Ethnic Culture and Political Participation

A study of Greeks in Australia 1926 – 1970

by

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This thesis is entirely my own work.

[Signature]

(Original handprint)
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Abstract

This study deals with the political facets of the Greek sub-culture in Australia over the period 1926-1970. Ideas on how far it is legitimate, expedient and possible for Greeks to participate in the Australian political process are identified and linked to assumptions and beliefs about the relationships of equality and of unequal power in which Greeks are involved, and about the importance and consequence of ethnicity as a social identity.

These ideas were traced in the commentary of major ethnic newspapers from the mid 1920's to the mid 1960's. This material was supplemented by conversations with ethnic leaders in the Sydney Greek community, with Greek trade unionists in industries employing large numbers of Greeks and with Greek aldermen in areas of Greek concentration.

Chapter I discusses the conceptual framework for the analysis. Approaches to political participation are characterized according to the priority accorded to demand activity and to the scope of such activity. It is argued that such ideas are shared, patterned and transmitted over time in the ethnic group and can therefore be studied as elements of the ethnic sub-culture. The nature of demand activity is discussed in order to specify the particular beliefs and assumptions which will be identified and traced over time. These beliefs are integrated into models of belief systems constructed with reference to the cultural patterns which have been identified in studies of certain types of peasant communities and of Greek village culture.

Chapter II discusses the methodology of the study.

Chapter III sketches the social conditions which constitute the setting for the development of ideas over the period. The history of the ethnic group is reviewed with reference to the internal structure of the minority, its corporate resources for negotiation with the broader system and Australian attitudes.
towards immigrants. The period was subdivided in the light of major changes in the social context of ideas.

Chapter IV deals with ideas during the period 1926 to 1935. It is shown that the beliefs of this time preclude a participant orientation to the broader political process. In relation to the host society Greeks saw themselves to be powerless and marginal and in relations between themselves to be divided and incapable of making common cause. On the other hand the notion of common interest and belief in the necessity for corporate organization contain the seeds of development towards a participant outlook.

Chapter V shows how, between 1936 and 1950, the idea of common interest was enriched and attached to confidence in the group's collective future in Australia. The minority's integration in the society as an entity communicating with the broader system through corporate structures becomes a collective aspiration. Demand activity, confined mainly to instances of overt discrimination is defined as legitimate and feasible. These ideas develop in the context of the unquestioned assumption that the minority constitutes a distinct, separate and subordinate social entity in the society and that the potential for integration and political efficacy depends on the ability of the group to generate viable corporate structures.

Chapter VI deals with the emergence of a new view of the minority's place in the society in the 1950's. This draws the line between relations of equality and inequality at the boundary of social class. This view, which is articulated by the Greek left, derives the group's rights and potential for effective political activity from the status of post-war Greek immigrants as part of the Australian working class. Radical thinking articulates the right to equality of opportunity and significantly extends the scope for legitimate and effective demand activity. The idea of bonds with Australian collectivities is developed by de-emphasizing ethnicity. In the context of the ideological conflict within the ethnic communities during
this period, the conservative sections in the communities articulated an interpretation of immigrant existence which was designed to counteract leftist ideas. They emphasized the primacy of ethnicity as a social identity and highlighted those facets in the aspirations and life situation of immigrants which are least compatible with political participation.

Chapter VII uses the assessments and experiences of individuals in leadership positions to show how elements in the radical and conservative thinking of the 1950's became incorporated in the common stock of ideas about rights and political efficacy. In the context of widespread acceptance that Greeks are entitled to equality and of a general belief in the potential for collective influence, the knowledge that ethnicity entails social distance and impedes easy access to Australian institutions no longer constitutes an unsuperable obstacle to seeking political solutions to a wide range of needs associated with ethnicity. In the early 1970's Greeks seemed to be at the point where ideas favouring political participation were widespread enough to encourage the integrative mechanisms through which participant ideas could be transformed into the habits of participation.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I</td>
<td>Greek Orientations to Political Participation - the Theoretical Perspective</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II</td>
<td>The Research Design</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>The ethnic press</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td>The leadership study</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III</td>
<td>The Social Context of Ideas 1926-1970</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV</td>
<td>1926-1935 Atomistic Patterns and Corporate Commitments</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>Definition of the situation</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td>Strategies to the good</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER V</td>
<td>Corporate Confidence and the Participant Outlook 1936-1950</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>Old Perspectives reformulated - the Major Newspapers</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td>Alternatives to the central outlook</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VI</td>
<td>Ideological Conflict - Class versus Ethnicity, The 1950's</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>The radical approach</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td>The conservative approach</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VII</td>
<td>The Turn of the 1970's - A Culture at the Crossroads</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>Leaders of ethnic organizations</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part II</td>
<td>Office holders in Australian structures</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I</td>
<td>Naturalization</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Works Cited</td>
<td></td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In Western immigrant-receiving countries thought about ethnic diversity has for long been associated with thought about politics. In the United States, early polemic writing about the handling of immigrants focused particularly on the problem of preserving the character of American democracy. It was largely on the grounds that the alien political traditions of foreign minorities might pervert American democratic institutions that many writers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were apprehensive about cultural diversity. Concern with the quality of American democracy was just as central to the thinking of the first protagonists of pluralism. To Horace Kallen and his followers in the 1920's, it seemed that the real threat to democracy was the Americanization drive, since it negated the democratic right of individuals to be different.

In Australia, too, the political dimension of ethnic identity has been a matter for concern, both in relation to the ideal of homogeneity - so widely adhered to and so rarely challenged till the mid-1960's - and in relation to the recent search for a pluralistic social blueprint. Jean Martin highlighted the political facet of such preoccupations when she wrote:

1. The meaning of pluralism and its political consequences are of course quite different for new nations. It has been argued that it is only to the latter that the term pluralism can properly be applied. M.G. Smith (1960, pp. 763-77) and Despres (1967, pp. 13-29). Nevertheless the term will be used here, in accordance with common usage, to refer to the social policy of allowing or encouraging socio-cultural differentiation on an ethnic basis.

2. Saveth (1948, Ch. VII); also Commons (1907, pp. 1-21 and chapter on politics).

3. This idea is fully explored in S. Cole and M. Cole (1954, Ch. VI and VII). For a discussion of Kallen and other early pluralists see Gordon (1964, Ch. 6).

4. These social objectives are discussed more fully in Chapter III.
Behind much of our past antagonism to migrant group organisation and the cautiousness with which we are at present broaching the possibility of some kind of pluralism is a nervous anxiety that hidden under every migrant group cloak is a political dagger... If they are to play any kind of mature role in a plural society, migrant groups will, I believe, have to be acknowledged as potentially a political force.... Political participation ... is exactly what we recognise as the right of other self-conscious sections of the community.... Migrant communities will have to be recognised as legitimately possessed of the same kind of potential if our pluralism is to be more than a cardboard facade. (1972b, p. 20)

In the United States, the issues raised by the early polemic writers have been translated into research problems by many historians and social scientists in the last twenty years. The Australian literature in this field is very scant. While the reality of ethnic politics gave Americans something observable to study, in Australia those who might have been inclined to do comparable work were probably deterred by the knowledge that theirs would have to be a field of non-events.

Certainly, the political invisibility of immigrants, most particularly those of non-British stock, has been remarkable. In the last three or four years there have been signs of change.

1. The fact that immigrant minorities have not made their presence felt in the political sphere has been documented, in broad lines, in several articles and in sections of studies with a wider, or different focus. Such writings often contain stimulating and profound interpretations of the phenomenon. However, to my knowledge, up to 1975 there had appeared only four major studies specifically designed to throw light on migrant political behaviour: Hearn (1971); Hearn (1974); Kahan (1970); and Wilson (1973).

2. Since the research problem of the present study, which was conducted during the period 1970-73, was not defined with reference to these developments, no attempt has been made to document them. But even on the basis of normal newspaper reading, one can say that immigrants are beginning to acquire some political salience. In the 1975 Federal election campaign both the Liberal and the Labor parties made a more determined attempt to solicit the migrant vote than ever before, as was evident from the general rhetoric, the commitment to tackle distinctive immigrant needs, included in the policy statements of both leaders and the fact that visits to migrant centres and addresses to migrant gatherings became part of the campaign programme. Since then, many advisory committees have been set up at State and Federal
But it is too soon to tell whether ethnicity will become enduringly established as one of the social identities which compel attention in the process of decision-making. Much will depend on whether the patterns of representation which are emerging will crystallize into permanent structures, congruent with the character of ethnic socio-cultural sub-systems. An obvious danger, for example, is that the unique facets of the immigrant experience will continue to remain politically invisible - that the edge will be blunted and the distinctiveness lost by the necessity to translate it in terms meaningful to Anglo-Saxon ears and by the well known process which selects representatives who have the right credentials as "ethnics", but are tenuously rooted in the ethnic society and ill-equipped for empathy with the unassimilated.

At any rate, up to the early 1970's, the distinctive social entity of non-British minorities had failed to find political expression. Everyone who has written on the subject has pointed out that these groups have made no impact on Australian

level to look into specific migrant needs, particularly in the areas of education and welfare. Most importantly, it now seems that non Anglo-Saxons are included in such committees as a matter of course. In all this one can see the beginning of a conscious effort to set up the mechanisms which will enable ethnic groups to make their distinctive experience "forcefully relevant" in the political decision-making experience.

1. The classic analysis of this is contained in Kurt Lewin's essay on Jewish self-hatred. Here the forces which operate within the group to entrust representation to those who have placed the greatest distance between themselves and the strata who need spokesmen are traced to the logic of minority-group status. cf. Lewin (1948, pp. 190-7) It is hoped that some idea of how far the leadership of the Greek minority fits this model will be gained from the present study. It appears, at any rate, that the tendency on the part of the host society to rely on those who are most sophisticated by Anglo-Saxon standards, e.g. ethnic professionals, newspaper editors and general ethnic "establishment" figures, has been criticised, at least from within the Greek community, on the grounds that theirs is a peripheral and semi-outsiders' perspective on problems. (personal communication by M. Tsounis, March 1977)
politics, that they have been grossly under-represented in all areas of the political system where issues are defined and decisions are taken (in local councils, State and Federal parliaments, trade union leadership and political parties) and that they have failed to generate effective pressure groups. What little is known about voting patterns suggests, on the one hand, that the fortunes of the political parties have hardly been affected by the way immigrants vote and, on the other hand, that the groups themselves have not treated their right to vote as an opportunity to draw political attention to needs and interests which flow from ethnicity.

