

CHAPTER 5: THE CONTRIBUTION OF FIRST-GENERATION GREEK PROFESSIONAL MIGRANTS TO THE GREEK-AUSTRALIAN COMMUNITY AND AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY.

Two of the most important aspects in the lives of first generation Greek professional migrants have been the way they perceived themselves as members of a foreign society and the role they could play in the promotion of their culture in that society. In all their statements, they have clearly indicated pride in their identity and most of them, pleasure for having been given the opportunity to make contributions to the social and cultural structures of the Greek community and the wider Australian society.

From the overall picture that emerged from the information collected in the interviews, it appears that the majority of the respondents did not have any significant direct involvement with Greek community organisations and, most of them, did not become members of regional Associations. Despite this, everyone expressed their love for Greece and contributed, according to their capabilities, towards the development of ethnic and cultural ideals. While the level of contribution by each individual professional migrant varied according to their potential and given opportunities, all of them tried to elevate the reputation of Greek migrants and Greek culture in the eyes of the Australian community⁴⁰⁸.

According to one writer, ethnic identity is formed when a person learns to be a member of a certain society and assumes the attitudes of the people in that society⁴⁰⁹. In this way, the child develops a sense of 'identification' (where it belongs) and 'identity' (what it believes), and these attitudes continue to exist through to adulthood.

The Greeks have a distinct culture, and for centuries they have maintained their ethnic identity in communities away from their homeland (Diaspora). It is nonetheless paradoxical that, while all participants expressed their affection for Greece and most of them have contributed substantially to the notion of the Greek identity, culture and language, they deliberately avoided any official participation in the formal community or ethnic organisations and networks. The significance of this interesting paradox, will be addressed later in the analysis⁴¹⁰.

⁴⁰⁸ The most valuable common aspect of their contribution, whether small or large, has been in the notion of identity. In this context, Tsounis, op. cit. p. 31, said that 'the Greeks usually express their identity in a variety of ways.'

⁴⁰⁹ Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek-Australians*, op. cit. pp. 17, 19.

⁴¹⁰ A good example of this in No. 4 who has been reluctant to be involved in community affairs and said that 'I have not completely understood the real reasons which are responsible for keeping the people divided. Despite this, the Greek community and ethnicity have a special meaning for me and I have not stopped contributing in various ways on issues of ethnic importance for Greeks.'

A description of the way that cultural identity is viewed by Greeks, has been given by Kourvetaris who summarised it in an extract from Plato who said that... 'The Greek future and immortality lie in the contribution people make to the development of their society and of their children'⁴¹¹. These words could be interpreted to mean that, any worthy contribution made by citizens to their community, is a contribution towards the survival of their identity. In this context, Vryonis referring to the ethnic sentiment among Greeks living in America, said that:

...'Even in the much older and much larger Greek-American community, a strong sense of identity has survived through the life of three generations'⁴¹²

This will presumably come out in this chapter

Throughout history, Greek migrants have maintained close relations with the mother country and the desire to permanently return home (nostos). With time, this desire changes to visiting Greece and, by doing so, they renew their contact with their culture which then becomes the main source of Greekness⁴¹³.

While the above statements provide encouraging signs regarding the future of Greek identity, Chimbos has also drawn attention to the factors which can have an adverse effect on the survival of identity. He argues that, the concept of identity has a different meaning in the minds of people in every successive generation, because certain aspects of Greek culture are more important to the present than the previous generations⁴¹⁴. According to Nos 4, 6, 17 and 37, some of the important components of Greek identity for its future, are traditional music and entertainment, family relations, and religion. While language is also an important component of identity, its long term survival and use as a means of communication was considered by participants to be doubtful. It is also important to note, as Chimbos has observed, that through the years there has been a decrease in ethnic cohesion, which is now detectable in the form of apathy shown by Greeks towards their community institutions. This development can also be related to the

⁴¹¹ G. Kourvetaris, 'The Greek American Family', in Ethnic Families in America, eds. C. Mindel and R. Habenstein, New York, 1988, pp. 163 - 188 said, 'The cultural institutions Greek migrants bring with them, include behavioural and cultural patterns of hard work and skills, and as Plato remarked, ...Their future and immortality lie in their own work and their children. The cultural values are contained in the Greek language and civilisation, family, kinship and education, and in the independence of their communities and religious institutions, which should be more social than theological.'

⁴¹² Vryonis, op. cit. p. 31.

⁴¹³ Vryonis, op. cit. p. 17. See also T. Saloutos, They Remembered America: The Story of the Repatriate Greek Americans, Berkeley, N.Y., 1956.

⁴¹⁴ P. D. Chimbos, 'Historical Development, Conflict and Social Changes of Greek Communities in Canada', in S. Vryonis (ed), Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proc of 1st Intern. Seminar, 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, March 1993, pp. 43-54.

observation made by Higham⁴¹⁵, that migrants should keep in mind that even under a 'pluralist integration' system in contrast to 'integration' as such, it will be impossible to eliminate or maintain intact ethnic boundaries and ideologies. This situation applies to all ethnic groups, and while the majority view among the participants supports this, there were also a few who felt that the Greek culture and tradition would remain a part of the Australian society for many more generations.

Another interesting observation made by Chimbos was that 'the lower the socio-educational status of the migrant, the stronger were the ties to their ethnic group'⁴¹⁶. This would seem to suggest that it is possible that an upward social mobility can create a sense of independence, which in turn may displace the significance of ethnic sentiment. While this phenomenon may occur among certain members of the general migrant population, none of the participants, despite their socio-educational status, demonstrated any degree of indifference towards matters of ethnic importance.

One of the main attributes which, according to Tsoukalas, accounts for the extraordinary resilience of Greek national culture against conditions of assimilation, can be found in the notion of Greekness which is internalised by most Greeks, and concerns more the personal qualities of the individual than collective tenets⁴¹⁷. This is also the way every participant has been contributing to the development of the Greek community and maintenance of its ethnic identity. Their contributions have been made in various important ways, and the common theme has been their love for Greece and its culture⁴¹⁸. To them, family unity and identity are basic principles in their lives, and while they might be grateful to Australia for accepting them as members of its society, all of them identify strongly with Greece⁴¹⁹.

Greek migrants including the professionals, brought to their new society their traditions, language and religion, and they have looked upon the family as a uniting and inspirational force.

⁴¹⁵ J. Higham, 'Integration v. Pluralism: An American Dilemma', The Centre Magazine, July/August 1974.

⁴¹⁶ Chimbos, op. cit. pp. 43-54.

⁴¹⁷ Tsoukalas, op. cit. p. 209.

⁴¹⁸ The doctors contributed by maintaining a good level of health among the migrants, the teachers and lecturers, by promoting language and culture, the priests promoting unity, family and ethnicity through religion, the social scientists by considering the social problems of the Greek community, and the rest of the participants contributing in a positive way towards the ethnic sentiment.

⁴¹⁹ For No 17, Australia exerted a maturing effect on her professional development because it is in Australia where she became creative and intellectually productive, but 'the wound' she suffered in her heart by leaving Greece, will stay there forever.

For Greeks, ethnicity focuses on history, the family and the nation, and as Lieberman and Waters have stated 'a drift from the knowledge of ancestry, is simply a mechanism which leads to the weakening of ethnic identity'⁴²⁰. To counteract such a possibility and maintain strong and close ties with the old country, several of the participants have been paying frequent visits to Greece. The visits give them the opportunity to renew their contacts and revive their memories, which according to No. 5 'give him additional courage to continue looking to the future with hope'⁴²¹.

For migrants, the memories of origin reinforce the sense of identity but, for a culture to remain alive, the strong links with the homeland are essential. For the children, such visits represent important cultural events, and according to Bottomley, the process of familiarisation of the Australian-born Greeks with the place of origin, has a stabilising effect and, most importantly, makes them understand and accept the cultural behaviour of their parents⁴²². This in turn, facilitates the process of continuation of Greek culture in Australia, which is also re-enforced by the literary work published and spoken by teachers, lecturers, clergy and other professionals. The validity of this statement can be proven by using several participants as examples, but two interesting statements have been made by Nos 6 and 9⁴²³. Speaking about her life in Australia, teacher No. 6, has managed to preserve intact her identity by concentrating her studies and teaching on Greek language, tradition and religion. These three areas have given her confidence as a migrant and a sense of belonging⁴²⁴.

⁴²⁰ The participants who stressed the importance of the three principles of identity are: Nos 1, 5, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 24, 35, 41 and 43. See also, S. Lieberman and M. Waters, 'The Changing Ethnic Responses of American Whites', *Annales No. 487*, September 1986, pp. 79-91.
No. 4 whose sense of identity has remained strong through the years said that 'It is important not to forget the glory of our ancient civilisation, which should make us all proud and should always remind us of our origins.'

⁴²¹ Vryonis, op. cit. p. 17.

⁴²² Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, op. cit. pp. 102, 146.

⁴²³ Visits to Greece and the sense of identity has been expressed by the following participants: Nos 4, 5, 6, 9, 14, 15, 22, 27, 32, 33, 37 and 43.
Teacher No. 6 who has accompanied students and parents on educational trips to Greece, calls the visits pilgrimages and describes them as an unforgettable experience for the children who feel that the visit to Greece made them feel proud of their ancestry.
No. 9, who is seriously concerned about the effect the changing standards of morality in the Australian society might have on his children, not only he visits Greece with his family, but he is even contemplating going and living there permanently. J. K. Campbell and P. C. Sherrard, *Modern Greece*, Ernest Benn Ltd, London, 1968, p. 336, referred to this type of situation as 'The unity of the Greek family and its moral and social values.'

⁴²⁴ 'I am proud of my identity and am pleased that as a teacher I have had the opportunity to convey to my students the warmth and love I feel for Greece and Greek culture.'

There are several examples of strong feelings towards Greece and its culture, which represent the general disposition of all participants towards their origin, and respond well to the definition of identity given by Alba who said that 'identity' is the way a person feels towards their origins⁴²⁵. To this, Weber and Alba added that 'If for any reason it does not become possible for migrants to pass the feeling of identity onto the younger generations, it is inevitable that their concept of origin will remain in their minds as an abstract idea which will slowly fade away'⁴²⁶.

Fatseas has also discussed the relationship between environment, family and cultural identity⁴²⁷. In this context, and the fact that in a multicultural environment identity can be influenced by several factors, it becomes apparent that there is a pressing need for migrants and their families to be constantly reminded of Greece and their culture. This is the invaluable positive contribution made by many professionals in the form of public discussions, radio talks, lectures, publications and Greek school lessons. With the future of Greek identity in question, No. 7 has been working towards the establishment of a Centre of Greek Studies, which will be expected to provide the impetus for research into the maintenance and further development of Greek culture in Australia. Monuments such as this, could stay as milestones of the effort of Greek professionals to establish a strong base for the future of Greek identity.

Tradition, culture and identity are almost synonymous, and in the view of Smolicz, survival of cultural heritage will depend upon the degree to which living traditions are adapted to meet the needs of current generations⁴²⁸. If this could be achieved, there would be a good prospect for continuity of the identity but, such a process can only be possible with the direct participation of, and contribution, by the community, the church and the younger generations. This combined approach is essential, because the migrant generation tends to be socioculturally locked into a time capsule, which mainly represents attitudes and ideas which go back to the time they left home, and it is therefore unable by itself to introduce appropriate changes. Bottomley has commented that, one crucial variable in the continuity of Hellenism in Australia is the extent to which Australian-born Greeks are involved in close networks or kin groups which keep traditions alive. This view has also been expressed by No. 34⁴²⁹. Many of the professionals, and especially

⁴²⁵ Alba, op. cit. p. 41.

