, 93.

English. The deficiency of language created difficulties in the recognition of their qualifications, in achieving reasonable employment and even their settlement in Australia.

When Nickas²⁴³ referred to the issue of migrants settlement, Amanatides posed the question 'Where do we belong? In the country of our origin or in the adopted one which nourishes us now?' According to Burnley, the answer of 70% of migrants who were asked a similar question, has been that they did not belong in Australia²⁴⁴. Despite this, Burnley said that the Greeks, more than any other ethnic group, including English and Australians, felt part of the local community and identified well with others. This observation shows that Greeks can make a reliable group of settlers in a new society, by remaining loyal to the country in which they live.

With special reference to professional migrants, and despite any sociocultural differences between the Australian society and the mother country to which they have a sentimental attraction, there are clear indications from the statements of the participants, that they settled well and 40 out of the total of 45, established successful professional careers. All of them have been grateful to Australia for the opportunities and hospitality they have been afforded, but none of them has clearly stated that they felt any strong emotional tie to the country.

During the initial stages of their settlement, a few of the respondents were faced with a 'social communication' barrier, because some of the other Greek migrants felt educationally inferior and avoided their company²⁴⁵. There are indications that the educational level of Greek migrants in the 1950's and 1960's was fairly low, and there was little intellectual activity in the Greek community. This was observed by No. 42 who, on his arrival in 1964, was disappointed to find, as he described it, an "intellectually sterile" community in Melbourne. Although this might have been the impression of one participant, several others, who were pre-occupied with university studies and preparation for re-accreditation of their qualifications, found Australia to be a desirable country in which to live, and adapted themselves well to the Australian way of life. No. 33 who first worked as a teacher and then became a lecturer, associated well with people in the Greek and Australian communities and never felt any social isolation as did others. Similar

²⁴³ H. Nickas, 'The Literary Contribution of Greek-Australian Women Writers', in S. Vryonis (ed), Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar, Melbourne, 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, March 1993, pp. 131-138.

²⁴⁴ J. Burnley, 'Neighbourhood, Communal Structure and Acculturation, in Ethnic Concentrations in Sydney 1978', in Immigration and Ethnicity in the 1980's, ed. Burnley, Encel and McCall, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985, p. 191.

²⁴⁵ No. 6 said 'In the beginning, I found it difficult to mix socially with other migrants, something that was probably due to differences in attitudes. It was a mutually accepted situation which I did not like because I was pushed to social isolation.' Commenting on the same topic, No. 14 said 'This intellectual barrier was disappointing because there were several occasions when I found it difficult to communicate with other migrants at a slightly higher intellectual level.' The respondents who fall into this group are Nos. 5, 8, 14, 23, 32, 35 and 42.

favourable comments, about their settlement in Australia, have also been made by Nos 34 and 37, whose adaptation problems were tempered by their optimism for a brighter future, and a modest confidence in their intellectual capabilities.

According to Kalantzis, adaptation is a matter of changing tradition in a social context²⁴⁶. It is a dialogue between the dominant culture and the culture of an ethnic community, which are both continually reshaping and redefining themselves. The meaning of this concept has been evident in almost all statements made by the participants who, themselves, have been in a continuous state of changing attitudes in their struggle to place themselves somewhere between the past and present, between their origins and the new society. An example of this is No 9 who after 50 years in Australia, still refers to Greece as 'home' ²⁴⁷.

The more mature participants (Nos 3, 5, 13, 19, 20, 28 and 31) found it more difficult than the others to adapt to the new society, to learn English and become professionally established. The majority of the respondents (74%), who were older than 27 years at their arrival, reported that they had already developed their cultural attitudes, and found it somewhat difficult to adapt to the new customs of the Australian society²⁴⁸. Claims to this effect have even been made by those who visited Australia before migrating, in order to personally witness the local sociocultural conditions (Nos 5, 7, 9, 14, 18 and 25). Despite all this, from the information available on the migration of professional and other Greeks, it is evident that although many of them were not socially and psychologically prepared for cultural changes, they nevertheless believed that Australia was politically and financially a more suitable country for them to live in than Greece. According to Collins, the desire of most Greeks to migrate was based on the hope of becoming self-employed and

²⁴⁶ M. Kalantzis, 'Hybrid Cultures: Greek Australians/Australian Greeks', in S. Vryonis, (ed), Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, 1992, March 1993, p. 21.

²⁴⁷ No. 5 said 'I took the decision to stay in Australia as a challenge to my abilities. I wanted to prove to myself that I could re-establish my career and survive in a foreign society. I like Australia and I have after 38 years, become used to the social conditions but, I find it a compelling desire to visit Greece every one or two years, to revitalise my love for the country'; No. 9, after almost 50 years in Australia, said 'Australia is a large and prosperous country but it is in a state of social and racial confusion. I have spent most of my life here but I have never stopped contemplating returning home with my family'; No. 43 is an example of a person who migrated about 33 years ago, and has spent about half of this time in Greece 'I find it difficult to explain the reasons for my unsettling behaviour. Greece attracts me because of my family's history which represents my roots, and Australia has been my second choice which I am still trying to accept.'

²⁴⁸ No. 19 said 'I knew that life was going to be difficult, because I was already 36 years old and I had to start again from the beginning. I have tried hard to adapt myself to the new society but, my only comfort is in my frequent trips to Greece.'

financially independent, but for qualified migrants the conditions for employment were less favourable²⁴⁹.

According to the 1973 Immigration Survey, the overall employment rate of professional migrants in Australia during the 1963 - 73 period, was only 18 - 20%²⁵⁰. As their age increased to 54 years and above, professional migrants experienced increased difficulties with employment and were forced to accept low-paid jobs. This situation negatively affected several of the respondents, but they eventually managed to improve their positions and adapt to the Australian conditions. In a later report of the Australian Population and Immigration Council, the employment rate for professional Greeks appeared to have increased to almost 40%, which shows that with time, the employment prospects for people with professional qualifications improved substantially. Referring to the same issue, Vryonis considers Greek migrants to be professionally and socially successful, and he attributes this to their reputation for entrepreneurial ingenuity²⁵¹.

The unsettling effect of under-utilisation of some professionally qualified migrants and, still worse, the rejection of their overseas qualifications, has been described by several respondents as having a devastating effect on their morale and settlement in Australia²⁵². Some of them, even contemplated returning home, although none of them did so and they finally established themselves in Australia. Unfortunately, for those who came from Egypt and the occupied part of Cyprus, there was no other option, because the trip to Australia was a one way venture. It should be mentioned that the temporary and for some of the respondents long-term, down-grading of qualifications, imposed financial stress on families as a result of lower wages, and created anxiety and uncertainty about their future settlement in Australia. On the other hand, No. 10 who had the support of friends, could speak English and was also young and determined to make productive use of his experience in Australia, said that 'from the first moment of my arrival, I found Australia the place I was looking for in my life.' His departure from Greece left a vacuum in his heart, but he never felt isolated or socially lost and adapted himself well to the new environment. Similar feelings have also been expressed by No. 17 who, very soon after her

²⁴⁹ J. Collins, 'Immigration and Class: The Australian Experience', in Ethnicity, Class and Gender, eds. G. Bottomley and M. De-le-Pervanche, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984, p. 18.

²⁵⁰ A Decade of Migrant Settlement, (DMS), op. cit., pp. 19-26.

²⁵¹ APIC (Australian Population and Immigration Council), A Decade of Migrant Settlement: Report on the 1973 Immigration Survey, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, p. 54. See also, Vryonis, 'Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow', op. cit. p. 17.

²⁵² Those of the respondent who felt demoralised were Nos 2, 3, 16, 19, 20, 23 and 30 and those whose qualifications were down-graded were Nos 2, 3, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23, 25, 30 and 35.

arrival, managed to occupy a position of influence in the Australian society and government services²⁵³.

It can be generally said that, the degree of difficulty of professional migrants in settling and adapting to the Australian conditions, was appreciably reduced for those who had the support of friends and relatives in Australia²⁵⁴. This was because at the time of arrival even a friendly word and some moral support were enough to uplift the morale of newcomers. With admiration for the willingness of relatives to offer their support, Lee remarked that, 'the Greek society starts with the family and extends outward from it'²⁵⁵. Almost all participants were overwhelmed by feelings of emptiness and nostalgia for the places they had left behind, and for many of them these feelings had a negative effect on their adaptation. The situation was further magnified by the inability of some to effectively communicate with the Australians, and the uncertainty regarding their professional recognition²⁵⁶.

It has been unfortunate that four of the participants (Nos 16, 23, 25 & 30), failed to gain recognition of their qualifications or work experience, and they had to resort to alternative occupations. They remained in Australia but they have been devastated by their professional demise which, even years later, stands as a barrier to their acceptance of the Australian society. All the others managed to establish themselves with various degrees of success, and this has also contributed to their satisfactory settlement in Australia. Considering the expressed views of the participants in their totality, it appears that they are generally satisfied with their living

²⁵³ 'Australia has exerted a maturing effect on me and has helped me become intellectually productive. The same as many other migrants, I have also been faced with problems, but I managed to overcome them and I have now established my professional and private life in Australia.'

²⁵⁴ No. 6 said 'In Athens, our house had become like a transit centre for relatives leaving for Australia. I felt relaxed when I came to Sydney where some of them were waiting to meet me.'
No. 16 who had his wife's parents in Australia said 'At least my arrival in Australia was pleasant because I was met by my wife's relatives. My problem of recognition, which affected my whole life in Australia, started from the time I applied for work as an Agriculturalist.'
Those who had friends or relatives at arrival in Australia were Nos 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, 26, 27, 33, 38 and 43.

²⁵⁵ D. Lee, Greece In Cultural Patterns and Technological Change, UNESCO Publications by M. Mead, New York, 1955, p. 73. In the same spirit to that of Lee, R. Firth, J. Hubert and A. Forge, Families and their Relatives, Routledge & Kegan, London, 1970, p. 461 has also described the Greek family support as a 'Flow of social behaviour', and J. K. Cambell and P. C. Sherrard, Modern Greece, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1968, p. 35, added that it is 'a cultural characteristic of Greeks, which has been inherited from ancient times'. Commenting on the same topic, Price, Greeks in Australia, op. cit. pp. 33, 47, said that the value of assistance received by the new arrivals, and consequently its effect on their settlement, was a significant protection from the attitudes of a society which was frequently hostile to them, and tended to reduce them to a lower social status.

²⁵⁶ Those who experienced communication difficulties and uncertainty were Nos 2, 3, 6, 13, 14, 16, 19, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31 and 35.

conditions and sociocultural environment in Australia, but everyone of them looks to Greece with love and affection, and No. 35 is an example of the way such feelings can be expressed²⁵⁷.

With special reference to the ten women participants, it should be noted that they all achieved professional success. they have established their own social circles and it appears they have become as productive as their counterparts in Greece or Australian-born women²⁵⁸. An impressive example of stamina and tenacity in her determination to re-establish herself in Australia and start again with her professional career, has been given by No. 41 who, after many years of hard mental and physical work, is now grateful for having managed to become an accomplished academic and administrator. She has adapted well to her new environment and has also developed a close association with the Greek community in Sydney.

Although there is no official register of the number of professional Greeks who came to Australia, there is nevertheless some information which reveals that an appreciable number of them returned permanently to Greece, due to difficulties in establishing themselves satisfactorily and adapting to the local conditions²⁵⁹. Results from an inquiry into the departure of migrants from Australia during the 1960's, showed that 22% of all migrants returned home, and amongst them there was a high proportion of skilled professionals. This information, combined with statements made by the participants, point to the fact that various factors, and especially the unfavourable sociocultural conditions in Australia, played a significant role in their decision to return home. Collins has also remarked that many non-Anglophone professional migrants became factory fodder, and were excluded from the Australian sociopolitical life²⁶⁰. In addition to these circumstances, Kanarakis has argued that, nostalgia has been responsible for the traditional Odyssean dream of Greeks to return to their homeland (nostos)²⁶¹. There is little doubt that xenitia (living in a foreign country) tends to create feelings of bitterness and enforced separation, which together produce a sense of longing for one's birthplace. This was further

²⁵⁷ 'Greece has always remained the guardian of my memories. They are the memories of my formative years which keep me captive and call me to go back. When I visit Greece, it is a feeling almost impossible to describe. I don't regret my decision to live in Australia where I have developed intellectually and have been given the financial ability to live a comfortable life.'

²⁵⁸ Bottomley, 'Women on the Move: Migration and Feminism', op. cit. pp. 98-108.

²⁵⁹ Five of the respondents, Nos 1, 5, 9, 19 and 43, have stated that in their early years in Australia, they met several professional Greek migrants who worked for a short period in Australia and then returned to Greece.

²⁶⁰ See the 1973 survey of the Statistical Digest, Dept of Labour and Immigration in Canberra and in the papers "A Decade of Migrant Settlement (DMS, 1973, p.16)". While the rate of departing unskilled migrants was 18%, that for those with overseas qualifications was 38%. See also J. Collins, 'The Political Economy of Post War Immigration', in Wheelwright & Buckley, Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism, Vol 1. ANZ, Sydney, 1975.

²⁶¹ Kanarakis, Greek Voices in Australia, op. cit. p. 5.

aggravated by the hostile Australian social environment since some of the participants suffered social isolation and racist behaviour in their professional and private lives²⁶².

Comparing published information on racial discrimination against Greek migrants in general, versus the group of professionals, it appears that the latter suffered racism but only in the form of isolated instances. McConnochie et al described these instances as 'a matter of prejudice by people who think ill of others without sufficient reason, and there are situations when people are prejudged and stereotyped'²⁶³. As a consequence, No. 6 was rejected by a school principal because of her ethnic background, and No. 16, was repeatedly refused work and was relegated to low-ranking employment, because he was a migrant without fluency in English. When No. 41 applied to be admitted to a university course, she was advised by the Dean that it would have been better for her to first find a factory job, as all migrants do, and go back to the university after she had improved her English and had a better idea of what she wanted to do.

According to Van Den Berghe and McConnochie et al, there is a need in society to respect and tolerate each other, by removing sources of tension and improving relationships²⁶⁴. In their view, most cases of racism against the professionals, were the result of the Australian sense of 'ethnocentrism' or 'racism', and could have been avoided.

McConnochie et al concluded by saying that, 'racism has been deeply embedded in the minds of the Australian society', and Shergold has also confirmed the discriminatory treatment of Greek migrants²⁶⁵.