These phenomena have been documented mostly with reference to Italians and Greeks, whose low political salience has been particularly conspicuous in view of their numbers and concentration in certain areas of the social structure. This does not necessarily mean that Southern Europeans have been less inclined than other social groups to seek political solutions to their collective needs. Evidently they have not been effective. But final judgement on their propensity to act politically must be reserved until one knows more about the efforts which they have

1. To quote one of the many observations made on this: "From 1945 to 1970 two million people from overseas arrived to settle in Australia - and remained.... It seems incredible that such a massive movement at the base of Australian politics should not have reshaped its forms, changed its whole tone, and drastically tilted the central balance of political forces struck in the years up to 1945. Yet it is hardly possible to point to a single significant change in Australian politics rooted in migrant ideas, foundations, or even needs." Hearn (1971, p. viii)

2. The earliest systematic documentation of this general picture was given by Jupp (1966, Ch. 3, 5 and 8). Additional information on the way migrants have been represented in the power structures of political parties is given by L.R. Smith (1967) and in a series of articles by Stirling and Patterson published in Age (April, 1971). The first of these is significantly sub-titled "The silent minority". The participation of migrants in trade unions has been studied in depth by Hearn (1974), who also gives information on the representation of migrants in union offices in Victoria. She confirms the general impression of gross under-representation (p. 120). So does Tsounis who surveyed the position for the Greeks at the end of the 1960's (1971, pp. 561-6). A very useful presentation of all available data is given in an article by Storer (1975).
made. Provisionally at any rate, one is justified in looking upon these minorities as groups who have been modally inclined to keep outside the political process. This is the picture so far built up on the basis of such evidence as naturalization, survey material on the distribution of politically relevant attitudes and the insights of those who have had occasion to observe the political behaviour of these groups in the course of research into other facets of their lives.

About the Greeks, with whom the present study deals, both Petrolias, who has described the activities of Greeks in Melbourne, and Tsounis (whose observations carry particular weight since they are derived from many years of research and a lifelong personal involvement in the common affairs of the Greek sub-society) have argued that the ethnic society has provided

1. Greeks as a whole, or sub-groups within the minority, have made several attempts since the beginning of mass immigration to draw attention to their specific needs regarding immigration policies, welfare, employment and education. They have also tried to enlist the help of Australian governments in solving problems which arose from the intra-group Church-Community conflict and have made efforts to influence attitudes and policies on the Cyprus question and towards the Greek military junta. References to such activities will be made in Chapter III. As yet, however, so little is known about these activities - e.g. about where the impetus has come from, how systematically and determinedly they have been pursued or what priority they have been accorded over other means for satisfying needs - that they can hardly serve to characterize the Greek minority in relation to some standard of political participation or passivity.

2. Italians have been consistently characterized as indifferent to Australian politics. Wilson's survey, the most thorough comparative study of Italian, British and Australian political attitudes and behaviour so far, reveals that when it comes to "passive" participation, i.e. interest in politics, "the Italians, relative to the other two groups, show an almost total indifference to Australian politics". On "active" participation, i.e. working for a political party, joining groups for political purposes, etc., Wilson comments: "If the overall picture of active political participation of the British and Australians studied is one of lack of interest, then the situation revealed by Italians can best be described as massive political apathy" (1973, pp. 34, 37 and 46). A case study of a social experiment in integrating Italian farmers in an agricultural extension programme describes Italian political attitudes as follows: "This is your country, you run it. If you just let us work our farms we are grateful. We don't want to interfere and case any trouble" Tully (1962,
a much more meaningful political arena than the system at large. Tsounis has shown that even the Greek left, the most politically outward-looking organized sector of the minority, has tended to give priority to internal community politics.\textsuperscript{1}

This well-known general picture of the political invisibility and reticence of Southern Europeans has been presented here once again in order to emphasize that, whereas in the United States research was bound to focus on the process and manner of ethnic political participation, here the central research problem is participation itself: the major task is to understand the impediments and potential for political activity on an ethnic basis.

In the present study the question is posed for one ethnic group - the Greeks. It is a study of politically relevant belief systems built into the Greek sub-culture over the period 1926 to 1970. Thus, the present study constitutes an attempt to identify the impediments and potential for involvement in the Australian political process inherent in cultural patterns. Evidently the topic, as formulated here, embodies assumptions which must be made explicit and represents an approach which must be placed in theoretical perspective. This, and the framework for the analysis of relevant belief systems, will be discussed in the next chapter. At this stage it is necessary to place the approach adopted in the context of its alternatives in the literature.

\textsuperscript{1} Petrolias, for example, points out that the most important qualification for leadership was commitment to the preservation of ethnic values. Competence in dealing with the outside world, though appreciated, was not considered essential (1959, p. 51). Tsounis consistently characterizes Greeks as inward looking and presents a picture of ethnic organizations as devices to meet common needs by deploying internal resources rather than as structures that have served to channel societal resources to the ethnic group (1971a, Ch. VII and VIII); (1971b); and (1975, pp. 37-64).
In trying to explain the absence of ethnic politics in general, or of Southern European ethnic politics in particular and the apparent withdrawal of such groups from the political process, Australian social scientists have adopted primarily the political opportunities approach. They have argued that there have been no ethnic politics because objective conditions have operated to prevent them and that there has been minimal political involvement by immigrants because the system has operated both to discourage participation and to make it unnecessary.

General system characteristics, such as the tight control exercised by political parties at all levels, compulsory voting or the small number of elected offices and a general anti-pressure group climate have been treated as factors reducing the opportunities of migrants to use their ethnicity politically.  

On a less general level explanations have been sought in the society's formulas for handling ethnic diversity. Jean Martin has shown that the problem of preserving homogeneity without doing fundamental violence to the individual's right to be different has been solved by policies which tolerate ethnic social organization but deny it the chance to operate as a recognized dimension of the broader institutional structure. She has argued that this has left ethnic groups little option but to confine their collective activity to areas which were of no concern to the system at large.  

1. Cf. Medding (1968, p. 273) and Jupp (1966, pp. 91-3). On pressure groups and the difficulties encountered by groups with limited resources in a system where the premium is on influence at Cabinet level and in the public service rather than in parliament, see Townsley (1958, pp. 9-32) and Matthews (1969, pp. 229-266).  

2. In her important and much quoted paper "Migration and Social Pluralism" Martin described this situation as a state of "emasculated pluralism" and pointed to "non-confrontation" and "dispersal" as the two devices pervasively used to prevent the social organization of immigrant groups from having basic repercussions on the society's institutions. (1971, pp. 102-10)
theme or line in the society's treatment of ethnicity has been amply documented in the literature with reference to the way political parties and trade unions have responded to the presence of immigrants. The absence of mechanisms designed to integrate immigrants on a collective basis into these major power structures has been treated as a major cause for the absence of immigrants from the political market place.

Other obstacles, such as a positive dislike of migrant interest groups, or regulations which limit important forms of political participation to the naturalized, or the tendency to deny citizenship to political activists - and thus to hem in with political disabilities those most inclined to work for collective participation - have also been cited in the attempt to account for non-involvement.

Finally, it has been argued that, just as politicians have not seen their fortunes to depend on the participation of immigrants and have not developed the mechanisms to encourage it, so also the immigrants have not been in a situation which has made politics seem crucial to economic security - presumably their most vital concern - and have therefore seen no reason for involvement.¹

It goes without saying that political opportunities condition political behaviour. But though it is essential to identify the circumstances and forces in the environment which are congruent with behaviour patterns, reality is so multifaceted that one cannot assume that every situation has only one logic which those involved cannot but perceive and which leaves only one course of action open. That people respond to reality selectively, that circumstances shape activity only as they pass through the filter of perception and evaluation and that this process is culturally patterned may, by now, be regarded as a sociological truism. It has been applied systematically in thinking about political systems and processes since the

¹. These are staple points made and documented by all the authors referred to so far.
mid-1950's through the use of the concept of political culture. Political culture, defined by Verba as "the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which define the situation in which political action takes place", has been treated as a crucial intervening variable between structure and process, between the characteristics of the system and the way it is used and made to work by members of the polity.

In the United States, the involvement of ethnic groups in the political process gave social scientists ample scope to reveal the interplay of cultural predisposition and political opportunity, as they described patterns of participation and unfolded the process by which immigrants made use of the system. Even those who studied ethnic political behaviour for its effect on the course of American politics rather than for what it revealed about the groups involved, were led to consider the impact of cultural forces. For example, the question of how the presence of immigrants affected the institutions and style of American city politics could hardly be answered without reference to the fundamental congruence between such structures as the political machine and the political traditions distinctive to immigrant groups.

1. Pye and Verba (1965, p. 513). The first discussion of political culture as a concept and a variable in the way political systems and institutions actually operate was given by Almond. His observation that "Every political system is embedded in a particular pattern of orientations to political action. I have found it useful to refer to this as political culture." (1956, p. 396) became a starting point for much research into the impact of cultural forces on political life.

2. An excellent example of such a study is by Levine on the Irish (1966).

3. This has been the major focus of interest. For a selection of writings and a useful critical bibliographical survey see Fuchs (1968).

4. The theme that the political machine flourished on the immigrant ethos is common in the literature. It has been explored most thoroughly in a classic study of city politics by Banfield and Wilson who have, e.g., pointed to the fundamental congruence of a party organization "that depends crucially upon inducements that are both specific and material" and the political traditions of immigrants "who look to politicians for "help" and "favors" ... and are less interested in the efficiency, impartiality and morality of local government than in its readiness to confer material benefits," (1963, pp. 115 and 216)
Naturally in Australia there has been little opportunity to observe the impact of the subjective and the cultural, since so little has actually happened in the way of ethnic political involvement. But this does not mean that the importance of such factors needs to remain a matter for occasional speculation. Even less does it mean that cultural patterns can be discounted. Acquiescence to obstacles is no more automatic and self-evident than usage of opportunities. It is not self-evident, e.g., that Greeks were bound to accept obstacles as insurmountable givens, or to decide that there is no political redress for a wide variety of problems associated with minority group status and cultural distance. Such ideas, if indeed they were held, represent significant political orientations. Whether and in what form they have occurred and what alternative approaches have been operative must be established and explained if one is to understand the impact of objectively ascertainable features of the political environment.