⁴²⁶ M. Weber, 'Ethnic Groups in Theories of Society', in T. Parsons, Free Press, New York, 1965. See also Alba, 1990, op. cit. p.41.

⁴²⁷ A. Fatseas, 'Greek Birds of Passage', Sydney Morning Herald, 10 Sept., 1971.

⁴²⁸ J. J. Smolicz, 'Tradition, Core Values and Cultural Change Among Greek-Australians', in A. Karpadis and A. Tamis (eds), River Seine Press, Melbourne, 1988.

⁴²⁹ 'I can hardly overstress the contribution made by, Greek culture and identity, for the maintenance of youth clubs and other Hellenic Institutions which are supported by the intellectual work of Greeks in Australia. Such institutions create an environment of ethnic activity, where the language and aspects of traditional behaviour become part of the life of people. It would be reasonable to accept that if the language and certain aspects of tradition are not used or they are used to a limited extent, they will lose their significance and will slowly be forgotten.'

the lecturers, the teachers, the social scientists, the clergy and to a certain degree the doctors, have had the opportunity and became actively and constructively involved in the promotion of the Greek language, tradition and ethnicity among the Greeks in Australia.

In relation to the issue of the future survival of the Greek language, most of the participants did not express an optimistic view, but they believe that even though the chances for the language to remain as an effective medium of communication may be few, this should not necessarily influence the survival of the Greek culture. In this critical area of identity, the teachers, lecturers and clergy, have been making an impressive contribution.

Discussing the issue of language and culture, No. 18 with 23 years academic experience in Australia, believes that the loss of the Greek language among the coming generations may be inevitable, and there are risks that such a development could destabilise the sentiment of identity among Australian Greeks. Despite this, No. 18 also hopes that Greek culture will persist in some form for many more years, and religion will continue to play an important role in the ethnic presence of Greeks in Australia⁴³⁰. Smolicz and Secombe⁴³¹ have also claimed that, in cultures where the language is their core component, its loss does not automatically cause the disappearance of identity, as has been shown to be the case in America. Despite this, Smolicz has also stated that if a culture is deprived of its language it can become residual, and as such it remains incomplete or even non-authentic⁴³².

On the issue of the future of Greek culture and identity in Australia, the family environment has been an important institution for the formative education of children on aspects of traditional behaviour, and in this respect parents play a central role as educators. While this great responsibility of the parents is crucial in the early development of ethnic conscience in their children, No. 5 has serious doubts about the educational ability of many migrant parents to impart to their children the necessary knowledge, which could instill in them the sentiment of ethnic heritage. He also claimed that the poor education of Greek parents in relation to historical

⁴³⁰ According to them, identity feeds upon the collective ideas of the family as well as other aspects of Greek heritage.

⁴³¹ J. J. Smolicz and S. Secombe, 'The Australian School Through Polish Eyes: A Sociological Study of Student Attitudes', in Burkley, Encel and McCall (eds), Longman Murray Smith (ed), Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985, p. 119.

⁴³² J. J. Smolicz, 'Ethnic Cultures in the Australian Society: A Question of Cultural Interaction', in Studies in Education, Melbourne Univ. Press, Melbourne, 1976. Burnley, op. cit. pp. 167, 186, 187, has also reported that religion has historically been a crucial factor in the preservation of ethnic identity amongst Greeks, and the Church makes the community more cohesive. In his survey showed that Greeks had the smallest proportion of persons (6% women and 10% men) who did not attend Church services at all. As a social ritual, Church was much more important to Greeks than to the British or to the Australians.

and language knowledge, could be exacerbated in future generations of Australian Greeks. According to several participants and especially No 6, the only way out of this possible predicament of inadequate ethnic education, will be the re-organisation of youth education programs, by making them more attractive and appropriate to the needs of Australian-born Greeks⁴³³.

Roussou has pointed out that the social position of migrant children is precarious, because they are subjected to 'two cultures which are between two cultures and within two cultures'⁴³⁴. Under these circumstances, the question of identity will have to be seriously addressed by educationists and the community as a whole. This is fully appreciated by the teachers and lecturers included in this study and, as a consequence, it is encouraging that most participants have tried in their own individual way, to make some contribution towards identity. They all agree that the time has come for a concerted effort by the Greek community, as a whole, to maintain the Greek identity for a few more generations. No. 4 is also concerned about the possible loss of Greek language, because he considers it to be an important part of the cultural identity. In a most enthusiastic manner, he described his experience with Greek youth who meet regularly at a Greek entertainment centre, in an attempt to live for a few hours in a traditional environment⁴³⁵. Without any doubt, such encouraging signs exhibited by Greek youth, show that despite the gradual loss of the language, they want to feel they belong to their original culture.

While this is an example of the feelings of Greekness amongst some youth, there are also some less encouraging trends which, according to lawyer No. 8, are negative signs of changes in the attitude of Greek youth towards their ethnic education. A similar opinion is also held by teacher No. 21 who, after 20 years teaching experience in Australia, is now witnessing a gradual but definite decline in the interest shown by Greek children in educational and cultural activities. In view of this development, he is making a desperate effort to re-address the problem by introducing new teaching methods. Both participants (Nos 8 and 21), are prepared to accept these changes as a matter of natural progression in the attitude of youth who live in a rather

⁴³³ 'There is no more time to waste. There is an urgent need to start reforming the teaching programs for Greek children. The theatre and other cultural activities could also play an important role in the question of identity. I am sure that the Greek youth will respond to the message of identity if they were appropriately motivated.'

⁴³⁴ M. Roussou, 'Greeks in Britain: First Findings from the Greek Diaspora Archives', in S. Vryonis (ed), Greeks from English Speaking Countries. Proceedings of 1st Intern. Seminar 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 55-90.

⁴³⁵ 'I was deeply moved by what I saw happening in a Greek nightclub at Dulwich Hill in Sydney, where large numbers of Greek youth between 16 and 25 dance under a huge Greek flag in the tunes of Greek music. They can only speak some broken Greek, but they make an enormous effort to remain close to Greek traditions.'

disorientating environment created by multiculturalism. They believe that the future of Greek identity becomes less promising in cases where parents can exert only limited influence on their children⁴³⁶. Similar views were also shared by No. 9 who is gravely concerned about the possible effect the weakening family ties might have on the future of Hellenism in Australia⁴³⁷. Addressing the same issue, No. 5 who is accepting the possibility that Greek identity will face various challenges in the future, praised Greek migrants and their families for their remarkable achievements in the Australian society⁴³⁸.

Many of the participants found the notion that migrants 'do not belong to Australia or Greece' distressing, and they were concerned about the psychological effect this might have on the children regarding their feelings towards Greece and their identity. It is in this important area where the contributions made by teachers, lecturers, clergy and other professionals, will continue playing a decisive role on the future of ethnic sentiment among Australian born Greeks. Referring to this issue, one writer was of the opinion that although Greek migrants enjoy the status of dual nationality, this is nothing more than a means by which a person's psychological integrity might be ruptured⁴³⁹.

It is difficult for any one to describe with any degree of realistic accuracy the difference between 'identity' and 'belonging', but if the two words have a similar meaning, or one is influencing the other, all participants despite their love for Greece, appeared to be faced with the problem of belonging. In an emotionally charged manner, doctor No. 5 who has been in Australia 35 years, pays frequent visits to Greece but he describes his feelings for the two countries as being in a state of confusion⁴⁴⁰.

⁴³⁶ 'Many Greek families suffer of a phenomenon described as "educational gap" between parents and their children. Certain children feel superior to their parents and tend to ignore some of the cultural education they receive in the family.'

⁴³⁷ 'It distresses me to think that the identity of Greeks may be lost in this far-distant country which, even the then Prime Minister of Australia once described as being situated at the arse-end of the world.'

⁴³⁸ 'Through the years, the composition of the Greek community has changed in character with the addition of the Australian born children. Many of them might be academically educated but they lack social graces because of their low social background. They have achieved a lot in society but they would have been even higher, if their upbringing were more intellectually stimulating.'

⁴³⁹ P. Pappas, 'The Social Success and Ethnic Failure of Greek-Americans', in Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proceed of 1st Intern. Seminar 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, 1993, pp. 91-108, considers the state of dual identity to be almost an impossible situation and said 'You can be one or the other, and this is probably the reason why many people fight with their conscience as they try to find where they really belong.'

⁴⁴⁰ 'Every time I get onto the plane to go to Greece, I feel as if I want to push it to go there faster. It is unbelievable that I feel exactly the same way when the time comes for me to return to Australia.'

Bellou, recognises the problem of 'belonging' and remembers the words of a Greek migrant woman in Australia saying 'I feel xeni (foreigner) wherever I go'⁴⁴¹. This feeling has been interpreted by Bottomley as an indication of the fact that migrants who live outside their own social system, tend to move away from their own cultural definitions⁴⁴². Having this in mind, Bellou is concerned that, as the Greek community continues moving away from the first generation migrants, together with the complication of mixed marriages, the ethnic sentiment will slowly weaken. She considers culture and language to be two closely related components of identity which make a person feel Greek⁴⁴³.

Without exception, the participants have indicated their desire not only to maintain their identity within the framework of the Australian pluralistic society, but also to make whatever effort is possible to instill the same sentiments in others.

According to the testimony of each of the six priests, a large number of Greek youth have been expressing the desire to retain their cultural identity, and this is an area where the contribution made by the clergy has yielded good results. According to the priests, one of the reasons for this is that many young Greeks in Australia consider Orthodoxy to be central to Greekness, and believe that if religion survives into the future, so will Greek identity.

The existence of two identities in a person living in a society, has been described by Smolicz and Secombe as 'Pluralism of Identity', whereby individuals keep their sense of a personal ideological system, while at the same time conforming to the Anglo-Australian cultural system⁴⁴⁴. This cultural pluralism, has been translated by Golnick as the right of individuals to maintain their own culture and identity, while sharing the mainstream culture of the society in which they live⁴⁴⁵. While this may be true, it can also be said that if the system of pluralism of identity is divorced from all its cultural content, it resembles a transitional stage which can lead to assimilation. This change is accelerated when ethnicity becomes dormant and is reduced to the

⁴⁴¹ K. Bellou, 'Identity and Difference: First and Second Generation Greeks in Australia', in S. Vryonis (ed.), Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proceedings of First International Seminar, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, 1993, p. 228.

⁴⁴² Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek-Australians, op. cit. p. 23.

⁴⁴³ According to Bellou, op. cit. pp. 231-232, 'certain people think that culture and language together make them feel Greek and others believe that even without the language they can feel Greek and can also have two identities which they can understand.'

⁴⁴⁴ Smolicz and Secombe, op. cit. p. 138.

⁴⁴⁵ D. M. Golnick, Multicultural Education: Viewpoints in Teaching and Learning, in I. Burkley, S. Encel and G. McCall (eds), Immigration and Ethnicity in the 1980's, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1985.

level of individual attitudes. In this respect, there has been a general willingness on behalf of all participants involved in educational matters, to contribute through their teaching programs and seminars to the retention of ethnic identity⁴⁴⁵. Vivid examples of this are Nos 4 and 15, who frequently give radio talks on ethnic-historical topics.