Apart from the statements on racist or discriminatory encounters made by the participants, no other information could be found with direct reference to professional Greek migrants, which could be used to make a better assessment of the extent to which they were subjected to racial discrimination in Australia. Lever and Shergold wrote that Greek migrants, including professionals, were channelled into the unskilled, low-wage employment sector and added that 'For anyone not to get equal pay for equally skilled work, represents one form of discrimination but, not to be given the opportunity to compete, is much worse.'²⁶⁶

²⁶² See also on this point, Price, *Greeks in Australia*, op. cit. p. 33.
Those who suffered racial discrimination are Nos. 2, 6, 7, 16, 19, 23, 25, 30, 35 and 41.

²⁶³ McConnochie, et al, *Racism in Australia*, op. cit. p. 21.

²⁶⁴ Van Den Berghe, *Race and Racism*, Willey, 1967. See also McConnochie, et al, loc. cit.

²⁶⁵ McConnochie, et al, *Racism in Australia*, op. cit. pp. 179, 244.
P. R. Shergold, 'Discrimination Against Australia's Migrants: An Historical Methodology', in I. Burkley, S. Encels, G. McCall (eds), *Immigration and Ethnicity in the 1980's*, Longman Cheshire, 1985, p. 65.

²⁶⁶ It is almost impossible to quantify the differences in racist attitudes to which professional versus ordinary migrants were subjected, but this pilot study has shown that with only a few exceptions, the Australian community in general, showed a great deal of respect for professionally qualified Greek migrants.

The introduction of the Multicultural Policy and Non Discrimination Legislation in the 1970's, changed the social environment in Australia and protected migrants, especially from any unjust down-grading of their qualifications. Such legislation was beneficial to many of the participants who were grateful for the opportunity to compete in the professional arena in Australia.

Comments on the issue of racial discrimination have been made by several researchers, who agree that 'Even today, after many social changes in Australia, it is not difficult to find a layer of racial prejudice hidden beneath a veneer of politeness'²⁶⁷. No. 7 described racism as being an inherent part of 'multiculturalism' which is presented to migrants in the form of a dessert. 'we swallow it and say thank you'. By this, he wanted to say that, it is not enough to introduce a policy unless it is accepted by mainstream society²⁶⁸.

Of the racist encounters that affected a small number of participants, the most significant were those which involved the professional futures of Nos 16, 23, 25 and 30, and destroyed their hopes of a career in Australia. All the others managed to re-establish themselves, despite various obstacles. According to Theodoulou, Krupinski and Stoller, racism has been present throughout the whole spectrum of the Australian society²⁶⁹.

It would seem from the present study that almost every participant was faced during their first few years in Australia with problems of social adaptation and professional re-establishment. The majority of them, managed to overcome the main problems, but four of them (No 16, 23, 25 and 30) completely lost their professional status, became only moderately successful in their alternative pursuits and found it difficult to adapt to Australian conditions.

In the analysis of the settlement and adaptation process of professional Greek migrants in Australia, an attempt will be made to highlight the common features that existed among participants, and then concentrate on the analysis of each of the professional groups with a view of making comparisons and identifying any similarities or differences that might exist between them. Although the most important common aspect among the 45 participants has been their struggle to settle and adapt themselves to the Australian society, it must be realised that their vast differences as individuals, with each of them having a different background, professional and social experience, age, gender, family responsibilities and origin has made this task difficult. -

²⁶⁷ Price, *Greeks in Australia*, op. cit. pp. 33, 47. See also A. G. Doczy, 'Minority Groups and Problems of Adjustment', in *Racism, The Australian Experience*, ed. F. Stephens, Vol I, ANZ Book Co, Sydney, 1974, p. 47; J. Ray, 'In Defence of Australia's Policy Towards Non-White Migration', in *Racism, The Australian Experience*, ed. F. Stephens, Vol 3, ANZ Book Co. Sydney, 1974, p. 238.

²⁶⁸ No. 7 came from Egypt where for generations the Greeks had proudly retained their ethnic sentiment and were never racially discriminated against.

²⁶⁹ P. Theodoulou, 'Culture and Society in Australia: Greek Settlers in Australia', *Greek Action Bulletin*, Vol 6 (1), March 1981, pp. 1-11.

To facilitate the approach to this analysis and for additional information, reference should also be made to Appendices Nos 6, 7, 8 and 9.

One fundamental difference between the participants is their origin, and on the basis of this, it is possible to divide them into two groups. The first group represents the 14 participants who came from Cyprus and Egypt and were forced to leave their homes without being able to return, and the other is made up of the 31 individuals who migrated from Greece. From the very beginning of their arrival in Australia, the 14 participants from Cyprus and Egypt who were physically and psychologically traumatised, were determined to make Australia home, as this was indicated in some of their statements²⁷⁰.

Those from Cyprus and Egypt, had professional experience and from the early stages of their arrival, tried to use these attributes towards their settlement and professional recognition in Australia²⁷¹. With the exception of Nos 38 and 42 who had difficulty in using the language²⁷², all the others could speak English well. Despite their willingness to become an integral part of the Australian society, there were instances which created disappointment to some of them, and as a result, the Australian social and professional systems appeared to them to be unfair and inequitable²⁷³. Teacher No. 23, was placed in such an unenviable position, who after having been rejected by the Australian Department of Education, despite her 13 years of professional experience, and she did not feel she belonged to a society which deprived her from continuing the work she had done for so many years before. No. 30 was also subjected to a similar situation, but they both recognised the fact that there was no way out of their predicament,

270 No. 3 said, 'The social and employment situation started worrying me because I realised that it would become difficult for me to settle in my new environment without any professional status, after 17 years in a teaching career. No. 23 said, 'I like Australia but how can I feel secure and feel I have settled when my whole professional life has been ignored without any real justification? This rejection makes me feel that I have been rejected by society in which I am supposed to settle. The authorities were not prepared to accept even the additional qualification I acquired in Australia, but still I have to stay here'.

271 No. 34 said, 'I could sense from the beginning, that Australia was offering the opportunity for further studies and the development of an academic future. I had to use my experience to establish myself in Australia and become part of its society.
No. 38 said, 'The early years of my arrival in Australia were socially and financially difficult and put a lot of stress on me. On the other hand, they gave me experience, strength and determination to move ahead.'

272 No. 38 said, 'My main problem in Australia was my difficulty to speak English at the level required for recognition of my qualifications and further university studies. For me, the language was not a matter for simple communication but I needed the fluency required by universities for their academic staff. I had to forget the past and concentrate on my future. Australia was my future'.

273 No. 30 said, 'They excluded me by 2 percentage points. I was devastated that I had to give up all my dreams and work as a labourer for the rest of my life. My life as a migrant became a nightmare. I cannot see in it anything else but an act of discrimination against me. It has been a devastating feeling'.

because Egypt would not welcome them back had they wanted to return. Nos 23 and 30 were fluent in English and young, but their failure to have their qualifications recognised, ruined their plans for the future²⁷⁴. Since employment appeared to be one of the key factors influencing the process of settlement in Australia, participant No. 36 failed to gain employment and he also felt resentful towards the new society.

Apart from the critical role played by employment in relation to settlement in Australia, neither age, gender or professional background, as such, appeared to have any detectable effect upon settlement of professionals from outside Greece. With this in mind, and taking into consideration that their ages at arrival ranged between 24-39 years, with two being older than 52 years, 12 out of the total of 14 in this group settled well in Australia, regardless of the type of employment they gained. All of them remained sentimentally attached to their place of origin and frequently referred to it with affection²⁷⁵. Their sentiments became more intense when faced with professional or racial problems²⁷⁶. This situation created uncertainty and a feeling of intimidation²⁷⁷. Contrary to this, some of the participants (Nos 4, 6, 22 and 40), found Australia socially and politically, a suitable country to live and work in²⁷⁸.

The 31 participants who migrated from Greece to Australia, including two Australian-born Greeks who lived for several years and were educated in Greece, represented people of ages between 24-39 years, and one 57 years old (See Appendices 7, 8 and 9). They belonged to nine

²⁷⁴ No. 23 said, 'My first few years in Australia were difficult and disappointing. We have now established a good circle of friends and enjoy their company but, it is sad that in the beginning when we needed them most and we had a little more time to spare, we were struggling to earn some income to meet our expenses. Now, the situation is exactly the opposite and Australia has become home'.

²⁷⁵ No. 38 said, 'The visits to Cyprus give me great pleasure but at the same time they make me realise that I don't belong here or there, any longer. It is a frightening feeling.'

²⁷⁶ This kind of psychological condition was described by Nos 30 and 36 who indicated that the disappointment of professional rejection made them lose their confidence and together with other disappointments precipitated a state of depression'.

²⁷⁷ Engineer No. 27 said, 'I faced many problems in Australia, including some racial discrimination against me, but I managed to overcome them. Now I realise how difficult it has been for professional migrants to establish themselves in an Anglophone country.' No. 27 continued 'Not long ago, I attended a seminar organised by Rotary and the speaker referring to racial discrimination made the point that even today, there are several foreign scientists in Australia unable to find employment, despite the recognition of their qualifications.' No. 7 who travelled with the merchant navy for 10 years said 'As a newcomer, I tried to ignore racism which at some stage was confused with multiculturalism. Now I have the opportunity to serve the community through the cultural wealth in my library.'

²⁷⁸ No. 40, a well established social scientist and diplomat said 'I held various diplomatic and academic positions overseas and when I returned to Australia, I found it to be one of the most suitable countries to settle with my family.'

professional areas, and with the exception of No. 6, the others had professional experience in Greece or other parts of the world.

As it has already been discussed in Chapter 2 and analysed in Appendix 9²⁷⁹, the principal reasons for their migration were the unpleasant sociopolitical conditions in Greece, and the perception that Australia was a more desirable society in which to settle and challenge their professional capabilities. Despite this, their settlement in a foreign environment was complicated by various factors which included the ability to use the English language, problems associated with professional recognition and employment, sentimental attachment to the place of origin and instances of discrimination.

For 18 out of the total of 31 professionals in this group, the most critical aspect during their efforts to settle and adapt themselves to the new society, was their inability to use the English language at an acceptable level for their day to day professional and social needs. Learning English in Australia proved to be more difficult for those above the age of 30 years, and despite the fact that the priests and most of the doctors could not speak English, there was no immediate pressure on them to improve their knowledge of English²⁸⁰.

For several of the participants, their decision to leave Greece created a feeling of isolation and even guilt, as they tried to settle in a society which was basically different from their own, and also because they were distancing themselves from the people they loved²⁸¹. While short visits to Greece served as a means of revitalising their sentiments, at the same time this created a feeling of uncertainty and anxiety because of the changes in the attitudes of people in their old social circles²⁸². Their anxiety was reduced with the years, as every one of them became more

²⁷⁹ In Chapter 2, the relevant pages are 34 and 35, footnote 175.

²⁸⁰ For most of the doctors, and priests, as well as Nos 16, 19 and 25, the difficulty to communicate in English, continued for several years after their arrival because of their daily involvement with Greek speaking migrants.

²⁸¹ No. 1 said, 'I had never lived outside Greece before and my trip to Australia brought me face to face with the reality of Xenitias. It was then when I suddenly found myself alone, in an alien environment without my friends or relatives. I was a stranger among strangers, with my only companions my qualifications, and the determination to prove to myself that I was in a position to rely on my abilities for survival'.
Among those with a strong attachment to their Greek background were Nos 1, 4, 6, 14, 18, 32, 35, 9, 41 and 43. Most of whom are women. See also Appendix 6. No. 41 said, 'I travel to Greece every few years because I love the country and sometimes I feel guilty I don't belong there any longer. It is this feeling of guilt that gives me strength and makes me work hard to keep the Greek name high'. No. 18 said, 'I feel sad when I remember the pleasant years I spent in Greece with my friends and the way that close friendship has now developed. This sad situation is beautifully expressed in the saying "Matia pou den vleponte grigora lismoniounte"(Eyes which don't see each other frequently are forgotten)'.

²⁸² No. 18 said, 'I have a lot of affection for the country of my origin which I visit as frequently as I can, but I was deeply disappointed in my last trip when I found myself among a group of roughly behaving Greeks. I could not recognise their unacceptable behaviour and felt as if I were a foreigner in my own country. Even some of my friends considered me a stranger'.

deeply entangled in the complexities of their day to day lives in Australia and the problems of their professional and social establishment. To a certain extent, their sentimentalities were overtaken by the realities of the present²⁸³. Although most of the participants concentrated their efforts in settling in Australia, the five who failed to establish their professional status, saw Australia, as the country which condemned them to obscurity²⁸⁴.

This sense of whether they belonged or not, has kept almost all participants in a state of uncertainty throughout their migrant lives, and although the idea of returning one day to live in Greece is still in their thoughts, none of them has as yet returned to stay there²⁸⁵. The decision of the majority of professionals to settle in Australia, has been the result of their commitments in social, educational, family, financial and work activities, which tie them firmly to Australia²⁸⁶. While these factors may be causing in each of the participants a varying degree of anxiety, frequent visits to Greece have served as a relaxing alternative to the anguish of having to live away from their old country²⁸⁷.

²⁸³ No. 5 said, 'I am pleased that the 36 years I have lived in Australia, have not changed my Greek lifestyle. I love my culture and am proud to be Greek, but in reality my family and my work now belong to Australia'. No. 20 said, 'I cannot forget Greece and my strong desire is to return and live there with my family. But how can I make such a move after having been in Australia for 17 years. My children have been educated in Australia and they are more familiar with this society than the social conditions in Greece'. On the other hand, doctor No. 9 feels that Greece will provide a better moral environment for his children and he has been contemplating to return there to live.

²⁸⁴ For Nos 16, 19, 23, 25 and 30, Australia will always remain the country which somehow removed from them the opportunity to continue working as professionals, by using the experience they had accumulated before migrating.

²⁸⁵ No. 5 said, 'I am proud that even after 36 years in Australia, my interest for Greece has remained the same as ever. But, I admit that my foster mother has in many ways treated me better than my mother. This is the debt I owe Australia'. The sentiments expressed by doctor No. 5, also reflect the feeling of several other participants to return home, but none of them has yet done so. They are Nos 1, 4, 6, 9, 10, 14, 17, 20, 32, 41 and 43.

²⁸⁶ No. 41 said, 'My work and family commitments in Australia tie me firmly to this country'. No. 1 said, 'My deep affection for Greece will always remain the same but my heavy commitments in Australia keep me captive in this country'. No. 20 said, 'My life in Australia has become work and more work and I find it difficult to travel to Greece as often as I would have liked to do'.