Moreover, patterns of political culture, patterned "definitions of the situation for action" reveal the potential for political participation. This point was forcefully made by Almond and Verba when they discussed the implications of their finding that widespread participant orientations to political activity in a population are by no means matched by active political involvement. They write:

1. Psycho-cultural obstacles to participation have occasionally been mentioned in Australian writings. Allan Davies seeks clues to political reticence in the logic of the decision to migrate and in the "contraction of the social contacts and roles involved in migration" (1966). The obvious barriers of unfamiliarity with procedures are often mentioned. Also there are some references to the incompatibility between Australian and immigrant political traditions, most notably in Bottomley who points out that "political organization in Greece is based on networks of friendship and patronage which operate on particularistic rather than universalistic principles.... In Australian politics, the system of representation is formally founded on the universalistic notion that patronage should be the exception rather than the rule". (1973, pp. 148-9) So far such insights have not been translated into research problems.
A citizen within the civic culture has, then, a reserve of influence. He is not constantly involved in politics, he does not actively oversee the behavior of political decision makers. But he does have the potential to act if there is need ... he thinks he can mobilize his ordinary social environment if necessary, for political use. He is not the active citizen. He is the potentially active citizen. (1963, p. 481)

One can argue, on similar lines, that the question of whether Australia's immigrants are prepared to seek a place as acknowledged contestants for a share of the society's resources and a share in its responsibilities cannot be decided solely on the basis of observing the political behaviour of immigrant groups. All the more so because patterns of political involvement are only just emerging. For example in the past and, much more frequently, in recent years, Greeks have displayed interest and ability for political involvement on a collective basis.¹

¹ Jupp, who even in the mid-1960's wrote of an unrealized potential for political involvement of Southern Europeans, pointed particularly to their prominent role in the 1964 GMH strike (1966, pp. 58-9). This point has since been made by many writers - e.g. Hearn (1974, p. 115). The Greeks' activities - e.g. the formation of Greek strike committees within the plant and many supportive activities of the ethnic workers' clubs - are reported in Neos Kosmos, 24 September 1964 and throughout October.

For recent years Tsounis reports that Greeks played an important part in the concerted effort of migrant minorities to act together in projecting common problems. He mentions particularly the role of Greeks in the Migrant Workers' Conferences of 1973 and 1975, in the Migrant Education Action Conference in 1974 and in the Ethnic Radio. He also reports generally heightened interest in elections (cf. Tsounis, revised version of 1971 Ph.D. Thesis, pp. 365, 488 c and d). Since 1974, election rallies, fund-raising campaigns, the formation of Greek committees or branches to contribute to the election effort of Australian parties, and intensive coverage of elections by all major newspapers in Federal and State elections, are additional evidence of involvement on an ethnic basis (cf. Greek press during elections; also personal communication by Tsounis and by three Greek aldermen in Melbourne to whom I talked in 1975 in order to get general information of this kind, but who were not included in the leadership study, cf. Chapter II).
What one does not know is whether this belongs to the category of "gestures" - expressions of the Greek capacity to respond to encouragement with ready enthusiasm, often impressive but just as often short-lived - or whether they are steps towards establishing stable patterns for satisfying needs by political means. Like any other form of collective activity, so also the political cannot be understood unless it is placed in the context of its cultural underpinnings - in this case, the basic ideas and beliefs about what may be attempted and what can be achieved in the political sphere, which have evolved in the ethnic culture over the years.
This is a study of the Greek ethnic culture from a political perspective. The task is twofold:

a. To describe the major ideas about political participation which have emerged and developed in the ethnic culture between 1926 and 1970. The focus will be on the ideas about whether and how Greeks can use the political process in order to gain access to material or non-material goods.

b. To place such notions in the context of definitions of the situation for action. Here the aim is to relate dispositions to political activity to patterns of assumptions and beliefs about the conditions under which Greeks strive for access to goods.

It must be emphasized that the subject matter is not political behaviour or political affiliations. The question is not what Greeks have done over the period considered, but what they have believed that they have the right and possibility to do.

Built into such a research task is the premise that one can meaningfully think of an ethnic culture which comprises definitions of the situation for action and orientations to political involvement. Secondly the topic, as formulated, contains the general hypothesis that the key to the propensity to take part in political life is to be found in certain belief systems. Before giving more specific content to this hypothesis and before attempting to justify the premise that one can look for an ethnic political culture, it is necessary to say something more about how the concepts of political participation, the good, and definition of the situation will be used in this study.

i. Political participation

Ideas about whether, to what extent and in what ways Greeks can articulate political demands will serve as a basis for
characterizing approaches to participation. Here, as in other studies of political culture, the position is taken that the most important single distinctive characteristic of the participant citizen is that he "speaks the language of demands" (Almond and Verba, 1963, p. 181). This position was stated more fully by Almond and Powell when they wrote:

Subjects are those individuals who are oriented to the political system and the impact which its outputs ... may have upon their lives, but who are not oriented to participation in the input structures. Participants are those individuals who are oriented to the input structures and processes, and engage in, or view themselves as potentially engaging in, the articulation of demands and the making of decisions.¹

The first question that will be asked about a particular set of ideas in the ethnic culture is whether it has any place at all for demand activity as a means for satisfying needs or gaining access to desired things. It is quite conceivable that an immigrant minority will adopt the extreme position, that nothing may be asked of the polity, if only because, unlike others in the society, immigrants cannot take belonging for granted.² This position defines the pure non-participant orientation to politics.

When it comes to systems of ideas which allow for some demand activity, the problem is to decide whether these embody participant propensities in greater or lesser measure. This cannot be done simply by way of counting the number of demands deemed appropriate, since demands do not constitute equivalent

¹. Cf. Almond and Powell (1966, p. 53). The typology of political cultures is fully discussed in Almond and Verba (1963, pp. 17-21). They reserve the term political for the inputs of the system, i.e. "the flow of demands from the society into the polity and the conversion of these demands into authoritative policies", and for the structures which are involved in this process (op. cit., p. 15). They thus imply that it is only when activities and orientations are directed towards inputs, that one is dealing with the properly political. They designate output structures and processes as "administrative".

². Non-participation has been treated as a major form of expressing alienation from the society. Cf. Thomson and Horton (1960, p. 193). For a discussion of the considerable
units. For example, the claim to equality of opportunity entails a more assertive view of what the group is entitled and able to ask than claims for equal treatment under the law. Yet sets of ideas about demand activity can serve to rank participant propensities, provided that one uses qualitative criteria.

One way to doing this is to characterize the democratic participant outlook in its extreme form and rank actual ideas according to how far they deviate from this standard.

The ideotypical participant citizen may be defined as a person who equates his own possibility to engage in demand activity with the maximum such potential which the society invests in the citizenship status. It follows that such a person's notions of what he is entitled and able to ask must incorporate equality with others, since citizenship is a status common to all members of the polity. In order to specify the content of the participant's outlook, it is useful to adapt the well-known formula about politics and think of "who" asks "what" and "how".

Regarding, first, the "who", our model participant believes that he is as entitled and able to make demands as anyone in the polity.

The "what" dimension has two related facets: the range, and the content of demands. The model participant equates the range of his demands to the scope of the society's responsibility for its members. In other words, he believes that he can make demands concerning any good which is generally recognized as something that members of the society can legitimately aspire to and rightfully expect to enjoy. As to the content of demands, the participant is guided by the principle of equality - be it with reference to the competition for political leadership, to the allocation of resources or to the application of political decisions. These broad categories of demand may be said to entail very different degrees of political confidence, or

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literature on this see Schwartz (1973, Ch. 1). He suggests that the "core meaning" of political alienation is a sense of estrangement between the self and the polity. Such estrangement may be said to take an extreme form when it appears as a feeling of not belonging to the society.
assertiveness. In fact, according to Almond and Verba, the threshold from the "subject" to the "participant" orientation is crossed only when demands relate to the content of decisions, in other words when they have to do with the way desired things are allocated. When demands are confined to the way decisions are applied, the approach to politics remains "subject". On commonsense grounds one can argue, furthermore, that the demand for the opportunity to compete for political leadership on terms of real equality is more assertive than demands for equality of opportunity in other areas. Thus, while the distance of particular sets of ideas from the ideotypical participant position cannot be measured, qualitative distinctions like the ones mentioned allow one to think meaningfully in terms of stronger or weaker participant orientations and, by the same token, to seek lines of development in differences which occur over time.

Ideas as to the "how" of demand activity constitute the final defining element of the participant outlook. Since inputs take the form of "supports" as well as demands, the participant citizen's positive orientation to the input structures and processes of the system means not only that he is prepared to add his wants to the flow of inputs, but also that he is inclined to do so in a manner which is basically in harmony with the system as it operates.

The idea that the quality of political activity is integral to the notion of democratic participation is a major theme in writings on democracy, quite apart from whether a systems approach is adopted. To take one of the many statements on this:

1. Cf. Almond and Verba (1963, Ch. 8). The idea that the essence of political decisions is some allocation of valued things is very common among political scientists. Cf. Easton (1953, pp. 129-142).

2. The distinction between supports and demands was first made in these terms by Easton (1957, pp. 383-408). In the literature, the articulation of demands in a manner which does violence to democratic norms has been treated as symptomatic of alienation. Cf. Schwartz, op. cit.
Democracy presupposes a tough-minded and tenacious acceptance of the nation as deserving a continuing loyalty which transcends loyalty to class. Democracy assumes that the proper adjustments and accommodations among classes, probably accompanied by vigorous debate and pulling and hauling, will be made peacefully within the framework provided. (Fitzgibbon, 1950, p. 122)

Experience has shown and theory suggests that orientations towards activities which entail disloyalty to the country because of a stronger loyalty to the country of origin, or which entail a basic challenge to the system and its norms, is only a very remote contingency in the case of voluntary immigrants.