No. 22 strongly believes that in addition to educational programs, there is also a need to establish some meaningful association between Greek youth and Greece. He has already discussed this possibility with the Greek Government and made it clear to Greek authorities that 'If such an association does not develop soon, it is most probable that the Greeks abroad will be lost as Diaspora Greeks.' No. 1 has also supported the same approach⁴⁴⁷, and Pappas said that 'third-generation Greeks born outside Greece, have only vestigial sense of their social and cultural history, and can easily become integrated members of a unitary (Australian) identity'⁴⁴⁸.

Another participant, No. 17 who is aware of the identity issue, has made a considerable contribution towards the maintenance of Greek language and identity through radiotalks, newspaper articles, theatrical productions and as a member of several Government bodies. She holds many hopes for the future of Hellenism in Australia. Despite this, she is concerned about the way some second-generation Greeks react to the social pressures in their every day life, as they try to look and behave like the majority⁴⁴⁹. Her overall outlook about identity is that, Hellenism transcends the limits of modern trends, and she hopes it can survive if it becomes possible for the Greek community to keep alight the flame of Greek tradition, as a reminder of its people's origins. This view is not fully supported by Psomiadis who claims that while the social activity of an ethnic group provides some ethnic direction it, nevertheless, is not sufficient to overcome the mighty forces of integration which take advantage of the decline in migration, the upward mobility of migrants, reduced usage of ethnic language, intermarriages and conflicts in

⁴⁴⁶ Nos 15, 18 and 22 have collectively said that it gives them enormous satisfaction and consider it their responsibility as academics, to do everything possible to inspire migrants to maintain their Greek identity.

⁴⁴⁷ If the young Greeks in Australia learn of Greece only by description, it will remain in their minds an abstract idea without sentiment.

⁴⁴⁸ Pappas, op. cit. p. 92, believes that 'if a culture is torn away from its cultural and historical roots, it will become an empty ritual. Greeks born outside Greece, are not part of the Greek homogenia but they have only an ethnic link with Greece, ie. they are not Greeks in the Helladic sense.'

⁴⁴⁹ 'In the process of such a transformation, the children tend to reject to a certain extent, the cultural attitudes of the parents (minority) and stop showing interest in their original culture.'

the community. These are issues of serious concern which have also been expressed by several participants⁴⁵⁰.

A pessimistic view about the future of Hellenism in Australia was also held by Nos 25, 26 and 27, who put the responsibility for the retention of identity entirely on each individual Greek migrant who should show interest in their own heritage. While No. 27 accepts as unavoidable the loss of some aspects of culture, he also believes that 'even if this happens, it is the duty of every Greek, to try to inject as many aspects of Greek heritage into the multicultural mosaic of the Australian society.'

Psomiadis recognises the fact that, while for the first-generation Greeks directly attached to Greece, for the succeeding generations this attachment becomes only an historical event and a simple reminder of their roots⁴⁵¹. This sentiment can only produce results if it were adequately cultivated, so that it can act as a unifying force for the Hellenic Diaspora. Psomiadis also considers it to be a transcendental territory of Greekness which tends to bring people together and, at the same time, takes them back to their roots. This process becomes more effective if, according to Waters, the meaning of identity brings satisfaction to individuals⁴⁵². This view is well reflected in the way No. 11 and her Australian-born daughter attend traditional Greek functions which, according to them, keep alive their love for Greece and Greek culture⁴⁵³. This is an example which shows how ethnicity can facilitate and encourage communal relationships and even strengthen them⁴⁵⁴. Martin has also suggested that the sentiment of ethnic origin generates

⁴⁵⁰ H. J. Psomiadis, 'Greece and Greek Americans: The Future of Greek American Community in, S. Orfanos, H. Psomiadis and J. Spiridakis (eds), *Education in America*', in *Process and Prospects*, Pella, New York, 1987, pp. 91-104.

Concern about Greek identity has been expressed by the following participants: Nos 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 26, 29, 33, 34, 37 and 41.

⁴⁵¹ H. J. Psomiadis, 'Greece and the Diaspora Problems and Prospects', in S. Vryonis (ed), *Greeks in English Speaking Countries*, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, March 1993, pp. 139-152. No. 6 lived this sense of activated identity when she supervised a group of Australian-born children on a tour of Greece.

⁴⁵² M. C. Waters, 'Ethnic Options: Later Generation Ethnicity in America', *Berkeley Univ. Press*, California, 1990.

⁴⁵³ 'My family has many Greek and Australian friends with whom we mix socially, but my daughter and I attend many of the Greek functions organised by the Greek community. We love Greek entertainment and dancing and we have always enjoyed traditional evenings. I am pleased that my daughter who is also a professional person, enjoys her association with Greeks and loves Greek culture.'

⁴⁵⁴ M. Weber, *Ethnic Groups in Theories of Society*, ed. T. Parsons, Free Press, New York, 1965, p. 307.

networks for migrants and their children, which are likely to continue long after the ethnic associations have disintegrated⁴⁵⁵.

Most of the participants, did not wish to become active members of Greek Associations because they thought they could achieve more towards the ethnic education of Greeks, and their opinions would be better respected by the community if they had stayed independent of any affiliations. It is also most remarkable that almost all of the participants reacted in a very similar, and unfavourable way to the disputes and structural weaknesses that exist in the Greek community, and preferred to become independent contributors to a wide range of identity issues. This action should not be considered as reducing the importance of ethnic associations in their contribution to the ethnic sentiment, as has been acknowledged by Bottomley⁴⁵⁶.

The reasons which have kept professional migrants out of community networks have concerned Chimbos, who fears that the various disputes within and between Greek organisations, may exert an adverse effect on the way second-generation Greeks view Greekness, and especially their allegiance to Greek culture⁴⁵⁷. As a result, many young Greeks may find it difficult to identify with their fragmented ethnic community. The same concern has also been expressed by No. 19 who can see that the Greek community is moving towards the future without any clear direction⁴⁵⁸. Expressing similar views to the above is lecturer No. 15, who is completely disillusioned by the antiquated methods used by many community leaders, when they try to solve social problems in an attempt to attract the interest of Greek youth. He considers that by doing so they only waste valuable time, and he has been trying from his position as an academic to counteract such ineffectual policies, and highlight the ethnic importance of the Church⁴⁵⁹.

One participant who expressed deep concern about the future of Hellenism is No. 17, who has been instrumental in introducing radio talks and general courses on Greek language, history and

⁴⁵⁵ Martin, *Community and Identity Refugee Groups in Adelaide*, op. cit. p. 132.

⁴⁵⁶ G. Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek-Australians*, op. cit. p. 173, said that, 'any association of members of a community with their ethnic groups, plays an important role in the maintenance of their identity. Such an association may also cause the emergence of a latent identity, under the influence of consciousness-raising activities, which might be appropriate for the future.'

⁴⁵⁷ Chimbos, op. cit. p. 48.

⁴⁵⁸ 'Many of the community leaders are pre-occupied with trivial issues and personal ambitions and by doing so they are neglecting to plan for the future of Hellenism in Australia.'

⁴⁵⁹ In addition to various purely ethnic issues he has presented to the public in lectures, he has also referred to the Church by saying 'Above all, our church functions as a uniting force which brings Greeks together and, for this reason alone, we should never try to destroy this long standing institution.'

culture, for the education of migrants and as a means of strengthening their sense of identity. With similar intentions and trust in the solid nature of Greek character regarding ethnic matters, teacher No. 6 has also endeavoured to spread the message of identity to college students, through lessons and the educational power of the theatre. She has always based her efforts on the premise that Greeks have special attributes, the most important of which is their 'filotimo' (self pride), which makes them respond to the call for ethnic unity⁴⁶⁰.

While many of the above comments apply to first-generation migrants, it is not yet known to what extent the future generations of Greeks will continue responding to the message of identity. On this question, Tsoukalas said that even if the decline in immigration has led to growing problems in the continuity of the language by not being able to recruit fresh blood, there is no doubt that for the time being, Greek migrant communities are in no immediate danger of linguistic and ethnic extinction⁴⁶¹. It is at this critical period for Hellenism in Australia, that the contribution made by Greek professional migrants is important.

Apart from the language, the other two components of identity are culture and religion, which are normally well promoted by Greek community organisations and the Church. Despite this, many of the participants are not satisfied with the way these two institutions have been discharging their responsibilities⁴⁶².

During his 18 years in Australia, lecturer No 22 has made an impressive contribution to Greek literature in Australia, and he now occupies a prominent position among academics and the Greek community⁴⁶³. His refusal to affiliate with any particular group, is due to the 'negative way of thinking' of certain leading community members, but this has not influenced in any way the level of his contribution to the community on matters of ethnic interest. A similar line of action has also been followed by No. 15, another academic who despite his efforts to reconcile differences, has been unable to make certain community leaders 'understand the truth behind their mistakes'. A similar stance has also been taken by No. 4, another young academic who has

⁴⁶⁰ 'The Greeks who can be soft as velvet and a few seconds later can explode for something that "ethixe to filotimo tous" (insulted their pride), shows the deep rooted feelings for what they are, which is simply their character and identity.'

⁴⁶¹ Tsoukalas, op. cit. p. 212.

⁴⁶² When No. 4 came to Australia, to take up an academic position, he was overwhelmed by its distance from Greece and its geographical isolation which he described by saying 'It was a feeling of emptiness with a devastating effect on me, and made me rush back for a short visit to Greece.'

⁴⁶³ 'My greatest satisfaction in Australia has been that I have managed to put a little stone in the foundations of the Greek community in Australia and I will continue to work in that direction.'

been making regular contributions through ethnic radio, but he refuses to be involved in community organisations.

The 'weaknesses' that exist in the leadership of some Greek Associations, has prompted one writer to say that 'qualifications for Presidency, other than wealth and service to the Associations, have mostly been political and religious affiliations'⁴⁶⁴. No. 33, is an experienced academic in Melbourne who has been enjoying his involvement with the general Greek community, and is optimistic about the future of Hellenism in Australia. Despite this, he is concerned about the negative effect the fight between the church and sections of the Greek community is having on the confidence of Greek youth. In general, almost all participants appear to be seriously concerned about the impact the unsatisfactory handling of community affairs could have on the youth, who are obviously the only hope for carrying Hellenism into the future.

According to Vryonis, the extensive influence of the Church on Greek communities, is a surprising paradox, characterised by the penetration of the hierarchical religious institution into the community structure in Australia and America⁴⁶⁵. In each case, the Church has been asserting its primacy over the secular popular institutions of Greek communities, in a manner which has never before been done, even in Greece itself. As a result, according to Vryonis, a serious conflict of interests has arisen, which, for many years has been draining the energy of many Greek community members and distracting them from the most important issues of the application of a well co-ordinated youth education program. Instead, it has developed into a power struggle which is having a negative effect on members of the Greek and even the Australian communities⁴⁶⁶. Apart from the continuing differences between the Archdiocese and certain Greek communities, the Greek Church, in general, has been a powerful institution, which is well respected by Greeks for its contribution to the Greek Ethnos through the centuries. These have also been the sentiments expressed by all the participants, particularly the priests in their interviews.

While the Greek professional migrants in their totality, have made many important contributions towards the development and continuation of Hellenism in Australia, it is unfortunate that they have followed a non-participatory stance in the activities of community organisations. This attitude has prevented first-generation Greek professionals from involving themselves in their 'anachronistic' structures, as they have been characterised by some. There has also been some reluctance on the part of the present generation Greeks to join Community Associations, an

⁴⁶⁴ Price, *Greeks in Australia*, op. cit. p. 50.