²⁸⁷ No. 6 said, 'While the factory environment brought me face to face with the hard reality of migrant life, teaching gave me the satisfaction of being able to help Greek children to better understand the meaning of their ancestry and gave meaning to my migrant life in Australia'. Engineer No. 25 said, 'I decided to leave Greece at the peak of my professional achievements and social life, but my existence in Australia became a nightmare. Many times I contemplated going back to Greece because I have failed as a professional person, but I have not had the courage to face my colleagues at home. If I had stayed in Greece I would have continued to work successfully as a surveying engineer in the same way as my friends have been doing. They would be surprised if they learnt of my dismal professional condition in Australia'. No. 5 claimed, 'I migrated because I wanted to live the excitement of an adventure, and I am now completely satisfied that professionally I have achieved my goals. Despite this, I don't feel I belong to the Australian society, and sometimes this becomes an unbearable feeling'. No. 14 stated, 'After ten years of dental practice in Australia, I felt the strong desire to return to Greece for good. When I went back, I realised that so many social changes had taken place, which convinced me that Australia was a more secure place to live. I felt I had established a strong bond with Australia where my possessions and immediate family are'. No. 32 said, 'With my right to practice in Australia, I felt relaxed and Australia appeared to be more attractive than before. Only my social life would have been different in Greece, but now my house, my family and my work are in Australia'.

An important commitment to the Australian society, and especially to the Greek community in Australia by the teachers, lecturers, social scientists, doctors and clergy, has been the multifaceted support they have been giving towards the needs of the migrant Greek community. During the 1960's and 1970's, the Greek community was in need of direction, and education on ethnic issues, language and culture for both migrants and their children, and there was also a need for support on social and health matters²⁸⁸. All these responsibilities became moral commitments for most of the professional migrants, and especially those working in the areas of education and religious instruction, and provided them with additional interest in their lives²⁸⁹. In this respect, No. 6 was very concerned about the social isolation suffered by Greek migrants as members of an alien society, and the harsh factory environment where she also worked by their side. As a result she was pleased to be able to offer them welfare and educational services, soon after she fulfilled her ambitions for additional qualifications and training in Australia. The greatest satisfaction she derived from her involvement in the Greek community, was the opportunity to teach Greek children the language and culture of their parents. This gave meaning to her life in Australia and, somewhat quenched her longing for Greece. In the same way and with similar ideals to those of No. 6, several of the other participants derived satisfaction from the assistance they have given to the Greek community²⁹⁰.

A most impressive case of settlement in Australia has been that of teacher No. 13, who migrated at the age of 57 with the aim of imparting his knowledge and educational experience in language, culture and religion to Australia-born Greek children. Despite the various obstacles he

²⁸⁸ The state of the Greek community in the 1960's and 1970's in Australia has been discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 11-13.

²⁸⁹ Although No. 19 suffered the disappointment of failing to be recredited in Australia, found immense satisfaction in teaching children the Greek language, and this gave him new courage to stay in Australia. In his own statement he said, 'For 25 years I have been offering my services to the community and I am now satisfied that I have managed to contribute to the promotion of the Greek language in Australia. This commitment has given special meaning to my life in Australia'. No. 42, who by virtue of his poetic talent and as a writer, could offer Greek migrants the opportunity of enjoying literary work, said, 'My early impression of Australia was very disappointing, because of lack of social and intellectual activity in the Greek community. Now, more than 30 years later, the situation is completely the opposite. I am satisfied that I have been able to make some small contribution to the development of the Greek literary activities in Australia'.

²⁹⁰ Similar feelings have also been shared by a multitude of participants and No. 41 summed it up by saying, 'My love for Greece has always been sincere but my great satisfaction in Australia has been the response I receive from the Greek community in Sydney for my services in Modern Greek Studies'.

encountered in Australia, he managed to establish himself and he used his expertise for the benefit of the Greek community. His intimate involvement with the Greek community, has helped him to accept Australia as his adopted country²⁹¹.

Some of the professionals, being unfamiliar with their new environment, they even became doubtful about their future prospects in Australia, and even considered returning to Greece²⁹². One such person has been No. 20 whose disappointment for being unjustly rejected for an academic position in the field of science education, made him contemplate returning to Greece. For several years thereafter, his whole existence was divided between the two countries²⁹³. Even more disappointed than him has been No. 16 who, after rejection of his qualifications and work experience, was relegated to the occupation of an unskilled worker²⁹⁴.

For him, life in Australia became a nightmare and, even today 16 years later, he finds it difficult to accept Australia and its social system as a fair society to live in. Difficulties in professional recognition and occupational problems, forced some participants to compromise by changing from their original professional fields to different types of work. This happened with eight of the participants, who despite their initial disappointments, decided to settle in Australia²⁹⁵.

²⁹¹ No. 3 noted, 'At my age, I don't think I will be able to adapt to the customs of the Australian society but my teaching duties with Greek children have given me pleasure and helped me to settle in Australia and enjoy the new experience'.

²⁹² No. 39 stated, 'During my early years in Australia, I was disappointed by a few minor racial problems in one of the hospitals where I worked. It was a stressful period which started affecting my confidence, at the time when I was still trying to establish myself and adapt to the Australian way of life'. No. 25 said, 'I am deeply disappointed with my life in Australia. In Greece, I lived a very active professional and social life, but in Australia my private and professional life have been ruined'.

²⁹³ No. 20 mentioned that, 'I will never forget the day I left Greece. It was a strange of euphoria, sadness and excitement together as I tried to look forward to my new life in a country I knew nothing about. I hope that one day I will again return to Greece, because in Australia there is still some bias against migrants'.

²⁹⁴ No. 16 argued, 'The repeated and in my opinion unwarranted rejection of my qualifications, convinced me that there was no future for me in Australia. It is difficult to describe how I felt when I lost my confidence in my ability to work. I felt ashamed and wanted to cut off all links of communication with the people I knew in Greece. I could no longer stand the Australian society which I thought had relegated me to the status of an unskilled worker'.

²⁹⁵ No. 35 claimed, 'I came to Australia on a 3 year contract, but I liked the country and decided to settle with my husband. I have now adapted my life to the Australian social routine and I don't regret my decision to stay permanently'. No. 26 stated, 'I was very distressed when I decided to change my profession, but after hard work and many sacrifices I became successful. It will be difficult for my children to understand the degree of hardship I went through, so that they could enjoy comfortable lives.'

The eight participants are Nos 7, 16, 19, 23, 25, 26, 30 and 35.

Among the participants, the only homogeneous group with regards to education, mission and co-ordination of their activities is the clergy who, upon their arrival in Australia became deeply involved with the Greek community. From the very early stages of their arrival, the priests were supported by the interest and dedication shown to them by their parishioners who assisted them to settle in Australia, and in turn the priests reciprocated by offering them spiritual guidance²⁹⁶. According to priest No. 28, the migrant priests started involving themselves in their official duties, even before they had time to familiarise themselves with their new environment. Their duties in Australia have been complex and include teaching of religion, counselling, preserving the moral principles of their parishioners, comforting people in distress and promoting the ethnic ideals of Greece. Under these circumstances, the initial settling time of priests in Australia was almost nil.

It has become clear from the various interviews, that settlement of professional migrants in Australia represented one of the most critical periods in their lives, and this has been the case with all participants. It appears that all of them faced similar problems of settlement and adaptation and they all managed to overcome them, with some of them more effectively than others.

Despite the initial difference in the way individuals faced their problems in Australia, and judging from the overall socioeconomic status they achieved a few years after their arrival in the country, it appears that most of them managed to overcome their personal problems and settled well in this continent. Some of them had to learn English within a short period of time because of the pressures for further studies, whereas the teachers, doctors and priests, did not depend entirely on the use of the English language for practising their profession, and the learning process with them was slow. During the first three years in Australia, only four of the participants (Nos 19, 23, 25 and 30) were unsuccessful in their professional pursuits and struggled for a place in the work force, did not want to accept Australia as a suitable country to adopt and spend the rest of their lives.

²⁹⁶

No. 24 pointed out, 'I had to work my way up from nothing. The first few years I spent trying to gain the trust of people who helped me organise a most active and dedicated parish. I am indebted to all these wonderful Christians for their help'. No. 45 mentioned, 'There is a mutual need for support between the Church and the parishioners. The Priest is always available to respond to the needs of people but it is almost impossible for him to satisfy every one every time, and still more difficult to respond to the needs of those he had never met before in the Church'.

No. 44 said, 'Australia has become my second country, and when I migrated, already I had deep in my conscience the sentiment of Greekness. Since I decided to spend the rest of my life in Australia, I try to convey as much of my admiration for Greece as I can, to the Greek youth who are slowly moving further away from their origins'.

No. 28 noted, 'One of the most serious handicaps for any migrant, including the priests, is the lack of English and the different customs in Australia which makes settlement difficult. Despite this, the kindness and general help I received from parishioners enabled me to settle in Australia and be happy to become an integral part of the Greek community'.

Having analysed the main factors and personal attitudes which apparently influenced the settlement of the participants in Australia, a comparison will now be made between the professional groups, in order to examine the extent to which settlement was associated with the type of education and training of the individuals within their groups, taking also into consideration their age, gender, communication skills and relationship with the Greek migrant community. With the exception of the priests, the composition of the other groups is made of people who differ in origin, level of education and training, gender (with about 25% of them being women), and most importantly, in their ability to speak English.

The six teachers averaged 37 years of age, they came from Greece, Cyprus, Egypt and one of them from Australia, were all experienced educators, with the exception of No. 6, who could not speak English and had no previous teaching experience. After an initial period of uncertainty regarding employment, and taking into consideration the psychological trauma of those who came from Cyprus and Egypt, they all settled in Australia²⁹⁷. As a group, the teachers faced social and employment problems, but they were determined to overcome them, even by compromising their professional status. Only No. 11 who was born in Australia but lived for several years in Greece, found the social conditions in Australia familiar, and to her, settlement and adaptation did not present any problems. This was achieved despite the fact that the customs and habits of her homeland were strongly ingrained and her education took place in Greece, where she worked for about ten years. In contrast to No. 11, some of the other teachers came to Australia without any personal contacts and with very little appreciation of the social conditions. A few of the teachers were also subjected to racial discrimination which had an adverse effect on their confidence. Discrimination in these cases happened only as isolated instances (Nos 3, 6 and 23), and did not affect their willingness to settle in Australia. Those of the participants who were fortunate enough to find some support from friends in Australia, managed to settle and accept the new society without major problems²⁹⁸.

The group of lecturers averaged 27 years of age and only two of them came from Cyprus, while the rest migrated from Greece. Most of them arrived in Australia between 1971 and 1979, a period when Greek education at tertiary level in Australia was gaining momentum and this helped 8 of them to be absorbed into the university education system. This favourable opportunity for employment, facilitated their settlement in Australia and their further

²⁹⁷ No. 13 was disappointed for the way his teaching expertise had been ignored by the Greek community and he even contemplated returning to Greece. His success as a private, Modern Greek educator made him decide to settle in Australia.

²⁹⁸ No. 11 stated 'To me, both countries, Australia and Greece have been equally attractive socially and professionally, and I will continue moving between the two with ease and familiarity'. No. 21 claimed, 'Although I was never involved in any racial confrontations, I was fully aware that until about 1977, I was not supposed to address in Greek other Greek Teachers at work for fear of objection by other colleagues. Today, we openly communicate in Greek, wherever we might be'.

professional development. The other two lecturers (Nos 1 and 4) were also employed at universities, but not in the field of Modern Greek education. It is understandable that fluency in English was a prerequisite for university appointments, and while most of the lecturers could use the language effectively at the time of their appointment, some of them (Nos 18, 38 and 41) made an enormous effort to reach the required level of proficiency within a short period of time.

Through their academic positions as lecturers in Modern Greek, and their willingness to offer their services to the Greek community, they developed close associations with Greek people and this proved beneficial to both parties²⁹⁹. Because most of them came from Greece, they continued to communicate or even established new contacts at a professional level with their colleagues in Greece and this facilitated their visits to Greece and the exchanging of ideas.

Such an arrangement had a beneficial effect on their sentimental attraction to Greece, helped them to develop professionally and also facilitated their settlement in Australia. For some of them (Nos 1, 18, 33, 38 and 41), the attainment of qualifications for an academic appointment in Australia, and the need to perform at the high level of efficiency demanded by universities, required hard work. This was especially difficult for those who had also to achieve fluency in English³⁰⁰. Their determination to achieve their goals was also the catalyst which helped them to settle in Australia.

One of the important precipitators of feelings of social isolation and despondency in a foreign environment, is the discriminatory behaviour of people to which two of the lecturers (Nos 18 and 41) were subjected during their settling period in Australia³⁰¹, however, the instances were few and isolated. McConnochie et al, described this type of discrimination 'as a matter of

²⁹⁹ The lecturers inspired respect within the Greek and Australian communities as this became evident from their statements. No. 18 said 'Since my early years in Australia, I was fortunate enough to be able to develop a very good rapport with the Greek and Australian communities. Both of them helped me to settle in Australia and establish my academic career'.

³⁰⁰ No. 38 who came to Australia devastated by the Turkish invasion in Cyprus, mentioned, 'I realised that migrant life was difficult in Australia but was determined to overcome any obstacles in my way to establish myself, and first task was to master the English language. Within about three years, I had achieved my first goals and this gave me confidence and helped me to settle in Australia and enter the academic profession.'
No. 34 said, 'I was pleasantly surprised when shortly after moving to my house in Melbourne, I was visited by a council employee who asked me to serve on a local committee. This friendly approach made me accept the new society and increased my hopes for the future'.
No. 43 said, 'I have moved my practice to Greece and back a few times, but I find it difficult to explain why. I was very strongly attached to my family with a history which starts at Metzofounda of Podos. My mother was a graduate from the College of Anatolia and her sister was one of the very first graduates from the Medical School in Athens, who was killed by the advancing troops of Kemal Ataturk'.
No. 32 said, 'I have never stopped longing for Greece and my only comfort has been my visits to see my friends, relatives and the many beautiful places'.

³⁰¹ While No. 18 was once abused without any provocation, No. 41 was almost excluded from enrolling to study in one of Sydney's universities.

prejudice by people who think ill of others, without sufficient reason³⁰². Depending on its severity, racial discrimination can have a lasting effect on people, as this was also the case with two other participants, Nos 23 and 30.

Comparing the group of teachers to that of the lecturers, it becomes obvious that people in both groups faced similar settlement and adaptation problems, but all of them managed to establish themselves satisfactorily in the new society. The key factor for this achievement was the security provided by their employment. Both groups showed interest in their professions and tried to achieve their goals, despite the various problems they encountered. The social and economic security created by their employment, regardless of level of achievement, enabled them to treat the new society as a reliable provider for their social and professional lives. The teachers and lecturers were both primarily involved in the education of Greeks and this allowed them to receive encouragement and assistance from the Greek community which made their settlement in Australia a more pleasant affair. Neither racism, origin, gender or age had any noticeable effects on their settlement. All participants in the two groups maintained good and close relationships with Greece, and this had a rather soothing effect on the sentiments of those who came from Greece and longed to return there.