To be sure, for many of the immigrant groups in America nationalist feeling grew from the very experience of migration. But though this acted as an impulse for much demand activity, it did not undermine loyalty to the new country. On theoretical grounds, Thomas and Znaniecki found the rationale for what they call "the seeming paradox of dual allegiance" in the very development of the immigrant groups' distinct communal life. They argued that the Polish immigrant can easily combine loyalty to Poland with loyalty to America because...

...both loyalties are really only indirect. In fact, if not in theory, his ultimate and fundamental allegiance is to the Polish-American society, and both Poland and America are appreciated rather as the natural and necessary allies of this national group to whom the latter as a whole owes gratitude for its culture, for its economic and political security, and on whose prosperity its own prosperity and standing are dependent. (1958, p. 1475)

On the question of acceptance and support of the host society's political system, it has been argued that such attitudes are built into the logic of voluntary migration to the established nation-states of the New World. Thus Woodhouse writes:

1. On the process by which immigrants discover their nationhood on American soil, see Park (1922, Ch. III); Handlin 1951, Ch. VII and VIII); Glazer (1954, pp. 158-173).
... the ethnic and religious minorities could not effectively challenge the hegemony of the national state on the ground of separate rights deriving from prior or indigenous claims to territory, status or cultural autonomy. Instead, the immigrant minorities for the most part sought to be accepted within an established political framework different from the one in their homeland ... In so far as they attempted to retain their sense of ethnic and cultural identity, they had to do so as citizens loyal to the nation. (Tobias and Woodhouse, 1969, p. 3)

Thus, it is not expected that in the ethnic culture orientations towards alienated political involvement will constitute a significant alternative to the democratic participant outlook. Ideas on the methods of demand activity will be examined, rather, in order to assess how far the ethnic culture is oriented towards the tactics deemed most effective in an Anglo-Saxon political system. In this system, where the sources of demands are modally groups rather than individuals, the ideotypical participant citizen is one who relies primarily on concerted action with others through interest groups and political parties, that is, through the major institutions for channelling demands, which the system is supposed to make available to the average citizen.¹

In short, concrete systems of ideas in the Greek minority will be examined for their answers to the "who", "what" and "how" of demand activity and will be ranked by how close or,

¹ Of Almond and Powell (1966, Ch. IV). Particularly relevant is their distinction between nonassociational and associational interest groups. One sign of development towards stronger participant orientations in the ethnic culture is when thought is given to the potential of ethnic organizations to change their nonassociational interest group character and instead of confining themselves to intermittent requests on particular issues through prestigious leaders, concentrate on acquiring characteristics as "specialized structures for interest articulation". The distinction between "interest groups" set up to promote common interests and "attitude groups" set up to achieve a cause defined in terms of a shared attitude is also relevant for an ethnic group. Cf. Castles (1967, p. 2).
more realistically, by how far, they are from the imaginary outlook of the model participant citizen.

It should be clarified, finally, that the idea that it is appropriate for Greeks to make demands will be taken to indicate a participant approach, even when such demands are directed to non-political power structures. This follows the theoretical approach which stresses that participation in the decision-making process of non-governmental structures is an essential facet of participatory democracy. This broad perspective is adopted here because, as will be explained later, ideas as to the position of Greeks towards the powerful in society, wherever they may be located, will be used as a major variable for the understanding of approaches to political participation.

ii. Desired things or goods

Since the ethnic political culture will be described with reference to ideas about demand activity, and since demands are only made about things which are wanted, understanding of ethnic definitions of the desirable is an essential part of the analysis.

A list of valued things, or goods, defined in Western societies as the basic things which the average competent member of the polity wants and can expect to enjoy, served as reference points against which Greek conceptions of the good could be compared. This list of goods was derived from Lasswell's "welfare and deference values". He defines the former as "those whose possession to a certain degree is a necessary condition for the maintenance of the physical activity of the person" and lists wealth, well-being, skill and enlightenment in this category. Deference values are defined as "those that consist in being taken into consideration". Power, respect, rectitude and affection are listed here (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950, pp. 55-6). The following is the version of Lasswell's list which seemed

1. For a discussion of the "classical" theories of participatory democracy and an analysis of the contemporary relevance of the emphasis placed in such theories on participation in contexts which are more immediately relevant to the individual than remote political structures, see Pateman (1970, Ch. II).
applicable to an ethnic group:

I  Economic goods
   1. Prosperity.
   2. Opportunity to qualify for and do congenial work, including objectives about the range of occupations open to Greeks.

II  Socio-cultural goods
   3. The quality of life: enlightenment, pleasure.
   4. Opportunity to live a culturally meaningful life, which in the case of immigrants may mean either opportunity to perpetuate traditional culture or opportunity to participate in the host society's cultural life.
   5. Respect, recognition, acceptance by Australians.

III Political goods
   6. Satisfactory treatment by the social agencies which implement political decisions.
   7. Influence in the decision making process.

Clearly this list does not exhaust the things to which Western man feels he may aspire. It concentrates on the goods which entail some claim on the resources of the society, and leaves out that which men may value privately and seek to satisfy by looking inwardly into the resources of the self. Such a focus seems appropriate, since the point of identifying conceptions of the desirable is to see how far Greeks have been inclined to convert their wants into claims. The economic and political goods listed fall clearly in the category of desired things which lend themselves to demand articulation. The socio-cultural goods are somewhat ambiguous in this respect when one is thinking of the average citizen. The supportive institutions and groups which provide the framework within which a man may seek a life that suits his social and intellectual needs, are woven into the society to which he belongs, and he may take them so much for granted that achieving the good life may seem to him to be a matter of private choices. By contrast - a contrast classically brought out in the Polish Peasant - the ethnic

1. Their well-known analysis of the structure and development of the ethnic sub-society is based largely on the concept of conscious social organization. Thomas and Znaniecki (1958, pp. 1467-79).
minority must purposefully create a framework for a meaningful existence. Where purpose takes the place of tradition, where there is need to build up a structure rather than keep an existing system going, collective resources - moral and material - soon appear as indispensable.

It should be noted, secondly, that the goods listed are specific things to be enjoyed and not principles of political life. Such principles are of course perceived as desirables in a polity and, in theory, it would be quite possible to look for patterns of political culture in attitudes and beliefs about order, justice, equality, freedom and autonomy. But political principles are too far removed from the everyday concerns of migrants. Rather than regard them as goods aspired to, it seemed more realistic to treat principles as significant slogans, values appealed to in the course of formulating concrete needs and striving to satisfy them.

The final point to be made here is that, in using the good as a focus, this study departs from the practice commonly adopted in empirical studies of political culture. Normally, political cultures are characterized with reference to ideas, feelings and norms about political institutions, political roles and those who perform them and about the place of the self in the system. Nevertheless, the concept of the good is built into the functional definition of the political system as a complex of institutionalized interactions by which valued objects are transformed into binding and enforceable allocations.

If processing the good is the core function of the political system, then ideas about the good and about the self in relation to the good in concrete situations cannot but be at the core of political culture. For the observer such ideas provide a useful vantage point from which to look for attitudes to the institutions that make up the political system, particularly since this is the vantage point which the migrants themselves are most likely to adopt. Unlike the people who belong, who need no reasons to justify their presence in their own society, the migrants must look for what the new country has to offer,
what there is to be enjoyed and how access to it can be secured. It is this after all that justifies the trauma of uprooting.

iii. Definition of the situation

Like other concepts that have emerged from the attempt to gear the theory and methods of sociology to the nature of its raw data - namely the behaviour of thinking, evaluating, purposeful actors able to communicate by symbols - "definition of the situation" points to subjective experience as the crucial link, the intervening variable between environmental conditions and social behaviour. For the purposes of this study, definition of the situation is more useful than related concepts such as "meanings", "social construction of reality" or "social perceptions".

It is useful, to begin with, because it contains the idea of situation, which is defined in the dictionary as "Place, locality, site position of anything in relation to other things, surroundings etc."¹ [my italics]. This suggests a bounded entity in relation to its environment. The notion of boundary has of course for long been built into the study of ethnic groups. In this study, which deals with a minority and also focuses on the perceived relationship between the group and its external social environment, the term situation is particularly appropriate.

The term definition, moreover, underlines that the emphasis will be on the cognitive aspect of subjective experience, that is on ideas, beliefs and assumptions.² It does however have the

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2. Theorists of political culture have followed Parsons and treated the cognitive as only one element alongside with affect and evaluation. Hyman argues that the cognitive element is particularly important and has been overshadowed by concern with the emotional and irrational elements in political behaviour, Hyman (1959, p. 18). Verba has made a case for looking at political culture primarily as a system of beliefs, although his usage of the term is broad enough to include values, Pye and Verba (1965, p. 516).
drawback that it suggests the activities of academics and may therefore seem to imply that the focus will be on the conscious and the articulated. It should be emphasized that in this study particular significance is attached to what is taken for granted, to what Clyde Kluckhohn has called "the implicit or suppressed premises which tend to be characteristic of members of a certain group". (1943, p. 218) Important continuities in ideas about appropriate activity in the midst of changed circumstances will be traced to the tenacity of such implicit premises. Conversely, evidence of basic changes will be sought in signs that the taken for granted has been eroded and drawn into the realm of the questionable.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the concept of definition of the situation directs attention to the interplay between perceptions, objectives and responses. Cultural, just like academic, definitions are not fashioned for their own sake but with reference to purpose and action. This has been repeatedly stressed by Thomas and Znaniecki, who introduced the concept: "Every concrete activity is the solution of a situation.... And the definition of the situation is a necessary preliminary to any act of will". (1958, p. 68) Elsewhere Znaniecki presented the definition of the situation as an ongoing process of relating objectives to assessment of conditions with a view to choosing a course of action.

... his agent's reflection consists in surveying the values which appear practically important to him and certain factual relationships between them; anticipating the possibilities, positive or negative which these factual relationships may involve, and considering what should be done to actualize the positive possibilities and/or to prevent the actualization of the negative possibilities." (1952, p. 242)

The notion of action and purpose has of course also been built into the concept of the situation in Parsonian action theory, whose influence students of political culture have repeatedly acknowledged. 1

Thus, to view belief systems as definitions of the situation is to use a perspective which harmonizes with the purpose of this study, which is to trace the link between ideas about how things are and ideas about what can be done in the light of what is wanted.

One can turn now, to consider the basic premise of this study - namely that the Greek ethnic culture will have identifiable political dimensions.

