

## CHAPTER 1:           MIGRATION OF GREEKS TO AUSTRALIA: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

*Poised on the edge of two worlds,  
the migrant continues to search for a sense of belonging  
Liz Thompson.<sup>22</sup>*

The thrust of the thesis will be the study of the life of Greek migrants who came to Australia with professional qualifications. Being migrants themselves, they were subjected to the same sociopolitical and cultural situations which prevailed in Australia at the time of their migration, in a way similar to the majority of ordinary migrants.

The expectations of professional migrants in Australia were different to those of non-professional Greek migrants and although they were both foreigners in a foreign environment, each of the two groups reacted differently to the social pressures, as will be seen from the information collected in the interviews and published literature.

With the exception of some statistical data and information on qualifications published by the Government<sup>23</sup>, there is hardly any other documented information available on professional Greek migrants in Australia. As a consequence, this chapter will attempt to provide an overview of those areas which correspond to the situations faced by Greek professional migrants in Australia.

Australia has historically been a nation of migrants who, as a whole, speak more than 100 languages and dialects with people coming from many countries of the world. The Australian culture which originally developed on the attitudes of the then British dominated population, was far different from the cultural diversity of the Australian society as it has developed since the Second World War<sup>24</sup>. These changes have been the result of a huge migration program and the role played by the multicultural policies of successive Australian governments, which have modified social attitudes during the past two decades.

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<sup>22</sup> L. Thompson, *From Somewhere Else*, Simon and Schuster, Australia, 1993, p. 137.

<sup>23</sup> Bureau of Immigration Research: in the booklet 'Community Profiles: Greece Born'. Recognition of overseas qualifications (1989) and problems encountered by overseas trained doctors (1992). Similar general type of Government publications are also available for other professions; R. G. Fry, 'Recognition of Overseas Qualifications', *Report of the NSW Committee of Inquiry to the NSW Government*, Sydney, AGPS, Canberra, 1989; M. Kidd and F. Brown, 'Problems Encountered by the Overseas Trained Doctors Migrating to Australia'. *Bureau of Immigration Research* - A.G.P.C., Canberra, 1992, pp. 4-39.

<sup>24</sup> DIEA, (Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs), *Review 79*, A.G.P.S., Canberra, 1979; G. Kanarakis, *Linguistic and Thematic Dimensions of the Literature of Macedonian Hellenism in Australia*. School of Social Science and Liberal Studies. Charles Sturt Univ., Bathurst NSW, 1992, p. 3. Immigration Bulletin, 'English Language Training: Key to Success', in *People and Progress*, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1995, p. 6. See also Appendix 11.

Today, four in every ten Australians are migrants and 25% of them have come from a non-English speaking background. In a Federal Government Publication 'People and Progress', the then Minister for Immigration, Mr Bolkus also stated that 'Now in Australia, every main language in the world is spoken, every main religion is practised and every culture is understood'<sup>25</sup>. As a result, the changes that have been taking place in Australian society, concern not only the adaptation of migrants to their new environment, but also the response of mainstream society to the presence of migrants. Numerically and culturally, Greek migrants have played a significant role in the multicultural spectrum of Australian society, as they have also done in other parts of the world, and there are various reports which deal with the contribution made by Greeks to the Australian social life.

In 1986, the Federal Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs announced the need for Australia to accept more migrants and he also reassured the Australian people that migrants would not be allowed to compete with Australians for employment. This stance by the Government seriously affected the employment opportunities of professional migrants. These statements show that at that stage, even the Government was unsure of the employment situation. Despite all this, today's political direction of the Government has changed and this new attitude has been described by the ex-Minister for Immigration Senator Bolkus<sup>26</sup>.

After World War II, Greece responded to the Australian call for migrants, and by 1986, more than 250,000 people from all over Greece had settled in Australia. In a Government report<sup>27</sup>, Greeks represented the third largest ethnic group in Australia but, for many skilled and unskilled workers, migration created economic and social problems during their adaptation to an alien society, while for others it was a story of successful settlement. Despite this, there is no indication that anyone managed to escape the cultural isolation of 'Xenitia' (Life in a foreign land)<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> N. Bolkus, 'Immigration 1995', in *People and Progress*, Dept of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1995, p. 3. See also Appendix 11; ABS Census, 1986, Canberra; G. Kanarakis, 1992, op. cit. p. 8; *The Hellenic Herald*, 21 January, 1995.

<sup>26</sup> Senator N. Bolkus said that 'Thanks to immigration, our cultural breadth is now greater, our economic prospects brighter and we are better equipped to take our place in the world', (Appendix 11). N. Bolkus, 'Immigration 1995', loc. cit.  
The Hon C Hurford, Minister for Immigration, said on 10.4.86 (MPS 31732, Canberra) that 'Australia needs migrants to maintain economic growth and stimulate population growth. At the same time, there will be no question of migrants taking jobs from Australian residents. A few years earlier, the Hon. A Blayklay said that 'I object to the system that allows people to come to Australia to take positions presently held by Australians' (P. Theodoulou, 'Culture and Society in Australia: Greek Settlers in Australia', *Greek Action Bulletin*, Vol. 6, (1), 1981, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Understanding Immigration, 'Migration Policies', *Secretariat of the Commonwealth of Australia*, AGPS, Canberra, 1987, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> The theme of Xenitia pervades throughout the stories in the book written by: D. Amanatidou, *Homatenji Anthropi*, Melbourne, 1989; D. Amanatidou, *Petrina Somata*, Melbourne, 1990; G. Xenophou, 'Greek Women in South Australian Society 1923-1993', Publ. G. Xenophou, 1994; D. B. Stathopoulos, *Pikro Psomi*, Publ. Plikar, Sydney, 1994.

For the Greeks, Australia was a preferred country for migration because it was a new, free and unexplored land, promising a prosperous future. Despite all the promises, the migration experience for most Greek and other non-English speaking migrants was a frightening experience in an unfamiliar new world. A large number of Greek and other non-English speaking migrants, reported that the official information on the social life and employment conditions in Australia before migration was incorrect or insufficient<sup>29</sup>. Greeks as an ethnic group in Australia were also faced with the problems of a different language, religion and customs which, together with the inhospitable attitude of the people, made them feel unwelcome. They came up against prejudice, discrimination and even violence from the press, politicians and citizens, because in the beginning, the Australian society had a different perception of the Greek race<sup>30</sup>.

While the documented history of the first Greek settlers in Australia began in 1829<sup>31</sup>, today, almost 165 years later, there are third and fourth-generation Greeks occupying prominent positions in society, and we can now talk about Greek-Australians and not Greeks in Australia<sup>32</sup>.

When one attempts to trace the pattern of Greek migration to Australia, it is easy to recognise a continuous increase in the number of Greek migrants who arrived in Australia until the late 1960's, followed by a steady decline in the 70's, and a further sharp decline from the early 80's (Figure 1). In 1994, Greeks represented 4% of Australia's overseas born population, which according to Price, by 1970 had reached 300,000 people<sup>33</sup>. According to Appleyard and Arena, the city of Melbourne which in 1945 had a population made up to 90% Anglocelts, today has one of the largest Greek populations outside Greece<sup>34</sup>. The state and structure of the Greek economy and the turbulent political situation in Greece after WWII, made many Greeks look at migration for their futures, and

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<sup>29</sup> L. Thompson, 1993, op. cit. p. 56  
See also Appendix 12.

<sup>30</sup> Earlier statements in Australia had presented Greeks as according to M. P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', in Greeks in Australia, ed. C.A. Price, ANU Press, Canberra, 1975, p. 34, 'the types who are socially and economically a menace to the community in which they settle, and their entrance should be prohibited.' G. Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek-Australians, Univ. of Qld. Press, Brisbane, 1979, p. 103.

<sup>31</sup> 'Australia's First Greeks', Canberra Historical Journal 1977, March 1977.

<sup>32</sup> M. P. Tsounis, 'The History of Australia's Greeks: Some Signposts and Issues', in Greeks in Australia, eds A. Karpardis and A. Tamis, River Seine Press, Victoria, 1988, p. 14; M. P. Tsounis, 1993, op. cit. p. 25-57.

<sup>33</sup> C. A. Price, 'Immigration, 1949 - 1970', in Australia in World Affairs, 1966-70, eds G. Greenwood and N. Harper, Melbourne, 1974, p. 24.

<sup>34</sup> R. T. Appleyard and A. Amara, 'Post War Immigration of Greek Women to Australia', in The Female Experience, eds R. J. Simon and C. B. Brettell, Intern. Migration, Rowman and Allanheld, 1986.

within the space of a few decades, the rural or more particularly the village population in some areas declined markedly<sup>35</sup>.

From historical accounts, it becomes obvious that the main reasons for the mass migration of Greeks have been economic, political and social circumstances, as single or combined pressure factors<sup>36</sup>. The implications of that situation were that migration was associated with a radical change in circumstances in Australia, which included the socioeconomic and political systems. Furthermore, the influx of female migrants in an attempt to equalise the gender balance, resulted in families which were determined to work hard to improve their economic status; this situation led to the further social isolation of migrants<sup>37</sup>.

Until 1972, a large proportion of Greek migrants were unskilled workers, and only 6% belonged to some vaguely described professional category, which included clerical staff. According to the 1986 Census, Greek-born migrants, compared with the general population, were markedly underrepresented in professional and para-professional occupations. As a consequence, the main occupations for most of the Greeks were workers on farms and in hotels, merchants and seamen<sup>38</sup>.

As a result, in the 1950's, 58% of them were classified as employers or self-employed<sup>39</sup> and by 1977 in Sydney, 99% of them were in a very satisfactory economic position. According to Mistilis<sup>40</sup>, this phenomenal upward mobility was due to their business acumen and hard work, and occurred despite

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<sup>35</sup> Janiszewski's comments were that their houses make wonderful museums of social history and time capsules of the Greek migration history, which underlies the tragic effect of migration.  
L. Janiszewski, *Introduction, In Images of Home*, eds E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, Hall and Iremonger, Sydney, 1995, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup> R. T. Appleyard, 1991, op. cit. p. 374.

<sup>37</sup> R. T. Appleyard, *Australia in Transition: Culture and Life Possibilities*, Harcourt Brace, Jovanovich, Sydney, 1985, p. 99; R. T. Appleyard, 1991, op. cit. p. 368; G. Bottomley, 'From Another Place', Chapter 3: *Traditions, Structures and Culture As Process*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 36-54, said, 'In order to understand the reasons for immigration in terms of the social basis of poverty, and the choice made by another person, one must face in his imagination the lack of choices which may confront and deny him. The well fed person is incapable of understanding the choices of the unfed.'

<sup>38</sup> R. King, 'The Dialectics of Culture: Greeks in Australia', *Meanjin*, Vol. 35 (3), 1976, p. 235.  
See also Appendix 13.

<sup>39</sup> W. D. Borrie, 'German, Italian and Greek Workers in Australia', *International Migration*, Vol. 2 (1), 1964.

<sup>40</sup> N. Mistilis, 'Greek Community Life in Sydney', in *Encyclopaedia of the Austr. People*, Sydney, 1988, quoted by R. Appleyard in *Greece on the Road to Democracy: From the Junta to PASOK*, S. Vryonis, (ed.) A. D. Karatzas, N.Y., 1991, p. 364.

their lack of formal education and poor English<sup>41</sup>. During these testing years of migration, Greek women played an important role in supporting their families as has been suggested by Xenophou<sup>42</sup>. Within about 12 years of their arrival, unskilled men and women had made impressive economic achievements<sup>43</sup> which were partly due to their awareness of property value<sup>44</sup>. Despite all this, many Greeks became financially vulnerable in the 70's, when Australia entered a period of economic recession<sup>45</sup>.

In the 50's and 60's, the migrants obtained very little assistance from the then newly established Greek communities, and the Federal government was also unprepared to help the large number of new settlers<sup>46</sup>. In their desperation, and because of their inability to speak English, Greeks settled close to each other in suburbs of Melbourne and Sydney, which soon became refuges for newcomers. While this arrangement met their immediate needs, it nevertheless seriously impeded their ability to establish extensive contacts with the Australian society.

The socioeconomic conditions in Australia exerted a significant amount of stress on Greek families, but the notion of the traditional Greek family unit as an important institution of strength and security was upheld, and according to the 1976 Census in Australia, Greek couples had the lowest divorce rate of all migrants. It was also shown that there had been no noticeable departure from the traditional ethos of the close knit Greek family relations in Australia<sup>47</sup>. The same cultural aspects have also been examined and discussed independently by other investigators<sup>48</sup>, and the picture that

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<sup>41</sup> R. T. Appleyard and A. Amera, 'The Education of Greek Migrant Children in Australia: A Parent View', Intern. Migration, Vol 16, 3/4, 1978, pp. 105-121.

<sup>42</sup> As Xenophou, op. cit., p. vii stated, 'Uprooted from their own country and alienated by unfamiliar social patterns and the language barrier, they bore with heroism their destiny, held proudly to their Hellenic traditions and made step by step their mark into the social and cultural life of Australia'. G. Xenophou, 1994. op. cit. p. vii.

<sup>43</sup> Appleyard and Amera, op. cit. pp. 105-112

<sup>44</sup> Price, op. cit. p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> According to Price, op. cit. Pp. 14-18, their vulnerability was most probably due to the lack of education and poor English which forced them to occupy low level employments in industry.

<sup>46</sup> J. Zubricki, 'Greek Migrants in Australia: A Demographic Study', Migration, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1961; Mistilis, loc. cit.

<sup>47</sup> K. Allen, I. Cock, G. Eagles and K. Rule, 'Greek Families in Hawthorn & Clifton Hill, Melbourne', General Studies Dept. Swinburn College of Technology, 1973. Quoted by Appleyard, in Greece on the Road to Democracy, ed S. Vryonis Jr, Publ. Vryonis Centre, New York, 1991; G. Bottomley, 'Some Greek Sex Roles, Ideals, Expectations and Action in Australia and Greece', Australia and New Zealand, J. of Sociology, Vol 10, 1974, p. 8-16; Price, op. cit. p. 228; S. Hearst, 'Greek Families', in D. Storer, (ed.), Ethnic Family Values in Australia, Prentice Hall, Melbourne, 1985, p. 138.

<sup>48</sup> F. Mackie, 'Networks, Values and Cultural Change', in Greeks in Australia, ed. C. A. Price, A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1975. pp. 77-90; G. Bottomley, Migrant Women in Mercer: The Other Half, Penguin, Melbourne, 1975; D. Cox, Welfare of Migrants: Research Paper for the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, AGPS, Canberra, 1975, p. 23.

has emerged is one of tension and conflict between individuals and the new culture<sup>49</sup>.