The average age of the medical practitioners, was under 29 and all came from Greece, with only two (Nos 9 and 39) being able to speak some English. This limitation was compensated for by the fact that the bulk of their clientele was Greek speaking migrants. Being surrounded by ethnic Greeks with the same customs and language, they became part of a social micro-environment which satisfied their immediate professional and social requirements and facilitated their settlement³⁰³. This type of social arrangement applied not only to doctors, but also to a greater extent to the clergy, and helped them to settle in Australia, without having to undergo an urgent adaptation process. An example of this is doctor No. 9 who has been very successful in Australia, admired the Australian sociopolitical system, but never felt the need to adapt himself to the local customs³⁰⁴. Only one of the doctors suffered a small degree of racist behaviour during the early stages of his settlement in Australia, but without any serious effect on his morale.

The doctors and dentists were subjected to re-accreditation examinations, which they successfully completed, and without any difficulty they established their medical practices and

³⁰² McConnochie, et al, Racism in Australia, op. cit. p. 21.

³⁰³ Doctor No. 5 claimed, 'It took me only a short time to meet people and to establish a circle of friends. We get together regularly and enjoy a few moments of traditional entertainment'.

³⁰⁴ Doctor No. 9 stated, 'I admire the progressive and peaceful Australian society but even after 45 years I have lived in this country, I still enjoy as much as ever my traditional living style which I share with many good Greek friends'.

became socially established in Australia. To all of them, Greece remained a place of sentimental attraction, which they frequently visited. By doing so, they revitalised their sense of identity and Australia ceased to be the distant place of isolation. An example of this is doctor No. 5 and the two women dentists (Nos 14 and 32) who have been enjoying the best of two worlds³⁰⁵.

The clergy as a group, represent a unique situation of migrants with special qualifications, who established themselves in Australia where they all carry out their duties which are prescribed and co-ordinated by one central authority. They all migrated from Greece with their being an average age 33.5 years, and together with their own concerns for settlement in Australia, they also had to care for the settlement and welfare of other migrants. This remarkable effort showed their dedication to their duties, which became evident not only from their own statements, but also from evidence collected from parishioners³⁰⁶. At no stage, did the priests suffer any discrimination, but on the contrary they were welcomed by Greek migrants and had no difficulty in establishing themselves in Australia. With the only exception of priest No. 44, who was born in Australia, the others could not speak any English and they had no personal contacts in Australia. Despite this, the Greek community gave them support and they reciprocated by preaching Orthodoxy and consoling the pain of loneliness suffered by migrants in Australia.

When comparing the medical practitioners with the clergy, it becomes apparent that people in both groups settled successfully in Australia, and remained attached to their Greek customs and the Greek migrant community, to which they offer valuable services. The two women dentists in the medical group, behaved in a similar way to that of their male colleagues and their establishment was as successful as that of the doctors.

Extending the comparison between the above two groups and those of the teachers and lecturers, the following similarities can be recognised. Firstly, they were all almost entirely involved with Greek migrants; secondly, they suffered a minimum degree of racial discrimination which took place in the form of isolated instances; thirdly, they maintained close association with Greece and Greek tradition; fourthly, they were all occupied in duties which were relevant to their

³⁰⁵ Dentist No. 14 said, 'While Australia has given me peace of mind, material possessions and a good professional opportunity, Greece has always remained the place where my best memories are and which come to life every time I pay a visit there'.

³⁰⁶ The interviewer had the opportunity to discuss with several parishioners the important role played by different priests in the community and the lives of people who are in contact with them, and they all made complimentary comments. Priest No. 12 said, 'I have been preaching the Gospel in Australia for 25 years paying special attention to the humanitarian interpretation of the teachings of the Greek Orthodox faith. My parishioners are kind people who show dedication to the church, and personally I have full appreciation of their needs because I am also a migrant and have worked hard to settle in Australia by overcoming various obstacles'.

professional training; and fifthly, any differences in age, origin or gender, did not have any noticeable effect on their settlement or other aspects of their professional and social life in Australia.

The engineers and science graduates, represent nine people who have been only partly successful in pursuing their professional goals in Australia. As a result, there has been a feeling of uncertainty amongst the majority of them about their life in Australia³⁰⁷. At their arrival in Australia, the average age of the five engineers was thirty, and that of the four science graduates 32.5. They all sought employment in their professional fields, but only three of them achieved some success (Nos 10, 27, 42). As a result, only three out of the nine found Australia the place which fulfilled their expectations, and for most of the others, settlement was not a pleasant occasion. The other six settled in the country by necessity, since they had already been in Australia for a few years and their return to Greece would have meant the beginning of another struggle for re-establishing themselves there. Of the nine participants in the two groups, only two of them (Nos 10 and 42) developed some association with the Greek community, but the sentiments of all nine for Greece and their desire to revisit the country they had left behind remained strong³⁰⁸.

Among the engineers, Nos 19 and 25 were the two oldest participants who found it difficult to learn English and adapt to the conditions dictated by the Australian society. The other three engineers, found alternative employment, and ultimately settled successfully in Australia. Of the science graduates, only No. 20 achieved some professional success but he never abandoned the idea of returning to Greece. The other three in the group, who failed to be professionally recognised and were also unsuccessful in their private pursuits, live with the nightmare of their decision to migrate. It is obvious from the above comments that, the fate of most of the engineers and science graduates with reference to their professional establishment in Australia, was virtually the same and their apprehension regarding settlement in the new society was most certainly connected with their unfulfilled professional expectations.

At the time of their arrival, the average age of the accountants and sea captains was 27 and 30 years respectively, but none of them was successful in establishing themselves in their professional fields. Two of the accountants (Nos 26 and 35) could speak very little English, but they were willing to adapt to the conditions dictated by the new society. While neither the accountants nor the sea captains could make any use of their professional skills in Australia, they

³⁰⁷ Those who have not been satisfied about their prospects as professionals in Australia are Nos 16, 19, 25, 30, 36 and 38.

³⁰⁸ No. 10 said, 'While I was in England, I liked their political system and public life. From that time on, I knew that Australia which had copied their system, would have been a desirable country for me to settle. My expectations were justified and am now happy to live in Australia'.

nevertheless successfully established themselves in alternative occupations, which provided them with security and the satisfaction of having become part of the new society. The racial discrimination they suffered was minimal and comparable to that reported by other participants. Only No. 2 complained about an unprovoked racial attack during his first year in Australia. All of them remained attached to Greek traditions and tried as individuals, to contribute to the promotion of the Greek community in Australia.

The last group consists of two social and one legal worker with ages ranging from 25 to 52 years. They were all well educated and experienced in their professions, which allowed them to occupy prominent positions in Australia. All three were fluent in English and became actively involved with the promotion of the Greek community in a variety of ways. In addition to their obligations to the Greek community, they also appreciated the opportunities they were afforded by the Australian society, and found no difficulty in settling in and adapting their lives to the customs of the new society³⁰⁹. None of them ever suffered any racial discrimination in Australia.

The overview and analysis of the settlement experiences of the participants, provides some indication of the common factors that affected individuals as members of their professional groups and the way in which they reacted as professional migrants towards the problems presented to them by the society.

Independently of their personal impressions of the Australian society, whether satisfied or dissatisfied with the sociopolitical and employment conditions in the new country, they all settled in Australia, and with only a few exceptions, most of them accepted Australia as a desirable country in which to live. Their decision to remain and establish themselves in Australia, appeared to be strongly influenced by the security provided to them by their employment, whether it was within their own professional field or elsewhere. The ability to communicate in English, for those who could speak the language, played an important role in their professional establishment and successful settlement in Australia. In many cases, where their work was directly associated with services provided to Greek migrants, the ability to use the English language was of lesser importance to their professional success and settlement in Australia. On the other hand, those of the older participants who migrated without being able to speak English, found it difficult to learn the language in Australia and as a consequence, their employment status suffered, thus creating an uncertainty for their future and dissatisfaction with the Australian society.

³⁰⁹

No. 17, an active member of the Greek and Australian societies, summarised her thoughts and feelings about her migrant life in Australia by saying that, 'I am grateful to Australia which gave me every opportunity to develop professionally and socially, and to Greece for the inspiration it has continued giving me and which has helped me to continue showing my appreciation to Australia and offering my services to the Greek community'.

The actual field of professional expertise, and in some cases their fluency in English, appeared to have a critical influence on the placing of the respondents in the workforce. This has been apparent with the groups of teachers, lecturers, medical practitioners and clergy, who found a niche in the requirements for specific services to the Greek community. Everyone in these groups settled easily in Australia from the early stages of their arrival, because they could clearly see no problems in their professional development in Australia. Neither age, as such, nor gender or the origin of the participants appeared to have exerted any definite effect on their decision to settle and adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing in the Australian society. The few incidents of racial discrimination created some disappointment in the minds of a small number of participants, who finally accepted Australia and the Australian society.

CHAPTER 4: OVERSEAS QUALIFICATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF FIRST-GENERATION GREEK PROFESSIONALS IN AUSTRALIA

Until the end of the Second World War, Australia was dominated in the field of Science and technology by scientists from Britain and other English speaking countries, who occupied key positions in universities and other institutions. This situation continued until about the middle of the 1960's, when the Australian universities started producing an adequate number of well trained graduates, who took their places in teaching and research³¹⁰.

The period of change in the academic and, more generally, the professional world in Australia, coincided with the time when migrants with overseas qualifications started competing for professional positions in the Australian workforce. It is therefore understandable that, such competition created resentment on behalf of Australian and British graduates, and led to some opposition to the recognition of qualifications from non-English speaking countries³¹¹.

In a report from BIMPR, it was stated that 'professionals from non-English speaking countries, despite having qualifications equal to those of other candidates, are often screened out early, even if their competence for a particular job is more than adequate. This has been attributed to the fact that existing managers choose candidates like themselves'³¹². These comments clearly apply to respondent No. 27 who was denied employment, despite his special qualifications for the position for which he applied. Gavin Wood has also found that a high proportion (34.8%) of migrants from Non-English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB), are overqualified for the work they do and underpaid for their skills, as compared with 11.6% of Australians with similar qualifications. This mismatched underemployment is of serious concern to professional migrants, both from a social and labour market perspective.

Referring to the above issue, Carmichael and Hamilton described two levels of discrimination: One was 'individual' racist attitude, which concerns a face-to-face situation involving an individual, and the second 'institutional' racism, which refers to racist attitudes built into the operations of institutions. The latter concerns discrimination against a group of people, whose qualifications and

³¹⁰ It does not appear to be any recorded information on this topic but the situation described here has been part of 30 years experience of No. 1 in Australian Universities, and personal discussions with Australian scientists.

³¹¹ Price, Australian Migration, A Biography and Digest No. 4, op. cit. p. 16. See also Thompson, From Somewhere Else, op. cit. p. 64; Martin, The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses, op. cit. p. 211.

³¹² BIMPR (Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural & Population Research), 'Migrants and Work', Bulletin, Issue 16, AGPS, Canberra, March 1995, pp. 10-11. See also, Gavin Wood's report appeared in the same BIMPR issue, p. 18.

employability happened to be assessed by such institutions³¹³. Referring to the same topic, another writer has indicated that further research on multicultural issues is required, to provide answers to the continuing concern of ethnic communities about the problems of recognition of qualifications, because the economic aspects of multiculturalism are inseparable from the economics of immigration³¹⁴. While there is no admission of any wrongdoing by the Australian authorities, there is evidence supporting the above claims from the interviews conducted in the present study. In March 1969, the Australian Government established a Federal Committee with main responsibility the investigation of problems associated with overseas qualifications and, in June of the same year, the Committee started discussing matters relating to racial discrimination and employment of professional migrants³¹⁵.

According to Chiswick and Miller³¹⁶, in their attempt to secure employment, about 75% of professional male and female migrants in Australia obtained post-migration qualifications, and several of them sat for re-accreditation of their qualifications. In the present study, only 50% of the respondents undertook re-accreditation tests and only 16 out of 39 (excluding the clergy), obtained additional qualifications.

Brooks, who has been studying the professional status of migrants, found that recognition of qualifications halved the rate of unemployment amongst qualified migrants and in addition, knowledge of English, original country of study and field of expertise, played an important role in the recognition of qualifications. Only 20% of these who did not speak English well, have had their qualifications recognised³¹⁷. While there was no guarantee for providing employment to professional migrants who came to Australia on their own initiative, Holding reported that from time to time, the Department of Employment, Education and Training, selected highly skilled individuals and offered them employment³¹⁸. Two of the respondents (Nos 4 and 22) fall into this category.

³¹³ S. Carmichael and C. V. Hamilton, Black Power, Penguin Publications, 1967, p. 20. Participants who suffered discrimination are Nos 3, 6, 16, 20, 23, 25, 27 and 30.

³¹⁴ J. Jupp, 'Multiculturalism: A Look at Research in the Future', Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural & Population Research, Issue 15, Canberra, November, 1995, pp. 4, 5.

³¹⁵ Australia and Immigration, op. cit. p. 53.

³¹⁶ Chiswick and Miller, Post Immigration Qualifications in Australia, op. cit. pp. 13, 24, 29.

³¹⁷ C. Brooks, 'Overseas Qualifications Recognition: Some New Evidence', Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, Issue 15, Nov. 1995, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1995, pp. 22-23.

³¹⁸ C. Holding, 'The Immigration Program Tailored to National Interests', News Release, Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs No. 63/1988, Canberra, 1988, p. 2.

Although retraining and/or acquisition of post-migration qualifications by professional migrants could have increased their chances of employment, there is evidence indicating that, many of the reaccrediting authorities applied unrealistically high standards in the examination of overseas professionals³¹⁹. With this in mind, four of the 45 participants (Nos 3, 16, 23 and 30) had their qualifications completely and, as they claim, unreasonably rejected, and 16 obtained post migration qualifications and as a consequence, were accepted for specific occupations. The doctors and dentists were retrained before being re-accredited, while the priests did not require any special recognition. The remaining nine, were involved in various private enterprises.

Greece has several tertiary institutions, which by reputation are comparable in academic excellence to central European establishments. The professional status of many of the respondents was of an adequately high level, and as a consequence, those who could produce clear evidence of their educational standards and experience, were recognised by Australian authorities³²⁰. According to the Official Multicultural Agenda (OMA), the Australian civil law recognises equality of opportunity for migrants and the removal of any barriers of discrimination. This indicates the desire of the Australian Government to remove any possible injustice in the recognition of overseas qualifications.