The Rationale for an Ethnic Political Culture

The premise which must be justified is that politically relevant beliefs and assumptions - definitions of the situation and formulas as to political participation - are culturally patterned. This means that (a) they are characterized by some degree of inner coherence, (b) they have wide currency among Greek migrants at any given time, (c) they are seen by individuals as in some ways distinctive to the group, as forming part of a common cultural stock which Greeks share as Greeks or as members of a distinct collectivity in Australian society and (d) they are characterized by continuity. That is, patterns evident at any one time are structured with some reference to past ideas and beliefs.1

This is not to say that different and opposing beliefs about the situation for action and formulas for political participation cannot be in evidence at the same time. The concept of cultural patterns fully allows for the possibility of internal variations, provided that there is some common ground - shared frames of reference, shared symbols and shared understandings.2

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1. On the idea that culture involves sharing, patterning distinctiveness and continuity, see the review of definitions of culture in Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn (1952).

2. For the rationale of internal variation within a single culture, see F. Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961, Ch. 1).
It hardly seems necessary to defend the underlying assumption that it is meaningful to think of a Greek sub-culture in this country. The concept has been found useful by everyone who has studied Greek migrants. Bottomley, who focused on the question of ethnic continuity, has identified the mechanisms and laid bare the processes by which the ethnic boundary is preserved by Greeks structurally, psychologically and culturally. She has shown that ethnically enclosed fields of interaction encompass a wide area of social relations; that the ethnic group serves as an enduring source of identification; and that a shared universe of meaning and distinctively Greek patterns of thinking, feeling and evaluating are both objectively ascertainable and subjectively meaningful to members of the community.

Drawing on Price and Tsounis, one can make a case that, by the mid-1920's, which mark the beginning of the period considered in this study, Greek settlements had formed the stable structures required for the development, communication and continuity of the common ways of thinking, feeling and evaluating that flow from a sense of collective existence.

By the mid-1920's the major regional groups - islanders from Kythera, Kastellorizo and Ithaca and mainlanders from Peloponesos - were well into their third stage of settlement, which Price characterizes as "the transformation of an unstable band of men into a fully-fledged and colourful ethnic community". There were about 5,000 Greek-born men and women in Australia and sizeable stable settlements had formed in Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Adelaide and Brisbane. The settling down process of men getting married and staying in permanent jobs had been going on for a few years; and the basic associational framework that was to serve as a source for the satisfaction of common needs and as a battleground for years to come had been built up. Each settlement, with the exception of Adelaide, had its central Community organization, and a number of fraternities and panhellenic

1. 1973, Ch. III and IV and Conclusion.
2. Tsounis (1971a, Ch. II and III); Price (1963a, pp.180-99).
associations had been formed, mostly after 1920.

The Greeks' sense of collective existence, their sense of belonging to one community was clearly demonstrated in the course of the first major intra-community conflict during the 1920's. As they competed for influence in the common arena of the central Community, the more or less organized clusters of Greeks, drawn together primarily by ties of region but also by personal and social compatibilities, demonstrated their awareness that they functioned as sub-groups of a collective entity in interaction with other groups. Tsounis consistently emphasizes that awareness of a common sub-system, stability and continuity have characterized Greek communities throughout their history in this country. (1975, p. 49)

It can be argued that if it is meaningful to talk of an ethnic sub-culture, it is meaningful also to look for politically relevant sub-cultural patterns. This is the implication of Verba's point that:

The distinction between political culture and the more general cultural system of the society is an analytical one. Political culture is an integral aspect of more general culture, the set of political beliefs an individual holds being of course part of the totality of beliefs he holds. (Pye and Verba, 1965, p. 521)

It is worth pointing out, moreover, that the concept of sub-cultural variation along ethnic or class lines has been found as applicable to the political as to the other facets in culture. However the premise that the ethnic culture will have specific political dimensions is too fundamental to this study to be justified simply on the grounds that every culture has political facets. Further justifications may be sought in common cultural heritage, common parameters in life situation and in the immigrant society.  

1. Cf. Almond and Powell (1966, pp.63-4). In its Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism the Canadian Royal Commission makes particular reference to ethnic political subcultures. "The diversity of political sub-cultures is one of the most important factors affecting political representation and participation among different groups." (Vol. IV, p. 82).
i. Common cultural heritage

The question of how far the immigrants' traditional or imported political culture survives intact is analytically distinct from the question of whether one may expect shared, culturally defined orientations to politics in the ethnic group on the grounds that there were shared, culturally defined orientations to politics at home.

On the former there is some evidence of theoretical confusion or at least incompatibility between theoretical statements and the analytical framework used as research is conducted. Possibly impressed by the seeming ease with which ethnic groups became involved in the political process at large, some American political scientists have claimed that the political culture which immigrants brought with them could not survive the pull of the American political culture. Fuchs writes:

The second factor that has made ethnicity in politics so important, is that newer immigrants and their children often found the political culture in the United States, different as it was from that in the old country, congenial to their needs... Thus, while most of the newer immigrants did not assimilate, they did acculturate to the dominant values, attitudes and behaviors which comprise the American political culture. (1968, p. 4)

Yet, as already mentioned (cf. Introduction), common cultural background has been constantly used in the American literature to explain the political attitudes and behavior characteristic of particular groups. Thus Glazer and Moynihan, who in their introduction to Beyond the Melting Pot greatly emphasize acculturation, have much to say about imported political beliefs and values when they come to portray the political behavior of the Irish or the Italians. 1

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1. Cf. Glazer and Moynihan (1965, pp. 208-30); also Fuchs (1956, Ch. XI). In that study Fuchs has sought the sources of the internationalism and political liberalism of American Jews in the distinctively Jewish values of learning, charity and non-asceticism.
It must be stressed at this point that the aim in the present study is to describe Greek migrant definitions of the situation of politics as they have evolved over the years, rather than measure the difference between them and traditional Greek patterns of political culture. However, as will be seen, a conception of traditional Greek political culture will serve to formulate the crucial questions to be asked about the ethnic political culture.

Even if it were true that the original political culture can change out of all recognition, one can still see it as the source of common orientations in the ethnic group. If there is anything in the idea that reality is perceived and structured selectively, and that this goes not only by what is wanted at the moment but also by culturally inherited predispositions to see and evaluate in this way rather than another, then one can expect modal definitions of the situation in the new country, particularly among first generation immigrants. In fact the American experience suggests that patterning of political behaviour and of political orientations on ethnic lines can persist among the second and even the third generations. Wilson and Danfield, e.g., demonstrated the enduring relevance of ethnicity for views on what politics should be about. (1974, pp. 876-87) Similarly, Dahl's assimilation theory of ethnic voting has been convincingly challenged, partly on the grounds that however ethnic structures and cultures may have changed they still remain distinctive to the group.1

The second factor to be considered is common parameters in the life situation of ethnic minorities.

1. Cf. Dahl (1961, pp. 36-62). For criticism of Dahl's theory that ethnic voting is a transient phenomenon to disappear as each ethnic group reaches the stage of full assimilation and acculturation, see Wolfinger (1965, pp. 896-908); also Parenti (1967, pp. 717-26). For an excellent theoretical discussion of the reasons for the continuing importance of ethnicity in American political life, see Litt. (1970, Ch. 1, 2 and 3).
Life situation and political culture

The rationale for the general argument that common parameters in life situation generate culturally patterned belief systems may be derived from world view theory. In order to explain why all cultures embody belief systems about such matters as the self, the life cycle, the manner in which people are connected with one another and the way man relates to nature and the supernatural, world view theorists have talked of the human condition. The argument runs that such areas of experience are inherent in the human condition, that they compel attention because they are vital for man's survival as a social animal and that therefore ideas about them are incorporated in every culture.1

There is no theoretical reason why the idea of the human condition cannot be given a narrower referent and why one cannot usefully think about the migrants' condition or, more specifically, about the condition of the type of voluntary migrant to which Greeks in Australia belong. The question is, then, whether those who share the status of immigrant and the status of membership in a distinct ethnic collectivity, also share experiences which can generate cultural patterns relevant to participation in the democratic process of the host society.

Since participation is defined with reference to demand activity, one must think of the act of political demand in a democratic system. An objective is the first dimension of the political demand, a dimension which it shares with all other purposeful acts. The second, more specifically political, dimension is the group aspect of the political demand. For private

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1. Clyde Kluckhohn writes: "Human nature and the human situation are such that there are some fundamental questions of value upon which all cultures have felt compelled to take a position, explicit or implicit ... with values, such unavoidable facts as dependence upon the external environment, birth and death, and social relatedness make value choices in these areas inescapable." (1958, p. 43). Redfield (1953, pp. 85-90); the world view argument is used here because it contains the notion that cultural patterns crystallize about those aspects of reality on which man depends and dependence is a salient element of the migrant condition.
needs or purposes to be translated into demands they must be attached to other peoples' needs or purposes. To quote two of the many formulations of this idea, one by a philosopher, the other by political scientists: "Political value is essentially integrative. Any action determined by political ends takes place at the group level and is meant to make the individual act as a member of a group and the group act as a unit," writes Babu in his ideal type analysis of democracy. (1956, p. 67) And Lasswell and Kaplan: "Political demands are made on behalf of the egos with which a given ego identifies and are justified by reference to the resulting "we". Politics begins when egos are emotionally bound together in relation to such demands in the name of the identified group." (1950, p. 145) The third, and uniquely political, dimension of a political demand is the power relation. Those who do not have the power to make authoritative decisions ask something of those who do have such power. To continue quoting from Babu and Lasswell: "The feeling of belonging and coercion and the consciousness of an external authority are necessarily involved in political action", (p. 67) and "Conduct is politicized in the degree that it is determined by considerations of power indulgence and deprivation of the self by others". (p. 145)

One must, then, consider what it is about the immigrant condition that directs members of the ethnic group to see connections between their common identity and, on the other hand, wants or objectives, position in the society's power hierarchy or more generally relations of the self to the environment and ways of gaining access to goods. Here one may think of the shared experience of migration and of common facets in the immigrants' existence in the new country.

a. Migration

Integral to migration is crisis. According to Thomas, it is at times of crisis that definitions of the situation are shaped and that the concept comes into its own. Volkhart describes Thomas's thinking as follows:
So long as social life runs smoothly, so long as habits are adjustive, situations can scarcely be said to exist. There is nothing to define when people behave as anticipated. But when influences appear to disrupt habits, when new stimuli demand attention . . . then the phenomenon assumes the aspect of crisis. A crisis is a threat, a challenge, a strain on the attention, a call to new action. (1951, p. 12)

Eisenstadt argued that the "narrowing of the sphere of social participation" and corresponding "shrinkage of the individual self-image", which are inherent in the experience of migration, mean that every migrant must restructure his entire conception of the self-in-environment. (1954, Ch. 1)

And Handlin writes:

Without the whole complex of institutions and social patterns which formerly guided their actions, these people became incapable of masking or evading decisions ... No man could escape choices which involved day after day an evaluation of his goals, of the meaning of his existence and of the purpose of the social forms and institutions that surrounded him. (1951, p. 6)

This does not give any guide to the answers that migrants give to their questions about themselves, their goals and their environment. But it means that there is something about being an immigrant that forces such questions on to consciousness. As ideas on these vital matters are exchanged in the context of life within a community, private concerns are transformed into common frames of reference, are linked with membership of the group and acquire that quality of existing, of being external to any one individual, that characterizes cultural patterns.