Tsounis suggested that the viability of the Greek communities was due to the well preserved culture and Greek language of which the Greeks are proud<sup>50</sup>. In this struggle for survival, the important role played by women has been praised<sup>51</sup>. For the Greeks, immigration meant psychological and mental anguish, and a continuous longing for the place they left behind<sup>52</sup>. Judging from their overall attitude towards work and their courage in facing the unknown for a better future, it would be reasonable to assume that the migrants represent one of the most energetic and productive group of people in a nation<sup>53</sup>.

Many of the Greeks who migrated to Australia after World War II returned for good to the place of their birth. The strong feeling of nostalgia, combined with other mitigating circumstances, forced several thousand migrants, including some professionals, to return home<sup>54</sup>. As a result, it has been estimated that between 1947 and 1979, about 60,000 or 28% of the Greek migrants returned home<sup>55</sup>.

For those who later decided to return to Australia, the journey to Greece was like another migration trip and not a home coming venture. The psychological pain of the migrant has been described by

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<sup>49</sup> The plight of the migrant has also been described by M. Catani, 'Changing One's Country, Means Changing One's Flag', in Living in two Cultures, Unesco Press, Gower, Conference 801/15, April 1978, pp. 72, 171, who wrote 'as soon as the migrant arrives, in the country of production, the foreign worker is plunged into an unfamiliar linguistic universe. His life is divided between the cultural ghetto and the universe of work. Excluded from social life, he becomes a worker and not a citizen.'

<sup>50</sup> M. P. Tsounis. 1975. op. cit. p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> Tsounis, loc. cit., said, 'All migrants are tragic people who are giving a continuous struggle as giants. Here in the foreign land we matured, and we clarified many of our thoughts, out here we brought Greece, our religion our culture and language'.

<sup>52</sup> V. Gionis, 'Metanastes', Voice of AHEPA, Summer 1994, p. 46, wrote: 'But how can I not cry for you my dear Greece, how can I compare a mother to a stepmother however good the second might be?'

<sup>53</sup> M. Papastavrou, 'Greek Migration and Government Policy', First Pangosmio Synedrio Apodimon Ellinon, General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad, Ministry of Culture, Athens, July, 1985, pp. 35-50, said that 'Migration from Greece left deep wounds in his country, because it deprived it of the most productive people and in this way, it affected its economic and social development irreversibly.'

<sup>54</sup> Apparently the only available evidence on the return of professional migrants to Greece, has been given in some of the interviews in these investigations.

<sup>55</sup> The main reasons for their decision to return to Greece were their inability to learn English, to improve their skills and adapt to the new environment (Greek Australian Conference Melbourne, 1987, op. cit. p. 10., and Price 1979). The vast majority of them remigrated to Australia, something which shows the fate of the migrant who belongs to two worlds: C. A. Price, Overseas Migration to Australia 1947-61, Migration Vol 2, April, 1962; C. A. Price, 'Australian Immigration', A Biography and Digest No. 4, ANU, Canberra 1979, p. 16; R. T. Appleyard, 'Determinants of Return Migration: A Socioeconomic study of United Kingdom Migrants who Returned from Australia', Economic Record, Vol. 38, 1962, pp. 352-368; Greek Australian Conference, Greeks in Victoria: Policies, Directives and Initiatives, Melbourne, Victoria, Mimeo, 1987, pp. 10, 45.

many writers and one of them is Amanatidou, who expresses the feelings of the migrant in xenitia<sup>56</sup>.

In a series of interviews, Alexakis and Janiszewski have also presented the life stories of migrants who returned to Greece, but when they were asked 'Where would they prefer to live?', they answered it in terms of identity and belonging<sup>57</sup>. Vondra also felt that he belonged more to Australia and for this reason, he came back<sup>58</sup>. Commenting on this point, another writer noted that....'This is part of the fate of all migrants, but for many of them, a return trip to the old country becomes the catalyst which makes them feel contented with their life in Australia'<sup>59</sup>.

While migration is the force which uproots people and takes them away from the place to which they were accustomed, the new environment demands they put down new roots and start re-organising their entire life. The sense of adaptation of a migrant to their new environment becomes a feeling of belonging, once they have become accustomed to the norms defining the cultural and socioeconomic conditions in the new society. Adaptation does not preclude a person from maintaining a bicultural status, a condition which is actually encouraged by the multicultural Australian policy<sup>60</sup>.

After America, Canada and South American countries, Australia has been one of the traditional receivers of permanent migrants, a situation which can create socioeconomic problems for the receiving country and the migrants themselves<sup>61</sup>. During the influx of migrants in the 1960's, and especially in the critical period of their adaptation to the new environment, there was no organisation in Australia, even the Good Neighbours' Council<sup>62</sup>, which could offer them some worthwhile

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<sup>56</sup> D. Amanatidou, 1990, op. cit. p. 58, stated: 'This country we came to live in, is good because it opened its arms for us and it accepted us as if we were its own children.' And in 1986:16, she wrote that 'While the bread of Xenitia is bitter, yet it is good enough to feed us.' Some other writers include H. Nickas, G. Xenophou, G. Papageorgopoulos, S. Messinis, E. Alexakis, J. Vondra, G. Kanarakis and others.

<sup>57</sup> E. Alexakis and L. Janiszewski, Images of Home, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, 1995, pp. 7-12.

<sup>58</sup> J. Vondra, 'Hellas-Australia', Widescope International, Victoria, 1979, pp. 7, 14. On his return he said...'I felt a foreigner in my own country and I returned to Australia.'

<sup>59</sup> Thompson, op. cit. p. 99.

<sup>60</sup> P. H. Lane, The Australian Federal System, The Law Book Co., Sydney, 1972, pp. 61, 130, claims, The Commonwealth powers pertaining to immigration law, do not determine the time when a migrant has to become a citizen and in this respect, Justice Isaacs said that 'once a migrant, always a migrant, but the Commonwealth power over migrants end when they have become absorbed into the community' (Lane 1972). This law continued to exist for 70 years until the introduction of multiculturalism in the 70's.

<sup>61</sup> Appleyard, op. cit. pp. 96-97.

<sup>62</sup> The Good Neighbour's Council was a Government Instrumentality for the assimilation of migrants. It was formed in August 1947 for the purpose of co-ordinating the efforts of Community groups welcoming newcomers and assisting them to settle. See Australia and Immigration, 1788 - 1988, Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1988, p. 33.

assistance to facilitate their settlement. Despite these deficiencies, the socioeconomic mobility of migrants was not impeded, but they soon realised that Australia was not the paradise they expected it to be. A large number of migrants reported that the official information they had received about the living and employment conditions in Australia, did not correspond to the conditions they found after their arrival<sup>63</sup>. Foreigners in a foreign country, and without the security and support of family and friends, the migrants experienced feelings of incredible loneliness and isolation<sup>64</sup>.

Today, Australia is a culturally diverse society and the multicultural policies which have been instigated by people and the Australian Government support and recognise cultural differences and ethnic diversities, and the Government no longer has any strong assimilationist policies<sup>65</sup>. Assimilation was Australia's early immigration policy, which aimed at achieving a complete merger of the new comers with the Anglo-Celtic Australian society. An indication of this intention, at least until the late 1960's, was that all Federal and State Government resources were directed towards assimilation, expecting the migrants to forget the r past and totally become Australians. Despite this, Australian government had to recognise the rights of migrants with regard to their cultural background<sup>66</sup>.

The Greeks did not object to becoming naturalised Australians and, according to the 1991 Census, 90% of them, which represents the highest proportion of all immigrant nationalities, were Australian citizens<sup>67</sup>. In the life of a migrant, cultural forms should be seen as a process of continuous change and a flow of social relations, to which the migrant must adapt<sup>68</sup>.

The process of adaptation is complex and varies according to age, level of education of individual migrants, and volume of intake within certain periods. It is a continuous process and certain issues which might be important at one stage, may become insignificant at another. It is also most — important to consider that certain matters associated with the sociocultural and professional

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<sup>63</sup> Appleyard, op. cit. p. 371. See also Tables 2. 3 and 4 in Appendix 12.

<sup>64</sup> Thompson, op. cit. p. 79.

<sup>65</sup> This emerging society found the professional and other migrants not well prepared to adapt to the new culture and language, and the situation created some conflict between themselves and their children who grew up in a society with different traditional values; Thomson, op. cit. p. 99. See also *Understanding Migration*, 1987, op. cit. p. 14.

<sup>66</sup> T. Gondovos, 'Filologica', *J. of the Univ. of Ioannina*, Issue 7, Summer 1983, p. 46; Vondra, op. cit. p. 52.

<sup>67</sup> *Immigration Bulletin* 1995, op. cit. p. 23.

<sup>68</sup> According to G. Bottomley, 'Women On the Move: Migration and Feminism', in *Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Australia*, ed. G. Bottomley and M. De-Leperevanch, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, pp. 98-108, culture is a polymorphic concept, directly associated with the concept of nation and the differentiation of ethnic groups. In this context, migration implies a radical change in objective circumstances, and migrants must come to terms (adapt) with existing social systems.



adaptation of migrants arriving at different chronological periods, may differ in nature and in the degree of stress they exert upon migrants. Despite any specific issues involved in the process of adaptation, matters such as language, community structure and socioeconomic changes, that occurred in Australia in the past, were variables of great importance in the process of adaptation and have affected every migrant<sup>69</sup>. In a complex situation such as this, the only way for a person to avoid social isolation is to change with time the modes of behaviour acquired through experience<sup>70</sup>. These adaptive changes take place regardless of any resentment by the individual, and they can affect the future of one's Greek identity.

According to Lewis<sup>71</sup>, cultural inheritance is the notion of 'Knowing Yourself' and, unless this aspect of self-consciousness is adequately developed through the retention of language, religion and culture, the Greekness of Greeks will be gradually diminished. This is what the then Federal Minister for Immigration Senator Bolkus said in a few emotional words:

*"Greekness is in our blood. There is the spirit of Greece in you. It will always be there and you can't remove it."*

*Senator Bolkus(1995) addressing Greeks in Melbourne.*

Senator Bolkus directed his words to the sentimentality of Greek migrants who would like to see the culture, tradition and religion they have inherited, continue living in Australia through their children.

Greek professional migrants and their families, have also lived through an identity crisis in their new environment, and it is therefore important to look more deeply into the factors which affect the identity of Greek migrants and the youth, a matter which is directly associated with the future of Hellenism in Australia, and the way professional migrants view it through their professional and private lives. Identity undergoes a continuous process of being challenged, retained and changed throughout the life of migrants and their descendants.

Alba and Weber, described identity or ethnicity as a concept of inherited ancestry and beliefs about one's forefathers<sup>72</sup>. This is so, because true identity contains an emotional power and it is not something that springs to life only in narrowly defined settings, eg. special rituals on an occasional

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<sup>69</sup> Appleyard, op. cit. 104.

<sup>70</sup> I. C. Lewis, Our Social Inheritance, Indiana Univ. Press, Indianapolis, 1957, p. 81, claims that 'The consequence of the changes is that successive generations will consist, in progressively larger proportions, of individuals whose natural feelings will prompt them to behave in adaptive ways'. This simple rule underlies the process which gradually, but painfully, takes place amongst the first and following generations of Greeks.

<sup>71</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>72</sup> According to R. D. Alba, Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America, Yale Univ. Press, N. Haven, 1990, p. 37, ethnicity is directed towards the past, the history and origin of family, group and nation. Identity is not a simple matter of stating that "my grandfather came from Greece" but that 'I am Greek and I feel that way'. See also M. Weber, Economy and Society, Red Minster Press, New York, 1968, p. 389.

basis<sup>73</sup>. On the other hand, a drift away from the knowledge of ancestry, is a mechanism which leads to the weakening of ethnic identity<sup>74</sup>. The migrants, continually try to reconcile themselves with the old and the new culture, a situation which creates problems of social adjustment and identity rejection and alienation, which Swetland calls 'a no man's land'<sup>75</sup>. This dichotomy, divides the migrants' daily life between the 'world of work' and the 'cultural ghetto' and keeps them in a state of cultural limbo<sup>76</sup>. Identity is central to the process of migration, which itself challenges the idea of a distinct way of life because, according to Bottomley, it is impossible to transplant whole cultures<sup>77</sup>.

In a wide demographic sense, Tylor<sup>78</sup>, described culture as a complex concept which includes knowledge, morals and customs and Smolicz<sup>79</sup> believes that the survival of the cultural heritage depends upon its constant modification into a living tradition which meets current needs. This means that heritage is actively and progressively evaluated by the people<sup>80</sup>.

The question 'What does it mean to be a Greek in Australia?', has been investigated only to a minor degree by Wilding<sup>81</sup>, but it is known that in their struggle to adjust to their new environment, Greeks were disadvantaged by the serious prejudice<sup>82</sup>, which dominated the society before the introduction of cultural pluralism<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> J. McKay and F. Lewins, 'Ethnicity and Ethnic Group: A Conceptual Analysis & Reformulation', Ethnic & Racial Studies, 1 October, 1978, pp. 412-426.

<sup>74</sup> S. Lieberson and M. Waters, 'The Changing Ethnic Responses of American Whites', Annales No. 487, Sept, 1986, p. 79-91.

<sup>75</sup> C. Swetland, 'The Ghetto of the Soul-Sociocultural Effects of Programs of Formation of Migrant Workers and their Families', UNESCO, SS-78, Conf. 801/16 April 1978.

<sup>76</sup> Catani, op. cit. pp. 72, 171.

<sup>77</sup> Bottomley, 1992, op. cit. p. 3; Bottomley, 1984, op. cit. p. 98.

<sup>78</sup> E. B. Tylor, 'The Science of Culture', in Culture and Consciousness, ed. Gloria Levitas, Publ. G. Braziller, New York, 1967, p. 47.

<sup>79</sup> J. J. Smolicz, 'Tradition, Core Values and Cultural Change Among Greek Australians', in A. Karpadis and A. Tamis, Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, Victoria, 1988, p. 47.

<sup>80</sup> According to G. Kanarakis, 'A Profile of Greek Australians Through their Literature', Hellenic Studies, Mimeo Bibliotheque National de Quebec. 4th Trimester, 1983, 'This flexibility allows the continuation of culture as a living tradition but it requires care and protection by its members, so that it can maintain its core values which ensure its overall integrity through the years' (Smolicz 1981, 1983). It is also important to mention that 'the intellectual wealth of the Greek literature in Australia will continue to re-enforce the principles of identity amongst Greeks'; J. J. Smolicz, 'Core Values and Cultural Identity', Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol IV, 1981, pp. 75-90; J. J. Smolicz, 'Social Systems in Multicultural Societies', Intern. J. of Sociology and Social Policy, III, 1983, pp. 1-35.

<sup>81</sup> M. Wilding, 'A Random House: The Parlous State of Australian Publishing', Meanjin Quarterley, Vol. 1, 1975, p. 106.

<sup>82</sup> Tsounis, 1975. op. cit. p. 33.

<sup>83</sup> According to J. I. Martin, The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses, 1947-1977, Allen and Unwin, London, 1978, p. 55, Pluralism was then defined as a social situation of mutual tolerance and respect for cultural differences, with the right for ethnic groups to establish their own structures and institutions of cultural and social nature.