Vryonis commented that the post World War II Australian immigration program was based on the recruitment of unskilled manpower for the industrial and agricultural development of the country and, as a consequence, there was no provision for the deployment of qualified professional migrants³²¹. Tsounis, has also reported that according to the 1986 Census, only 3.7% of all employed Greek migrants were professionals of various categories (males - 1796, females - 1005)³²². In an earlier Government report, the employment rate of Greek migrant women in professional and technical occupations was given as 2.6% but not further details have been

³¹⁹ Inglis and Stromback, op. cit. pp. 310-324. See also M. D. R. Evans and J. Kelley, 'Immigrants' Work: Quality and Discrimination', in *The Australia Labour Market*, Austr. and N.Z. J. of Sociology, Vol. 22 (2), 1986, pp. 187-207; Vondra, op. cit. p. 51; Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*, op. cit. p. 211 and Castles, et al., *The recognition of Overseas Qualifications: Commonwealth Population and Immigration Research Programs*, op. cit., p. 2.

³²⁰ No. 15, commenting on qualifications said, 'I am pleased that Australia recognised my qualifications from the University of Athens, without any problem. I believe that the Australian education system recognises overseas qualifications if they are appropriately presented and well supported by credible evidence'.
O.M.A. (Office of Multicultural Affairs), *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia*, AGPS, 1989. Seven participants whose qualifications were recognised soon after arrival were Nos 1, 4, 8, 15, 17, 22 and 24).

³²¹ Vryonis, op. cit. p. 16.

³²² Tsounis, *Greek Community and Paroikia Formations in Australia, 1880's-1980's*, op. cit. p. 36, Table 10.

provided³²³. There are several discrepancies in reported statistical data regarding professional migrants, which could be mainly due to inconsistencies in the definition of professional categories and apparently, it includes the whole range of people with university degrees to those with tradesman's certificates. Referring to the general migrant population, the 1976 Census showed the Greeks representing the group of migrants with the lowest (13%) level of any kind of qualifications, which was 4½ times lower than that of the Germans with 58%³²⁴. According to McConnochie et al and Collins and Lander³²⁵, it appears that in the 1980's the general perception of Australians about professional migrants was that 'they take our jobs'. This opinion was created without considering the actual benefits generated by migrants in favour of the country's economy. With such an antagonistic attitude in mind, several of the respondents suffered periods of underemployment, during their first few years in Australia³²⁶.

The survey 'A Decade of Migrant Settlement' (DMS), pointed out that the value of qualifications held by migrants depended to a great extent, on the availability of jobs for a particular type of expertise³²⁷. Unfortunately, and most probably because of a lack of English, it was difficult for Greek migrants with qualifications to move between jobs, in an attempt to improve their employability and, as a result, 48% of qualified migrants were working in unskilled occupations³²⁸. The ability of some professional migrants to speak English, played an important role in their opportunity for employment, and the DMS survey found that only 2% of qualified migrants with limited ability to use the language were employed in professional positions, as compared to 21% of those who could speak English. The beneficial effect of a knowledge of the language as a significant factor in employment, has been recognised by most of the respondents, and an indication of this has been the importance placed in studying English, by those who wanted to advance their chances of employment (Nos 6, 14, 16, 18, 32, 35, 38 and 41). The DMS Survey has also given an indication of the degree of discrimination against professional migrants from non-English speaking countries. The survey concluded that, the prospects of qualified migrants from English speaking countries finding employment in the open labour market, were almost similar to others with a good

³²³ DILGEA, 'Migrant Women', Statistical Profile 1981, AGPS, Canberra.

³²⁴ The 1976 Census was published in the Government edition of Population and Dwellings, in the cross classified Table No. 25.

³²⁵ McConnochie, et. al., op. cit. p. 232. See also, J. Collins, 'Immigration and Class: The Australian Experience', in Ethnicity, Class and Gender, eds. G. Bottomley and M. De le Pervanche, Alley and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, pp. 1 - 27.

³²⁶ D. Douglas, 'Economics of Immigration', in The Great Immigration Debate, ed. Milne and Shergold, Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, 2nd Ed. 1984, p. 38, has discussed the economic benefits derived from migrants. Nos 1, 2, 3, 14, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 35, 38 and 44 suffered periods of underemployment.

³²⁷ DMS, 1976, op. cit. pp. 12, 15.

³²⁸ *ibid* p p. 15, 19, 20, 54-58.

command of English. Despite this, the present study does not fully support the above conclusion, because discrimination does not refer only to employment but also to the recognition of qualifications.

Unfortunately, several of the participants could speak very little English at their arrival, and even years later had made very little progress in using the language. This is in agreement with the general picture given by migrants and the effect of the language on their establishment in Australia³²⁹.

Australia has one of the most highly regulated labour markets in the world, and with special reference to doctors, Iredale commented that such tight controls go well-beyond patient protection. This statement is in agreement with remarks made by all participant doctors³³⁰. In this respect, in a report prepared by the Trades Practices Commission (TPC) on the restrictions imposed on the entry of migrants with accountant's qualifications, stated that harsh screening denies the availability of their services to the public and causes hardship to individuals³³¹. In view of these apparently unreasonably severe restrictions, which also restricted the recognition of qualifications, none of the three participating accountants (Nos 2, 26 and 35) was encouraged to practise their profession in Australia and, ultimately, all of them had to change occupation. The TPC Committee, was concerned about the difficulties encountered in the recognition of qualifications, which were probably due to the process of delegating the assessment to self-regulatory bodies, and advised the Australian Government that there should be an independent 'right of appeal authority', to which any adversely affected candidates could refer their cases for a second opinion. Among all participants, and as previously mentioned, there have been four cases (Nos 16, 20, 23 and 30) in which it appears that their qualifications had been unjustly assessed and were not recognised. These individuals did not have any right of appeal against the decisions.

For overseas trained migrants, the Australian Government introduced a competency-based assessment, which relied on the ability of candidates to perform the duties required by their profession³³². This type of assessment was used on the participant doctors and dentists, who had access to clinics and hospitals for their retraining. Despite this, their complaints about excessive

³²⁹ DMS, 1976, op. cit. pp. 91, 93.

³³⁰ R. Iredale, Where are we now in Overseas Qualifications Recognition: A Decade of Review and Changes, Occasional Paper No. 26, Centre of Multicultural Studies, Univ. of Wollongong, NSW, 1992, p. x. Doctor No. 5 came to Australia, as an experienced specialist but he was requested to complete 3 years re-training as a requirement for re-accreditation. He lodged a complaint and the 3 years were reduced to two.

³³¹ TPC, (Trade Practices Commission), 'Study of the Profession: Accountancy', Final Report, July 1992, Canberra, 1992a.

³³² No. 5 said that, 'When I worked at a hospital under the supervision of a registered doctor, he soon appreciated my experience and allowed me to take full responsibility for the treatment of patients.' R. Iredale, 1992, op. cit. p. xi.

practical training requirements reflected Iredale's remarks that, 'examinations for recognition have been considered by some, as a tool for controlling the number of overseas professionals entering certain professions in Australia'³³³. Although this claim has been justified in some cases (Nos 16, 23, 25 and 30), all Greek doctors and dentists included in this study, were successful in gaining permission to practise in Australia.

In a study by Kidd and Brown, it was reported that doctors in general, faced language problems and were also victims of racial prejudice, which created psychological problems and posed a serious obstacle to their careers in Australia³³⁴. Indeed, participant doctors reported some moderate degree of racial encounters during their re-training period, and they also found that their inability to speak the language adequately, created difficulties during their retraining period.

Despite the apparent intentions of the Australian Government to introduce a method for fairer assessment of qualifications, Iredale³³⁵ contended that, even ten years after the introduction of this new method no evaluation of the system had been made. An important observation on this matter, has been that migrants with qualifications from Non-English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB), continue to suffer low recognition rates. To avoid any disappointment by prospective professional migrants, the Australian Government has now started screening them before they enter the country. With reference to all the participants in this study, excluding clergy, four out of a total of 22 who applied for recognition or re-accreditation of their qualifications were rejected, and most of those who were accepted for academic or other positions, had acquired additional qualifications in Australia.

In relation to employment conditions for professional migrants, Iredale stated that, either because of ignorance, prejudice or ill advice regarding overseas trained migrants, Australian employers tend to choose applicants who are best known to them in terms of being most 'like them'³³⁶. In the present study it was found that, the teachers, Nos 3 and 23, who had several years professional experience, the surveyor No. 25 and agriculturalist No. 16, were apparently refused work on the basis of the above attitude.

Further comments on selection practices used by employers, indicate that apart from any overt discrimination against professional migrants, there has also been indirect discrimination built into many recruitment practices. Such practices, effectively shut-out certain applicants, including the

³³³ Iredale, 'Where are we now in Overseas Qualifications Recognition', op. cit. p. 6.

³³⁴ Kidd and Brawn, op. cit. p. xi.

³³⁵ Iredale, 'Where are we now in Overseas Qualifications Recognition. A Decade of Review and Changes', op. cit. p. xii.

³³⁶ *ibid.* p. xiii.

older professionals. This type of discriminatory action perpetuated against science graduate No. 36 who, despite his excellent credentials, was refused employment when he returned to Australia at the age of 55. Another similar case is No. 3, whose 17 years teaching experience was disregarded when he applied for a teaching position with the Department of Education at the age of 40³³⁷.

In a research paper published by Iredale, it is claimed that many employers are concerned about possible communication difficulties when dealing with overseas trained professional people, as well as with problems regarding lack of local experience. While the limited knowledge of English has been one of the main weaknesses amongst the participants, it has been pointed out by Iredale that English relating to certain occupations is better learnt on the job. Iredale has also remarked that when employers speak about lack of experience, they rather mean lack of knowledge of local codes and not of professional experience.

Whichever way we may try to interpret the employers attitude towards professional migrants, the reality is that the careers of Nos 16, 19, 23, 25, 30 and possibly No. 3, were damaged, despite the fact that they all had good qualifications and professional experience. While this was the case with some of the respondents who came to Australia until the early 1980's without any previous arrangement, employers in a recent recommendation to the Australian Government, requested the reduction of the number of 'untargetted' skilled migrants, because of current unemployment problems in Australia³³⁸. This 'fortress mentality' (ie. to protect the employment market against overseas professionals), may prove in the long run to be harmful to Australia's expanding economic pursuits. Unfortunately, to date there has been very little evidence of any real commitment on behalf of the Australian Government, to alleviate the plight of professional migrants and, as a result, several of the participants have suffered varying degrees of discrimination.

In the 1980's, the Trade Union Movement, requested the Australian Government to reduce the number of professional migrants entering Australia, and Collins pointed out, the only way the Government could persuade the unions to allow the entry of professional migrants, was by guaranteeing that they would not take jobs from Australians. By doing so, the Government agreed to 'institutionalise' the inferiority of Eastern European professionals³³⁹. In view of this discriminatory attitude, it was only because of the personal determination and tenacity of the participants that, only a small number of them suffered at some stage of their lives, fragmentation of their professional careers. Many of the participants achieved their goals by upgrading their

³³⁷ Iredale, loc. cit.

³³⁸ *ibid.* p. 1.

³³⁹ J. Collins, *Migrant Hands in a Distant Land: Australia's Postwar Migration*, Pluto Press, Sydney, 1988, p. 208.

qualifications and/or re-training under Australian conditions. An example of this is the medical practitioners and lecturers, who made use of training facilities or bridging courses available in Australia³⁴⁰.

With reference to the group of engineers, the two participant architects (Nos 10 and 19) found it difficult to be accepted in Australia, because Greece is not a member of the countries approved by the Architects' Accreditation Council of Australia. As a consequence, there has been a heavy bias in favour of Commonwealth and English speaking graduates in Engineering³⁴¹. Unlike other professions, the legal profession has been assessed and accepted by way of a licensing scheme, governed by statutory and professional regulations. The participant lawyer No. 8, was accepted into the profession on the basis of those regulations³⁴².

Examining the extent to which professional Greek migrants in Australia have achieved recognition of their qualifications, and managed to establish themselves according to their training or in alternative occupations, is a complex issue which involved the interaction of various factors. In this context, an important finding of this study is that the 'face value' of qualifications held by migrants was not sufficient to guarantee their establishment in their specialist fields in the new society.

As already mentioned, the level of proficiency in the English language played a critical role in the ultimate level of success of professional migrants, and especially those who depended on recognition or reaccreditation of their qualifications for their placement in the work force³⁴³. Some relaxation of this rule has applied to certain categories of professional migrants, which include the priests and the teachers in Modern Greek in non-accredited ethnic schools.

At the time of their migration to Australia, more than half of the participants were 30 years of age or younger³⁴⁴, had tertiary qualifications and, most importantly, were eager to achieve professional

³⁴⁰ Such courses were introduced by the Committee of Overseas Professional Qualifications and were specially designed to meet the requirements of dentists and other professions. Ten participants who suffered fragmentation of their career are Nos 2, 3, 16, 19, 23, 25, 27, 30, 36 and 41.

³⁴¹ R. Iredale, New Assessment Procedures for Overseas Trained Medical Practitioners in Australia, Occasional Paper No. 24, Univ. of Wollongong, NSW, 1990, p. 6.

³⁴² According to the Trade Practices Commission (TPC), 'Study of the Professions: Legal Profession', Issues Paper, July 1992, AGPS, Canberra, 1992c, p. 18, licensing confers an exclusive right of practice on those practitioners who achieve a recognised level of training, qualifications and/or probity.

³⁴³ Comments on the importance of the English language in connection with the ability to use professional skills, have been made on page 82.

³⁴⁴ See Appendix 7.

recognition and occupy a place in the Australian society. In addition to the English language, success also depended on the level and field of training, as dictated from time to time by the needs of the Australian labour market, the ability and willingness of professionals to adapt themselves to the conditions applied by the Australian society and the tenacity or self-esteem of individuals to achieve their goals.

The six teachers varied in age (24-57 years), origin and teaching experience. Half of them were men and the other half women³⁴⁵, and only one of them (No. 11) was familiar with the Australian socioeconomic conditions. With, the exception of No. 6 who had not completed her studies in Greece and could speak very little English, all the others were experienced teachers and fluent in English. From the time they arrived in Australia, all the teachers, tried to secure employment, and four of them (Nos 3, 11, 21 and 23) aimed at entering the public education system, whereas the other two (Nos 6 and 13) were prepared to serve in Greek community schools. The result was that only one of them (No. 21) was appointed by the Department of Education, and four had to involve themselves in teaching positions available in primary and secondary level community schools or those under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese. Teacher No. 11 was offered a special teaching position by the Australian Department of Immigration.