Secondly, the motive for migration has been linked to common orientations to participation in all spheres, including the political. Eisenstadt argues that the solutions which immigrants give to the problem of "institutionalization" - the problem of how widely and by what norms to participate in the life of the host society - depends largely on the motives for migration. That is, on the type of dissatisfaction that detached people from their own society and on the kinds of things they came to find in the new country. Because they largely
determine the immigrants' long term predisposition to change, the whys of migration condition approaches to social participation far beyond the initial stages of settlement. In his study of how different groups of settlers before and after the establishment of Israel participated in the society, Eisenstadt treated the motives characteristic of different groups as a major explanatory variable. (1954, Ch. 3 and 5) To the extent, then, that a common motive for migration can be detected in any one immigrant collectivity, as is the case with Greeks, there are grounds for expecting modal predispositions towards participation.

b. The immigrant's existence

Here one may think first of common objectives and common interests - most notably the shared commitment to preserve ethnic identity and culture. Tobias and Goodhouse argue that the basic research problem about minorities in politics can be formulated with reference to the "status" interest of ethnic identity. To study minorities in politics is to survey:

...the conditions under which minorities interpret their situations in the larger society as ones in which political considerations become relevant or as situations in which political considerations become or remain irrelevant to status interests. How do minorities become involved with politics in a quest for cultural identity, or in an effort to preserve that identity? Or, conversely, how do minorities become involved in a quest for cultural identity as a result of their political involvement? (1969, p. 5)

Perhaps one cannot assume that all ethnic groups necessarily want to preserve ethnic identity. What one can take for granted is that common objectives are formulated around ethnic identity which, bound up as it is with feelings of historic and cultural heritage, is in some way more basic, more significant, more laden with emotion, than other labels by which men define themselves and are categorized by others. Moreover, since the society at large also takes an identifiable position on this matter, the ethnic group cannot treat identity objectives as a purely private, internal concern. The broader society can materially facilitate
or hinder the achievement of identity objectives. It also determines what price immigrants pay for preserving identity in terms of access to other desirable things, such as economic opportunities, prestige and power. It is on this basis that Wirth distinguished between pluralistic, assimilationist, secessionist and militant minorities. His typology rests on group aims about identity and culture and on group aims about what identity should mean for access to social resources. He argues that, intra-ethnic group variation notwithstanding, it makes sense to look for shared objectives in these matters and that such objectives involve the group in asking something of the society, even if it be only tolerance.

There is little doubt that the preservation of identity and of some minimum components of culture has been defined by Greeks in Australia as a group objective. In the course of their long history of leaving the homeland, the Greeks have developed what may be called a culture of dispersion. This can be traced back, if not to the Ancient Greeks and their colonies, then at least to the intellectuals and merchants who, after 1453, left the occupied territories and formed settlements in Russia and in Southern and Eastern Europe. The peasants who have been coming to the New World since the end of the 19th century have inherited this culture of dispersion. It is a culture that defines the Greek abroad as a member of the Diaspora and contains the appropriate norms and practical prescriptions for building the basic institutions by which the core of Hellenism can be preserved and ties with the homeland maintained. Deeply rooted in the diaspora culture is, on the one hand, the idea of little Greeks around the world, islands of Greek life and culture built and preserved against all odds and, on the other hand, a ready-made formula for creating the supportive institutional structure: Church, the central Community body, school and ethnic associations.

1. Wirth (1945, pp. 349-72). Elaborating Wirth's typology, Rinder presents minority group orientations as the outcome of varying combinations of the morale of the subordinate group and the barriers erected by the dominant group. Cf. Rinder (1965, pp. 5-17).

2. Tsounis discusses this in connection with the history of diaspora communities over the world. (1971a, Ch. 1)
Other facets of existence which can generate shared orientations relevant to political involvement relate to the so-called "ethnicity status", the aggregate subordinate position occupied by the ethnic group in the opportunity and power structure of the society. Subordination and ethnicity have been so closely associated that ethnic groups have been consistently treated in the literature as minority groups. Wagley and Harris sum up their review of how the ethnic and minority group concepts have been fused in the following terms:

Second, most students of minority groups and minority problems recognize that the disabilities of minority groups are related to special characteristics which the minority shares and of which the majority (and often even the minority itself) disapproves in some degree ... Such special characteristics or faults are most frequently differences from the dominant majority in physical appearance, and in language, religion, or other cultural traits. (1958, p. 5)

A central theme in the vast literature on minority-majority relations has been that the groups involved develop identifiable orientations toward the fact of power inequality - ideas about the legitimacy of inequality and about what it means for what groups can expect and ask of one another. Minority group orientations on this are often characterized along the axis of submission - challenge and withdrawal - participation. To characterize minority groups by whether they accept or challenge the conditions imposed on them by the dominant society, and by whether they seek the good by turning inwards upon their own resources or by making claims for a fair share of societal resources, is to characterize minority groups by political orientations.1

Finally one can say that immigrants are likely to be aware of their aggregate position in the society's opportunity

1. See Rose (1965) for a typology of minorities according to whether they accept or reject the status and social space which the dominant society reserves for them. Also Schermerhorn (1967, pp. 235-40) for a model of types of adjustment resulting from different combinations of dominant and subordinate group positions on the question of how much the minority should participate in the common life.
structure and to see their life chances as a function of ethnicity. Discrimination, directly felt in everyday life, highlights the link between ethnic identity - the identity shared with others in the group - and opportunities for access to the good. The transition from the individual statement "As a Greek in this country I..." to the collective statement "As Greeks in this country we..." is natural and easy provided that there are mechanisms for interaction and communication.

In the case of immigrant groups, then, one can expect that similar experience will be translated into awareness of shared experience. As people interact and communicate, shared beliefs and common perspectives will emerge and crystallize. Furthermore, as already argued, once people come to see their personal needs and interests as a function of their social self, as they come to think of common interests in relation to an in-group and of a shared position in relation to an out-group, the foundations for thinking about political demands are laid.

It must be emphasized yet again that it is not suggested that the immigrant condition necessarily creates impulses for political participation. The view taken here is that the logic

1. In discussing ethnic stratification, Lieberson points out that such an aggregate position is explained partly by the fact that members of the ethnic group also often share characteristics other than ethnicity, e.g. education or occupational skills. However, aggregate position can largely be traced directly to the society's treatment of ethnicity. Cf. Lieberson (1972, pp. 199-209).

2. The logic of the situation has been interpreted quite differently by American and Australian students of ethnic group political behaviour. For example while Americans argued that democratic ideology was bound to politicize those who could trace their disadvantaged position to discrimination, Australians emphasized that discriminatory practices have discouraged ethnic groups from political activity. For the American argument see Lane (1959, p. 249). Australian interpretations have been referred to earlier (cf. Introduction). Or again, to American students it seemed self-evident that eventually ethnic groups were bound to use their organizations as resources for political negotiation in the broader sphere. In addition to works already cited such as Fuchs, Lane or Banfield, see Broetz (1959, pp. 575-85); Fichter (1954, pp.156-9); Treudley (1949, pp. 44-53). This idea is not found in Australian writings. Martin argues that East European immigrants are unlikely to use their organizations for interest group activity (1972a, Ch. 9). Also Medding argues that common
of the situation dictates neither participation nor withdrawal from the broader political life. What it does dictate is that the possibility of political involvement should acquire some salience, and should become a matter on which shared orientations develop and become crystallized as strands in the ethnic culture.

c. The ethnic sub-society

The ethnic sub-society provides the structural framework for cultural patterns. It also affirms the group as a bounded entity in an environment. Consequently, the modus vivendi with the broader society becomes one of the questions which the ethnic culture defines. A common theme in the literature on ethnic communities is that shared ideas regarding which areas of activity properly belong within the ethnic boundary and which may be cut across it are integral to the structured social relations which make up the ethnic sub-society. Thomas and Znaniecki describe the definitions entailed in the Polish-American community in these terms:

"The only primary-group connections a Pole is supposed to maintain are those which his racial group offers, whereas his relations with racially different social elements must belong exclusively to the secondary-group type. The American Pole is permitted to take whatever part he desires in American life provided he does it as a Pole." (1958, pp. 1584-5)

Gordon actually defines the ethnic sub-society partly with reference to a shared mental map of social space. (1964, pp. 54, 161-2 and 341) Similarly, Gans shows how ideas about where the "outside world" begins and about the different norms for activity which are operative on either side of the boundary, are built into the pattern and character of the West Enders' networks. (1962, pp. 94-162)

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1. Cf. Parsons et al. (1955, Ch. 3 and 5) for the theoretical foundation of the idea that any social system must handle relations with a broader environment and that this is reflected in normative patterns.
Such definitions have a political dimension. For example, the assumption that primary relations are confined to co-ethnics largely delimits the individual's pool of support for political activity.¹

So far an attempt has been made to justify the premise that ideas about the good and about the relevance of ethnicity for life chances, for identifications, for position in the social hierarchy and for social relations can be studied as elements in culture. Furthermore, it has been suggested that beliefs and assumptions of these matters shape propensities towards participation in the broader political process. In the next section more specific content will be given to this suggestion.