Greeks and other migrants wanted to maintain their identity and as Papadopoulos remarked, the notion of assimilation into a newer Britannia had to change to 'integration into a new multicultural society'<sup>84</sup>. To this, Bottomley added that 'Assimilation policies inevitably include attempts to destroy and devalue the memories and attitudes of migrants'<sup>85</sup>. The concept of identity has been discussed by many academics and sociologists, and while Dashefski described it as a higher order concept, Parsons referred to it as a 'code system'<sup>86</sup>. Similar views have also been voiced by Rose and Rose and Newman<sup>87</sup>. Greeks have a strong sense of identity, because as Paschalidis, Kanarakis and Papademetre have remarked, they have been following their historical philosophy in life, and the Greek migrants are the carriers of deeply rooted elements of their language, culture and religion, which reflect their identity<sup>88</sup>.

Greeks are aware and proud of their culture, which they consider worth preserving and, according to Tsounis, in Australia they established communities in order to maintain their culture and to create a sociocultural environment which could counteract social discrimination<sup>89</sup>. This sense of identity preservation has also been described by Price<sup>90</sup>. On the other hand, Papageorgopoulos, expressed the

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<sup>84</sup> G. Papadopoulos, 'Ethnic Communities: Problems and Responses', in Australian Government Habitat Task Force, National Report to Habitat, AGPS, Canberra, 1976, pp. 269-272.

Brandle (1992) said that 'the slogan populate or perish which reached its full blown propaganda earlier this Century, no longer carried a social stigma. Today, mainstream Australians accept people with different culture, language and race. The assimilation policy no longer applies.'

M. Brandle, The Pre-War Migrants: Reminiscences from a Past Era, Ethnic Community Council of Queensland, The University of Queensland, 1992, p. 3.

<sup>85</sup> Bottomley, 1992, op. cit. p. 21.

<sup>86</sup> A. Dashefski, 'And the Search Goes On: The Meaning of Religio-Ethnic Identity and Identification', Sociological Analysis, Vol. 33 (4), 1972, pp. 239-245; T. Parsons, 'The Position of Identity in a General Theory of Action', in The Self in Social Interaction, eds. C. Gordon and K. J. Gergen, Wiley, N.Y., 1968, p. 20.

Parsons conceived identity as a 'code system' which maintains the personality by providing information on a continuous basis, and Rose and Rose said that 'ethnic group identification involves the recognition of a person as an accepted member of a group', and Newman believes that 'members of minority groups in a pluralistic society, are caught between their own identity and their identity as members of the society they live in.'

<sup>87</sup> A. Rose and C. B. Rose, Minority Problems, Harper and Row, New York, 1965, p. 247.

W. Newman, 'Multiple Realities: The Effects of Social Pluralism on Identity', in A. Dashefski, Ethnic Identity in Society, Univ. Connecticut, McNally R. College, Publ. Co. Chicago, 1976, p. 40.

<sup>88</sup> Paschalidis tried to associate the Greek identity with historical facts, because he feels that it is the image of Greece as it exists in their minds in a distant form that is of importance to them.

L. Paschalidis, quoted by J. Vondra, in Hellas: Australia, Widescope Publ., Melbourne, 1979, p. 41.

G. Kanarakis, 'The Literature of Greeks in Australia: A Study of its Identity and Development', in A. Karpadis and A. Tamis eds., Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, Victoria, 1988.

L. Papademetre, Sociolinguistic Aspects of Self-Identity: Sastarbeiterism in Neo-Hellenism in Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, Victoria, 1988

<sup>89</sup> M. P. Tsounis, Greek Communities in Australia, op. cit. p. 4.

<sup>90</sup> See footnote 14.

and its civilisation<sup>91</sup>. In contrast, Bottomley claimed that the resources of Greekness have offered Greek-Australians a positive sense of identity in the face of the negative pressures exerted against assimilation<sup>92</sup>. Similar views have also been shared by Brandle, Janiszewski, Clift, Erikson and Foote<sup>93</sup>.

Referring to the identity question, Castan, an academic of Greek descent, expressed some doubt about the position occupied by Australian-born Greek writers, whereas Kanarakis can see no problem in this respect because according to him, such writers should have no doubt about who they are<sup>94</sup>. Bottomley, commenting on the identity issue, positioned herself between the views of Castan and Kanarakis<sup>95</sup>. According to Themal, the Chairperson of the Bureau of Ethnic Affairs in Australia, identity is protected by multiculturalism, and this is the antithesis to assimilation, which is a word not used today<sup>96</sup>.

Referring to the way Greeks can integrate into the Australian society, Tsounis was of the opinion that it could be a slow process because they resented the discriminatory Australian attitudes and did not enjoy the reputed qualities of egalitarianism<sup>97</sup>. Despite the social changes that have taken place in Australia, the racial position of ethnic groups was not clear even in the late 1970's, and Bottomley remarked that a number of Australian born children tried to avoid racial discrimination at school by

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<sup>91</sup> A. Papageorgopoulos, The Greeks in Australia, A Home Away from Home, Alpha Books, Sydney, 1981, p. 110, is of the opinion that 'If the people who live and, to a great extent, identify with the culture of the host country, were given Greek education which could differentiate them from the main stream and place them into a minority group, it could cause social problems.'

<sup>92</sup> Bottomley, 'From Another Place', op. cit. p. 9.

<sup>93</sup> According to the following authors, the relationship of identity with the country of origin is in a continuous state of change because the migrant never stops searching for an ideal relationship between the two countries. The migrants are probably trying to find where they belong and to re-evaluate their sense of belonging and identity; Brandle, op. cit. p. 13; Janiszewski, op. cit. p. 7; C. Clift, 'Peel me a Lotus', in Images of Home, eds. E. Alexakis and L. Janiszowski, Hall and Iremonger, Sydney, 1995, p. 7; E. H. Erikson, Insight and Responsibility, W. W. Norton, New York, 1964; N. Foote, 'Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation', American Sociological Review, Vol 16, 1951, pp. 14-21.

<sup>94</sup> C. Castan, 'Greek Australian Literature', eds. T. Spillias and S. Messinis, in Reflections, Elikia Books, 1988, p. 6., said 'Greek-Australian writers will always feel lost if there is no Greek way for them to be and feel Australian'. On the other hand, Kanarakis feels that 'The writers of Greek literature are Greeks who happened to live in Australia, that is Australian-Greeks, and their work is an integral part of Australian literature'; Kanarakis, The Literature of Greeks in Australia, op. cit. pp. 45, 46.

<sup>95</sup> G. Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians, op. cit. p. 165. Castan, loc. cit. and Kanarakis, loc. cit. It would be reasonable to say that Castan's perception of identity, expresses the precarious situation in which the Australian born Greeks find themselves as they try to reconcile their present environment with the remnants of an inherited culture.

<sup>96</sup> According to L. Jayasuriya, 'Multiculturalism Fact Policy or Rhetoric', in the Nation of People, The Extension Services, Univ. of W.A., Perth, 1983, Multiculturalism has created an environment of ethnic relaxation which, in a way, facilitates integration and in ethnic terms means a step further away from the sense of identity. See also, U. Themal, 'Multiculturalism in Australia', Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, Newsletter, 15 September, 1995, p.7.

<sup>97</sup> According to, J. I. Martin, Community and Identity Refugee Groups in Adelaide, A.N.U. Press, Canberra, 1972, p. 133. such an attitude created a defensive reaction against assimilation. See also M. P. Tsounis, Greek Ethnic School, A.N.U., Canberra, 1974, p. 47.

not participating in school activities<sup>98</sup>. On the other hand, this change of personality, allows them to participate in both cultures and, as Price found, many second-generation Greeks did not have to reject either of the two<sup>99</sup>. Of course, flexibility to adapt by changing roles is not an unusual act among the Australian-born youth<sup>100</sup>.

An interesting picture of identity has also been painted by Gordon, who found that while the second-generation might reject its identity, the third feels more secure and regains it. This phenomenon he called 'latent identity'<sup>101</sup>.

Whichever way one tries to predict the future of Hellenism in Australia, it cannot be anything else but a future of gradual integration, and this message has been given by Dina Amanatidou in an interview with Machalias<sup>102</sup>. Despite all these grim forecasts, Bottomley concluded that the strong Greek sense of ethnic honour, provides the impetus for the retention of the valued traditions of Greeks in Australia<sup>103</sup>. Mackie, using several examples of cultural changes, found that the traditional values are retained because Greek children tend to maintain their association with kinship<sup>104</sup>.

Through the years, various researchers, have put forward theories on identity based on the 'Melting Pot' concept, where ethnic groups mix into one<sup>105</sup>. The Melting Pot theory was considered by Lahart to be unrealistic, because of the phenomenon he called 'resurgence of ethnicity', whereby people tend to return to their original identity<sup>106</sup>. Retention of tradition in a host country can be related to various factors which include active involvement in ethnic activities, maintenance of ties with Greece and being part of community networks<sup>107</sup>. In addition to these factors, identity has to be reinforced by visits to Greece which, can instil in the youth sentiments of origin and can make them identify better with their parents.

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<sup>98</sup> G. Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians, op. cit. p. 170.

<sup>99</sup> Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, op. cit. p. 203.

<sup>100</sup> Under such situations, people try to reduce the inconsistency that might exist between identities, and usually end up being peripheral actors in one situation and central in another. Price, loc. cit.

<sup>101</sup> M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origin, Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1964.

<sup>102</sup> 'Australia cannot become another Greece', said Amanatidou. 'We have survived for the sake of today, because as a migrant race we will disappear and our children and grandchildren will be reading our history translated into English.' N. Machalias, 'An Interview with Dina Amanatidou', Antipodes, 1974, p. 84.

<sup>103</sup> Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians, op. cit., pp. 175-178.

<sup>104</sup> Mackie, 'Networks, Values and Cultural Change', op. cit., p. 86.

<sup>105</sup> N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1963. K. Lahart, 'The Anger of the Ethnics', Boston Sunday Globe, July 11, 1971, A4.

<sup>106</sup> Lahart, 'The Anger of the Ethnics', op. cit., p. A-4.

<sup>107</sup> Bottomley, op. cit., pp. 158, 174, 176.

For migrant and Australian-born Greeks, the ethnic institutions in Australia represent important places of contact and exchange of ideas, and as Bottomley said, they make traditions meaningful<sup>108</sup>. Kanarakis and Papageorgopoulos have also emphasized the important role played by the media<sup>109</sup>, noting that it has made an important contribution to the Greek presence. Tsounis has also remarked that the most important institutions which have influenced the lives of Greek migrants have been the churches and schools<sup>110</sup>. When considering the Greek youth in relation to the future of Hellenism in Australia, it is also important to think of the effect intermarriages have on the maintenance of Greek culture and identity<sup>111</sup>. Alba pointed out that Australian-born Greeks with single ancestry, are more likely to identify ethnically than those with mixed ancestry<sup>112</sup>.

To this already complex picture of identity, Bottomley has added that there are aspects of class position, status, aspirations and gender, which are as important as ethnicity in the construction of identity<sup>113</sup>.

Identity is also connected, to a great extent, with language and it is definite that Greeks want to maintain their language. According to Tamis, this will depend upon the relative importance people give to the maintenance of Greek history and culture as compared to the language<sup>114</sup>. Despite this, the need to learn Greek as a means of communication between Australian-born Greeks in the future, will be severely reduced when the influence of the first-generation migrants ceases to exist<sup>115</sup>.

Smith and Fisher believe that cultural elements, such as language, history and religion, are capable of creating powerful ethnic ties, and should be considered seriously when planning the ethnic

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<sup>108</sup> Bottomley, loc. cit.

<sup>109</sup> The mass media represent a dynamic force which has been embraced with a lot of enthusiasm by the community and, if properly used, can continue sending a clear message of integrity to the Greek migrants and their children. See Kanarakis, 'A Profile of Greek-Australians Through their Literature', 1983, op. cit., p. 59; Papageorgopoulos, op. cit., p. 60.

<sup>110</sup> Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', op. cit., pp. 51, 57.

<sup>111</sup> Tamis found that in mixed marriages when the mother is Greek, the likelihood of the children maintaining their Greekness is greater than when the father is Greek. Stevens (1985) has also discussed this topic. See also G. Stevens, 'Nativity, Intermarriage and Mother Tongue Shift', American Sociological Review, Vol. 50, February 1985, pp. 74-83.

<sup>112</sup> Alba, Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>113</sup> Bottomley, After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek-Australians, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>114</sup> According to this view, identity can exist even with a lower ability to use the language. M. A. Tamis, 'Greek Language and Culture', in J. Zupp, The Australian People, 1988, pp. 527-531, stated that many Australian born Greeks believe that maintenance of the language is not necessary for the continuity of Hellenism in Australia. See also M. A. Tamis, 'Glossologikes and Kinonioglossikes Paratirisis Shetica me ti Diatirisi i apoklisi tis Ellinikis stin Afstralia', Antipodes No 29-30, 1991.

<sup>115</sup> Tamis, 'Glossologikes ke kinonioglossikes Paratirisis Shetica me ti Diatirisi tis Ellinikis stin Afstralia', op. cit., p. 90.

education of Greek youth. In this context, Greek identity should also be reinforced with messages of ethnic sentiments from Greece<sup>116</sup>.

Anywhere in the world, professionally qualified people represent an asset to the economic future of the country they live in, but governments are unable to prevent the loss of skilled professionals through migration<sup>117</sup>. During the postwar migration fever, large number of Greeks migrated overseas, and because Australia attracted many unskilled workers, it is not surprising that during the 1967-1972 period, only a small percentage of the Greek migrants belonged to some professional category<sup>118</sup>.

According to the 1986 Census (Appendix 4), a total of 3190 Greek migrants were reported as having a tertiary qualification, but there is no indication of how many of them came to Australia with overseas qualifications. The 1971 Census (ABS), gives the Greek-born professionals as representing a 1:1000 ratio between themselves and the total Greek migrant population. From these poorly defined figures, it becomes obvious that there is no accurate information available on the number and fields of professional Greek migrants who came to Australia with overseas qualifications. It is not impossible that Australia, as a migrant country, was not suitable for the accomplished professional Greeks, a comment made by one of the well established and experienced participants in this study (No. 8).

From an employment point of view, the 1987 ABS survey on the labour force status of migrants, showed that while the pre-migration qualifications were complementary to qualifications acquired in Australia, in actual terms, they did not have any worthwhile influence on the employment situation of the holder. In simple terms, they were not taken seriously into consideration. Although the report considered that employment does not depend only on academic qualifications, the reality is that the Federal Government did not accept the level of education and the training systems of Southern European countries as equivalent to those in the United Kingdom<sup>119</sup>. To improve their

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<sup>116</sup> A. Smith, *The Ethnic Revival*, Cambridge Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 66. See also M. J. Fisher, 'Ethnicity and Post Modern Acts of Memory', in *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus, Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1986. When Helen Vlachou, the editor of the 'Kathimerini' newspaper in Athens visited Australia she said 'The new Hellenism in Australia is the most valuable and dynamic of any other before'; Papageorgopoulos, op. cit. pp. 213-219. In 1978 a Greek MP, G Mavros visited Australia and made the comment that 'The strong wave of nostalgia that possesses the Greeks in Australia cannot be found anywhere else outside Greece. They want to feel Greek.' Papageorgopoulos, *ibid* , pp. 213-219.