Teacher No. 11 was born in Australia, but she spent her formative years in Greece where she was educated, worked as a teacher and married before returning to live permanently in Australia. She was fluent in English, familiar with the sociopolitical system in Australia, had already worked for the Australian Consulate in Athens and when she returned to Australia, continued with her career by teaching Greek migrants³⁴⁶. In her case, recognition of her qualifications by the Australian Government was automatic, because of her previous work with the Australian authorities. No. 11 represents a special case of professional migrant which is difficult to be compared to the struggle of the other teachers for professional establishment in Australia.

Among the other five teachers, it was only No. 21 who managed to achieve recognition of his qualifications and be employed in the public education sector. The main contributing factors in his acceptance by the Australian Authorities was that he had been educated under the British education system in Cyprus, had accumulated 17 years of professional experience and was fluent in the English language³⁴⁷.

³⁴⁵ See Appendix 7.

³⁴⁶ No. 11 said, 'I worked in the Australian Consulate in Athens for four years and experienced the apprehension of Greek girls having to leave their homes for an unknown destination. In Australia, I tried to help them settle in their new environment and was fortunate I was able to do that'.

³⁴⁷ No. 21 noted that, 'After the invasion of Cyprus, my professional future was in doubt and I decided to migrate to Australia, despite the disappointing reports I had regarding possibilities for employment in Government schools'.

Although teacher No. 3 had also a similar background to that of No. 21, and was only 3 years older than him, he was not accepted by the New South Wales Department of Education, despite his repeated appeals for consideration of his application. The only possible reasons that emerge regarding this inequitable treatment of the two teachers are firstly, the convincing manner with which No. 21 presented his case through repeated personal appearances to the committee assessing his application and secondly, the fact that in the middle of 1970's, there was a large number of migrant children in Queensland schools needing the assistance of experienced, Greek speaking teachers who liaised between the school authorities, the children and their parents³⁴⁸. Although it is difficult to understand the reasons for the rejection of teacher No. 3 who was only 3 years older than No. 21 and both had similar educational backgrounds³⁴⁹, it is possible that the needs for liaison teachers in the state of Queensland were greater than those in New South Wales.

Disappointed and disillusioned, No. 3 directed his attention towards the Greek community school system, and he also found temporary employment in a restaurant. Within his first three years in Australia, he started realising that his prospects for a government appointment were minimal, and the only way for him to increase his chances for improving his professional status, was to undertake university studies³⁵⁰. With the acquisition of a degree in economics, he secured a clerical position which he kept for 18 years. At the same time, his passion to teach Greek was satisfied by being able to work in community schools, where he was given the responsibility of introducing improvements to the teaching curriculum, with special emphasis on the teaching of Greek culture and history³⁵¹.

In a similar situation to that of No. 3 was teacher No. 23 from Egypt. At the time of her arrival in Australia, she was 33 years old with a degree in biological science, fluent in English, and 12 years teaching experience at secondary level. Her struggle for a teaching position in the public system was disappointing and demoralising. Her tenacity and insistence for achieving her goals by obtaining additional qualifications in Australia were remarkable, but were completely ignored by the Education Authorities. Her first application to the Department of Education was rejected, and after obtaining a Diploma in Education she was placed at the bottom of a five year waiting list, but

³⁴⁸ No. 6 mentioned that, 'My work at public and community schools has been interesting, stimulating and challenging, and gave me the opportunity to appreciate the attitude and educational needs of the Australian-born Greek children. I was also close to their parents, helping them cope with various social problems facing them and their children. I was in a position to make them feel proud of their identity'.

³⁴⁹ No. 3 said, 'I was deeply disappointed with the negative attitude of the officials in the Department of Education. I failed to convince them to accept me, but they never gave me any reasons for doing so'.

³⁵⁰ No. 3 was 41 years old, and during his study he had also to look for temporary employment. By the age of 45 years, he graduated with a degree in economics.

³⁵¹ No. 3 said, 'The Cypriots and Greeks from Greece in Australia are involved in a struggle for the survival of their identity and culture. It was most important for all Greeks abroad to make every possible effort to maintain their ethnic spirit alive, and I was satisfied that I was making some contribution to that effect'.

without any guarantee for appointment³⁵². Her struggle continued for four years, during which she obtained a diploma in accountancy and two certificates as translator and interpreter, but despite various promises she was never seriously considered for a Government appointment³⁵³. According to No. 23, rejection of her application by the Department of Education, was a flagrant act of discrimination she will never forget. After five years of struggle to protect her rights, she finally gave up her attempts for a government appointment, and worked as a Greek teacher in Sydney, combining this with a secretarial and translator's job³⁵⁴.

Both teachers, Nos 3 and 23, who in their opinion had appropriate qualifications, teaching experience, fluency in English and interest in their profession, came against a bureaucratic system determined to exclude them and, apparently, by doing so to restrict the admission of foreign teachers into the public system. The other two teachers, Nos 6 and 13, never sought a government appointment but were both satisfied teaching in Greek language schools. No. 6 was 24 years old when she migrated to Australia in contrast to No. 13 who was 57. She left Greece halfway through her studies, whereas No. 13 had already 35 years teaching experience in Greece and overseas, which included three years educational consulting experience with migrant children in South Africa³⁵⁵.

No. 13 migrated to Australia hoping to use his vast experience in the reorganisation of teaching curricula in community and church supervised schools. To his disappointment, his intentions were not accepted and as an alternative, he redirected his interests to the establishment of private education centres for Greek youth in Sydney. His success was overwhelming, and since he was a private educator, neither his age nor his foreign qualifications were of any concern to him regarding employment³⁵⁶. While his aspirations to make some constructive contribution to the 'fragmented', as he described it, Greek schooling system in Australia failed, he is now satisfied that he can still

³⁵² No. 23 said, 'I was desperate for work and the rejection of my application was a great disappointment to me. I could not even think how I could abandon so many years of study and experience and try to work in a completely different field. My only hope was to follow their instructions for further studies, which I did but without any result'.

³⁵³ No. 23 said, 'I was determined to utilise my 12 years teaching experience and continued studying and diversifying my knowledge according to the advice given to me, which proved to be rather a delaying tactic on their part, than interest in my future'

³⁵⁴ No. 23 said, 'At least, with my secretarial and my other two jobs, I no longer live with the agony of waiting to hear the outcome of my application with the Department. Now I work in three different jobs and I am financially comfortable'.

³⁵⁵ No. 13 said, 'In South Africa where I was seconded by the Greek Government, I enjoyed the enthusiastic response of the Greek community to my assistance with their children's education. I am disappointed that the situation is completely different in Australia'.

³⁵⁶ 'My decision to work privately was welcomed by many people and, within about two years, I was able to establish several Greek Schools in Sydney'.

impart the sentiments of identity and Orthodox religion to the large number of pupils attending his schools³⁵⁷.

No. 6 arrived in Australia with similar sentiments of ethnic identity as the other teachers, but she did not have any teaching experience, she could speak very little English and had to continue with studies she had commenced in Greece. Full of courage and determination, she managed within the first eight years in Australia, to perfect her knowledge of English, complete a university degree and then obtain a diploma in education, which paved the way for the teaching of Modern Greek at secondary level³⁵⁸. Her professional life in Australia has been full of satisfaction and involves teaching, theatrical productions, publishing articles in the Greek press, working as a radio announcer and, from time to time, supervising and guiding groups of college children visiting Greece. One of the highlights of her life in Australia, has been an appointment as a liaison officer between Greek migrant families in Sydney and the Department of Health. At that time she felt the anguish of Greek migrant families as they tried to reconcile their cultural past with the norms of a foreign society³⁵⁹.

Although the teachers are a diverse group of professional individuals, they had experience (except for No. 6), interest in their work and determination to productively use their qualifications in Australia. Only one of them (No. 21) managed to penetrate into the public teaching system, while another two well qualified teachers faced an unfair rejection of their applications. Fortunately, the ethnic schools in Australia had the capacity to absorb any well educated Greek migrants seeking employment.

With a similar basic mission on Greek language and civilisation to that of the teachers, was the group of lecturers who worked within the University education system. They all migrated to Australia having work experience, and with the exception of No. 4 who had attained higher qualifications in England, the others continued their studies for additional qualifications in Australia. Nos 1 and 4 who had specialised in agricultural science and economics, respectively, were appointed according to their special fields, and the other 8 lecturers entered University Departments of Modern Greek studies³⁶⁰. An important aspect regarding lecturers Nos 4 and 22, was that they were appointed by invitation, whereas the others had to satisfy university authorities

³⁵⁷ No. 13 said, 'The richness of the Greek language is phenomenal and this allows a person to express their thoughts, no matter how complex they might be. Our language is not only for the Greeks but for the world as a whole. It is my great satisfaction to be able to say that convincingly to my pupils'.

³⁵⁸ No. 6 said, 'My work at the College gives me great satisfaction, because I can strengthen the sense of identity in Greek children, and make them feel proud of their origin'.

³⁵⁹ No. 6 said, 'My work took me into Greek homes where I collected information on aspects relating to the health of Greek families. It was a unique opportunity for me to experience the socioeconomic problems of migrants and to be able to help them'.

³⁶⁰ For more information see Appendices 6, 7 and 8. The participant lecturers were from universities in Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne.

that their qualifications and experience were meeting university requirements. As a consequence, they had to undertake further studies and six of them were awarded Doctorates³⁶¹.

The qualifications and experience in agricultural science obtained by No. 1 in Greece, would have been of little significance in Australia without additional studies under local conditions. In view of this, he spent nine years studying, researching and lecturing, and by the end of this period he had several publications in his name and had also obtained the degrees of Masters and Doctorate.

No. 1 migrated with inadequate knowledge of the sociopolitical and employment conditions in Australia, and the studies and research he undertook were a decision he made once he realised that there was no other solution to the problem of professional establishment in his adopted country³⁶². His ability to speak English from the time of his arrival, had a serious influence on his decision to stay in Australia and to undertake further studies, which ultimately secured a high academic position he held for 22 years. At no stage did he suffer any discrimination, which could have set back his professional development in Australia. Lecturer No. 4 accepted an invitation to lecturer's appointment, and moved without any difficulty into his academic career.

The eight lecturers who have been involved in Modern Greek education, have many similarities between them regarding their basic qualifications, teaching responsibilities and commitment to the Greek community. No. 22 was appointed by invitation to one of Australia's universities, and during the 20 years of his academic work in Australia, he has become well known to the Greek community through the support he has given on matters of ethnic and cultural activities. His appointment was made on the basis of his academic work at the University of Athens, his studies in the United States of America as a Fulbright scholar and his work in Canada and England as visiting professor. With such vast experience in his profession, he established a promising academic career in Australia, where he has developed good relations with the Australian and Greek communities³⁶³.

Each of the other seven lecturers³⁶⁴, had to prove their ability and suitability for a university appointment in Australia. Each one of them had a different background, but the most serious deficiency for some of those who had to undertake studies in Australian universities, was their inadequate knowledge of the English language. This was the case with the three women (Nos 18,

³⁶¹ Those who obtained Ph. D. degrees in Australia, were Nos 1, 15, 18, 22, 37 and 41.

³⁶² No. 1 noted that, 'My decision to stay in Australia meant that I had in front of me a long and arduous task to complete. I had to set definite goals and meet time limits'.

³⁶³ No. 22 mentioned that, 'It is my great pleasure to be able to promote the Greek language and culture, because this is an important way to re-enforce the sentiments of Greek consciousness in the minds of our youth. Apart from this, my book "Greek Voices in Australia", will continue to play an important role in the history of Greeks in Australia'.

³⁶⁴ The seven lecturers who were appointed at Australian universities after obtaining additional qualifications, were Nos 15, 18, 33, 34, 37, 38 and 41.

38 and 41) who, not only learnt the language and graduated with a degree within the minimum of time, but also, two of them continued and completed their doctorates. A brief review of the educational profiles of the seven lecturers in Modern Greek studies, will help to throw some light on the arduous task they had to undergo, in order to attain the title of lecturer in Australian universities.

A brief account of the achievements of the three female lecturers, shows that they performed successfully and in a manner which, in every aspect, equals that of the male.

No. 18 worked hard to graduate with a diploma in computer science, a degree in Arts and finally a Doctorate in Greek literature. Her extensive studies, research publications, public lectures and travelling within and outside Australia on educational work, made her well known to academic circles and the Greek community in Australia, where she feels she now belongs. She has been grateful to Australia for the opportunity she has had as a migrant, to develop her academic potential³⁶⁵. With a similar enthusiastic approach to her academic career, is No. 38 who also graduated in Athens and continued with her studies in Modern Greek in Australia. Moving from the position of tutor/assistant lecturer to lecturer, after mastering the English language and graduating with a Masters degree and a diploma in Education, No. 38 represents another example of a person determined to achieve her goals³⁶⁶. From her position as lecturer, she has become a valuable member of the Greek community in Melbourne³⁶⁷. Despite all this, No. 38 lives with the memories of her teaching career in Cyprus, where by comparison, promotional opportunities were better than those in Australia. The third woman lecturer is No. 41, whose achievements were comparable to those of the two previous participants. As a newcomer to Australia and without any financial or other support, she worked hard to earn her living, learn English, obtain a degree in Arts, a diploma in Education and a Doctorate. No. 41 is now in charge of the Division of Modern Greek in one of Australia's universities. In recognition of the interest she has shown in the promotion of the Greek language and cultural activities, the Greek community of Sydney has generously been

³⁶⁵ No. 18 claimed that, 'I find the responsibilities of a lecturer in Modern Greek exciting, because of my love for everything that is Greek. Now, I am in a position to impart my knowledge and ethnic sentiments to the Australian-born Greeks, and this I owe to the opportunities I was given in Australia to develop academically'. 'I have many friends in Greece but my life now belongs to Australia. It is sad that slowly, my communication with people I left behind has become less frequent'.

³⁶⁶ No. 38 noted, 'the appointment offered me financial security and most importantly, it gave me the opportunity to become acquainted with the teaching programs in Modern Greek, which was my aim for an academic career'.

³⁶⁷ No. 38 said, 'Australia has given me the opportunity to gain valuable experience, pursue an academic career and make a constructive contribution to the Greek community'.

supporting her section at the university³⁶⁸. She is the only person among the lecturers, who encountered some racial discrimination as a student in Australia.

The main advantages of the four male lecturers (Nos 15, 33, 34 and 37) over the three female, were their knowledge of English and a little more professional experience, since the men averaged three years older than the women. They all occupied academic positions after undertaking further university studies in Australia, and actively participated in promoting the Greek language and cultural ethos. One of the main aims of lecturer No. 15, was to promote ethnic education among Greek migrants in Australia and he has been achieving this by actively participating in cultural and Church activities in Sydney³⁶⁹. A similar general picture to that of No. 15 is also presented by lecturers No. 33 and 34³⁷⁰, who have each served about 20 years providing Greek education and ethnic direction to the Greeks in Australia³⁷¹.