The cognitive basis for the participant outlook

Here again one may think about the act of political demand and ask, this time, what a person must believe in order to engage or be prepared to engage in demand activity in a democratic political process.²

1. Relevance of politics - from decisions to enjoyment of the good.

The first prerequisite is that the individual perceives some connection between what happens to him and decisions taken in the political sphere. Political outputs must be seen as factors conditioning opportunities and difficulties on the way to the good, and not only as rules to be obeyed. The pure "parochial" has no potential for translating his wants into political demands.

An overall parochial orientation is hardly likely to be dominant in an immigrant group. No immigrant can fail to see

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¹. Almond and Verba found that individuals who believe that they can exercise influence when necessary look upon primary relationships as their major source of potential support (1963, p. 192).

². This section draws primarily on the formulations and findings of Almond and Verba and Almond and Powell. No specific references will be made to these works.
that the laws of the receiving country affect him since it is on
these laws that depends his most crucial life chance: to be
allowed in. Even so, there are aspects in the immigrants' situa-
tion that can breed parochialism. Because of its inclusive
character the ethnic community can generate resources for the
satisfaction of many needs; and it can seem to members of the
community that the allocations of the broader society are largely
irrelevant to themselves. To build up a picture of the cultural
potential for political participation one must ask, first, which
resource environment, the ethnic or the Australian, is defined
as the one relevant for the enjoyment of each good.

ii. The sense of civic competence - from wants to decisions

The crucial belief here is that the individual has at his
disposal the means to secure that his wants are taken into con-
sideration by policy makers. A defining component of the sense
of civic competence in a democracy is the belief that influence
is guaranteed by predictable mechanisms which ensure that poli-
tical elites are subject to sanctions by the citizens. The
potential for influence should be seen as inherent in the
citizenship status rather than in the personal relationships
which the individual has been able to forge with particular
office holders. The important corollary belief is that elites
can be trusted. The individual may look upon people in office
as self-interested and greedy. But he believes at the same time
that the system guarantees their trustworthiness. The sense of
civic competence also entails the belief that power and influence
are separable, since influence need not be attached solely to
positions of power, but can emanate from the mass of citizens.
A related notion is that the ability to control is diffused
throughout the system - a shifting balance rather than a rigid,
crystallized dichotomy.

Empirical studies have demonstrated that the sense of civic
competence is a crucial component of the cognitive make up of
the potential participant. Moreover, the research on political
alienation suggests that the converse is true as well. Beliefs
that that there is a clear cut and permanent dichotomy of power,
that a vast gulf separates the elites from the citizens, that
the citizen-elite dependence is one-sided and that leaders can
neither be trusted nor prevented from abusing their power have
been shown to go with non-voting, protest voting, rejection of
the democratic machinery of collective bargaining and propensity
to support Gordian knot solutions. 1

The sense of civic competence and its component beliefs
about power has so far been given a specifically political con­
tent. At this point it should be stressed that a broader per­
spective is adopted in this study. The Greeks' ideas about their
position as citizens in the face of political elites and about
the distribution of political power and influence will be seen
in the context of their ideas about their relations to those who
have the means to impinge upon their life chances. And, to anti­
cipate the next section, beliefs about whether Greeks as citizens
can create or have access to structures for political influence
will be seen in the context of beliefs about how possible it is
to get together with others to promote a common aim and control
the powerful in non-political spheres of activity.

A broad perspective seems particularly called for in a study
of immigrants who, finding themselves in a new society, cannot
but treat as problematic basic questions about the average man's
competence, about the identity of the powerful and the identity
of peers and about the availability of others within and outside
the ethnic group for the purposes of common action.

iii. Beliefs about peers

Directly or indirectly, participation in the democratic pro­
cess involves concerted action with people similarly placed in
the power hierarchy.

1. Cf. Rosenberg (1954); Thomson and Horton (1960); Cantril
(1958, Ch. 3). Feelings of powerlessness, despair, lack of
trust and the overall feeling of estrangement from the
polity have been so closely related to political alienation
that they have occasionally been treated as its defining
At the heart of a man's relation to his society is his relation to other people ... In the very concept of citizen, indeed, there is implied the notion of a man among men, a social human being. The prospects for a democracy in which men do not get along well with one another, do not trust one another and do not associate with one another is unpromising ... It seems clear, in the first place, that those who are inclined to participate have, in fact, a faith in their fellow men wrote Lane in introducing his review of studies on the relationship between feelings towards others and orientation to political participation. (1959, p. 165)

A number of closely connected beliefs about other actors in the political system have been shown to have a bearing on potential for participation. Most important are the beliefs that others can be trusted, that it is possible to cooperate with others in political matters and that the individual has within his social orbit people whom he can draw on for support in political activity. Within a society such beliefs have been shown to differentiate between the potentially active and the passive citizen. And similar differences have been documented between societies with predominantly participant and those with predominantly subject political cultures.

Thus the cognitive basis for orientations to political activity will be sought in the way relations of unequal power and relations of equality are conceived. Ideas as to the relevance of politics will also be studied but only as a minimum prerequisite which cannot, by itself, differentiate participant from non-participant propensities.

Usually a political culture is characterized by the statistical distribution of beliefs in a population. In the present study the Greek political sub-culture will be characterized through the beliefs expressed in the ethnic press over the years and by ethnic leaders interviewed in 1971. The methodology will be discussed in the next chapter. The point here is that, partly because of the approach used, it is important to use model belief systems as the framework for the analysis. One way of establishing the link between beliefs and propensities to participation
is by statistical correlation. Another is by using a model to highlight patterning and inner coherence between ideas of what is and notions of what can be done. Similarly, change may be assessed by the changing prevalence of particular beliefs among a group of people. It can be studied also by tracing how components of an integrated belief system are gradually invested with new meanings and what developments are set in train by changes in one part of the system.

It was stated earlier that this study is not designed to measure changes in traditional Greek political culture. Obviously, however, the models which will serve as the framework for the analysis of ethnic cultural patterns should be constructed with reference to belief systems that are meaningful to Greeks. For this one may draw on the anthropological literature on "atomistic" communities and cultures.

**Atomism and the image of limited good**

Anthropologists who turned from isolated and self-sufficient tribes to the peasant "part societies and part cultures" were struck, and often shocked, by the tension, suspicion and envy characteristic of personal relations in many villages and by the seeming inability of members of the community to make the best of their situation by handling common problems on a corporate basis. Though by no means universal among peasants, this pattern of interpersonal relations was common enough to be treated as a facet of social organization rather than as an instance of social pathology. This type of society, described here because it fits closely the picture that anthropologists have drawn of Greek villages, has been called "atomistic". The following features of such societies seem most pertinent for present purposes:

1) Familism. The family is the prime referent for individual identity and the sole focus of enduring group loyalty. Commitment to larger corporate entities is not built into the norms of daily existence. 2) Interpersonal relations outside the family are characterized by restraint and are generally patterned
on the expectation of potential conflict. 3) Cooperative behaviour between social peers outside the family is governed by the principle of reciprocity of rights and obligations between pairs of individuals. Direct and non-transferable mutual aid pacts - "colleague" or "symmetrical" "dyadic contracts" - are sealed between individuals, but long term concerted action by a group to carry out an enterprise where the results are common property is very rare. 4) "Asymmetrical" dyadic contracts, or "patron-client" relationships are the major tactic employed by individuals within the group to secure access to goods and services generated beyond the community. The community does not develop corporate structures designed to channel goods from outside to the members of the group as a whole. And 5) A normative and belief system legitimizes atomistic behaviour as the only feasible way of handling the realities of social life.

In an influential article, George Foster described the cognitive foundation of atomism. He wrote:

The model of cognitive orientation that seems to me best to account for peasant behavior is the "Image of Limited Good". By "Image of Limited Good" I mean that broad areas of peasant behavior are patterned in such fashion as to suggest that peasants view their social, economic and natural universes - their total environment - as one in which all of the desired things in life such as land, wealth, health, friendship and love, manliness and honor, respect and status, power and influence, security and safety, exist in finite quantities and are always in short supply, as far as the peasant is concerned ... in addition there is no way directly within peasant power to increase the available quantities. (1965, p. 296)

1. For a discussion of atomism in all its aspects a symposium on "Perspectives on the Atomistic Type Society", Human Organization, 27, 5, 1968, pp. 189-230. Some well known studies which identify atomistic patterns in concrete societies are Banfield (1958) in an Italian village. Banfield's general picture was confirmed by La Palombara, in Pye and Verba (1965, Ch. 8). For Mexico, see Foster (1967); and for Latin atomistic patterns and their political consequences in Latin America, see a symposium of articles edited by Pierson (1950, pp. 100-49). For a discussion of "colleague" and "patron-client" dyadic contract, see Foster (1961 and 1965).
Foster spelt out the corollaries to this belief as follows:

If "Good" exists in limited amounts which cannot be expanded, and if the system is closed, it follows that an individual or a family can improve a position only at the expense of others. (p. 297)

... it logically follows from the Image of Limited Good that each minimal social unit ... sees itself in perpetual, unrelenting struggle with its fellows for possession of or control over what it considers to be its share of scarce values. This is a position that calls for extreme caution and reserve ... It encourages suspicion and mutual distrust ... (p. 302)

The value of Foster's idea lies in that it gives clues as to how beliefs about the good, about relations of equality, about relations of unequal power and about the way individuals can secure access to the good are integrated into a cognitive system. On the basis of these clues one can construct the model needed to analyze actual beliefs.

A culture that defines all goods as competitive precludes cooperation on corporate lines. There is no point to such activity without belief that the good sought will become accessible to each only if it becomes accessible to all. Concerted action is precluded also by the distrust and fear of others which springs from the knowledge that one way of gaining access to a limited good is to undermine the chances of others.¹ This leads to the Hobbesian view of society and human relations so often described for atomistic peasant communities and certain disadvantaged strata of industrial society. Those in positions of power, assumed to have both the motives and the means to undermine other people's chances, are particularly feared and distrusted. It is also clear how such a view of the arrangement of interests in society leads to the cumulative or cleavage view of power. In perpetual readiness for conflict, the powerful are

¹ Cf. Simmel (1952, p. 57). Simmel distinguishes this strategy, which might be referred to as "contestant", from one where individuals concentrate their efforts on achieving the absolute standard required for realizing aims. This will be referred to as "competence" strategy. Such strategies are discussed also in May and Doob (1937, p. 11).
believed to spend much of their energy in entrenching themselves and preventing possible challenges from below. At the same time, peers are seen as necessarily divided and therefore unable to generate influence structures to lessen the power gap. In one sense the belief syndrome described is purely political. It defines relative power position as the most relevant aspect of human relations and as the major factor determining access to the good.