<sup>117</sup> Appleyard, *Australia in Transition: Culture and Life Possibilities*, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>118</sup> Appleyard, 'The Greeks of Australia: A New Diasporic Hellenism', op. cit. p. 368.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

employment situation, many of the migrants tried to gain qualifications in Australia, and this was more so the case with those who already had pre-migration professional experience<sup>120</sup>.

In addition to the above observations, Borjas and Hashmi showed a negative correlation between post-migration education and the age of migrants at the time of arrival<sup>121</sup>. The older the migrant, the lower the likelihood of their undertaking further studies in Australia. On the other hand, young migrants had a greater capacity for study and the prospect of a longer working career.

One of the serious omissions in the data on migrant qualifications and employment has been the lack of information on the effect knowledge of English has had on the overall attitude of migrants in attempting further studies<sup>122</sup>. With reference to employment, it is interesting to know that overseas trained migrants of a younger age and capable of speaking English, were preferred by the Australian Government because they were socially mobile and could more easily adapt to the new conditions<sup>123</sup>.

A research report, which was based on the 1981 ABS Census data, could not show any discrimination in the employment area between migrants who had overseas or Australian qualifications<sup>124</sup>. These findings are contrary to reports from America and Canada where there was a strong positive relationship between success in the employment market for migrants with qualifications from English-speaking countries. but not for the others<sup>125</sup>.

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<sup>120</sup> According to Chiswick and Miller, Post Immigration Qualifications in Australia, op. cit., p. 45, those who had higher skill occupations before migration and those who held qualifications at the time of migration were more likely to acquire qualifications in Australia.

<sup>121</sup> G. J. Borjas, 'The Earnings of Male Hispanic Immigrants in the USA', Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 35 (3), 1982, p. 7.

<sup>122</sup> 'In order to increase the economic impact of the general migrants on the Australian economy, the Government tried to increase employment prospects by developing its resources, but there was no program to accommodate the professional migrant'. See B. R. Chiswick, 'Speaking, Reading and Earning Among Low-Skilled Immigrants', Labour Economics, Vol 9 (2), 1991, pp. 149-170.

<sup>123</sup> According to D. Lander, 'Introduction Remarks to Lyle Baker's Paper on Immigration and Per capita Investment', in L. Baker and P. Miller (eds.), The Economics of Immigration, AGPS, Canberra, 1987, the Government spent an average of \$16,500 per migrant for education job training and welfare. Recognition of professional and skilled migrants would have ensured immediate productivity at no cost. See also, M. H. Long, 'Maturational Constraints on Language Development', Studies in Second Language Acquisition, Vol 12 (3), 1990, pp. 251-285, and B. R. Chiswick and P. W. Miller, The Endogeneity Between Language and Earnings, Department of Economics, Univ. of Western Australia, Mimeo, 1991.

<sup>124</sup> P. A. Inglis and T. Stromback, 'Migrant's Unemployment: The Determinants of Employment Success', Economic Record, Vol 62, 1986, pp. 310-324.

<sup>125</sup> B. R. Chiswick, 'The Effect of Americanisation on the Earnings of Foreign Born Men', J. Political Economy, Vol 86 (5), 1978, pp. 897-921. See also B. R. Chiswick and P. W. Miller, 'Earnings in Canada: The Roles of Immigrant Generation, French Ethnicity and Language', in Research in Population Economics, ed. T. Paul Schultz, JAI Press, London, 1988, pp. 183-228.



With special reference to Greek and Italian migrants, Chiswick and Miller analysed the 1981 Census data and concluded that, post arrival education gave the individuals the opportunity for higher earnings, as compared to pre-arrival, and this was the general trend for migrants from non-English speaking countries<sup>126</sup>. The same investigators also showed that female migrants were less likely to acquire education after arrival and that only 25% of those with overseas degree level qualifications obtained additional qualifications in Australia<sup>127</sup>. This low attainment rate may be indicative of the difficulties faced by migrants with formal qualifications in pursuing further studies in Australia.

According to Miller and Volker, the inability of migrants to speak English had a serious effect on any educational pursuits in Australia<sup>128</sup>. Although there are several published studies on the general educational pursuits of migrants in Australia, it appears that there is very little information on the achievements of professional migrants from non-English speaking countries<sup>129</sup>. Hashmi, has given special importance to pre-arrival education, not only as the basis for further education, but also for the ability of individuals to make better decisions for their future, and he concluded that knowledge of English played a most important role in the development of migrants<sup>130</sup>.

According to the 1987 Census of the ABS, Labour Force Status Report, the proportion of Greek professional people amongst the migrants of the 1960's and 1970's was the lowest among the major ethnic groups, and the average level of education of Greek migrants was very low. Despite this, Taft found that their children were the fastest upward socially mobile group among all other school children<sup>131</sup>. Although the number of professional migrants in Australia was small, Hawthorn discussed the frustrations they faced, especially the engineers, as a result of the attitude of employers who made it difficult for them to gain employment<sup>132</sup>. Price has also reported that among

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<sup>126</sup> B. R. Chiswick and P. W. Miller, 'Immigrant Generation and Income in Australia', Economic Record, Vol 61 (173), 1985, pp. 540-553.

<sup>127</sup> Chiswick and Miller, Post Immigration Qualifications in Australia, op. cit. p. 29.

<sup>128</sup> P. W. Miller and F. Volker, 'Socioeconomic Influences of Educational Attainment: Evidence and Implications for the Tertiary Education Debate', Austr. J. Stats, 31A, 1989, pp. 47-70.

<sup>129</sup> P. W. Miller, 'The Causes and Consequences of Interruptions to Full Time Education', Austr. Economics Paper 23, (42), 1984, pp. 61-70. See also Miller and Volker, op. cit., pp. 47-70.

<sup>130</sup> Hashmi, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>131</sup> R. Taft, 'The Career Aspirations of Migrant School Children in Victoria', Dept. of Sociology, La Trobe Univ. Paper 12, 1975, p. 37.

<sup>132</sup> According to L. Hawthorn, Labour and Market Barriers for Migrant Engineers in Australia, Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1994 and L. Hawthorn 'The Impact of Immigration on Australia's Professions', Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research, Issue 14, 1995, p. 38-39, 'The engineers who had arrived under the skilled migration program found it very hard to gain suitable employment as compared to those from English Speaking countries. Apparently, race and culture influenced the outcome.'

the large number of Greek migrants who returned to Greece in the early 1970's, there were several professionals who found it difficult to have their qualifications recognised in Australia<sup>133</sup>.

The reluctance of the Australian governments to accept overseas qualifications from non-English speaking countries, with many holders having to undertake further studies, could have been, according to Vondra, one of the main reasons which discouraged professional people from coming to Australia<sup>134</sup>. According to this statement, only 776 professional and technical Greek migrants came to Australia between 1963 and 1972. The poor level of recognition of foreign qualifications has also been criticised by Uri Themal, the Chairperson of the Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, and others who have also condemned the discrimination on employment opportunities for migrants<sup>135</sup>.

The complex and confusing range of regulations for licensing and certification procedures that existed in Australia, served to maintain barriers to the entry of professional migrants into certain occupations. Expressing a general view point, on this matter, Harper said that:

'the migrants, including skilled workers, usually occupy the lowest social positions in industrialised countries and they earn very few rewards of authority, wealth and prestige. As a result, they are relegated occupations requiring minimal skill, where they command minimum wages. Their handicap stems from not knowing the language and customs of the country'<sup>136</sup>.

Religion plays an important role in the lives and identity of migrants, and with this in mind, Smolicz said that:

*In the Australian context, Orthodoxy remains an ideological value of symbolic significance which aids identification.*<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Work was made available to migrants who came to alleviate production bottlenecks, but the situation was completely different for professionals who entered Australia independently. Many ended up in factories. See Thompson, op. cit., p. 94, and Price, Australian Immigration, A Biography and Digest No. 4., op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>134</sup> Vondra, 1979, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>135</sup> Uri Themal (Director EAB, Courier Mail 13/7/95), wrote that 'the Authorities require professional migrants to undergo tests which Australian professionals do not have to do. We are ridiculed because our professionals hold themselves out as being of a higher standard than any other country. These people should not have to drive taxis or be on the dole.'  
The Centre of Multicultural Studies at the University of Wollongong, NSW, and other organisations (ANZRA 1988, COPQ 1987, 1988, Iredale 1987, 1988), found that there are major problems regarding recognition of overseas qualifications and this situation creates hardship for migrants and damages the Australian economy through the inefficient use of valuable skills. Jupp and Martin agree that by discriminating on the basis of race or ethnicity, there is a wasting of talent and a denial of the opportunity for individual mobility of professional migrants in the Australian society. See also J. Jupp, 'The Australian People', *Australian Encyclopaedia of the Nation*, Introduction by Jupp, Angus and Robertson, 1988, p. 4, and Martin, *The Migrant Presences: Australian Response*, op. cit., p. 211.

<sup>136</sup> D. Harper, *Epilogue: Living in two Cultures, Some Sociological Considerations*, the Unesco Press, Gower, 1982, p. 320.

<sup>137</sup> Smolicz, 'The Tradition, Core Values and Culture Change Among Greek-Australians', op. cit., p. 157.

According to 1981 Census, the number of Orthodox Greeks in Australia was 421,281 and the 1986 Census reported that 90.5% of the Greek born citizens were Orthodox<sup>138</sup>. The Church, has through the centuries exerted a unifying influence upon Greeks and it is reasonable to say that when Greeks think of Greek culture, they incorporate their religion, language and music, which they identify as being fundamental to their ethnic culture. Despite this, the conflict between the Church and Community, has created an unpleasant environment, and continues to concern Greeks in Australia<sup>139</sup>.

Vondra, commenting on the relationship between Greeks and the Church, said that the Church still has a psychological effect on Greeks, but its traditional rights have appreciably weakened<sup>140</sup>. In this study, the positive and, in the views of certain people, the negative effects of the Church in Australia are included because of the participation of a number of clergy in the investigation<sup>141</sup>. The seriousness of the dispute is widely recognised and, at a talk given by the Head of the Orthodox Church in Australia, it was said that 'the controversies degrade the Church and national dignity and make our people ashamed to admit they are Greek and Orthodox'<sup>142</sup>. Bottomley found in her research that Greeks want to see the Church inspiring and mobilising the migrants on problems which affect their day to day lives<sup>143</sup>.

The English language has played a very important role in the socioeconomic life of professional and non-professional migrants. It has been established in the interviews and from published information that, those of the professional migrants who could not speak English, found it difficult to establish themselves with any degree of success in Anglophone Australian society. This is clearly stated in

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<sup>138</sup> The Greek Church in Australia has worked towards the preservation of the language and culture, and has made a considerable contribution to the social welfare and education of the Greek people.

<sup>139</sup> The article tried to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the existing conflict has divided the Greek community and this becomes evident even at functions organised in support of the language and Greek identity. 'O Kosmos', 13/1/95. Anonymous.

<sup>140</sup> Vondra, op. cit. p. 132.

<sup>141</sup> A. Karpadis and A. Tamis, Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, Australia, 1988. See also, M. P. Kakakios and J. Van-Der-Velden, 'Migrant Communities and Class Politics in Australia', in Ethnicity, Class and Gender, by G. Bottomley and M. De-Lepervanch, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1984, pp. 152 - 163, who claim that, their role in the Greek community as migrants and representatives of the Church has been very important and in addition, several participants have referred to the existing dispute which has influenced their attitudes in the past. According to several authors, these conflicts have also had some serious ramifications on the political development of the Greek Community.

<sup>142</sup> Papageorgopoulos, op. cit., p. 93.

<sup>143</sup> Bottomley, op. cit. pp. 160, 180.  
Before Bottomley, Price, op. cit. p. 12, wrote that 'the friction between Church and community has made some Greeks sick of the whole wrangle and even drop their Church affiliation.'

the ROMAMPAS Report and the National Policy on Languages by Lo Bianco<sup>144</sup>. On the other hand, the Greek language has played a fundamental role in the survival of Hellenism and Greek identity in Australia<sup>145</sup>.

Stromback and Preston found that inadequate knowledge of English by migrants should be considered a skill deficiency and it has been responsible for reduced work performance<sup>146</sup>. Such a deficiency applies more seriously to migrants wishing to work in a professional area and all these implications have an adverse financial effect on the employer and employee<sup>147</sup>. In addition to the financial disadvantages, inability to use the language also has a psychological effect on migrants, because of their marginalization in society and the risk of unemployment<sup>148</sup>.

The above comments indicate that language is fundamental to boosting morale, acquiring and imparting knowledge, regulating social relationships and determining the role of the individual within the organisational structure of a modern economy and society. As a consequence, poor language proficiency can severely restrict the ability of individuals to effectively work with others and resolve problems<sup>149</sup>. It is therefore obvious that fluency in English for migrants, and especially those with professional qualifications, is essential not only to be able to communicate effectively with their peers, clients and subordinates, but also for the higher level of responsibility they are expected to accept in society.

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<sup>144</sup> The Australian Government has stressed the point that 'The ability of migrants to speak English, has a major impact not only on their job prospects and career advancement but on their whole settlement', (Immigration Bulletin 1995, op. cit. p.14). Lo Bianco said that 'Despite the multilingual nature of the Australian society, English is the common medium of communication.' ROMAMPAS, Don't Settle for Less: Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs, AGPS, Canberra, 1986. See also J. Lo Bianco, National Policy on Languages, AGPS, Canberra, 1986.

<sup>145</sup> The Australian Government has encouraged the linguistic diversity which is now part of the economic development of the country (Understanding Immigration 1987, op. cit. p. 12)

<sup>146</sup> J. Stromback and Preston, The Cost of Low Level of English Proficiency Amongst Migrants in the Work Place, Bureau of Immigr. Research, AGPS, Canberra, 1991, p. 1.

<sup>147</sup> Government estimates give the annual national cost due to inferior English as being \$763 m, or 0.3% of GDP. Poor knowledge of English has an adverse effect on skill acquisition, *ibid*, op. cit., p. 1, 24. See also T. Toohey and G. Miltenyi, 'Identification and Rectification of Occupational Health and Safety Problems Affecting the Non-English Speaking Population of Australia', Policy Option Paper, Office of Multicultural Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1988, and T. Stromback, 'The Earnings of Migrants in Australia', Bureau of Labour Market Research Conference, Paper No. 46, Canberra, 1984, and Chiswick and Miller, 'Immigration, Generation and Income in Australia', op. cit., pp. 540-553.