⁴⁶⁵ Vryonis, op. cit. p. 18.

⁴⁶⁶ Similar comments have also been made by P. D. Chimbos, 1993, op. cit. p. 48.

attitude which Bellou tends to attribute to 'lack of trust by members of the second-generation'⁴⁶⁷. Ganzis has also commented on this matter and all participants with educational involvements, have rigorously tried to counteract such effects⁴⁶⁸.

Kakakios and Van der Velden, observed that since 1950, there has been a significant increase in the competition for community office, a situation which has created internal divisions and has been further complicated by the involvement of the Church. As a result, the democratic ideals of the Church are in conflict with its authoritarian practice, which has ended in a schism between Church and certain Greek communities⁴⁶⁹. Bottomley, Campbell and Sherrard, have also discussed the same problem⁴⁷⁰. The priests are implicated in this dispute by virtue of their position, and as priest No. 28 said 'We are in a delicate and highly responsible position.' They are the link between people and the Orthodox religion and have to maintain continuous contact with the Church Hierarchy, which gives them inspiration and specific guidelines for their duties as spiritual advisors.

Religion is an integral part of the Greek identity, because Orthodoxy is the official religion of Greeks and as such, it is involved in various facets of Greek life. The same principles apply also to the Greeks in Australia where the Church is supposed to have a great deal of influence on people and, in this sense, traditionally the priests play an important role in the day to day life of migrants and their families. Despite this, it has become evident from the interviews that their authority is somewhat reduced by the feeling of 'independence' shown among the Australian-born Greeks, who are slowly distancing themselves from the influence of the Church⁴⁷¹.

Alongside the important role played by the lecturers and priests, as protectors and promoters of the Greek ethnic identity, one could also add the role of the teachers. As Price has stated 'the

⁴⁶⁷ Bellou, *op. cit.* p. 231.

⁴⁶⁸ N. Ganzis, 'The Politics and Purpose of Language Maintenance of Modern Greek at Tertiary Level in South Australia', in S. Vryonis (ed), Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, 1993, p. 297, has also discussed the matter raised by Bellou, pointing out that, the Greek communities are aware of the dangers created by the divisions within their ranks.

⁴⁶⁹ Kakakios and Van Der Velden, *op. cit.* p. 156.

⁴⁷⁰ Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, *op. cit.* p. 59. See also Campbell and Sherrard, *op. cit.* p. 199.

⁴⁷¹ Bottomley, *op. cit.* p. 94, referring to this matter, remarked that 'the Greek Church represents an institution which is ethically enclosed and collectively provides one of the most significant definitions of the boundaries of Greekness'. This view has been supported by many participants who also agree that the Church is closely associated with Greek tradition, and the survival of Greek religion will mean the survival of Greek identity. The support has come from the following 14 participants, Nos 1, 3, 6, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 25, 35, 37, 40 and 42.

purpose of a Greek community without ethnic schools and churches, would have been almost meaningless⁴⁷². The language is considered to be the core of Greek culture and, since Greeks share a common language, regardless of geographical origin, all migrant teachers have been well accepted and gainfully employed in Australia.

All participants in this study showed in their own way their commitment to support, the continuation of Greek identity. In most instances, this has been done independently of any community organisations. While all participants are concerned about the gradual loss of the language, which is the core component of Greek identity, they believe that Hellenism will survive for many more generations, even if this is in a different form.

The analysis to follow, is an attempt to highlight the ways in which the participants individually or as members of their professional groups, contributed to the promotion of the Greek community and its future in Australia.

The teachers⁴⁷³ have been involved in private, community or church supervised schools, where they are teaching or have taught Greek language, culture, history and religion. According to No. 3 who was appointed teacher and education inspector for several community schools in the Sydney area, 'teaching Greek to Australian-born children, is one of the most satisfying occupations', but in his view, for the teaching program to be effective, there is a need for the introduction of changes to the teaching curricula at primary and secondary levels. He strongly believes that only through an effective teaching system which can increase the sense of ethnic awareness, will it be possible to retain the sentiment of identity in the minds of people in the coming generations. He has also been gravely concerned about the weakening of the sense of Greek identity among Cypriot migrants, who should continue to represent in Australia, a strong voice for the liberation of the island. The thought that the Greek identity might be lost among Australian-Greeks in the future, has prompted No. 3 to initiate action through the Cypriot and Greek Governments, to have a Greek ethnic library established in Australia. The most significant contribution No. 3 has made to the Greek community, has been his teaching responsibilities through which he has been able to cultivate in the minds of Greek children a sentiment of love and admiration for Greece and Cyprus⁴⁷⁴. Discussing further his views about

⁴⁷² Price, Greeks in Australia, op. cit. pp. 57, 60.

⁴⁷³ For more information see Appendices Nos 7 and 8.

⁴⁷⁴ No. 3 said, 'Wherever I go, I never stop discussing the issue of ethnic identity, and I am satisfied that I have been able to make some impression on the thinking and feelings of many of our youth who are now better informed about the glory of our origin'.

identity, he expressed deep concern about the damage caused by the divisions that exist in various sections of the Greek community in Australia⁴⁷⁵.

The views and feelings expressed by No. 3 are shared by the other five teachers who have also been involved in activities which promote cultural awareness among members of the Greek community. Two of the proponents of such sentiments are teachers Nos 6 and 13 who came to Australia at periods 14 years apart, and have 22 years difference in age (See Appendix 7).

Although each of these two teachers lived during different periods of community development in Australia, and have different educational and sociocultural experiences, they both share the same strong sentiments about ethnic identity.

Teacher No. 6 started her life in Australia with idealistic hopes of achieving a successful teaching career, which was to give her the opportunity to make some contribution to the Greek community. Her active participation in community functions, has given her the opportunity to convey the message of ethnic identity to members of the Greek community⁴⁷⁶, and to Greek school children who visited Greece under her supervision⁴⁷⁷. In her opinion, in addition to the efforts made by teachers, lecturers and many others to teach the language and culture to Australian-born Greeks, the contribution made by parents at home, is invaluable⁴⁷⁸.

No. 13 was 57 years when he migrated to Australia, and during his 16 years in the country he has made a substantial contribution to the education of Greek youth, and the religious orientation of the Greek community. In contrast to No. 6, who came to Australia without experience, No.

⁴⁷⁵ No. 3 said, 'How can anyone be effective in their efforts to maintain the sense of identity in our youth, when there are so many divisions and disputes in our community and between community and church, which tend to undermine all good intentions and actions by several clearly thinking individuals'.

⁴⁷⁶ No. 6 said, 'From the beginning of my career in Australia, my satisfaction has been that I could offer a piece of my Greekness to our new generations, and instil in their minds the truth of the beautiful Greek history and traditions'.
'As a teacher, playwright and actor, I have managed, in a small way, to make some contribution to the maintenance of Greek identity in Australia'.

⁴⁷⁷ No. 6 said, 'After the trip to Greece, many of the children said that the visit made them feel proud of their ancestry. This makes me believe that the problem of maintaining our identity would not be as serious as it is now, if the Australian-born children could experience, the glory of the country of their parents'.

⁴⁷⁸ No. 6 said, 'I am concerned about the future and especially when there are divisions in our community. I base my courage on the tremendous resilience of Greek culture which helped the Greek nation to survive for so many centuries, despite the strong assimilating oppression under Turkish occupation'. In the struggle of survival of our identity, the parents bear most of the responsibility.

13 used his 35 years professional experience to organise private language schools. Using a similar ethnic educational approach to that of the two previous teachers (Nos 3 and 6), No. 13 saw the need for urgent community action to revitalise the sentiments of identity of young Greeks in Australia and suggested that the process of adaptation of Greek youth to the Australian sociocultural mentality could be slowed down, through a well-planned program of ethnic education which should include the participation of young people in ethnic networks.

Each of the remaining three teachers (Nos 11, 21 and 23) differ in the way they have made their contributions to the community, which were either through their position in government appointments (Nos 11 and 21) or part time private teaching (No. 23). No. 11 was appointed by the Immigration Department as a teacher in English for newly arrived Greek migrants to whom she gave English lessons and assisted to settle in the new society. She has been an enthusiastic supporter of issues of ethnic importance, such as language, culture and religion and has shared her sentiments for Greece with Greek migrants, giving them confidence and reassurance about their new life in Australia⁴⁷⁹. According to her, the Greek family unit should be preserved because it has and will continue playing a central role in the question of survival of identity⁴⁸⁰. She believes that with a strong family unit and the cultural richness provided by ethnic networks, it will be easier for the new generations to remain close to their traditions, even when the community has moved further away from its migrant-based structure.

The main contribution made by the two teachers Nos 21 and 23 to the Greek community, has been their services to Greek schools, and both believe that a gradual integration of Greeks into the Australian society is unavoidable⁴⁸¹. No. 23 remarked that the Greeks in Egypt maintained their strong ethnic identity for more than three generations, but the sociopolitical situation for Greeks in Australia is different, because of the 'assimilating' forces that operate in the Australian society, the great distance from Greece and the end of cultural regeneration without

⁴⁷⁹ No. 11 said 'I was well aware of their psychological state during the first few months in Australia, because I had also worked with prospective migrants before their departure from Greece. In Australia they felt confident knowing I was also Greek, and this gave me great pleasure to be able to ease their anxieties'.

⁴⁸⁰ No. 11 said, 'My Australian born nephew said to me that I live in two worlds because I have been brought up in a traditional Greek family and live in the Australian society, which is my first world. I communicate with my second world through my parents who speak and think only Greek. For me, they are the light which helps me to see in that world and I am terrified when I think what might happen once they are gone'.

⁴⁸¹ No. 21 said, 'My pupils are active participants and not passive listeners. They understand their history and are proud of their origin. But, I believe it will be difficult to avoid integration of Greeks into the Australian society because of social pressures, and the acute problem of ethnic isolation due to the distance of Brisbane from the main centres of Hellenism in Australia'.

further migration⁴⁸². With these comments in mind, No. 23 believes that the teachers in Australia play a vital role in the revival of ethnic identity amongst Greeks, but the potential of their services is not fully utilised, due to lack of an overall, well-coordinated education program, with clear directions for the future⁴⁸³. As a consequence, the process of integration will be expected to gain momentum with the end of migration.

The common characteristics of the teachers in their totality, are their admiration of Greece as a place of history and tradition, and the enjoyment and satisfaction they derive from being able to contribute through their teaching to the continuation of Hellenism in Australia.

Regarding the lecturers, their most significant contribution made by the lecturers, apart from their formal educational duties, has been the generous support given to the Greek community in activities on ethnic awareness. This has been substantiated by the analysis of their duties and responsibilities, vis-a-vis the Greek community in Australia. All lecturers, have participated in the overall effort of the Greek community in Australia, to maintain the issue of ethnic identity alive in the minds of Greek youth.

During the 35 years No. 1 has spent in Australia, he has contributed to the development of ethnic awareness among members of the Greek community⁴⁸⁴ and as a member of a governing council he is contributing to educational and cultural matters.

He believes that Australian-born Greeks are slowly losing their contact with the migrant generation, and to a large extent this is responsible for the reduced use of the Greek language at home. From his personal experience, the signs of a gradual loss of the language amongst the future generation Greeks, is a trend which is expected to develop faster in areas with a lower density of Greek population. No. 1 is of the opinion that if the Greek language and identity continue fading away with time, any attempts to maintain or revive them in the future, may have very little effect on the revival of the language. With similar enthusiasm, the lecturer in economics (No. 4) has also been actively involved in the promotion of the Greek ethnic idea

⁴⁸² No. 23 believes, 'that there is a close relationship between language and culture, and for this reason it will be difficult for the culture to survive without the language in a society where so many forces are acting against it'.