The last lecturer is No. 37, who graduated from the University of Athens and, after a short working period in Greece, migrated to Australia with the same dreams and ambitions as the previous participants. He was young, enthusiastic and fluent in English and, while working as a tutor at the university, he undertook post graduate studies in Modern Greek which led to a doctorate. With his experience and qualifications, he was appointed lecturer in one of the universities of technology, and he soon undertook the overall responsibility for the section of Modern Greek studies³⁷².

The analysis of the group of lecturers, has brought to light certain points which can be summarised as follows: The large majority of the lecturers graduated in Greece and migrated to Australia looking forward to an academic career. Within a minimum of time, they managed to overcome

³⁶⁸ No. 41 stated that, 'It was extremely difficult and exhausting to study in a foreign language while working as a cleaner and in a milk bar, until the early hours of the morning'.

³⁶⁹ No. 15 indicated that, 'The Greek identity problems can become serious and should be approached by using modern and not antiquated methods as many people try to do. I grew up in a period of big social and political uncertainties, and I feel I am in a position to recognise the mistakes which are being made today'.

³⁷⁰ No. 34 mentioned that, 'I have maintained a good relationship with the Greek community in Melbourne to which I offer my assistance to promote Greek culture and language. At the University, I teach Greek culture and civilisation and also give public lectures'.

³⁷¹ No. 33 said, 'I was studying at the University and had to work during my free time which, after a while became physically and mentally exhausting and did not allow me any time to do much else. It was a seven days a week involvement, starting early in the morning and finishing late at night'. 'I have many friends in the Greek community of Melbourne, and consider it my responsibility to respond to their calls for assistance with cultural activities. I have also maintained close contacts with colleagues in Greece and especially the University of Ioannina, which I try to visit every 2 - 3 years'.

³⁷² No. 37 said, 'Education has always excited me. I am pleased with what I have achieved and I will never stop learning about our society and the environment we live in'. 'The Greek community always interested me from a professional, cultural and ethnic point of view, and I have tried to contribute as much as possible to its requirements and, especially, in educational and cultural activities'.

any language problems they had and, after securing temporary employments, they undertook and completed successfully university studies, and some of them continued to the level of Ph D. The introduction of Modern Greek studies in several Australian universities, gave them the opportunity to be appointed to academic positions and from their overall performance as academics, they proved their ability as educators and communicators with the Greek and Australian communities. They were all prepared to offer their services to the Greek community for the promotion of cultural activities, and in most cases, the Greek communities reciprocated by offering them moral and financial assistance and providing students for their courses. Only one of the lecturers (No. 41) reported a case of racial discrimination against her, while she was still a university student.

The group of medical practitioners comprises four doctors (Nos 5, 9, 39 and 43) and two dentists (Nos 14 and 32), who came from Greece with professional experience. Their average age was 29, had very limited knowledge of Australia, and with the exception of No. 9, the others could speak very little English. They migrated without having a clear concept of the Australian living conditions and, more importantly, they did not know how they could claim a place in the Australian society in their capacity as medical practitioners.

As soon as they came to Australia, with No. 9 arriving in 1947 and the others between 1959 and 1976³⁷³, they realised that reaccreditation of Greek doctors and dentists involved three years of hospital work and study, regardless of any previous experience. As a consequence, one of the immediate requirements was the pressing need to improve their ability to use the English language. Each one of them faced their future in a different way, and it is important to delve into some of the details associated with their professional lives in Australia.

Doctor No. 9 was practising medicine in Greece and visited his parents in Australia who persuaded him to stay permanently. He could speak English and instead of spending the prescribed three years retraining, he preferred to enrol as a student and complete the whole medical course in Australia. This valuable experience in addition to his previous knowledge, gave him the opportunity to learn well the Australian Medical system and local attitudes. Following his graduation, he went to London where he specialised in gynaecology and returned to Australia where he established a successful medical practice. He became well known to the Greek and Australian communities in Sydney, which have been the source of his clientele for the past 40 years³⁷⁴.

The other five medical practitioners chose to retrain in Australia and, despite the difficulties they faced with the language, they managed to successfully complete their training programs, relying heavily on their professional experience from Greece.

³⁷³ See Appendices 6, 7 and 8.

³⁷⁴ No. 9 said, 'It is almost 40 years since I first started practising medicine in Australia, and I can hardly recall any unfortunate instances which could have made me regret my decision to migrate'.

No. 5 migrated to Australia without being able to speak any English and knew nothing about the Australian medical system. Despite this, he focused his attention on the Greek migrant community, and within less than three years in Australia, he obtained the approval of the Australian Medical Board to practise medicine³⁷⁵. No. 5 perceived Australia as the country where he could challenge his professional abilities, he courageously ignored the problems he could face in a completely unknown society and despite all the odds, he became a successful provider of health services to migrants in the Greek community. The other two doctors Nos 39 and 43 came to Australia after No. 5, but the main difference between the three was that the first two had married Australian women and had moral and material support during their early years of settlement in Australia.

In the 1960's, the Australian Government introduced strict assessment procedures for medical practitioners who came to Australia from non-English speaking backgrounds, and the assessment committees started paying special attention to the degree of fluency of the candidates in the English language. Taking all relevant factors into consideration, doctor No. 39 spent five years doing hospital work and supervised medical practice, before he was allowed to work independently³⁷⁶. Twenty three years have passed since No. 39 started treating Greek patients in Australia, and during this time he has experienced the vast change that has taken place in their social attitudes and general behaviour. Despite this, he believes they have retained their good-hearted nature, love for Greece and care for their families³⁷⁷.

The same general conditions of training and practising medicine in Australia apply to all participant doctors. For this reason, doctor No. 43, sharing the same views with his colleagues, is of the opinion that the length of the officially prescribed period required for reaccreditation and licensing of 'foreign doctors' is excessive, and deprives them and their ethnic communities of valuable time during which they could be offering their services³⁷⁸. Taken as a group, the doctors managed to overcome the language barrier and problems of adaptation to the Australian society and established successful medical practices, offering their health services to the Greek community.

³⁷⁵ No. 5 said, 'It was very easy for me to recognise the immediate needs of the Greek community for the services of Greek doctors, because in the 60's there were very few migrant doctors and the Greek community was increasing in numbers at a fast rate'.

³⁷⁶ No. 39 noted, 'It was an enormous satisfaction when after five years of uncertainty, I was allowed to establish my own surgery in Sydney. I knew there was a need for Greek medical practitioners in Australia and I was pleased to be one of them'.
The only instance of racial encounters he experienced during his hospital training, was the discriminatory behaviour from one of his supervisors. It was an unpleasant experience he will always remember.

³⁷⁷ No. 39 pointed out that, 'from a medical point of view, Greeks tend to be difficult patients and with time, the personal relationship with their doctor has changed. Now they show less respect and take less notice of the medical instructions given to them'.

³⁷⁸ No. 43 said 'After 7 to 8 years of university work and hospital training in Greece, it is completely unfair for the Australian government to impose an additional three years training'.

The two women dentists, Nos 14 and 32, faced the same basic reaccreditation problems to those of the doctors, before they were allowed to practice in Australia. Both dentists had a poor command of the English language, were foreign to the Australian social system and had to retrain and sit for specially designed tests for professional competence. Despite these obstacles, they were in a position to establish their private dental surgeries, catering mainly for Greek migrants and their families. No. 14, in addition to practising in Australia, has also maintained close professional ties with her colleagues in Greece, where she travels every two years to keep abreast of the latest scientific advances taking place in dentistry in Europe. When she compared the financial and social aspects of dental practice between Greece and Australia, she realised that dentistry in Australia is financially more rewarding, the dentists work under a better organised Government Health Scheme, and the patients are more conscious of dental health than those in Greece. In addition to the complaints made by the two dentists regarding the rather harsh reaccreditation and licensing regulations in Australia, the greatest uncertainty of the assessment was that it is based not only on the competence of the candidate, but also on a predetermined small number of foreign dentists who are allowed to enter the profession each year, against the long waiting list³⁷⁹.

A comparison of the professional status achieved by each of the respondents in the groups of teachers, lecturers and medical practitioners, shows that the last two groups achieved their aims by meeting all prescribed standards for their professions in Australia. It should nevertheless be mentioned that the employment and social circumstances that prevailed in Australia during the 1970's and early 80's, favoured the appointment of an appreciable number of lecturers to university positions, created in response to community demand for Modern Greek studies. During the same period, the influx of Greek migrants, created a demand for Greek medical practitioners³⁸⁰. On the other hand, the teachers came up against a 'closed shop' situation which apparently did not favour the appointment of teachers with foreign qualifications, as this has been indicated in the various interviews with the teachers.

The engineers were of mixed backgrounds and had also mixed fortunes in Australia. Only one of them (No. 42) was appointed to a technical engineering position, whereas the others had to find alternative occupations. Three out of the five engineers, (Nos 19, 25 and 42), could speak very little English, and although No. 42 was one of them, he was appointed by an engineering firm on the basis of his skills³⁸¹. As a result he enjoyed security of work, economic independence and the opportunity to develop his literary interests in a peaceful environment.

³⁷⁹ No. 32 said, 'By the time I reached my final examination, I was well prepared and confident that I would be successful, but I knew that only a small number of candidates was accepted every year, and this made me nervous'.

³⁸⁰ M. Jeffreys, 1990, has discussed this aspect in his Mimeo. See also Table 1 on page 1 of this study.

³⁸¹ No. 42 stated, 'I knew my work well and there was no need to have my qualifications recognised. I was confident with my technical capabilities and this gave me the courage to look for what I wanted to do'.

Two of the other four engineers (Nos 10 and 27), made use of their training in an entrepreneurial way, and became financially successful in areas which not only stimulated their professional interests, but were also useful to the Greek community and the society as a whole.

No. 10 found it difficult to use in Australia his training in architecture, without becoming an insignificant part of existing large engineering consortiums. As an alternative, he preferred to use his knowledge in computer programming, where he had also the opportunity to combine his interests in the Greek language, by producing educational programs for Australian-born Greek children³⁸². By developing this line of work, he became a successful independent operator, without having to be subjected to the stringent reaccreditation procedures as they applied to overseas engineers in Australia. One of his most pleasing experiences in Australia, has been the professional integrity that exists among professional people, which allows him to plan his work well in advance and be able to predict the outcome of his efforts. Although he has developed several professional contacts in Australia, he continues to be in touch with his colleagues in Greece, who provide him with useful information on the latest developments taking place in Greece and the rest of Europe. No. 10 is an example of a successful operator who organised his business in Australia, and an indication of this is his ability to continue expanding his business³⁸³.

A few serious employment problems concerned engineer No. 27, who was educated and trained in transport engineering in America, but in the 1970's his specialisation was a new engineering field in Australia and the employers were reluctant to adopt it. Being young and energetic, he turned his interest into an excavation and earthmoving enterprise, which proved to be most successful³⁸⁴. The other two engineers, Nos 19 and 25, failed completely in their attempts to establish themselves professionally, or even in some private occupation relative to their training. They were the oldest in the group (33 and 36 years), could not communicate well in English and did not make any consistent attempt to use to their advantage their technical experience³⁸⁵. As the years passed, they

³⁸² No. 10 said, 'During my first three years in Australia, I worked almost exclusively with Engineering firms, but for the past eleven years I have worked completely independently, in the production of educational programs for Australian-born Greek youth'.

³⁸³ No. 10 said, 'I have now reached the stage that with the business experience I have accumulated, together with a few material possessions, I will be able to continue building a secure future for my family in Australia'.

³⁸⁴ No. 27 said, 'After my several attempts to promote the introduction of a new approach to the transport industry failed, I realised that people were reluctant to accept something they knew very little about'. 'As soon as it became clear to me that it would have been difficult to use my qualifications productively, I tried to find an alternative way to occupy myself and I moved to the building industry where there was a lot of activity at that time'.

³⁸⁵ No. 19 said, 'Recognition of qualifications is not enough in a country where everything is done in English and there is a need to know the right people. I worked for about three years on small projects for friends and other migrants, but my income was not enough to support my family'.

both lost touch with their profession and they never tried again to refresh their knowledge. Ultimately and full of disappointment, No. 19 became a teacher of Greek and offered his services to the Greek community, while No. 25 became a shopkeeper³⁸⁶. Despite the many social and professional disappointments suffered by No. 19 in Australia, he has maintained a philosophical approach to life and accepts the blame for his failure. No. 25, who went through several employment crises since the time he landed in Australia, including instances of racial discrimination, has regretted his decision to migrate to Australia. These two engineers, are classic examples of professional migrants who came to Australia completely unprepared to face the social and employment problems, they should have expected to find in a fast advancing society. Their most serious deficiency was their inability to speak English, and without the basic skills of communication in an industry which uses the latest technological information in its operation, neither of the two was accepted for their professional skills.

The science graduates, (Nos 16, 20, 30 and 36), found themselves in a similar employment predicament to that of the engineers, and only one of them (No. 20) was able to apply his experience in physics and mathematics, by offering private tutorial classes to school leavers. As a business, his enterprise in Sydney became successful but he has remained with an unfulfilled desire to be appointed to an academic position in one of the Australian universities. Only recently, 15 years after his arrival in Australia, was he advised of a possible appointment³⁸⁷.

The other three scientists in the group failed to retain their professional status, after being repeatedly rejected by employers, despite their professional experience and the fact that two of them (Nos 30 and 36) were fluent in English. No. 30 is a veterinarian who believes that his failure to achieve re-accreditation, was a deliberate case of unjust assessment of his experience by the examination committee, which failed him three times by two percentage points³⁸⁸. Morally devastated, he lost all hope for retaining his professional status in Australia and, as a result, he has been working in unskilled or semi-skilled employments³⁸⁹.

³⁸⁶ No. 19 claimed that, 'I found satisfaction by teaching in Greek schools and, after 25 years in Australia, I feel I have offered something to the Greek community. I regret I have not learnt the language well, but I was not young when I migrated and my life in Australia has been spent associating mainly with Greeks'.

³⁸⁷ No. 20 mentioned that, 'I was delighted to be accepted by two universities and I am anxious to start work. I always enjoyed lecturing and this job will lift my morale and give me a sense of satisfaction for having been recognised in Australia'.

³⁸⁸ No. 30 said, 'I studied very hard to meet prescribed requirements, because I was determined to pass the qualifying exams. More than two years had passed since my arrival and I started feeling ashamed for not having achieved anything with my qualifications'.