<sup>148</sup> Vondra, op. cit., p. 163.  
The language question was addressed by Dina Amanatidou in an interview with Helen Nickas. She said that 'I call myself a "Linguistic Cripple" for not being proficient in English, but the Greek language gives me a sense of identity and loyalty to Greece.' H. Nickas, Migrant Daughters, Owl Publ. Melbourne, 1992, p. 179.

<sup>149</sup> T. Stromback and A. Preston, 1991, loc. cit.

The direct effect of poor English on professional migrants was recently discussed in an article, where it was pointed out that several qualified individuals have been forced to accept low paid jobs, completely outside their professional area<sup>150</sup>. For the whole of Australia, the loss of earnings in 1991 was estimated to be of the magnitude of \$2.50m<sup>151</sup>. It should also be mentioned that, despite the utmost importance of the English language, ethnocentric networks concentrate on the teaching of the Greek language but not English<sup>152</sup>.

Historically, the Greek language for migrants around the world has been a social symbol inseparable from ethnicity, and today it is taught at all levels of education in Australia<sup>153</sup>. Kanarakis pointed out that the Greek language is intimately associated with the history of Greece, and if the Greeks of the Diaspora stopped using it, it could undermine the survival of Hellenism outside Greece<sup>154</sup>. During the last decade, there has been a shift away from the Greek language, as a result of the end of Greek migration and the high rate of intermarriages<sup>155</sup>. This has also been noted in the fluctuation of students attending Greek classes at all levels, but according to several authors, Greeks represent the migrant group with the highest tendency to maintain their language<sup>156</sup>. Tuffin believes that, as a natural progression, the rationale which initially justified the learning of ethnic languages, will soon become less reflective of social reality<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> "Neos Kosmos" Newspaper, 4 April, 1996, p. 11. Anonymous.

<sup>151</sup> Stromback and Preston, op. cit. p. 22.  
Apart from the economic importance of the language, a survey in Brisbane showed lack of motivation among Greek migrants to improve their English (Studies in Adult Migrant Education 1985:26 and Community Profiles 1990). See also 'Studies in Adult Migrant Education', English Learning Needs of Migrants in West End, Brisbane, Dept. of Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1985, and Community Profiles, 1990, op. cit. p. 26.

<sup>152</sup> Tamis, 'Greek Language and Culture', op. cit. p. 68.

<sup>153</sup> According to M. Jeffreys, 'I Neoellinikes Spouthes Stin Afstralia', 1992, when courses in Modern Greek were first introduced there was a lot of interest, but in the 1990's, it started becoming evident that the novelty was waning and student numbers were decreasing.

<sup>154</sup> G. Kanarakis, The Identity and Internationality of the Greek Language, O Kosmos, 5 April 1994, p. 19, and The Greek Herald, 31 March, 1994, p. 18. believes that the main reason that the Greek language was elevated to a universal spiritual level was its prominence as a language of culture and expression of the human spirit.

<sup>155</sup> A. Pauwels, 'Some Aspects of the Role of Mixed Marriages in Language Shift in Australia', AULLA, 1980, pp. xx, 10-112.

<sup>156</sup> Information from the Census in 1986, indicated that Modern Greek was the second most widely used language in Australia. See also Tamis, op. cit., pp. 40 and 45; A. Tsotras, 'Study of the Problems Encountered by Greek Orthodox Spouses', M.A. Thesis, Ballarat College of Adv. Education, Victoria, 1982, p. 47; M. G. Clyne, Multilingual Australia, River Seine, Melbourne, 1982, p. 148; J. J. Smolicz and M. J. Harris, 'Ethnic Languages and Immigrant Youth', in Modern Greek Australia Talks, ed. Clyne, ANU, Canberra, 1976, pp. 131-175.

<sup>157</sup> P. Tuffin, 'Educational Rationales and the Future of Modern Greek in Australia', in A. Karpadis and A. Tamis (eds.), Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, Victoria, 1988, p. 109.

Retention of the language is important because it is used not only as medium of communication but, it is also inseparable from the sense of identity<sup>158</sup>. Referring to the use of Greek at home, Tamis found that it is the first generation of migrants who keep the language alive. This view is also shared by other investigators<sup>159</sup>. Greece has established the Institute of Greek Language in Salonica which, according to Professor Fatouros, will aim to support and reinforce the language outside Greece and strengthen the national identity of the Greeks of Diaspora<sup>160</sup>.

The sense of Greek identity gives confidence to migrants and their descendants and makes them feel proud of their history. This heritage is the strength which makes them overcome any problem of discrimination and has been described by Moscoff who said that: *The Greek culture is a voice and a carrier of peace, love for man, communication between people, development of good relations and humanisation of life.*

One of the ethical dimensions of multiculturalism is the notion that all people in society have equal rights, and it is therefore important for every Greek to contribute to the promotion of this policy from the perspective of Greek tradition. Today, there is a global representation of ethnic people in Australia, and the effects of multiculturalism are evident, especially in the cities<sup>161</sup>. Multiculturalism preserves ethnic identities, whereas assimilation presupposes the supremacy of one particular culture<sup>162</sup>. While Australia is a multicultural society, it is important for Australians to understand the concept and come to terms with it<sup>163</sup>. Despite the multicultural policy in Australia, its philosophy

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<sup>158</sup> Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', op. cit., p. 59. See also M. A. Tamis, The State of Modern Greek as Spoken in Victoria, 'Ph. D. Thesis', University of Melbourne, Victoria, 1986, and J. H. Greenberg, 'Language, Culture and Communication', in Greeks in Australia, eds. A. Karpadis and A. Tamis, River Seine Press, Melbourne, 1988, p. 71.

<sup>159</sup> Gondovos, op. cit. p. 40. See also, M. G. Clyne, Perspectives of Language Contact: Based on a study of Germans in Australia, Melbourne, 1972, p. 111; Bottomley, 'From Another Place', op. cit., p. 125, said that 'Habitus is strongly mediated by the assumption implicit in language and especially the language of childhood.' Haugen (1953) and Horvath (1979) believe that the use of a second language should be part of the living environment and it is vital for the individual not only to know them but to use them.  
E. Haugen, A Study of Bi-lingual Behaviour, Philadelphia Univ. Press. Vol 1, p. 1., Pennsylvania, 1953, p. 1, and B. W. Horvath, To Yofiry, Department of Modern Greek, Vol 5, Univ. Sydney, April 1979, pp. 13-15.

<sup>160</sup> The Greeks in America have founded the 'Paedeia Foundation' for the promotion of the Greek language, and in Australia there is now 'The Hellenic Studies Forum'. D. Fatouros, 'The Greek Lingual Treasure', Macedonian Life Magazine, English Suppl. Thessaloniki, May 1995 Issue 276, 1995, p. 1.

<sup>161</sup> Appleyard, Australia in Transition, op. cit. p. 98, claims that, 'Now, it is customary to hear spoken a multiplicity of languages but we have ceased to stare'.

<sup>162</sup> S. Sestito, The Politics of Multiculturalism, Centre for Independent Studies, Sydney, 1982, points out that multiculturalism became a policy in Australia following political pressures on the Government.

<sup>163</sup> Vondra, op. cit., p. 22.

has been understated in most accounts of Australian history and under-represented in museums and library<sup>164</sup>.

Due to social pressures, Greek migrants suffered family breakdowns and nervous conditions, and under such discriminatory circumstances, many of them were in a state of disequilibrium with their new environment. Despite this, their children have excelled<sup>165</sup>. Giles, herself a second generation migrant, and Papaellinas have described the anguish of migrant children in the past, but today the racial discrimination legislation protects the integrity of the individual<sup>166</sup>.

There is also a great need to mention the migrant women who, according to Pieri, came to Australia as wives, mothers, daughters and labourers and were marginalised<sup>167</sup>. In today's Australian society, there are policies which protect migrants against discrimination, but Parris made the observation that 'migrants are usually expected to assimilate enough, so that they can obey the laws and customs of the country, but without encroaching upon the status of superiority of the dominant group'<sup>168</sup>. In the last 50 years, since the end of the Second World War, many of the socioeconomic conditions in Australia have changed, but it might still be true that, whenever there are physical differences which can distinguish migrant groups, the society then becomes less tolerant, because assimilation means 'to look and behave like us'<sup>169</sup>. Despite the various anti-discrimination mechanisms in Australia,

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<sup>164</sup> Towards Federation 2001: 'Linking Australians and their Heritage', Review Meeting, 9 - 10 Dec, 1993. Report National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1994.  
According to C. A. Price, A Biography and Digest No 2, 1970, Department of Demography, ANU Press, Canberra, 1971, p. A44, despite Government reluctance, Australia was forced to accept the less desirable Southern Europeans as migrants (Price 1971).

<sup>165</sup> Greek children were intimidated by Australian children who mocked their accent, but they were proud of their origin (The Courier Mail 27/5/95). See also, J. Krupinski and A. Stoller, 'Incidence of Mental Disorders in Victoria', Medical J. of Australia August 1965; A. Karpadis and A. Tamis (eds.), VEAC (1988): 'Victoria Ethnic Affairs Commission, Greeks in Victoria: Policies, Directions and Initiatives', in Greeks in Australia, River Seine Press, Melbourne, 1988, p. 194.  
D. Harvey, 'Social Processes: Spatial Form and the Re-distribution of Real Income in an Urban System', in R. King, The Dialectics of Culture: Greeks in Australia, ed. R. King, Meanjin 35 (3), 1972, p. 233. See also: R. Birrell and A. Seitz, 'The Ethnic Problem in Education: The Emergence and Definition of an Issue', Ethnicity and Multicultural Conference, Melbourne University, 1986 and E. Isaacs, Greek Children in Sydney, Australian Nat. Univ. Press, Canberra, 1976.

<sup>166</sup> Z. Giles, 'Move Over Shahrazad', The Age Monthly Review, May 1989, p. 14.  
G. Papaellinas, Ikons Australia, Penguin Books, 1986, p. 10. See also, Themal, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>167</sup> S. Pieri, M. Risk and A. Sgro, 'Italian Migrant Women, Participation and the Women's Movement', Second Women's and Labour Conference, Melbourne, p. 163, 1980.

<sup>168</sup> 'An indication of this was the frustration of some migrants who chose to identify themselves as Australians, but still the community at large, continued to consider them as migrants. One of them said 'I don't really think I am Australian, because when there is a conflict about new Australians, we come off second best' (Thompson, op. cit. pp. 142, 197). See also, BEA, Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, Building Bridges Between Migrant and Employers, Issue 14, AGPS, April 1995, p. 11, and R. G. Parris, Living in Two Cultures: The Sociocultural Situation of Migrant Workers and their Families, UNESCO, Press Gower, 1982, p. 55.

<sup>169</sup> Harper, op. cit. p. 324.

there is still an under-current of discrimination, and a recent example of this is the comment made by the manager of a company who considered professional migrants as good cleaners<sup>170</sup>. It is incredible that such racist attitudes continue to exist in Australia at a time when the then Minister for Immigration Senator Bolkus, launched the 'Year of Tolerance' on 24/2/95 in Adelaide. Today, the old perception of Greek migrants, does not exist any longer. Those early migrants, worked productively in a number of occupations and now, many of them and their children are well-respected individuals in Australian society<sup>171</sup>.

Among the bulk of Greek migrants, who have been classified as those with the lowest level of formal education, there was a small number of professional Greeks, but there is no official or unofficial record which could provide any indication of their number or impact on Australia. The official statistics on this matter are more confusing than informative.

Greek migrants were faced with problems of cultural adaptation in the alien, Australian society, due mainly to the basic differences in language, religion, customs and the racist attitude towards them. Despite the various initial socioeconomic and language problems, the Greeks managed, as already discussed, to establish themselves financially and move upward in society, faster than any other ethnic group.

As a result of the maintenance of the Greek family-unit as the basis of their community and social structure, and the establishment of ethnic networks, they managed to keep alive the Greek language, culture and religion, which make up the basis of their identity.

The professional Greek migrants moved within the general community structures, but there is no information which could shed any more light or distinguish these people from the average Greek migrants.

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<sup>170</sup> The comment was that 'Migrant professionals are smart enough to be trained as hotel room cleaners. They are all highly intelligent and ideal to be trained for servicing guest rooms.' (Pathline Hospitality Services, in Courier Mail, 18/2/95)

<sup>171</sup> Alexakis and Janiszewski, op. cit., pp. 48, 59.



## CHAPTER 2: REASONS FOR MIGRATION OF FIRST-GENERATION GREEK PROFESSIONALS TO AUSTRALIA

During the 22 year period of migration of Greeks to Australia, between 1952-1974, approximately 270,000<sup>172</sup> unskilled and professional Greeks migrated to this country where they have played an important role in its social and economic development.<sup>173</sup> There is a generally accepted view that the main reasons which made the majority of Greeks migrate to Australia were economic and, for some of them, political.<sup>174</sup> Despite this, the present investigation was unable to establish that any one of the participating professionals made their decision to migrate on purely economic grounds. On the contrary, it appears that the greatest majority based their decision on sociopolitical reasons and some of them were also motivated by the excitement of a challenge to their professional experience.<sup>175</sup> This claim is supported by the evidence provided by them and the fact that, almost all of them enjoyed a respected professional and social status in the place from which they migrated. Among them are five respondents who had to leave Egypt or Cyprus under adverse conditions, and came to Australia because Greece did not offer them the hospitality they expected.<sup>176</sup> To all respondents, Australia was a country with sociopolitical and economic stability, promising them a secure future.

According to one writer, the principal reasons for the migration of Greeks have been the internal and external upheavals in their country, created by national and international crises.<sup>177</sup> Such unfortunate situations, have had a profound effect on the lives of Greek people and on the political and economic stability of the Greek nation. As a result, the economic and political chaos that existed in Greece during the 1950's and the period of the dictatorship (1967-74) created hardship for many people, and more than a quarter of a million of them, including professionals, chanced their futures by trying their luck in Australia. Thompson outlines the

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<sup>172</sup> A. M. Tamis, An Illustrated History of the Greeks in Australia, Dardalis Archives of the the Greek Community, La Trobe University, 1997, p. 67.

<sup>173</sup> 'Australia's Migration Program: 200 Years of Immigration', Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1987. Also see, Land of Migrants, The First Australians, Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, 1987, p. 12.

<sup>174</sup> Isaacs, op. cit. p. 28.

<sup>175</sup> Several participants (Nos. 1, 5, 8, 10, 17, 2), 25 and 26), said that the living conditions in Greece had become frustrating and that they had wanted to try their luck in another country. They were impressed by Australia's promising future, natural wealth and small population.

<sup>176</sup> The five respondents are Nos. 3, 21, 23, 30 and 38. Although a total of 13 participants came from Cyprus and Egypt, it appears that only these 5 had to leave their country for political reasons. Details are given in Appendices 8 and 9.