⁴⁸³ No. 23 stated, 'I believe that to be able to achieve this, requires the close co-operation of people from the education and community sectors who are prepared to work in consultation with Greek youth. I suspect, it will be a difficult task, because it is difficult for Greeks to agree on a common approach'.

⁴⁸⁴ No. 1 said, 'It is almost 40 years since the time I started teaching Greek children the language and culture of their parents and tried to instil in them the spirit of Greece. One of my greatest satisfaction was the small contribution I made with the production of 'passage reading' tapes in Greek, at the beginning of the introduction of Modern Greek courses at the University of Armidale (The Armidale Express, 23/6/1967, p. 17).

through seminars, press articles and radio talks in Sydney. Despite his keen interest in ethnic issues, he has avoided becoming a member of any ethnic Greek association⁴⁸⁵. Referring to the issue of Greekness, which No. 4 prefers to call 'Greek ethos', he considers the Greek language to be the backbone of Greek culture and civilisation, and he is concerned about the inability of the Greek community to fully understand the dangers lying ahead⁴⁸⁶.

The other eight lecturers in the group, have also been professionally involved in Modern Greek education and all of them have become advocates of the retention of the Greek identity, not only with their students but, most importantly, with the Greek community at large. Men and women lecturers have been equally active in expressing their sentiments at every given opportunity. The relationship of most lecturers with the Greek community organisations has been based mainly on educational matters and in this way, the lecturers have avoided any political involvement in the various disputes which are having a damaging effect on the whole community⁴⁸⁷.

No. 15 has also identified weaknesses on Greek ethnic issues in Australia and he believes that with time, certain aspects of Greek culture. Being a scholar of Macedonian and Byzantine history, No. 15 has on several occasions discussed and published articles on the Macedonian issue, because he believes that by keeping the Greek community informed on its history, it strengthens the sense of identity among its members⁴⁸⁸. No. 22 shares many of the feelings and views on identity that have been expressed by No. 15, and they are both optimistic about the future of Hellenism in Australia, despite the observation that the Greek language is now used with lesser intensity than before among Australian Greeks. They believe that Greeks have a long and well established tradition, they are conservative in changing habits, by nature are inquisitive people and it is therefore improbable for Greeks to be in danger of ignoring their history and origin.

⁴⁸⁵ No. 4 said, 'I don't think I could have been able to contribute any more towards the Greek identity, even if I had been over the years directly involved in Greek community organisations. At least, as an outsider, I have managed to maintain a captive audience from all sides of the political spectrum. The disputes in the community have a self destructive effect and should stop immediately'.

⁴⁸⁶ No. 4 considers that, 'The language is not only a means of communication, but it is also a living part of Greek identity, which makes the basis of cultural development. Greek identity can only be maintained through a well designed and coordinated program of ethnic education, financially supported with funds which have accumulated in the accounts of the various Greek Associations'.

⁴⁸⁷ Such disputes happen not only within or between regional associations which divide them into factions, but also between certain Greek communities and the Church hierarchy, which has been causing irreparable damage in the eyes of the younger generations.

⁴⁸⁸ No. 15 said, 'For the Greek identity to be successfully nurtured, there is a need to keep people informed on issues concerning their language, history and culture, all of which should be given priority in programs of ethnic education'.

No. 22 has been a prolific publisher of books and articles on Greek migrants and ethnic issues which have been widely read by the Greek community in Australia⁴⁸⁹, and has also served government committees, including the Multicultural Foundation.

With reference to the problem of the future of Hellenism in Australia, No. 22 strongly believes that it will continue being uncertain, and the future of Greek identity will depend on the degree of importance Greeks in Australia place of their origin⁴⁹⁰. No. 22 believes that, to the migrants, Greece gives inspiration, courage and pride for their origins, and for Greece on the other hand, the migrants are the millions of faithful political and financial supporters. In this context, Greece must accept the existence of two big centres; one is Greece itself and the other is represented by more than six million Greeks around the world⁴⁹¹. Under the present circumstances, the importance of continuation of mutual co-operation between the two centres is that, once the Greeks abroad stop caring about Greece, they will soon be lost as Greeks.

One of the strong proponents of Greek identity is No. 18 who, in close co-operation with Greek community leaders, has worked for the promotion of the Greek language and culture in Australia. In addition to her contribution as an academic, No. 18 has also served on various government committees, an achievement which places her in a position of authority regarding the handling of issues of ethnic and educational significance, but she is concerned about the future of the Greek language⁴⁹². She believes that the survival of identity will ultimately become a matter of decision by each individual, and will directly depend upon the way each person feels towards their ancestry and Greece itself. According to No. 18, Orthodoxy will continue to play an important role in the cultural identity of Greeks, because it is difficult for religion to be separated from it. Another observation she has made on the expression of identity is that, 'the more socially independent people become, the more open they are about their origin'.

⁴⁸⁹ No. 22 stated that, 'All these activities give me a sense of satisfaction, because I am able to do something for Greece and Greek migrants, with whom I share the same feelings towards our origins.'

⁴⁹⁰ No. 22 said, 'This is a responsibility we all bear on our shoulders, but it is also Greece itself which will have to realise that it will be impossible for this enormous effort to be successful without its full support'

⁴⁹¹ 'Unless there is a clear spirit of understanding on behalf of Greece, the Greeks abroad may start getting tired of the negligent attitude of the centre, and there are already signs that some of them have started moving away from it'.

⁴⁹² No. 18 said, 'The loss of Greek language among the fourth generation Greeks in America is a disturbing example of possible future developments in Australia. The language crisis in America, which has been described by Triandaffylidis, has also adversely affected university courses in Modern Greek. I hope that the language situation in Australia will not follow the developments that have taken place in America because, the Greek community in Australia has maintained close links of communication with Greece. See also M. Triandaffylidis, 'The Greek Language of the Greeks in America', *Ta Apanda*, Vol II, 1953, pp. 301-331.

Lecturers Nos 33 and 34 arrived in Australia in 1974, the time when educational activities involving Greek language and culture were at an upward trend, and since that time, both lecturers have continued offering their services to the Greek community. Despite their intimate involvement in community education, they maintained, as all the other lecturers, a position of neutrality, from community disputes and politics. They are both optimistic about the future of Greek identity, which in their opinion will depend on the extent to which Australian-Greeks will continue showing interest in Greek language, culture and civilisation, which are generally recognised to be 'world symbols'⁴⁹³. According to No. 33, the Orthodox religion will continue playing a major role as a uniting force and symbol of Greek identity, a view held also by the large majority of the participants⁴⁹⁴. Considering the issue of identity in the context of the major social changes taking place in Australia, No. 33 believes that Greek identity has entered a critical period, during which ethnic groups are subjected to strong, integrating forces under the umbrella of multiculturalism. It is therefore important to encourage the youth to associate with Greek networks which promote cultural activities.

Nos 37 and 38, are both from Cyprus, were educated in Athens, and came to Australia within a year of each other. They both maintained a close association with the Greek community in Melbourne and felt morally obliged to assist with its cultural and ethnic activities⁴⁹⁵.

They both endeavoured to maintain close contact with the Greek community, in an attempt to follow the changes taking place in the behaviour of youth and the way they responded to messages of ethnic identity. From their personal experience, they knew that many teenage Greek children go through a period of identity crisis, but a few years later, most of them change to a pro-Greek attitude it is at this stage when according to Nos 37 and 38, lecturers can influence their sentiments towards their identity. Despite this, No. 38 has ascertained, that the dispute in the Greek community are having a negative effect on the ethnic feelings of some youth. Lecturer

⁴⁹³ No. 33 considers that, 'the new generations will have to feel proud of their ancestry and this will give them confidence to feel proud of their identity. Even myself, I feel the need to revitalise my sense of identity and I revisit Greece, every few years'.

'It is only through the emotion one experiences when they revisit Greece, where the Greekness of the person comes alive, and such an experience was most important for my children who felt the spirit of their ancestors transfusing into their bodies'.

⁴⁹⁴ No. 33 said, 'The Greeks feel peaceful listening to the Byzantine chant, but for the Church to continue fulfilling its role as an institution with its traditionally uniting mission, it is important that it should be respected by all and the differences that exist between community and Church Hierarchy should be resolved as quickly as possible'.

⁴⁹⁵ No. 38 stated, 'I became member of Greek associations because I wanted to estimate the educational and cultural needs of the Greek community and the changing attitudes of Greek migrant families in Australia. Only by doing so, I thought I could be of assistance to them'.

No. 37, has also achieved a harmonious relationship with the Greek community, which has been supporting his academic Department at the university⁴⁹⁶.

With reference to the future of Greek identity, both lecturers, Nos 37 and 38, are optimistic, but No. 37 believes that the ethnic associations, which for many years have been holding Greeks in Australia united, are becoming weaker and may be replaced in the future by independent community groups, with special activities. As a result, the intensity of community activities could increase⁴⁹⁷.

Another impressive example of co-operation and mutual assistance and support between Greek community and a section of Modern Greek in one of Australia's universities, are the achievements accomplished by lecturer No. 41. Her educational and cultural contribution to the community, is aimed at preserving the sense of Greek identity. She believes that if people feel confident about their origins, they will also be proud of their identity. But to achieve this, the cultural education should not be based only on mundane things, like Kalamatiano and souvlaki, but on historical facts and important cultural values. No. 41 looks at Greek language not only as a medium for communication, but also as a core element which could help to maintain Greek identity. In view of this, she is disappointed with signs indicating a gradual reduction in the use of the language among Greek youth, and she considers as urgent, the need for collective action by the community, to retain and even increase what is left of the language and culture in Australia. She believes that even at this rather advanced stage, it is possible to salvage the identity by actively promoting the language, culture and religion⁴⁹⁸.

--- From the above analysis, it is evident that the lecturers and teachers, as individuals and as professional groups, have made a valuable contribution to the maintenance of Hellenism in Australia, by using education as an effective means of promoting Greek identity. While they have all shown a high degree of enthusiasm in carrying out their duties as professional educators,

⁴⁹⁶ No. 37 said, 'When I consider the contribution made by my Division to the cultural and educational activities of the Greek and Australian communities, it becomes obvious that it deserves some assistance from the Greek Government and, so far, I am grateful for its generosity'.

⁴⁹⁷ No. 37 said, 'There are already indications that the Church has started diversifying its activities, but there is also a need for the church to change from its present form of all encompassing Orthodoxy to the establishment of the Greek Church of Australia, with purely Greek character and meeting only the specific needs of the Australian Greeks'.
In his view, the Church may continue playing an important role amongst Greeks, but for the church, to be able to maintain its influence on people, No. 37 believes that it will have to assume a more active cultural in addition to its religious role.

⁴⁹⁸ No. 41 said, 'We should take immediate action to save our culture without being influenced by the apathy of certain people in our community. The Greeks are notorious for panicking at the last minute for what they neglected to do in the past. Our identity cannot be neglected, and we should act as one united community to make sure it will be maintained into the future'.

they are also seriously concerned about the future of Hellenism which could be in jeopardy if the Greek community, as a whole, continues to be complacent and neglects to plan positively for the future.

The medical practitioners have made their contribution, not only through their professional and social contact with their clientele, which was almost entirely made of Greek migrants, but also through their interest for Greece and the importance of Greek culture to all Greeks⁴⁹⁹.