³⁸⁹ No. 30 noted that, 'After the long unsuccessful struggle for recognition, I have been left with no more ambitions and have also lost all my confidence. It is sad when I think that I have lost so many valuable years agonising over my books to become what I always dreamt as a child'.

Another participant who failed to achieve any worthwhile professional success in Australia, is the agricultural scientist (No. 16) with seven years work experience in Greece but little knowledge of English. In an attempt to improve his position, he studied the language and started preparing himself for a university course in Agriculture, when due to family and personal misfortunes, he had to abandon his studies and become an unskilled worker. Within a few years, he lost touch with his profession, was completely demoralised and the only way out of an almost impossible situation, was to accept a position as Greek teacher in community schools in Sydney³⁹⁰.

The last of the science graduates, is No. 36, who came to Australia at 32 years of age and then travelled the world conducting research. He returned to Australia at the age of 55 in search of employment, but despite his qualifications, professional experience and fluency in the English language, he found it impossible to secure suitable employment. Disappointed and distraught, No. 36 was forced to accept temporary unskilled work³⁹¹. This is a case in which at the age of 55, No. 36 was competing against younger scientists in a market with a limited number of vacancies in his specialist field.

From the above analysis, it has become obvious that employment of professional migrants in areas where there has been a limited demand for qualified people or there had been a covert policy of job protection for Australian graduates (ex. Nos 19, 25, 16, 30 and possibly 36), professional migrants found it difficult or even impossible to secure employment. Although proficiency in the English language in the professional workforce in Australia is of importance, it is also reasonable to expect that priority in the selection criteria used for assessing the suitability of candidates for filling specific vacancies, should be given to the qualifications of applicants who can best meet the requirements for the vacancy. Apparently, this principle has not been applied in the case of several participants in this study.

The special characteristics of the clergy as operants of the Orthodox religion, place them in a separate category to that of all other participants. Although employment of the large majority of the priests in Australia has been the responsibility of the Archdiocese, their overall performance is under the continuous scrutiny of their parishioners, who act as critical assessors of the morality and quality of services provided by them, and the way they carry out their responsibilities in the eyes of

³⁹⁰ No. 16, talking to the interviewer who himself had been a few years earlier through exactly the same university course, said, 'You, better than anybody else can understand my pain. My life would have continued to be full of pleasure and activity if I had stayed in Greece'.

³⁹¹ No. 36 said, 'Judging from my problems in finding employment, it appears that migrants like me, despite their knowledge and qualifications, can become obsolete as early as 55 years of age. Young graduates compete very strongly for the few vacancies which become available in my field from time to time'.

the community³⁹². Most of the participating priests studied theology either at the university of Athens or in other theological schools in Greece. Support for their education came from different sources, including leaders of the church who happened to recognise the special talents of individual youth (No. 12), or by the church administration (Nos 24, 28, 44 and 45), or through private resources (No. 31).

The average age of the priests at the time of their arrival in Australia was 33.5 years, an age which can be regarded as suitable in terms of their maturity, experience and ability to perform their duties. For the priests, there was no obstacle in the official recognition of their qualifications by any Australian authority other than the Archdiocese of Australia, which employs them. Their recognition was depended on their personal ability to command the respect of the people they served³⁹³. This has been the case with all participants, except for priest No. 31 who now works as a free-lance religious priest, and his friends take care of his personal needs³⁹⁴.

With the clergy, personal recognition is synonymous with the establishment of their parish church and their ability to organise and maintain a strong and united parish. These two requirements are interrelated, because most of the churches have been established with the financial and moral support of the people under the guidance of their priest. This has been the case with all participating priests, including priest No. 31 who, soon after his arrival in Australia, was made responsible for a church in a country town.

The responsibilities of Greek priests as organisers and providers of spiritual guidance, have been enormous, and as No. 12 said, 'The priests perform complex and sensitive functions, which in their totality strengthen the religious and ethnic sentiments of the people. For this reason, wherever there is a church, there is also a piece of Greece'. For the migrants, these words contain the meaning of their identity and their faith, which are expressed through the church.

³⁹² Priest No. 28 pointed out that, 'we are continuously under the spiritual guidance of the Leader of our church whose grace is always available to help us to solve the multitude of problems with which the priests are faced in their everyday life. At the same time, we are under the scrutiny of our parishioners who show interest in our church and are willing to assist us with the church's needs'.

³⁹³ Priest No. 12 indicated that, 'we live in a very complex society and, on many occasions, the priest finds himself in the middle of serious social problems concerning his people. For this reason, only well educated priests can avoid creating confusion and they become useful counsellors'. Priest No. 44 said, 'I personally value the warmth and genuine interest shown by my parishioners towards the church and their respect for me. They appreciate the charitable mission of the church and they have been willing to offer their support'.

³⁹⁴ Priest No. 31 mentioned that, 'I lost my position after a period of hospitalisation following an accident. Since then, I have no Church and work as a priest at the Botany Cemetery, where I help bereaved people'. 'My income is small but I have several good friends who offer me their help and together with some funds from a compensation, I manage to live a moderately comfortable life'.

According to priest No. 24, the church is a vital part of the lives of Greek migrants, because it represents a reference point in their spiritual world and ethnic identity³⁹⁵. In this sense, the priests represent the interface between people and the institution of the church. One of the biggest challenges for the priests in Australia, has been the need to reconcile the differences that occur in the changing attitudes of migrants under the influence of the customs of the new society. According to priest No. 45, this problem can be solved through the development of an effective way of communication with migrant parishioners and with their Australian-born children. This has to be achieved without ignoring the complexities of the multicultural and multireligious society of Australia. From the early stages of his arrival, priest No. 45 recognised that the future of Greek tradition and religion will be in the hands of the new generations of Australian-born Greeks, and it is therefore appropriate to recruit from their own ranks the priests of the future. All priests agree that this is essential and urgent, because the Greek youth have already started becoming remote from the church and from the first generation migrants³⁹⁶. With this in mind, priest No. 44 is an Australian-born young man, who was educated in Greece and combines all the necessary attributes which are necessary for the continuation of the tradition of the Orthodox Church in Australia. Overall then, the priests established their parishes in Australia with the support of the Archdiocese and with their ability to motivate the people through the teachings of the Orthodox religion and the tradition of the church, which has been the bastion of Greek identity.

The three accountants (Nos 2, 26 and 35) faced major problems in their attempts to practise their profession in Australia, and two of them (Nos 2 and 35) were only marginally involved in accountancy while the third one, completely changed occupation. Among the three, only No. 2 was fluent in English, whereas the other two found it difficult to communicate in English, and none of them was familiar with any aspects of the application of accountancy in Australia. Soon after his arrival at the age of 29 years, No. 26 realised that it would have been almost impossible for him to master the English language, to adapt his experiences in accountancy to the Australian financial system and then, to try to establish a private business. As an alternative, he explored the possibilities of working in the building industry, where he finally became successful³⁹⁷. After several successful years of work in Australia, No. 26 was nearing retirement when he suffered a

³⁹⁵ Priest No. 24 mentioned that, 'The migrants have retained their old traditions, ethnic values and culture and express their patriotic sentiments in a warm and genuine manner, which is even superior to those of the Greeks in Greece. The Churches in Australia help in achieving this level of ethnic sentiment'.

³⁹⁶ Priest No. 45 said, 'I find it difficult not to observe the overall decline in the interest shown by Australian-born Greek children, and especially those from mixed marriages, towards the church. I am deeply concerned about this, because the Greek church is not only the place for prayer, but it also represents the Greek ethos and tradition and, by rejecting it, in essence we neglect or even reject our identity'.

³⁹⁷ No. 26 stated that, 'I never thought I would have to change my profession in Australia, but at least I was successful in my new occupation. This was not an easy move, and I don't think my children will ever understand the degree of hardship I went through, because I wanted to secure a better future for my family'.

debilitating illness which incapacitated him completely³⁹⁸. The fate of the professional career of the other two accountants was bleak, because they managed to remain only marginally involved in their profession and for only a short period. Nonetheless, after changing various occupations, both of them became financially comfortable and enjoyed their lives in Australia³⁹⁹.

The two sea captains (Nos 7 and 29), did not have any chance of success as employees of the Australian Maritime Association, and decided to change occupation⁴⁰⁰. Both migrated to Australia at the age of 30-31 years, could speak English and had a mature approach to life after ten years travelling on the seas⁴⁰¹. No. 7 had been a Law student in Athens before becoming a seaman, and he successfully applied his education to obtain a librarian's position in Australia. The period of his migration to Australia coincided with the introduction of the multicultural policies, and he was given the opportunity to organise part of a polyethnic library in Sydney. Twenty years later, and with the generous assistance from the Greek and Australian Governments, No. 7 has managed to establish an impressive collection of valuable Greek books, which are widely used by members of the Greek community in Sydney. Although, the second sea captain did not have any special attributes outside his professional experience, he also managed to settle in Sydney by establishing a successful cottage industry, which now employs the whole of his family.

Comparing the participants in the groups of engineers, science graduates, accountants and sea captains, with regards to their professional establishment in Australia, all participants in these four groups have shown a very low level of professional success. Of a total of 14 participants in these four groups, only No. 42 was appointed in accordance with his professional training, six (Nos 7, 10, 20, 26, 27 and 29) became successful in occupations other than their original training and the other seven had mixed fortunes. The two main reasons for the very low level of success of these participants have been firstly, the low level of demand of these types of professional people in Australia which, combined with protectionist policies, reduced to a minimum the acceptance of such migrants from non-English speaking countries and secondly, the inability of several of the

³⁹⁸ No. 26 claimed that, 'my life in Australia has been interesting but, I now realise how unpredictable the future can be and, for this reason, life has to be taken philosophically. We can make dreams and have high expectations for our future, but suddenly, something happens and reduces us to nothing'.

³⁹⁹ No. 2 said, 'There have been times when I was frustrated because I had failed to achieve what I was expecting of my professional life in Australia and regretted my decision to migrate. Now I am pleased with my progress and I know that my future belongs to Australia'.

⁴⁰⁰ No. 29 mentioned that, 'my intention was to continue working in ships, but the Australian Maritime Union made it very difficult for me to find employment. I was not prepared to retrain in Australia after having spent ten years travelling around the world'.

⁴⁰¹ No. 7 indicated that, 'after ten years on the sea, it was time for me to settle down somewhere, and Australia appealed to me for its prosperity and stable society. My parents had already settled in Australia, and this helped me to start with my new life'.

participants to effectively use the English language, a deficiency which restricted their chances for proper communication with employers and the possibility for retraining.

All social scientists were fluent in English at arrival in Australia, and their qualifications were accepted for the work they wanted to do. Only the lawyer (No. 8) had to be licenced to practise his profession in Australia, and his successful career is evidenced by the continuous 46 years he has been actively working in his profession⁴⁰².

Working in a different social field to that of the lawyer, No. 17 migrated to Australia trying to get away from the 'oppressive social climate in Greece', and within 3-4 years in Australia, she started showing her intellectual and political capabilities as an employee and member of various government committees. Her work extended from radio talks on ethnic and Greek language topics to her substantial contribution to the sociopolitical theme of 'women's rights and social equality'⁴⁰³.

No. 40 excelled himself as a diplomat educator and social scientist in Australia and other countries, and at the age of 52 years, he came to settle in Australia. With the international professional experience he had accumulated and his fluency in English, he easily established himself in Australia by accepting the directorship of a college for international studies⁴⁰⁴.

The brief analysis of the social science group has shown that, through their experience, education and prudent assessment of the sociopolitical situation in Australia, they were successful in establishing their professional careers in the new society. By comparison to other groups, the success of the social science professionals has been equal to the high success achieved by the group of lecturers and medical practitioners.

The main points to emerge in relation to the issue of qualifications and experiences of all participants according to their professional fields, and the way they established themselves in

⁴⁰² No. 8 said, 'I migrated in 1948 and I am now 84 years old. I was young then and enjoyed adventure without being frightened of the unknown, because I had confidence in myself. I had a profession, experience and I could speak English'.

'At the time of my arrival, there were very few, if any, professional Greek migrants in Australia. I could speak English and I had the opportunity to establish good relationships with a number of Australian lawyers who helped me learn the legal system as it operated in this country. I have always respected the legal profession and I am proud to say that I have never misled anyone throughout my long career'.

⁴⁰³ The following is a brief account of her activities and public positions held. She was the organiser of the Greek Language Programs under the Institute of Languages; she participated in the discussions and the formulation of the Multicultural Policies in Australia; served on the committee which layed down the criteria for assessing overseas qualifications; she was a member of the National Languages Policy Committee which proclaimed all ethnic languages to be equivalent to each other; she was a foundation member of the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters; she has been a foundation member of the staff of SBS Radic.

⁴⁰⁴ No. 40 said, 'Through my diplomatic career and my publications, I have been fortunate enough to establish a wide circle of good and influential friends. My last book was written on the historical development of the Greek and Cypriot communities in Australia'.

Australia, can be summarised by classifying them under three broad categories according to their overall level of success. In the first category belong the lecturers, medical practitioners, social science graduates and clergy, who were successful in pursuing their professional ambitions in Australia. Only two of the teachers achieved professional recognition by having been appointed to Government positions. The participants in these groups represent 29 individuals or 64.5% of the total⁴⁰⁵. Their success can be attributed to the availability of suitable positions and the demand that existed in the Australian labour market for the type of their training; secondly, their determination to overcome the barriers and problems of professional recognition which confronted them; and thirdly, their ability to meet minimum language requirements according to the various accrediting or employer bodies. The second category includes the teachers, engineers, science graduates, accountants and sea captains, who had a lower rate of professional success relative to their qualifications. This was mainly due firstly to the unavailability of suitable positions in the workforce; secondly, to protectionist regulations in the areas of teachers, engineers and seamen; thirdly, to the inability of several individuals to effectively communicate in English and fourthly, to the less ambitious attitude of some of these participants to achieve goals comparable to their professional status before migrating to Australia. This category represents 24.5% of the total⁴⁰⁶.

The last category comprises those participants who were less fortunate in their professional fields and occupations and who represent 11% of the total. The main reasons for their failure were racial discrimination, in some instances their limited ability to communicate in English and possibly demoralisation and loss of confidence in pursuing their rights for employment⁴⁰⁷.

⁴⁰⁵ The 29 participants who became successful in their professional fields are, Nos 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 45.

⁴⁰⁶ The 11 participants who were successful in areas outside their main professional fields are, Nos 2, 3, 7, 10, 13, 20, 23, 26, 27, 29 and 35.

⁴⁰⁷ The five participants with the lowest level of professional or other success in Australia are, Nos 16, 19, 25, 30 and 36.