<sup>177</sup> G. Kanarakis, Greek Voices in Australia, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1987, p. 2.

reasons for which Australia became the preferred destination, saying that it offered a peaceful, democratic and socioeconomically secure environment<sup>178</sup>. In many respects this was partly false, because a great deal of the information supplied to prospective migrants was misleading. Such unwarranted propaganda created serious problems and hardship for many migrants, including several of the respondents<sup>179</sup>. According to Tsoukalas, while the propaganda in Greece was promoted by immigration officials, in England the Immigration Department made available lecturers, films and personnel to give precise information and to answer questions from people interested in migrating to Australia<sup>180</sup>. Referring to the reasons for the migration of the Greeks, Tsoukalas said that the spiritual affiliation and close relationships of migrants with friends and relatives in Australia have always played an important role in facilitating the decision to follow in the steps of relatives who migrated before them. This has been the case with at least seven of the participants<sup>181</sup>.

Four of the participants who left Egypt (Nos. 2, 23, 30 and 42), tried first to settle in Greece, but were disappointed because the country they loved and had hoped would give them some support during periods of personal crisis failed to offer them the assistance and hospitality they needed. Feeling foreigners in the country with which they had always identified, they placed their hopes on Australia, where they found peace and security, but many of them faced racist and unfriendly attitudes<sup>182</sup>. For most migrants, Australia was an unknown destination and this was also the case with almost half of the respondents<sup>183</sup>.

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<sup>178</sup> Thompson, *op. cit.* p. ix.

<sup>179</sup> For example, No. 1 relied entirely on published information for the prospects of an agricultural career in Australia and he never tried to verify such information. Soon after his arrival, he realised that only very little of what he had learned about the country reflected the real situation. On the other hand, No. 6 said 'Our house in Athens had become like a transit centre for friends and relatives leaving for Australia. These people helped me learn in advance the problems I was to face as a migrant in Australia.' See also Appendix 12.

<sup>180</sup> C. Tsoukalas, 'Stubborn Stereotypes: National Identity, Character and Behavioural Patterns in Greece and in Diaspora', in *Greeks in English Speaking Countries*, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne 1993, p. 209.

<sup>181</sup> Tsoukalas, *loc. cit.*  
Such associations were of valuable assistance only to a small number of the participants. Nos. 6, 10 and 21 found comfort in the warm welcome by friends and Nos. 7, 9, 18, 38 and 41 joined their parents or relatives who had migrated to Australia before them.

<sup>182</sup> No. 2 said, 'When the political situation in Egypt became difficult, and I went to Greece which was also in political turmoil, no one could offer me any assistance to get established. My only hope then was Australia.' See also, Bottomley, 'From Another Place', *op. cit.*, pp. 26-54.

<sup>183</sup> Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 34, 35, 42 and 45. No 20 said 'I had absolutely no reason to leave Greece but only the desire to go to the unknown. I was probably guided by the adventurous nature of my Greek character. The distant land of Australia appealed to me and I decided to go.'

If one attempts to examine critically the issue of migration of Greek professionals to Australia, it is difficult to determine the actual reasons which made the participants migrate to an unknown country and, most significantly, without any meaningful preparation. This view is supported by the fact that most of them had very limited information on the socioeconomic and employment conditions in Australia and, more significantly, several could hardly speak any English. Despite this, they relied heavily on the security provided to them by their qualifications and their determination to overcome any unexpected problems. Unfortunately, for some of them, their qualifications proved to be a false security<sup>184</sup>.

An important advantage enjoyed by the Greek professionals over unskilled Greek migrants, which played a role in making their decision to migrate, was the relative experience they had developed in city life and on matters pertaining to Government administration. This important aspect helped them to move more skilfully in the new society and to deal more effectively with the bureaucrats, as compared with other migrants. While this might have been the case, evidence from their statements and information published elsewhere, indicates that Australia held many surprises and disappointments for every migrant<sup>185</sup>.

All participants were hoping to secure employment appropriate to their qualifications, but at least one quarter of them provided unskilled labour for an appreciable period of time. In order to extricate themselves from this situation, the professional men and women, like many unskilled migrants, worked hard before achieving economic independence, professional status and security for themselves and their families<sup>186</sup>.

Having relied for their future on the value of their qualifications and experience, the professionals were eager to use their skills productively, but several of them were confronted with problems of adaptation, racism and recognition of their qualifications. For those who were

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<sup>184</sup> Nos. 16, 19, 23, 25, 30 and 36.

The only information No 1 had about Australia was from popular articles and the Immigration Department, and because he was so impressed by the description of the country, he did not try to verify the information. No. 5 visited Australia to investigate the conditions for establishing a medical practice, and after a superficial examination and without a knowledge of English, he decided to stay permanently.

<sup>185</sup> No. 17 said 'My father was Professor at the University of Athens and my family was well established in Greece. This gave me the ability to overcome minor problems in Australian society and pursue my career.' No. 8 said 'I knew relatively little about Australia, but I had a lot of experience as a correspondent and in dealing with people in Athenian society, and I was never concerned about any social problems in Australia.' See also, M. Catani, 'Changing One's Country, Means Changing One's Flag', in *Living in Two Cultures*, Unesco Press, Gower, Conf. 801/15 April 1978, and Greek-Australian Conference, 1987 op. cit. pp. 29,30.

<sup>186</sup> R. T. Appleyard and A. Amera, 'The Education of Migrant Children in Australia: A Parent's View', *International Migration*, Vol. 16, 3/4, 1978.  
Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 16, 18, 23, 25, 30, 34 and 41 worked for a period as unskilled workers.

determined to re-establish their professional status, success was achieved by acquiring additional qualifications. For the five respondents who migrated mainly for sociopolitical reasons, (Nos. 6, 13, 17, 19 and 25), Australia offered them political freedom and social stability.

The decision of Greeks to migrate and pursue a career in Australia required the necessary ability to endure the multitude of socioeconomic pressures in the new environment. Some of them were unable to do so, and this was responsible for forcing 28% of the 1947 - 1979 settlers to return to Greece<sup>187</sup>. There is only anecdotal information collected from participants, of a few professional migrants who found the various pressures unacceptable and decided to return home.

In the early stages of postwar migration (1950's and 1960's), many of the newly arrived migrants found the need to seek assistance from community groups and the Church, but there is no evidence available to suggest that at any time any of the respondents depended on community assistance or social welfare<sup>188</sup>.

In an attempt to obtain a better appreciation of the circumstances under which the participants decided to leave Greece for Australia, and of their expectations of their recipient society, the analysis which follows has been carried out on the basis of interviews of individual participants in their professional groups.

The six teachers ranged in age from 24 to 57 years (M=37). Two of them (Nos 6 and 13) left Greece for sociopolitical reasons, looking forward to the Australian social environment for the security it could provide them for their professional future; in their case, their expectations have been largely fulfilled<sup>189</sup>.

The two teachers from Cyprus (Nos. 3 and 21), and one from Egypt (No. 23), were already traumatised by having to forcibly leave their homes, due to the Turkish invasion of the island, and despite the discriminatory and employment problems they encountered during their early years in Australia, they managed to overcome them and did not regret their decisions to migrate<sup>190</sup>. The other three teachers (Nos 6, 11 and 13) migrated from Greece and were also satisfied with their life and professional successes in Australia. All of them retained strong memories of the places they had left behind and

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<sup>187</sup> Price, *Australian Immigration, A Biography and Digest* No. 4, op. cit. p. A25.

<sup>188</sup> J. Zubricki, 'Greek Migrants in Australia: A Demographic Study', *Migration*, Vol 1, No. 2, 1961. A most impressive example of this is the female participant No. 41 who remained independent by working in two unskilled jobs every day in order to support herself and her studies.

<sup>189</sup> In relation to this point, see also Appleyard, 'The Greeks in Australia: A New Diasporic Hellenism', op. cit. p. 374.

<sup>190</sup> Bottomley, *After the Odyssey: A Study of Greek Australians*, op. cit. p. 12, has described the plight of these people.

this is indicated by the close ties they have maintained with friends and relatives and their frequent visits to their homeland<sup>191</sup>.

All the teachers came from middle-class society, were experienced in professional work and social life and maintained their confidence, even during critical periods in Australia<sup>192</sup>. In their statements, the teachers expressed their desire to teach in Australia, because this was their principal aim when they decided to migrate<sup>193</sup>. While the socioeconomic background between individual teachers was similar, there were differences in age and level of education, with Nos. 13 and 23 being more highly qualified than the others. Such differences did not influence in any way their decision to migrate or the manner in which they dealt with their social and professional problems in Australia, which concerned adaptation, recognition of qualifications and the immediate need for a place in the workforce. Perhaps, the 57 year old (No. 13) who was approaching retirement age, may have had greater difficulty in obtaining work. In general, it is difficult to identify any effect that differences in age might have had on their careers or living standard in Australia. An important aspect is that the employment conditions in Australia for all participant teachers, have been less favourable than those in Greece before they migrated.

None of the teachers had any reliable or authentic knowledge of the conditions regarding their employment in Australia, and only No. 21 was fortunate enough to be employed by the government. It is interesting to note that he had been advised by the immigration authorities in Cyprus that it would have been almost impossible for him to be appointed by the public education system in Australia. This information did not influence his decision to migrate and, despite the various obstacles placed before him, he managed to gain a government appointment within his first two years in Australia. It is important to note that five of the six teachers could speak English and this helped them make their decision to migrate, because they were aware of the importance of competence in the English language in terms of their professional establishment in Australia<sup>194</sup>.

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<sup>191</sup> No. 6 said 'For the first few years in Australia, I was preoccupied with my day-to-day family problems, but there was always a vacuum in my heart for having left home. With the years, the memories started becoming a nightmare and when I met my father a few years later, I could not stop crying. He could not understand why.'

<sup>192</sup> No. 23 said 'I was rejected by the Department of Education, but I never lost hope and continued trying and studying.'

<sup>193</sup> No. 3 said 'I migrated to Australia with the hope of continuing to teach, because I love the profession, to which I have devoted 17 years of my life.'

No. 6 said 'My main worry, when I was deciding to migrate, was that I had not completed my studies. Australia gave me the opportunity to satisfy my ambition.'

<sup>194</sup> Appleyard and Amera, op. cit. p. 105-121 have praised the upward social and professional mobility of Greek migrants and their ability of establishing themselves in a new society even with a limited command of the English language. As a consequence, the prospects for a more promising career for those who could speak the language was considered to be good.

Teacher No. 3 was most apprehensive about his decision to migrate at the age of 39 years, because he feared the negative implications this might have on his prospects for employment. Despite this, he managed to achieve professional recognition within the Greek community. The three female teachers (Nos 6, 11 and 23) who decided to migrate at ages ranging from 24 to 33 years, were as determined to achieve their goals as their male counterparts. They did so with a success similar to that of the men, despite the fact that No. 6 could not speak any English at the time of her arrival. Special mention should be made of No. 13, who decided to come to Australia at the age of 57. He was a well qualified educator in primary and secondary teaching in Greece and in other countries. He intended to be involved in the Greek community school education in Australia, but various conditions forced him to redirect his activities to the private teaching sector of Australian-born Greeks<sup>195</sup>.

In general, the teachers migrated with the hope of teaching in Greek or English schools, but only No. 21 was appointed by the Department of Education. Although the expectations of the others were not fulfilled according to their desires, they nevertheless managed to establish their careers within the Greek schooling system. Their feelings for their decision to migrate were mixed but they did not regret coming to Australia.

The group of ten lecturers, who participated in the survey, includes individuals who at their arrival ranged in age from 22 to 37 years (M=27). Seven of them came from Greece and three from Cyprus (See Appendices 7, 8 and 9). Two of the lecturers (Nos 4 and 22) were appointed by invitation to two Australian Universities, a process which secured them employment in advance of their arrival and facilitated their decision to migrate. For them, their professional and social life revolved around their academic pursuits and they never regretted their decision to migrate.

No. 4 had already spent ten years studying in England, and instead of returning to Greece, decided to test his academic abilities in Australia. No. 22, had also experienced the favourable employment conditions for academics outside Greece and, without much hesitation, accepted the position he was offered in Australia<sup>196</sup>. Several years have passed since the two lecturers migrated and they are both satisfied with the social and working conditions and their

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<sup>195</sup> Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', *op. cit.* p. 59 and Tamis, 'Greek Language and Culture', have dealt with the needs of Australian-born Greeks.

<sup>196</sup> No. 22 said 'I lectured for ten years at the University of Athens and as a visiting professor in America and England and waited for the opportunity to work in another university outside Greece.' No. 4 said 'After ten years in England I wanted to go somewhere else, but I was not sure where. I am pleased I accepted the position in Australia.'

achievements in Australia. All lecturers came from middle-class society and from different parts of Greece and Cyprus, and the reasons for their migration varied with almost every participant.

The two respondents from Cyprus (Nos 37 and 38), went first to Greece where they studied at the University of Athens, and after a period of employment there or in Cyprus, decided to migrate to Australia<sup>197</sup>. They both lived in areas of Cyprus which were later occupied by the Turks. The third Cypriot (No. 34) was also from the occupied area, and completely dismayed with the devastation of his home, decided to migrate directly to Australia. All three improved their qualifications, attained academic positions and settled happily in Australia. Their young age helped them to settle in this country and to achieve their goals.

The other five lecturers (Nos 1, 15, 18, 33 and 41) came from Greece, they were on average older than the previous five, were willing to change their social and professional environment and undertake further studies for the challenge of an academic career in Australia<sup>198</sup>.

About 50% of all the lecturers had only a vague understanding of the socioeconomic conditions in Australia, and these would not have justified their decision to migrate. Despite this, they all considered Australia as a suitable place to which to migrate, and their decision was ultimately justified by their professional and social success<sup>199</sup>. To all of them, fluency in the English language was of fundamental importance to their future success, and most of them had a good command of the language. Only the three women, Nos 18, 38 and 41, could not speak English well, but they learnt the language within a short period of time, and at least two of them achieved high academic qualifications. Four of the lecturers (Nos 1, 4, 15 and 22) lived in Athens before migrating and belonged to the upper-middle class. All the others came from smaller places in Greece or Cyprus. They were all familiar with city social life and had a good appreciation of government bureaucracy<sup>200</sup>.

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<sup>197</sup> No. 37 said 'I was disappointed with unfulfilled promises at the University of Athens and decided to come to Australia where I was able to further my studies.'

<sup>198</sup> No. 1 said 'The possibilities for upward professional mobility in the Greek public service were limited and the same applied to the acquisition of higher degrees due to unavailability of funds for research. At the same time, I was fascinated by the unexplored wealth of Australia.' See also Isaacs, *Greek Children in Sydney*, op. cit. p. 28.

<sup>199</sup> No. 15 was teaching in Europe and was not satisfied with the conditions there. Nos 18, 33, 37, 38 and 41 came to Australia to upgrade their qualifications and stayed permanently because they were impressed by the social and academic conditions.