No. 5 is one of the first Greek doctors who established himself in Sydney in 1959, and during his 36 years practice in Australia, his patients have been grateful for being able to communicate their medical and family problems to him without any cultural or language barrier⁵⁰⁰. It was obvious, the doctor said, that 'Greek migrants could identify well with a Greek health provider, and such an association made them relax and gave them confidence'. No. 5 is proud of being the first Greek doctor to deliver Greek babies in Sydney⁵⁰¹. He considers the contribution he has made towards the first generation Australian-born Greeks, to be one of the most important contributions anyone could have made in the development of the Greek community in Australia. While he is well known to the Greeks in Sydney, he has never occupied any official position in any community committees, because of his reluctance to be involved in the internal politics of the Greek community and he regrets the fact that the immediate future of Hellenism in Australia, may be in the hands of certain people without any clear view for the future. Despite the various problems associated with the ethnic orientation of young Greeks, No. 5 believes that Greek language and culture, may survive in Australia if the community, as a whole, starts paying more attention to the needs of Greek youth.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁹ According to J. I. Martin, 'Family and Bureaucracy', in ed C. A. Price (ed), Greeks in Australia, A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1975, p. 202, Greek doctors were used by Greek migrants in preference to other Medical services, because they could communicate in Greek. By doing so, the migrants were influenced by the views expressed by the doctors as this was pointed out by doctor No. 5.

⁵⁰⁰ No. 5 said, 'For the patients who could not speak any English, it was a comforting feeling to be able to discuss their medical problems in Greek. These hard working people who were partly disorientated and sometimes facing an unfriendly environment in the work place, wanted someone who could listen and understand their problems. The doctor was not only a healer but also a counsellor'.

⁵⁰¹ No. 5 said, 'It was an overwhelming feeling when I delivered with my own hands, a Greek baby in Sydney and listened to the music of his cry. I enjoyed with profound satisfaction the expression of happiness and gratitude in the faces of the parents. Now, it gives me pleasure and immense satisfaction when I happen to be greeted in such an affectionate manner by someone who may be six foot tall. My thoughts go back to the time when I was the first person to hold him in my hands, when he came into this new for his parents' world'.

⁵⁰² No. 5 stated that, 'This is evident amongst second generation Greeks, many of whom have been completely absorbed into the Australian society and only their names indicate their Greek origin'.

In common with No. 5, the other medical practitioners, have also had very limited involvement with the administrative affairs of the Greek community, but they have all retained strong ethnic sentiments and close ties with Greece. They are all of the opinion that the Greek community should give special attention to the historical, lingual and cultural wealth of the Greek people, as the basis of future education of Greek youth. With this in mind, Doctor No. 9 who has completed almost 40 years of a distinguished career, servicing the Greek and Australian communities, is in agreement with several other participants, who believe that the community as a whole, has not produced any clear plans for the future of Hellenism in Australia⁵⁰³. For these reasons, and the complications created by the divisions within the community. No. 9 is deeply concerned about the future of Greek identity in Australia⁵⁰⁴. He is distressed when he thinks that the future generations of Greeks in Australia may be completely absorbed and lost in this far distant country, and his only contribution has been by communicating his feelings to his clientele. Although doctor No. 9 is in favour of the multicultural concept, he is not convinced that Greek culture and identity can continue to exist in any useful form and for any period of time, as part of a conglomerate of cultures unless it receives strong community support⁵⁰⁵.

According to the doctors, during the 1960's and 1970's, they answered not only calls for health matters, but also for personal and family problems. For this reason, the doctors had an immense influence on the welfare and nationalistic sentiments of their patients, because most of them could hardly speak any English and were grateful to be able to discuss their problems in their own language. On many occasions, their anxiety for living in a foreign country, compounded with the stress of work related problems, created psychosomatic conditions which needed special attention⁵⁰⁶. The doctor described the migrants as honest people who worked hard to overcome their financial, social and problems of isolation in an alien society⁵⁰⁷. His direct involvement

⁵⁰³ No. 9 said, 'I believe that my views are also shared by many other professional Greek migrants in Australia. It is a sad situation because I would have liked to see people with better education and understanding of community needs, to take responsibility for the affairs of the community'.

⁵⁰⁴ No. 9 feels that, 'This is a very serious matter which has been concerning me for many years, and especially for the future of my children, who I hope will continue to love and care about Greece, as I have done throughout my life'.

⁵⁰⁵ No. 9 considers that the future of Greek identity in Australia will be doubtful without the support of a united community and a strong family. Unfortunately, it looks as if the family bond has already started becoming weaker and Greeks have been moving away from our religion. How can a community look hopefully into its future without language and our Orthodox religion?

⁵⁰⁶ No. 39 said, 'Even talking to them in Greek, expressing my sympathy for their problems and offering them some advice, it was sufficient to remove a great deal of their anxiety and make them relax.'

⁵⁰⁷ No. 39 stated that, 'My contribution to the community was the opportunity I had to offer Greek migrants comfort during their most difficult periods in their lives. At that time, the doctor had become a health and mental councillor.'

with Greek community organisations was very limited, but the help he gave to the community has been through his services as a health provider to migrants and their families.

On the issue of the future of Hellenism in Australia, the opinion of the four doctors coincides on a number of points. The most important view is that the Greek culture will survive among the next few generations of Australian-born Greeks, but in an idealistic rather than nationalistic form. This can be achieved if the community starts using a positive approach to the education of youth, together with a more liberal approach by the church on their socio-religious requirements. All doctors recognise that the church is an integral part of the Greek identity, but its leaders should realise that the Australian-born youth belong to a society which is vastly different from that in Greece, and which operates under a multicultural and multi-religious umbrella.

Following a more nationalistic approach to the future of Greek identity in Australia, the doctors have expressed their admiration for the social and professional achievements of Australian-born Greeks, and believe that their strong character and glorious heritage, will carry Hellenism into the future. But how far into the future, will depend on the extent to which the community is prepared to stop being concerned about trivial matters and starts setting the foundations on matters of identity which could be used as reference points by Greek youth in the future. This is the common direction in which the doctors are endeavouring to continue making their contribution.

The two women dentists, Nos 14 and 32, never attempted to become members of any ethnic organisations, but they have both maintained close relationships with friends and relatives in Greece and have always tried to promote the Greek name amongst their friends and clientele in Australia. Neither of the two is optimistic about the future of Hellenism in Australia, but they are of the opinion that even if the Greeks were absorbed into the Australian culture, they will retain some of their cultural elements and traditions, as reminders of their Greek roots. While the dentists believe that integration of Greeks into the Australian society will be inevitable, the most vulnerable people to be first absorbed could be those living in small Greek communities and children from mixed marriages⁵⁰⁸. Both dentists value their Greek identity and concur with the opinion expressed by other participants that, even if the language were lost in the future, the identity could continue to live as an abstract idea in the minds of Greek youth.

The contribution towards the future of Hellenism in Australia made by the medical practitioners, as individuals or a group, has been as important as that of the teachers and lecturers, who by virtue of their professional involvement had the opportunity to promote Greek identity. In

⁵⁰⁸ 'The social freedom that exists in Australia, removes any feelings of resentment to the process of integration which takes place in an insidious way. It could be said that children from mixed marriages are half way there.'

reality, the medical practitioners have had a profound effect on the morale of migrants to overcome personal problems during the stressful periods of their adaptation in Australia. By doing so, their contribution was not only towards the Greek community but also the Australian Government, which at that time was facing major logistic problems with the influx of migrants.

The engineers and science graduates represent people who were not given, as much as others, the opportunity to contribute to the Greek community. The main reason for this is that of the nine professionals in the two groups, five failed in their attempts to establish themselves professionally, and as a result they were demoralised and lost interest in matters outside their daily struggle for survival. Despite this, they all remained firmly attracted to their traditions and never lost sight of their origins.

No. 10 worked for three years as an engineer in Australia, but he soon recognised the deficiencies of the Greek school education system in Australia, and decided to combine his experience in computer science with his interest in the Greek language, by producing computer programs for the use in Greek schools⁵⁰⁹. Through this initiative, No. 10 has made a worthy contribution to the education of future generations in the areas of Greek language and history, which are both vital in the continuation of Greek identity in Australia. With sufficient flexibility built into the computer programs, it will be easy for them to be adapted to future requirements, and No. 10 is hoping that his contribution will remain a useful learning tool for many years, and is optimistic about the future of Greek identity. He believes that if Australian-born Greeks, who live in a free and democratic society, were given the opportunity to acquire adequate knowledge about their origin, they will feel proud about it and will remain close to their roots⁵¹⁰.

Engineer No. 27 migrated full of dreams for the establishment of his professional career in Australia, but unexpected circumstances forced him to readjust his plans and develop alternative interests in the construction industry. He came originally from the Turkish occupied part of Cyprus, and apart from his professional work in Australia he also devoted a large part of his time to the leadership of the organisation for the liberation of the island. By doing so, he became well known to the Greek community not only for his nationalistic sentiments, but also for his support for the Greek language, history and cultural education in community schools. He believes that only through well delivered education, Greek Cypriots will retain their identity, which will give

⁵⁰⁹ No. 10 stated that, 'it is our moral responsibility to show interest in the future of our identity and try to keep it alive in the minds of our children, not only while they are still under the influence of their migrant parents, but for many more generations. I hope this is what I will be achieving with my work.'

⁵¹⁰ No. 10 said, 'I am pleased when I see young Greeks showing an interest in everything Greek, and especially if this attitude were to continue through to their adulthood. This is an encouraging sign for the future of Hellenism in Australia which will also be affecting my children'.

confidence to the younger generations of Cypriots in Australia⁵¹¹. He considers the support he gives to the promotion of Greek language and culture to be support for the future of Hellenism in Australia. No. 27 is convinced that the longer the Greek culture remains alive in Australia, the more significant will be its contribution to the future social developments in this country⁵¹².

With a similar spirit of patriotic enthusiasm to that of the previous two engineers, is No. 42 who was born in Egypt, and with the inspiration he received from his education in Greek language and culture, he maintained clear his ethnic orientation. Since the time he migrated to Australia, he has been promoting the Greek language, culture and religion and worked hard for this purpose. His love for Greece, its language, culture and tradition, have been further expressed in a number of poem collections he has published in Australia⁵¹³. Unfortunately, No. 42 became seriously ill and had to retire from some of his community activities, but he still finds ways to make his contribution to the Greek and Australian communities. For this reason, his services have been recognised by the Greek community and Australian Government of Victoria, which have awarded him distinctions for his literary and community contributions. No. 42 is doubtful about the future of Greek identity, if the present apathy of a large part of the Greek community towards the future of Hellenism continues to dominate among the migrants⁵¹⁴.

All science graduates and two engineers (Nos 19 and 25) retained strong sentiments of affection for Greece, but all their activities were directed to the hard struggle for securing a place in society and the workforce, and their contributions to the Greek community have been limited⁵¹⁵.

⁵¹¹ No. 27 considers, 'the Cypriots are Greek and only by continuing our struggle together, will we be able one day to take back the part of the island we have lost to the Turks. It is more than 22 years since the struggle for the liberation of the island started, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain the enthusiasm of the younger generations. It will become much more difficult if we lose our language, culture and religion.'