<sup>200</sup> No. 18 was born in a small village of Macedonia but she lived and completed her secondary education in cities and spent the years of her tertiary education in Athens. A similar story also applies to No. 41, who came from a village in the mainland.

While the decision to migrate by most lecturers was made in haste and without sufficient preparation with regard to language and knowledge of Australian conditions, the speed at which all of them, independently of age and gender managed to adapt to the new society, overcome personal weaknesses, especially in terms of proficiency in the language, and secure an academic position, is most remarkable<sup>201</sup>. These achievements in turn, justified in their own minds their decision to migrate<sup>202</sup>.

By comparing the groups of teachers and lecturers, regarding the reasons for their decisions to migrate, it becomes evident that it was mainly their desire to change environment and challenge their professional capabilities in a foreign society. Despite their general unpreparedness for such a daring exodus to the unknown, the lecturers achieved their goals, much more successfully than the teachers. The women in both groups, were socially and professionally as ambitious as the men and, as a rule, their achievements and personal motives for leaving their homes were no different to those of the men.

The doctors and dentists represent another important group of migrants who at their arrival averaged 31 and 26 years of age respectively. They were all practising in Greece, and although the reasons for migration varied with each individual, the principal idea behind their decision was the desire to experience the excitement of living and working in a society vastly different from their own<sup>203</sup>. None of the medical practitioners migrated for political or economic reasons, which have been the main motivating forces for most unskilled migrants; nevertheless, they detested the political instability and corruption in Greece, with its unsavoury consequences and unpredictable future, and it is most surprising that none of them had sufficiently reliable information about the socioeconomic conditions and general requirements and regulations for practicing medicine in Australia. Only two of them could speak some English.

Two of the doctors (Nos 5 and 9) visited Australia with the intention of assessing the local conditions and both of them stayed permanently. No. 9 considered it advisable to enrol and repeat the medical course in Australia while No. 5 concentrated more on to his financial position

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<sup>201</sup> No. 4 said 'I knew nothing about Australia until the time I was offered a position at the University. Australia appealed to me but the long distance from Greece was frightening, and I rushed back for a visit.' No. 18 said 'I tested my abilities to the limit, in an attempt to overcome various problems and achieve my goals. My plan was to return to Greece but I liked Australia and especially the possibility that I could make some contribution to Greek identity.'

<sup>202</sup> No. 1 said 'After 38 years in Australia, I can now look back with satisfaction at my decision to migrate and for what I have achieved through the years. At the same time, I am overwhelmed by a feeling of emptiness for having left behind the memories of 27 years.'

<sup>203</sup> The sentiments and ambitions of most practitioners have been expressed in the words spoken by No. 5 who said that 'I wanted to prove to myself that I was in a position to re-establish my social life and professional career in a society I knew nothing about.'



in relation to the Greek community in Sydney. The other four practitioners, in addition to their own personal ambitions, were also persuaded by their partners to migrate, because Nos 39 and 43 had married Australian-born women and Nos 14 and 32 had husbands with professional interests in Australia.

To all medical practitioners, Australia was an unknown destination socially and professionally and the most extraordinary aspect was that their knowledge of English ranged from very poor to medium<sup>204</sup>. This serious deficiency was somewhat compensated for by the fact that the bulk of their clientele were Greek migrants. Today, more than 30 years later, life in Australia for most of them has been rewarding, and none of them has regretted their decision to migrate<sup>205</sup>. All medical practitioners came from well-established families in Greece, had social experience and deep feelings of nostalgia for the old country<sup>206</sup>. The general impression given by the medical practitioners, regarding their reasons for migration, is that they were motivated to a great extent by the challenge presented to them by the unknown but also by the impression of an actively developing and prosperous Australian society. Some of them found it more difficult to adapt than others<sup>207</sup>.

At their arrival, the five participating engineers (Nos 10, 19, 25, 27 and 42), had an average age of 30 years (24-36 years), and represented a variety of engineering fields. Of the five, only No. 27 was fluent in English, while the others could speak little or no English at all. The main reason for their decision to migrate was the unpleasant sociopolitical situation in Greece which had started affecting their morale and professional futures.

Among the five engineers, only No. 42 found permanent employment in a technical engineering field, whereas the others had to direct their interests to alternative occupations. The failure to achieve professional status in their special fields was largely due to difficulties for migrants with foreign qualifications to enter the well protected engineering profession with its own culture and

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<sup>204</sup> For most of them, social and professional life was difficult with only a little command of English. The report 'A Decade of Migrant Settlement', clearly states that the knowledge of English is a priority for any professional migrant. See also DMS, Report on the 1973 Immigration Survey, AGPS, Canberra, 1976.

<sup>205</sup> No. 14 who has been in Australia for about 35 years, said 'I am pleased that I have established my family and a circle of friends in Australia and I can visit Greece whenever I feel the need to again see my other friends and relatives.'

<sup>206</sup> No. 43 is one of many who have maintained close ties with Greece and for several years he found it difficult to settle in Australia. He comes from a family with an historic past, which played an important role in the First World War.

<sup>207</sup> This comment applies to a large number of participants, but more so to doctor No. 5 who migrated at 36 years and even today, 40 years later, is overwhelmed by the desire to pay frequent visits to Greece.

regulations<sup>208</sup>, and this caused various degrees of disappointment regarding their decision to migrate. At the time of their migration, Australia was an almost completely unknown country to them, and the main information they had concerned the favourable socioeconomic conditions and political freedom that existed in a society based on moralistic principles and which could promise them a better future.

No. 19 was motivated by reasons of political insecurity in Greece and, ignoring the importance of language, he decided to migrate to Australia at 36 years of age<sup>209</sup>. His decision was unfortunate because he had to give up his profession in Greece and resorted to a less skilled occupation, which nevertheless allowed him to live a comfortable life in a politically free society. In contrast to him, the engineer-architect No. 10, decided to leave Greece at 28 years of age, because he found it difficult to accept the level of corruption that had started penetrating certain areas of his profession. He could speak English and was socially and financially comfortable in Greece, but he was concerned about his future, due to the sensitive sociopolitical environment that existed at that time in the country. Before deciding to migrate, No. 10 considered the limited information he had received from some friends who had migrated before him, and he is now satisfied with his professional achievements in Australia.

The vast difference in the performance between the two engineers, No. 19 and No. 10, with the latter becoming professionally successful, can be attributed to a combination of factors: his ability to speak English; having a more daring and assertive personality; his younger age; and possessing entrepreneurial acumen<sup>210</sup>.

Engineer No. 27 came to Australia from England, hoping to work in his special engineering field, but his expectations were ruined by the narrow mindedness of certain employers, as he himself indicated. His rejection prompted him to diverge into private business which, with time, became financially successful and justified his decision to migrate. His professional success, together with a socially comfortable life, made him settle permanently in Australia.

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<sup>208</sup> L. Howthorn, 'Labour and Market Barriers for Migrant Engineers in Australia', Bureau of Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1994. Reported in Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research Bulletin, Issue 14, August 1995, pp. 38-40. Further details are given in Chapter 4, pp. 98-101.

<sup>209</sup> No. 19 who had experienced political pressures in Greece, said 'My future was in jeopardy and I found it difficult to make the decision to migrate at the age of 36 years and after 15 years of architectural practice in Athens. My biggest problem was that I could not speak English.'

<sup>210</sup> The conditions in Greece disappointed No. 10 who was involving himself in engineering projects and he felt the need to move somewhere else to use his activity and professional experience 'Australia fulfilled my dreams'. Further details are given in Chapter 4.

With somewhat different reasons for migration to the previous three engineers, No. 42 was a well-experienced technical engineer in fitting and drafting, who grew up in Egypt and went to Greece where he continued with his studies and professional work. He was convinced by the literature he had read that Australia would be a better place for his professional development than Greece, and without any further inquiries he decided to migrate. Within a few months of his arrival, No. 42 found secure employment which he kept for about 30 years. The sociopolitical situation in Egypt in 1964 had become extremely difficult for foreigners, despite the fact that he was born there, and he decided to go first to Greece, where he felt professionally insecure.

The most unfortunate of all engineers has been No. 25, who was socially and professionally well established in Greece before migrating to Australia. He decided to stay in Australia after a short visit as a tourist, but could not speak any English, knew nothing about Australia and, more importantly he did not make any inquiries about his professional future as a migrant<sup>211</sup>. Every attempt to work as a surveyor-engineer in the Australian building industry failed and this filled him with disappointment and regret. He came to the realisation that his decision to migrate without any careful assessment of the employment situation, and his lack of emphasis on the importance of fluency in the English language, were the two most crucial factors which were responsible for his professional demise.

With the exception of Nos 19 and 25, who at the time of their arrival in Australia were 36 and 33 years old respectively and unable to speak English, the other engineers were younger men and eagerly looked forward to a creative life in Australia. They were all middle-class with professional experience, but almost every one of them made the important decision to migrate without careful consideration of the problems they could encounter in Australia. Today, some 20 years later, the two older members, Nos 19 and 25, continue to live with the disappointment of being responsible for a decision which ruined their lives as professionals. Despite this, they are both appreciative of the fact that they were able to bring up their families in a peaceful and pleasant environment.

The four science graduates, who took part in the study include an agriculturalist (No. 16), a physicist (No. 20), a veterinarian (No. 30) and a climatologist (No. 36), all of whom were professionally established before migrating to Australia<sup>212</sup>. No. 16 had already worked for seven years in Greece,

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<sup>211</sup> No. 25 said 'I migrated to Australia dreaming of an exciting and better future. I was 33 years old, with only very basic English and not conversant with the new techniques used by Australian surveyors. It took me about three years to realise that the decision I had made to migrate was a complete mistake. By that time, it was too late for me to return to Greece.'

<sup>212</sup> There were also another three participants (Nos 1, 18 and 23) with science degrees who have been classified under different professions due to the type of their work in Australia. Their views from this dual classification, make additional contributions to the comments in the overall study.

when he decided to follow his Australian born wife to Australia. He had heard of the extensive agricultural industries in the country and was confident that he would be able to practise his profession. His future in Greece was guaranteed, but the excitement of a new life in a country he knew nothing about, combined with some persuasion from his spouse influenced his decision. Unfortunately, without any knowledge of English or any appreciation of the social and employment conditions in the country, his future was less secure. It should be mentioned that in addition to some discrimination at the workplace and while he was trying to overcome his problems, he suffered several personal and family misfortunes which prevented him from continuing with the university studies he had already started. As a result, completely demoralised, he has regretted his decision to migrate<sup>213</sup>.

No. 20 was a graduate in physics, who decided to migrate to Australia at the age of 38 years. He had lived and lectured for 14 years in Athens where he had also established a successful private business. His decision to migrate to Australia was simply a desire to live for a few years away from Greece and for this reason he wanted to go to another country, where he could experience the excitement of re-establishing his career<sup>214</sup>. He now realises that while Australia offered him some financial security, life was completely different in Greece. As a consequence, the quality of his social life has suffered. For this reason, and for the love he has maintained for the old country, the thought of returning to Greece has always been in his mind<sup>215</sup>.

Completely disappointed with his decision to come to Australia was No. 30 who grew up and was educated in Egypt from where he went to Greece, and finally decided to migrate to Australia, hoping to find social and professional satisfaction. His migrant life was tormented by a desperately unsuccessful struggle for professional recognition, but he had no intention of returning home to Egypt. Despite his disappointments, he accepted the status quo in Australia and tried to adapt to the ways dictated by the new society.

In his case, neither his veterinary qualifications nor his knowledge of English or his youth were sufficient to secure some professional status, which would have justified his decision to come to Australia, where he has now been relegated to the category of an unskilled worker.

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<sup>213</sup> In Greece, he was a career professional with good prospects for development. In Australia, the sickness of his child compounded by a heart condition ruined any prospects of fulfilment of his dreams as a migrant.

<sup>214</sup> Purely motivated by his desire of the excitement of re-establishing himself in a completely unknown country, No. 20 sacrificed a promising career and an established social life by migrating to Australia.

<sup>215</sup> No. 20 said 'My first impressions of Australia as a beautiful country are still in my memory, but I now realise how hard life was going to be and that the notion of equal opportunities is not entirely true.'

The last in the group of scientists is No. 36 who came to Australia at the age of 32 years as a graduate in physics and climatology, and after several years of an active career working around the world, he decided to return to Australia at the age of 55 years. He thought there would still be time for him to re-establish his professional career in this country, where he also wanted to retire. Unfortunately, his age had become an obstacle to his employment, but it was now too late for him to reverse his decision and return to work in Greece<sup>216</sup>.

All of the science graduates, migrated with high hopes for a better career, but none of them was satisfied with their lives in Australia, the place they believed to be the country of many opportunities. The principal reason for their failure in their professional fields, has been the rejection of their qualifications by the Australian authorities or employers. Of the three dually classified participants, Nos 1 and 18 who are both in the group of lecturers, were professionally successful and never regretted their decision to migrate. No. 23 failed to be appointed as a science teacher and she now lives with the deep concern of having wasted 17 years of experience and study.

The six participating priests have all been in charge of parishes in the Sydney area. Five of them (Nos 12, 24, 28, 31 and 45) came from Greece and represent the typical, traditional 'Greek priest', whereas No. 44, was born in Australia, became educated in Greece and returned to serve the Orthodox Church in Australia.

The priests are a special group of migrants, as they have all played a central role in the private lives of most Greek migrants and in the religious orientation of the Greek communities in Australia. Their decision to migrate has been encouraged and supported by the Archdiocese in Australia, which at the same time guaranteed them employment<sup>217</sup>.

For the Greeks, Orthodoxy and ethnicity are closely intertwined, and the principal duty of the priests in Australia has been to promote the sense of Christian faith, ethnic identity and sentiments of humanity among Greek migrants and their families. These have been the main reasons which motivated the priests to migrate to Australia. It could be said that, the priests constitute a homogenous group of migrants with many common characteristics among themselves. This is the case with regard to their education and training and the performance of

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<sup>216</sup> No. 36 became a highly qualified scientist who worked around the world and, when he returned at the age of 55, he realised that he was unemployable. 'Now I have no other option but to stay in Australia.'

<sup>217</sup> Priest No. 12 accepted an invitation by Archbishop Ezekiel to migrate to Australia. No 24 was offered a position in Perth and he was then transferred to Sydney. Before that, he worked for 11 years as a priest on the Island of Crete, No. 28 was invited by the Archbishop of Australia at 35 years of age, and No. 44, was born in Australia and after studying theology in Australia and Greece, was appointed as a priest in Australia

their duties. Their decision to serve the Greek migrant community in Australia, where they themselves were migrants and had to go through the same stages of adaptation, is an indication of the conviction with which they made the decision to offer their spiritual help to the thousands of Greeks who have tried to rebuild their lives in a new society. The recruitment of priests to serve in Australia has been the responsibility of the Archdiocese, but the decision of each individual to migrate was entirely a personal matter.

The five Greek-born priests (Nos 12, 24, 28, 31 and 45), came from various parts of Greece, their age ranged from 24 to 52 years, they knew very little about Australia and none of them could speak English. They represent the traditional type of Greek priest, except for priest No. 44 who grew up in Australia, and most probably represents the model of future priests of the Orthodox Church in Australia<sup>218</sup>. While as a general rule, the priests have been personally invited to fill vacant positions in Australia, priest No. 28 came at his own request, and No. 31 migrated independently of the Archdiocese, wishing to join his brother who was in Australia. In terms of age, he was by far the oldest priest in the group (52 years) which contributed to his difficulties in settling in Australia and securing permanent employment.

By virtue of their occupation, the Greek priests are spiritually, emotionally and socially involved with the personal lives of their migrant parishioners, most of whom have adapted their attitudes to the customs of the Australian society to which they now belong. This change in behaviour, created communication problems with the majority of the priests, who came to Australia at the average age of 33 years and whose behavioural pattern was already based on Greek customs from their homeland<sup>219</sup>.

The special nature of the priests' duties, as representatives of the Orthodox religion, places them in a unique position of authority and moral responsibility towards their parishioners. According to the participant priests, they have managed to fulfil their obligations to the satisfaction of their people and to the requirements of their administration. The lack of English, at least during the first few years of their residence in Australia, did not in any way affect the discharging of their

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<sup>218</sup> This view has been expressed by several members of the clergy who realise that the future of the Church in Australia will depend upon the response shown by the Australian born Greeks to the teachings of the Orthodox religion. That message can more effectively be given by Australian born priests. See also Appendices 7, 8 and 9 which provide identification details for each participants.

<sup>219</sup> No. 12 admitted that it took him a few years before he could fully appreciate the thinking and attitudes of his parishioners who had lived in Australia. For the priests, it was a matter of re-adaptation to the changed attitudes of the migrants and to their new and more demanding duties.

duties, although it created difficulties in other areas of communication<sup>220</sup>. According to priest No. 24, the language is most essential because there is an increasing need to present the liturgy in English, and to deal with the requirements of Australian-born Greeks and couples of mixed marriages. As a general comment, the priests migrated of their own volition and have shown a remarkable ability to overcome their personal adaptation problems as migrants, and to respond most effectively to the spiritual requirements of the migrant community. They have all indicated their satisfaction with their lives in Australia and none of them has regretted their decision to migrate.

The three accountants who ranged in age between 23 and 29 years, represent a group of professional migrants, who came to Australia almost completely unprepared to face the social and professional problems they were to encounter, as they became part of a new and fundamentally different society. Two of them (Nos 26 and 35) followed their partners to Australia, and the third (No. 2), who was from Egypt, went first to Greece, hoping to re-establish himself there. Unfortunately, he did not find professional satisfaction in Greece or in Australia, despite his professional experience and knowledge of English, but staying in Australia was his only option<sup>221</sup>.

No. 26 who was 29 years old at the time of his migration, had been an accountant in Athens for about seven years, and without any social or financial pressures he decided to follow his Australian-born wife to Australia. He could speak no English and had no appreciation of the local conditions and regulations associated with his profession. Only after he had migrated to Australia did he realise that he had no alternative but to change his occupation. He did so successfully, and eventually became a professionally productive member of the Australian society<sup>222</sup>.

At the time when No. 35 at the age of 23 years was starting with her career in Greece, she was persuaded by her husband to move for a few years to Australia, where he had been offered employment. She was young and energetic, but could not speak English and knew nothing about

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<sup>220</sup> No. 24 said 'It was most impressive how well the parents and their Australian born children could speak Greek. The children could even organise their meetings in Greek and this made it easier for me to communicate with them, but this convenient arrangement did not help me learn English as quickly as I had wanted.'

<sup>221</sup> Disappointed at being unable to find reasonable employment for an appreciable period of time, he regretted his decision to migrate. He thought that Greece could have offered him better opportunities if he had not been so anxious to come to Australia. For political reasons, his return to Egypt was not possible.

<sup>222</sup> 'I was not expecting to face the multitude of problems I came against in Australia but, I had made up my mind to migrate without any coercion and was not prepared to give up without fighting against the adversities.'

Australia. As a result, life became difficult and monotonous and she felt deeply the problem of isolation in a foreign society. In the first few years and up to the age of 27, she struggled to overcome personal problems and adapt to the new society, in which she finally became a permanent member. No. 35 is a vivid example of a young professional migrant who, completely unprepared, planned to use Australia only as a temporary stop in her life, but instead it became home. Now 33 years later, fully adapted to the new society, she has no regrets for having left Greece, but she feels the need to revisit the old country every few years, to revitalise her sentiments for the place and the people she left behind<sup>223</sup>.

Bearing in mind the reasons for which the three accountants decided to migrate and the way they conducted their lives in Australia, it can be said that they all arrived in this country unaware of the problems they were to face during the different phases of adaptation to the new society. Nonetheless, the disappointments of the first few years were followed by their successful struggle to justify their decision to migrate and to secure a comfortable stay in Australia for themselves and their families. An important admission made by all three accountants who were forced by the circumstances in Australia to change professional direction, was that their young age gave them the courage and energy to stay in this country and rebuild their lives.

The migrants in the social science and law disciplines are professionals who, according to the lawyer (No. 8) faced difficulties in transferring from one social system to another. If one takes this statement into consideration, it becomes apparent that the decision of the three members in this group to migrate to Australia was daring and shows their confidence in their professional skills and determination to readjust their lives to the whims of a different society. All three (Nos 8, 17 and 40), range in age from 25 to 52 years, came from the upper-middle social class and could speak English well. Their decisions to migrate were made without any social, financial or political pressures, but only as a matter of preference for living and working in a new, affluent and fast developing society.

The lawyer (No. 8) was 35 years old at the time he decided to migrate to Australia, and despite the vast differences that existed between the legal systems of Australia and Greece, managed to establish himself and continued practising his profession for about 50 years<sup>224</sup>. When he came to

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<sup>223</sup> 'My initial decision was to live in Australia for only a few years but, I soon realised that Australia was offering me more opportunities to develop my intellectual abilities than Greece and decided to stay permanently. After the first few years had passed, it was difficult for me to uproot my children who were still young but happy to live in Australia.'

<sup>224</sup> S. Vryonis, 'Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow', in Greeks in English Speaking Countries, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar, 1992, Hellenic Studies Forum, Melbourne, 1993, p. 15, described the remarkable achievements of migrants like No. 8, as being the result of the adventurous Greek mentality which, combined with an element of entrepreneurial ability, can lead to success.



Australia in 1947, he found only prewar migrants. Greece had just started recovering from the destruction caused by the war, and his decision to migrate, though against his parents' wishes, was made because he predicted that it would take several years before normality would return to Greece. With the confidence of his professional and social experience, No. 8 became successful and after almost 50 years in Australia, recalls with a deep sense of emotion the many interesting legal cases of Greek migrants<sup>225</sup>.

No. 17 was born in Athens and as a social science graduate decided to migrate to Australia at 25 years old. Having studied both in Greece and abroad, and without any social or financial concerns, her decision to migrate was based purely on personal reasons. It was a difficult decision to make because she liked Greece and was the only child in her family<sup>226</sup>. She perceived Australia as being the country where she could develop her liberal ideas, without the fear of restrictions being imposed upon her by conservative Greek governments<sup>227</sup>. Her expectations were satisfied and within a few years, she managed to establish an impressive professional career<sup>228</sup>.

No. 40 was a highly qualified person with extensive diplomatic experience around the world and at the age of 52 years, he decided to return and live in Australia. He made this decision because he had previously experienced the favourable sociopolitical conditions that existed in the country and was confident about his successful future.

Today, the three social scientists are fully satisfied with their lives in Australia where they have been able to make substantial contributions to the Greek and Australian communities. Although at arrival their ages ranged from 25 to 52 years, their age in itself was not of any consequence to their successful professional development in Australia.

After ten years of travelling around the world, the two sea captains (Nos 7 and 29), saw the need to spend a few years on land and chose Australia as a suitable place where they could develop other interests. The hard and dangerous life on the sea and a future without security, brought them to Australia where they settled permanently<sup>229</sup>. They were about 31 years old (see

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<sup>225</sup> No. 8 said 'Greek migrants have been a progressive group but some of them were less credible members in society and came from time to time against the law. Their attitudes changed with time.' Through his social and professional association with Greek migrants, the lawyer had the opportunity to study the vast transformations in their character during the process of adaptation to Australian society.

<sup>226</sup> 'I knew that my departure would have caused a lot of sadness to my parents and, besides my family, I also had a wide circle of friends.'

<sup>227</sup> 'In Greece, I felt restricted in my efforts to pursue my career and that was disappointing and insulting. In Australia, I found the freedom I wanted.'

<sup>228</sup> For her professional achievements, see Chapter 4, p. 105, footnote 403.

Appendices 7 and 8) and knew about Australia from information supplied to them by friends and relatives living in this country. Both could speak English and No. 7, in addition to his naval qualifications, had also been a law student in Athens; he managed to use successfully his education for a new career in Australia. With rather different thoughts about his future in Australia, No. 29 migrated not only to get away from the sea, but also from the political uncertainties in Greece. In the 1960's his family's business in Greece was going through a period of financial crisis, and he tried to find in Australia some solution to his problems. Within a few years, his desire for a financially successful future had been fulfilled. Both participants have maintained close ties with Greece<sup>230</sup>, and through his employment as a librarian, No. 7 is directly involved in the maintenance of Greek identity in Australia by his fellow countrymen<sup>231</sup>.

Considering the main reasons which made each of the 45 participants migrate, it becomes apparent that in contrast to ordinary migrants, who migrated for economic and sometimes political reasons, the professionals left Greece for a variety of reasons, and mainly sociopolitical<sup>232</sup>. Most professionals did not have any long term ambitions for staying in Australia, because they hoped that the general sociopolitical instability in Greece was only temporary and they would be able to return. There were also several of them who migrated with the aim of continuing their studies in Australia and then making a decision about their future. During the first few years of residence in this country, the majority became disillusioned with the problems of social isolation and employment, but some 3 to 4 years later the majority had adapted to the Australian conditions and gained employment. After that, Greece started becoming the place of memories and Australia the country of the future<sup>233</sup>. The problems that

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<sup>229</sup> No. 7 said 'I was continuously on the move and life had become monotonous. I wanted to change profession and with the encouragement of my parents who lived in Australia, I decided to join them and settled in Sydney'. No. 29 said 'I disembarked in Sydney and when I wanted to return to the sea, the unions made it almost impossible for me to do so. Australia was then full of opportunities and I decided to stay permanently.'

<sup>230</sup> No. 29 said 'I pay frequent visits to Greece because I feel the need every few years to renew my memories for the country I love so much.'

<sup>231</sup> No. 7 said 'I derive a lot of satisfaction from my work as a librarian because I can promote the spirit of Greek identity in the minds of Greeks.'

<sup>232</sup> Appleyard, *Australia in Transition: Culture and Life Possibilities*, op. cit. p. 99; Appleyard, 'The Greeks of Australia: A New Diasporic Hellenism', op. cit. pp. 374, 368; Appleyard and Amera, 'The Education of Greek Migrant Children in Australia', op. cit. pp. 105-121; Janiszewski, *Images of Home*, op. cit. p. 10.

<sup>233</sup> Vryonis, 'Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow', op. cit. p. 17, said 'Throughout history, Greek migrants have maintained intense relations with the mother country and a desire to return (nostos) but, with the passage of time, they returned only as visitors.'

many of them faced in Australia, were mostly the result of lack of preparation before migration, in particular their lack of competence in English<sup>234</sup>.

After a careful analysis of the interviews, one can understand the main reasons which influenced the decision of the majority of participants to migrate. This issue becomes rather complex when one takes into consideration, separately or in an interactive form, the social, financial, emotional, professional, political and cultural factors which affected each of them and precipitated the final decision to migrate. In addition to these factors, there is also the age, gender, origin, professional experience, and knowledge of the English language, which had an umbrella effect on their professional interactions and social connections in Australia. Finally, the urge for adventure, in combination with all or some of these factors influenced the final decision of Greek professionals who decided to come to Australia. It can be stated that, there have not been any apparent differences between men and women or between professional groups, with the exception the clergy, regarding the reasons for their decisions to migrate and the way they overcame their problems in Australia. For all of them, Greece remained the place with which they continued to identify, but the large majority of them considers Australia home.

Although every participant acted independently with regard to their decision to migrate to Australia, they all have several features in common, which will now be summarised: Firstly, the participants, with minor exceptions, were professionally established individuals before migrating to Australia. Despite this, they were seriously concerned about the general uncertainties in Greece. As a consequence, they considered Australia as a secure country, where they could develop their professional potential. Secondly, most of them decided to migrate after a minimum of preparation and armed with very little factual knowledge about the Australian society and employment conditions. Thirdly, the majority of the participants saw Australia as a country which could help them to solve their problems. They all loved Greece, and intended to return at some stage. Fourthly, about 80% of the participants could speak very little or practically no English at all. Fifthly, there is no evidence to suggest that their profession, gender or age, as such, had any specific effect on their decision to migrate, although there are indications that the older the participants were, the more difficult it was to establish themselves in Australia and learn English. Sixthly, the ultimate level of success in Australia depended mainly on the personal ability of each individual to overcome the social and professional problems he encountered. Finally, the women appeared to have made their decision to migrate as independent individuals, and proved to be equally capable, and possibly more determined than men, to settle in Australia and achieve their goals.

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<sup>234</sup> S. Castles, 'Australian Multiculturalism', in *Greeks and English Speaking Countries*, Proc. of 1st Intern. Seminar, Hellenic Studies Forum, 1992, Melbourne, March 1993, pp. 185-189, 198, described the problems encountered by migrants as a result of poor English, lack of knowledge of Australian culture and failure to adapt to its society.

In conclusion, the stated reasons for the migration of the participants can be presented below, although it has been difficult to quantify such reasons with absolute precision, in view of the complexity of this issue. The assessment has been based on a critical consideration of the statements made by each participant during their interviews:

58% migrated mainly because of their desire to change their social environment and a challenge to their professional capabilities; 9% migrated for political reasons; 9% migrated for socioeconomic reasons, but without any clear statement that economic pressures played a principle role in their decision; 9% were clergy who decided to relocate themselves, mainly on suggestions made by their administrative body; 15% came from Cyprus and Egypt, showing a preference for Australia after most of them had been to Greece, where the political and professional situation did not suit them. This last group combines a multiplicity of reasons which made them migrate and should remain as a separate category.

By grouping together the social (58%) and political (9%) classifications, because of the very small actual differences as reasons to migrate, it appears that 67% of the participants left Greece without any apparently pressing reasons for making such a decision. It is also interesting to note that none of those in the 9% socioeconomic category clearly stated or were willing to admit that economic reasons alone were responsible for their decision to migrate.