⁵¹² No. 27 said, 'there is no doubt in my mind that, a large proportion of Australian-born Greeks have only a vague idea about Greek culture and history. It will not be easy to maintain the Greek culture in a fast moving society like Australia, unless we make a special effort to retain as many aspects of Greek identity as possible. By doing so, we will also contribute to the emerging Australian culture.'

⁵¹³ No. 42 in one of his poems, he expresses his full of nostalgia thoughts for Greece: 'Dipso ti Mana gi mou, ki pera pou o ouranos sou l umpi to hroma tou matiou sou'.

⁵¹⁴ No. 42 said, 'It is regrettable that we are slowly losing our language. With my work and as a member of the Greek cultural association, I have tried to make some small literary contribution for the benefit of future generations.'

⁵¹⁵ No. 19 found that, 'During the 1960's and 1970's the supply of trained migrant teachers was very small and the demand very great. Although, most of the people who worked as teachers in Greek schools did not have appropriate qualifications, they showed a lot of interest in their work and did an excellent job. One of the most important aspects was that they developed good communication skills and were popular with the pupils and their parents.'
'Ethnic education of Greek youth is a high priority matter, because it is only in this way that it will be possible to maintain their interest in their origin. Good education can only be delivered through a joint action by all sectors of the community, something very difficult to achieve. It is unfortunate that our community leaders are preoccupied with issues of minor importance and neglect to look into the future.' Only No. 19 who involved himself in the teaching of Greek is satisfied that he has made some small contribution to the Hellenistic future in Australia.'

The main areas of contribution to the community involved the promotion of Greek language and culture, and services in support of the health and morale of Greek migrants⁵¹⁶. With reference to the Australian society, the contributions are rather indirect, through the promotion of the welfare and education of people in the Greek community.

The clergy represent a group of priests committed to promoting Orthodoxy, the Greek language, traditions and the comforting of people with personal problems. The priests are probably more than any other professional group, intimately involved with migrants and their families, and in addition to religion, they have made a significant contribution to the promotion of the principles of Hellenism in Australia. Their contributions cover almost every facet of the life of the Greek migrants, and include family relations, ethnic sentiment, moral support at times of happiness or grief, aspects of morality, social problems and others. One of the most critical roles played by the clergy in Australia, has been during the early period of settlement of migrants, when they offered them moral support and kept their ethnic spirit high. Because of the uniformity in education, responsibilities and mission of the priests in Australia, there are significant similarities in their activities, although each one of them responded as an individual to the specific needs of his parish, within the Greek community.

No. 12 who can be used as a representative of most priests in the group, is a well educated person in theological and community matters, and since his arrival in Australia he recognised the strengths and weaknesses of his parishioners, and devoted a great deal of his time helping them with their personal problems. As all the other priests, he has been deeply concerned with the changing attitudes of his people, and especially with their diminishing interest towards the church, which he describes as an 'Institution of ethnic significance for Greek people'⁵¹⁷. On several occasions each year, the priest has organised functions in the church hall where his parishioners meet, and in a traditional way they renew their acquaintances and revitalise their

⁵¹⁶ No. 19 said, 'While the effort to preserve our identity is a force opposing assimilation, the reality is that it is only a matter of time before we are absorbed into the strong current of the emerging new culture. Our hope is in the hands of the teachers, parents and the Church, and those who try in various ways to maintain high the spirit of our people.'

⁵¹⁷ No. 12 said, 'This is a serious development because the Orthodox faith and Greekness go hand in hand. From my long experience as a migrant priest, I believe that families which have remained close to the Church and Orthodox religion, have managed to maintain their Greek identity and bring up their children free of today's social problems.'
He believes that the Greek church has been making an important contribution to the spiritual needs of the Greek community in Australia, and he is satisfied that he has been able, for the last 25 years, to promote the spirit of Hellenism among Greeks. He has done so, because he considers it philanthropic, and social responsibilities of the Church to which he is servant.

ethnic sentiments⁵¹⁸. In his opinion, the future of Greek culture in Australia lies heavily on the shoulders of the parents, who have the initial responsibility to give their children the basic social and ethnic education according to Greek traditions. According to the priest, many of the parents fail to discharge their responsibilities as effectively as they should, and if this trend continues, he will continue being pessimistic about the future of Hellenism in Australia. Apart from the responsibilities of parents, priest No. 12 is also concerned about the inactivity of groups in the Greek community, which have not done enough to keep the Greek spirit and tradition alive in the minds of youth. The long term effect of this situation will be further exacerbated in the future, by the unavoidably diminishing stimulus on traditional matters, which has so far been generated by first generation Greek migrants⁵¹⁹. Another serious drawback on the survival of Greek identity, according to the priests, is the lack of true unity between sections of the community and church administration. The unfortunate result of this ongoing dispute, is that it creates in the minds of Greek youth some doubt about the sincerity of those who are trying to promote Greek identity⁵²⁰.

While No. 12 can be used as an example of a traditional priest, who faced with constructive comments and actions the problems that have been confronting Greek migrants and their families during their cultural reorientation in the new society and thereafter, the other priests have also followed similar policies regarding the future of culture, religion and identity. They have all given a high priority to the ethnic and religious education of Greek youth, who will be the bearers of Greek identity into the future. In doing so, priest No. 24 produced commendable results with Greek youth in his parish, who are now showing an increased interest in ethnic activities and the church⁵²¹. His teachings and counsel are not indoctrinating but liberal, because

⁵¹⁸ According to No. 12, 'The church is the place for religious devotion and relaxation of the mind. This is done by listening to the philosophy of the scripts and the melody of the Byzantine chant. The Hall is the place which brings people together and closer to the Church. At the same time, the children enjoy a warm, traditional environment.'

⁵¹⁹ No. 12 stated that, 'As a community, we should have given the highest priority to the ethnic educational needs of our youth, so that they can appreciate and be proud of our tradition. This is something that has been somewhat neglected and we may be regretting it in the not far distant future. It may be less than two decades from now, when we may have to start looking hard to find enough people to fill up the churches and Greek centres.'

⁵²⁰ No. 12 said, 'Many Greeks made remarks about the slow disappearance of Greek culture in Australia, but no one has set any well defined goals for counteracting such a trend in the future.' When the priest spoke about the need for cultural education of young Greeks, he said that 'while the older migrants go to the cafenio to pass their time, the Greek youth have no comparable place to go for inspiration and traditional entertainment'. This simply indicates the urgent necessity for the community to establish centres for the assembly of Greek youth

⁵²¹ No. 24 said, 'We have managed to do this through cultural activities, discussions and parents' gatherings. The youth always participate with enthusiasm, and the Hall is extensively used for social meetings and theatrical plays.'

he has full appreciation of the differences in attitudes between migrants and their Australian-born children. He has been closely following the emergence of the 'culture of migrants', as he calls it, which incorporates the old and new social values, as the migrants try to socially adapt themselves Australian multicultural society. It is at this critical point, he said, that the community and church together, will have to play a leading role in the protection of Greek identity from becoming irrelevant in the lives of youth. The priests recognise the valuable work carried out by church and community schools, but he is uncertain about the future of Hellenism in Australia, because of the divisions that exist in the Greek community.

All priests share the view that only through the close co-operation of the community and the church and with assistance from Greece, will the continuation of the Greek ethnic identity in Australia be possible⁵²². This view has also been expressed by priest No. 28 who said that, 'the church and Orthodox religion will remain as the most important reference points in the lives of coming generations, which will slowly lose their nationalistic sentiments'⁵²³. Despite this, the priests feel that one of the significant advantages of the Greek identity is its complex composition, which simply means that even if it becomes difficult in the future to preserve the Greek language among the diaspora Greeks, it will still be possible for the identity to survive in some different form⁵²⁴. Priest No. 31 has also remarked that, in addition to the efforts made by Greek parents, the church and schools to preserve Greek identity, it is most important to make youth feel sentimental towards Greece⁵²⁵.

Among the participating priests, No. 44 combines the special qualities of an Australian-born man with theological education and experience acquired in Greece. By using this unique

⁵²² No. 28 said, 'It is fundamental that as a united force, the Greeks who live outside Greece, have to make an heroic effort to retain their identity, but for their struggle to be successful, it is most important that Greece should remain as a bright light on the horizon, reminding us that we belong to a remarkable race.'

⁵²³ 'Greeks have always had a strong nationalistic sentiment, and we must consider ourselves lucky because we are free in Australia to hold high the flag of Greece, whenever there is a need for us to do so. But, how can this sentiment continue to exist, if the new generations become remote from Greece?'

⁵²⁴ The priests believe that every one of the five elements, language, culture, history, religion and origin which make the Greek identity, are equally strong with each other, and the loss of one will not be detrimental to the survival of the others.

⁵²⁵ No. 31 said, 'As a Priest who has worked in country areas and cities in Australia, I have observed that, even after many years spent in Australia, Greek migrants continue to express themselves in a traditional way'.

This is an important issue, because identity is the way people feel towards their origin, and culture of their fathers, and gives them interest to participate in traditional activities and ethnic networks.

experience he has been in a position to identify the behavioural differences that exist between migrants and Australian-born Greeks.

The three accountants have made only a moderate contribution to the development of the Greek community and identity, mainly through their participation in community activities. Their disappointment with the difficulties they faced in finding suitable employment, and uninspired by the politics that exist in the Greek community, forced them to distance themselves from active membership in community networks. For these reasons, they worked as individuals supporting and promoting ethnic ideas⁵²⁶. An example of this is No. 2, who had the opportunity to supply the Greek community with valuable information of ethnic importance, through a special position he occupied⁵²⁷.

With a deep ethnic sentiment for Greece and proud for their identity, Nos 26 and 35 became active members of the Greek community in Sydney, but disappointed with the hostile relationship between Archdiocese and the community, decided to remain out of the disputes⁵²⁸. On several occasions during their stressful and busy life in Australia, they took the opportunity to express their anger for the weaknesses that existed in the leadership of the Greek community and the way the leaders had neglected important ethnic issues. They agree with the opinions expressed by other participants, that the future of Hellenism will depend on the way Australian-born Greek youth will be disposed towards the Greek language, culture and their origin. In this respect, the contribution made by accountant No. 35 was the teaching of Greek language and culture to young children and the staging of theatrical productions with ethnic and cultural content. What she considers to be her most important contribution to the Greek community, has been the comfort she gave the migrant mothers in the early 1960's, when she was gathering their children in a classroom, speaking to them about their language and the country they had left behind to come to Australia⁵²⁹.

⁵²⁶ No. 2 could see with dismay the divisions and animosity that existed between members in the general community and certain associations. No gratitude was expressed for the services offered by people who had served the community, but instead, there was a barrage of criticisms for things they had not done.

⁵²⁷ No. 2 said, 'I considered the value of confidential information I was supplying to be of great ethnic significance, and I was satisfied that by doing so, I was making a positive contribution to the Greek community as a whole'. This is a matter about which I cannot be more explicit.

⁵²⁸ No. 26 stated that, 'I would have liked to see the differences that exist between the two parties be resolved through dialogue and with common sense prevailing. Our identity is more important than the stubborn attitude of the leaders'.

⁵²⁹ No. 35 said, 'under these circumstances, I felt that the teachers' work was not only the Greek lessons but also the huge contribution they were making during the superhuman struggle of the parents to settle in Australia for their children to preserve their language and culture.' 'I don't want to consider my contribution as being any greater than the work done by so many other Greeks in Australia, but it makes me feel that I have also been in a position to add something small to the battle for keeping alive the Greek identity'.

The social science graduates have made a considerable contribution to the Greek community and Australian society in the areas of education, justice and literature. No. 8 is a lawyer who gained respect among Australians and Greeks, for his legal work in Sydney and the protection of Greek migrants from the vagaries of the law during his 50 years of service. In addition to his professional work, he has also contributed to the Greek community with his numerous literary productions, many of which have described in a serious or satirical manner, the behaviour of Greek migrants and their encounters with the Australian justice system. He has also given several talks on important ethnic issues, with which he used to inform Greeks on matters of political importance for Greece⁵³⁰. He became a member of several community networks, but he found it difficult to communicate his ideas to other executive members, and preferred to withdraw his official services and to continue making his contributions independently⁵³¹. No. 8 considers family unity as a key factor, which will determine to a great extent the survival of Greek identity into the future. He believes that the gap in education between migrants and their Australian-born children, creates communication problems between the two, and as a result there is a loss of language and valuable cultural information which are normally passed on from parents to their children.

The other two participants in this group (Nos 17 and 40), have also been important contributors to the Greek community and the Australian society, through their professional work in education for migrants and their children. They have also served on Government Committees which made decisions on multicultural policies, ethnic languages and accreditation of foreign qualifications⁵³². Two important Government committees which have a bearing on the future of Hellenism in Australia and on which No. 17 has served in the past, are the 'National Language Policy Committee', the work of which has been a mile stone in the implementation of the

Looking at the behavioural trends as they have been developing among Greek youth in Australia, No. 35 is disappointed with the gradual decline in their interest in the Greek language. She believes that this unfortunate development, is sending a serious message to the community and the church, that there is an urgent need for action to sensitise Greek youth towards their origin.

⁵³⁰ No. 8 said, 'One of the most important lectures I have delivered in Sydney, had the title 'Our Distant Country of Birth, The Polyethnic Australia and the Greek Migrant'. It took me two hours to deliver and covered an extremely wide area, relating to the position of Greek migrants living in Australia'.

⁵³¹ No. 8 said, 'My feelings were shared by other educated Greek migrants who avoided involving themselves in community committees, because of frequent, unimportant disputes which did not allow any worthwhile debate or progress to take place.'

⁵³² No. 17 said, 'Before anything else, I am a migrant and am concerned about everything associated with migrants. Through my close and personal association with migrants, I have developed a valuable appreciation of the extended nature of Greece throughout the world, in the form of the Greek Diaspora. All my contributions aimed at improving the life of migrants in Australia.' Her strong belief is that, the sentiment of Hellenism transcends the limits of time, and she hopes that it will survive for several generations as it has done for centuries until now.

multicultural policy, and the 'National Accreditation Committee', which has facilitated the recognition of overseas qualifications. Despite this, the future of Hellenism in Australia is of grave concern to her, but she hopes that the multicultural legislation and polyethnic environment in Australia, will help it to survive for several more generations. But for this continuum to happen, there is a need for a 'nucleus of the true culture' to exist and act as the stimulus which will continue to excite the sentiments of Greekness in the minds of new generations.

The two sea captains have also maintained their hopes that, due to the resilient nature of Greek character, Hellenism will be able to survive into the future⁵³³. One of them (No. 7), as a professional librarian in Australia, has managed to promote the Greek language and culture among a large number of Greeks in Sydney, and improve their understanding of the need for their survival.

The role played by the Greek professionals in the promotion and maintenance of Hellenism in Australia, can now be briefly summarised. All participants expressed their moral commitment to continue supporting and re-enforcing in a way appropriate to each of them, the cultural, historical, religious and lingual components of the Greek identity. Most of them, discharged their obligations independently of community organisations, but in direct response to community needs for assistance and cooperation. The reluctance of most participants to become members of ethnic networks, was mainly due to their disapproval of the ongoing factional disputes within or between such organisations, the politicisation of community affairs and the view that on certain occasions, election of community leaders was not done on the basis of leadership qualities.

While there has been a general concern among participants, about the gradual loss of Greek language and the changing cultural attitudes among Australian-born Greeks, most of them believe that Hellenism will manage to survive for several more generations, but in a modified form. In this respect, mention has been made for the need to preserve the family unit, to introduce special education programs, and make youth feel sentimental towards Greece, as three important prerequisites for the preservation of the Greek identity in Australia. There has been an almost unanimous expression of disappointment and disapproval by the participants for the disputes that exist within and between Greek communities and the disputes between various sections of the Greek community and the Archdiocese, since in their opinion this is eroding the confidence of Greek youth regarding the value of their identity.

⁵³³

No. 7 said, 'I don't think that Greeks will ever assimilate but they will rather integrate, maintaining their culture, history and religion which will help them remember their origins. It is not impossible that a few generations later, the Hellenes might become Philhellenes'.

The information collected during the interviews, shows that the differences in contributions made by the various groups of Greek professionals towards the promotion of the Greek community and the future of the Greek ethnic identity, were mainly due to the differences in opportunities presented to the participants, in accordance with their professional involvement⁵³⁴. Those participants who struggled to overcome the least favourable circumstances of professional recognition and employment, made the least contribution. The teachers, lecturers, clergy, social science graduates and, to a certain extent the medical practitioners, have been directly involved in the task of disseminating knowledge on culture, language, history and origin to Greek migrants and their Australian-born children. For this important reason, their contributions have been more noticeable than those made by participants in the other groups.

Although every participant in this study represents a separate professional entity, with each one of them acting independently, all of them showed a sincere interest in promoting the Greek identity through the cultural and intellectual development of Greek youth. There have been no apparent differences between the Greeks from Greece, Cyprus or Egypt or between men and women, in the way they acted to promote or express their ethnic sentiments for the future of Hellenism in Australia⁵³⁵.

⁵³⁴ The teachers, lecturers, social scientists and clergy, have been by way of their daily occupations, in a better position to contribute towards the development of the Greek community and the promotion of Greek identity, as compared to the other professional groups such as engineers, accountants and sea captains.

⁵³⁵ Social scientist No. 40 from Cyprus said 'The Cypriots are Greeks. It is a similar situation when we talk about the Cretans who come from another island outside the mainland of Greece.'
Teacher No. 3 from Cyprus, described his love for his profession and culture by saying, 'I always wanted to be in the class with a piece of chalk in my hand teaching children the Greek culture and language. I say that, and tears come to my eyes.'

CONCLUSION

What emerges from the study of 45 first-generation Greek professionals who migrated to Australia during the 1947 to 1985 period, is that their decision to migrate was influenced by three main reasons: firstly, their desire to challenge their ability to re establish themselves in a foreign social environment, despite the fact that they knew very little about it; secondly, the sociopolitical and economic instability in Greece, which created confusion and uncertainty about their professional and social future in the country; and thirdly, the interest of the younger participants to further their studies in Australia.

Although the main motivating force for the bulk of the Greek migrants to leave Greece has been financial reasons, none of the participants suggested at any stage that these reasons played a significant role in their decision to migrate. The validity of this statement can be verified by the fact that most of them were employed in their professions before migrating. The same situation also applies to those from Cyprus and Egypt, who were employed in the countries of their origin before migrating to Australia, and had the opportunity to seek employment and stay in Greece. Despite this, the sociopolitical conditions in Greece did not satisfy them, and they decided to migrate to Australia.

All participants made their decisions to migrate, on the basis of their confidence in their professional capabilities and their determination to achieve their goals. Their success in achieving them as individuals, varied from very moderate to high, with five participants (Nos 16, 19, 23, 25 and 30), being unable to gain any recognition and being relegated to semi-skilled or unskilled occupations.

A pattern that has emerged from the study, is that at the time of their migration none of the participants had adequately investigated the socioeconomic and employment conditions that existed in Australia for migrants with professional qualifications, and about half of them arrived in an Anglophone country with very little useful knowledge of the English language.

When examining the 45 participants as a group of professional migrants, it becomes evident that the degree of their professional achievements in Australia, did not follow any specific pattern. Although qualifications and experience played a very important role, as the main criteria for their professional development and employment in Australia, the second most important determinant was the intrinsic ability of each individual to deal with the complexity of factors relating to professional recognition and ultimate placement in the workforce. In the whole issue of recognition and employment, the knowledge of English played a significant role, especially with regard to the speed at which professional development took place with individual participants.

Age and gender, as such, did not appear to have any definite determining effect on the employability of the candidates. With reference to age, No. 36, represents a special case of unemployability, which should not detract from the main conclusion about the effect of age. Its main effect on those who were above 30 years of age and could not speak English, was that they found it difficult to learn the language, and this in turn had an adverse effect on their prospects for recognition of their qualifications, employment and further professional development in Australia.

The employment of the teachers, priests, medical practitioners and those in the social science group, was greatly facilitated by the high density of Greek migrants in capital cities, where the Greek language was extensively used in education and as a medium of communication. The conditions for the employment of lecturers required them to be proficient in English, and even those few of the participants with language difficulties upon their arrival in Australia, managed to reach a high level of proficiency in a short period of time, and they secured university appointments. The other four groups of professionals which included the engineers, accountants, science graduates and sea captains, had mixed fortunes in their attempts to establish themselves in Australia, mainly as a result of problems in achieving recognition of their qualifications or overcoming conditions which restricted the admission of migrants into certain professions in Australia.

Racial discrimination was not a general problem, but it affected 16 participants at varying degrees, ranging from minor encounters of verbal abuse, to some more serious cases of discrimination, which resulted in the loss of professional status in three of the participants. Of the ten participating women, nine of them performed equally well or even better than their average male counterparts, by achieving recognition in their own professional fields. Only one of them lost her professional status, despite her long experience and high academic abilities. From the facts presented, this was considered to be a deliberate case of discrimination.

It appears that all participants in the study have been grateful to their adopted country for the opportunity they have been given to become an integral part of its society. At the same time, they have retained undiminished their nostalgia for their place of origin and have continued to identify with it.

All participants view the Greek community in Australia as being an extension of Greece itself, and most of them have offered their valuable services for the promotion of the Greek identity among the Greek migrants and their Australian-born children. There is evidence of a general concern among participants about the future of Hellenism in Australia, and most of them have indicated that they will continue promoting the Greek identity, but independently of any Greek Community networks. This general attitude has been the result of their disappointment from the continuing frictions and disputes that exist between the high echelons of certain sections of the Greek community, the disputes between the Greek community and the church hierarchy and the lack of leadership in the community,

which tend to impede general progress, and especially on the critical issue of the future of Hellenism in Australia.

The abundance of Greek schools in the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, created the need for teachers, and provided employment not only for all qualified teachers but also for other professionals who found it difficult to secure employment in their own professional fields. The enthusiasm shown by the teachers in the promotion of the Greek language and identity, places them high on the scale of contributors to the future of Hellenism in Australia.

The future of Hellenism in this country, is a matter which has concerned all participants, and there is a general consensus of opinion among them, that the Greek identity will continue to exist in Australia, even if the language loses its prominence among future generations of Australian-born Greeks. A large number of participants also believe that Orthodoxy will remain the basis of the Greek identity in the future. Referring to identity and the Greek youth, the majority of participants believe that identity can only be preserved if the youth become sentimental towards Greece.

The study has brought to light the circumstances associated with the overall philosophy of a group of Greek professionals with different backgrounds and work experiences who migrated to Australia. They all faced their destiny in the new society with courage, but the results from their struggle to establish themselves in Australia ranged from a high level of success, to professional demise for a small number of them. Many of the views expressed in relation to their social and professional lives in Australia, and the future of the Greek community, showed great similarities across the whole spectrum of the professional groups included in this study.