The inner coherence of the beliefs described may be presented schematically:

**THE FINITE GOOD VIEW OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM**

Interests are competitive for everyone in society → Power the major factor determining access to the good

Beliefs about peers

Oriented towards contestant tactics

Cooperation and corporate action pointless or doomed to failure

Cannot generate influence structures

Beliefs about the powerful

Oriented towards contestant tactics. Have the means to employ them successfully.

Power inequality vast and stable

This belief syndrome is conceivable and has in fact been identified among concrete groups. It will be referred to in this study as the Finite Good, or Atomistic view of the social system. On the other hand, the diametrically opposite belief system can only be a logical construct. One cannot conceive of a culture that defines all goods as available in unlimited quantities. By the tenets of world view theory, no culture can fail to take account of the universal given of the human condition, namely that resources are scarce.1 But the view that the good, though scarce,

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1. Critics of Foster have used this rationale to argue that no culture can deny the existence of common interests. Cf. Kaplan and Saler (1966) and Foster's reply (1966).
can be made to expand and the corollary belief that interests are not necessarily competitive throughout the society, but are simultaneously competitive and common for different groups in the social system, is perfectly feasible. The following belief syndrome can flow from such a view. It will be called the Expanding Good view of the system:

**THE EXPANDING GOOD VIEW OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM**

- Interests not necessarily competitive for all
- Competence can be a major factor determining access to the good
- Beliefs about peers:
  - Can be motivated to cooperate
  - Successful concerted action possible
  - Can generate influence structures
- Beliefs about the powerful:
  - Neither primarily motivated, nor always able to undermine the weak
  - The shifting balance view of power inequality

It is important to distinguish beliefs about the system from beliefs about the self in the system. Schwartz, for example, argues that the sense of personal "inefficacy" in the system is a much less important factor in political alienation than negative feelings about the system itself. (1973, pp. 13-14) In a study of immigrants, the distinction between systemic and self-in-system beliefs is not only analytically crucial, but also one that may be expected to make sense to the immigrants themselves. It is natural that outsiders should concern themselves with how far the rules by which the system runs are applicable to themselves. When applied to the self, the atomistic belief syndrome will be referred to as the threat definition of the situation and its opposite as the opportunity definition.1

It should be noted that to talk of configurations is to hypothesize inner coherence between the component beliefs. As with culture in general, so with these beliefs, the coherence

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1. The term threat is used because it is found throughout the literature on atomism. Opportunity, though not the logical opposite to threat, seems appropriate because it suggests belief in a favourable potential.
and interdependence of parts is never perfect. Nevertheless the position taken here is that intermixture of beliefs will be an unstable pattern and will set up some pressure for change in the total belief structure towards one or the other of the models outlined.

The general proposition that such beliefs systems differentiate between participant and non-participant propensities in the democratic process hardly needs defending, since the models used were constructed with the requirements of demand activity in mind. In order to spell out expected relationships more specifically, one may consider political demand activity as a possible strategy to the good and compare it to alternative strategies.

Strategies to the good

In view of the conceptual framework adopted in this study, strategies to the good may be described with reference to the way an individual handles his peers and his superiors in the social system. Here one may ask first whether contact is sought or avoided, and secondly whether peers are treated as competitors or as resources for cooperation and whether superiors are submitted to or negotiated with. Of the many logically possible strategies which ensue from different combinations, three seem particularly relevant given that one is dealing with an immigrant group.

i. Maximum avoidance

Here the person treats the self as the only reliable resource. The powerful are avoided and, in contact situations, propitiated. The good is sought in areas of least interest to them and in conformity with the demands and conditions which they impose. Interaction with equals is structured on the expectation of potential conflict. Such a strategy, which leaves no room for cooperation with peers and negotiation with the powerful, clearly precludes the use of the political process as an avenue for access to the good.
ii. One sided withdrawal - group self-sufficiency

Here again there is avoidance/submission toward the powerful. But now equals, or rather in-group members, are treated as a resource. In order to minimize dependence on the powerful, peers cooperate in creating a sub-system as independent and self-sufficient as possible. An ethnic group, which has more resources for self-sufficiency than most other sub-groups in society, may well opt for this. In the literature on ethnic relations, this type of adjustment to the dominant group has been variously called "separatism", "segregated pluralism" or "pluralism at the tolerance level".

Instability is built into such a strategy because the processes which enable the group to withdraw create the conditions for rewarding contact with the dominant group. The corporate structures required to maximize self-sufficiency are, and may eventually come to be used as, resources for negotiation with the powerful. Thus, while group self-sufficiency amounts to withdrawal from the political process, it is a strategy which may eventually generate participant propensities.

The most likely cognitive foundation for group self-sufficiency is the definition of the situation in terms of threat, combined with the belief that the social system at large works by rules of the expanding good. The most vulnerable component of the belief configurations described is negation of common interests, particularly in the case of immigrants. When the threat definition of the situation becomes detached from its supportive social philosophy, members of the group come to believe that a) the system at large works so that cooperation is neither dangerous nor a sham - at least for others - and b) the system at large allows the weak to influence the powerful. Regarding the latter, immigrants may well find many reasons why what applies to others has no

1. For a theoretical exposition of the way consciousness of kind is expressed in community-type structures tending towards inclusiveness, see Francis (1947).
repercussions on their own position. But once members of the group come to see that the social system permits corporate action, then they may come to look upon their own failure to cooperate as a dysfunctional rather than an adaptive response.

iii. Contact strategy - the in-group as power base

Here contact is sought with both peers and the powerful. There is cooperation with equals and negotiation with the powerful. Specific minority interests are fed into the dominant social system. Alliances are struck with power structures in the dominant society. The individual participates in the broad socio-political process via his in-group. In the case of an ethnic minority, this mode of adjustment is usually referred to as integration or "accommodated pluralism".

A variant is when the individual uses the ethnic group as a power facility but not as his only power base. Here he has multiple attachments, some specifically with the ethnic group, some with other power structures in the society. Gordon has called this the "pluralistic integration" adjustment. Individuals do not deny their identity but "make as much of it or as little as they wish" and ethnicity is treated as one of a range of possible bases for participation in the broader system.

This makes full allowance for demand activity as a means for securing the good and thus fits the definition of the participant propensity. Its cognitive basis is expected to be the expanding good view of the system, combined with opportunity definitions of the Greek situation.

As already mentioned, the literature on atomism has been drawn on because the cultural patterns that it points to are familiar patterns in Greek traditional culture. A brief consideration of Greek atomism is therefore necessary before concluding this chapter.
Atomism in Greek culture

There is hardly a piece of writing on Greece, from travelogue to anthropological monograph, that does not treat atomistic structures and cultural patterns as a central characteristic of villages and, in the opinion of many, of the society as a whole. The major anthropological studies in this field have been referred to so often on these themes that it seems superfluous to repeat the familiar passages yet again. Particularly relevant here are the observations of those whose focus has been on the political implications of Greek atomism. Thus Pollis highlights the fundamental incompatibility between the norms pertinent to democratic political participation and those of Greek culture, where the concept of the self is circumscribed by position in basic ascribed membership groups, where the imperatives for behaviour are shaped wholly with reference to the individual's roles and loyalties in these groups and where a Hobbesian view of society defines the interests of groups as mutually exclusive:

In Greece, interest aggregation of non-associational and associational group demands is not possible through the operation of democratic political processes, since each group considers its interests exclusive and not

1. The oft-quoted "classics" in this field are Campbell (1964); Campbell and Sherrard (1968); Friedl (1962); Lee (1959); Sanders (1962); Peristiany (1965 and 1968); and Blum and Blum (1965). The basic patterns identified in these original pieces of research are constantly referred to by others, who use them as background to their own studies or commentaries. See, e.g., Holden (1972) or Bottomley's portrait of Greek culture (1973, pp. 166-9 and 268-335) as well as Legg and Pollis discussed in the text. The tenacity of atomistic patterns seems remarkable if one goes by the many references to them in a symposium on Greek regional variation held as recently as 1976. To take one of several comments on this theme: "If one constructed a dominant value profile of villagers in Greece, it might be summed up by reference to a principle of limited good ...", McCall (1976, p. 35).

2. In addition to the two writers discussed see Mouzelis and Attalides (1971). On the peasants they comment: "The most striking feature of this social category is its inability to organize itself politically", p. 172. Particularly interesting here is Meynaud. Despite his criticism of explanations that suggest cultural determinism he himself finds important clues to the tenor of Greek political life in the norms and belief systems that define patronage as the major avenue of access to goods and services (1965, pp. 26 and 45).
subject to common ground rules ... The behavioural re-
quisites of viewing the self as an integral part of a
group, the need to preserve the inviolability of the
group, the viewing of other groups and their claims as
a threat to one's own survival, have distorted demo-
cratic institutions. (1965, p. 39)

Legg, too, reserves a central place for atomistic cultural
patterns when he explains the institutions and processes of
modern Greek politics. Like every other observer of Greek
society, he points to the configuration of familism, absence of
stable corporate loyalties, the conflict model of social rela-
tions, pervasive distrust, inability to generate leaders from
within the group, acceptance of political decisions which affect
life as unalterable givens emanating from outside and above, and
reliance on patronage to channel political allocations to the
individual and the family. (1969, pp. 32-39 and Ch. 4) He
describes the political expression of such socio-cultural pat-
terns in the following terms:

The pattern of traditional clientage relationships has
always been oriented to the output side of the Greek
political system ... The villager expects the government
to be unfair in awarding jobs and in distributing bene-
fits. For most, the possibility of changing the system
is inconceivable; the best that can be hoped for is a
newly forged personal tie that might provide a new set
of privileges for the individual and his family at the
expense of the rest of society. (p. 96)

Furthermore, Legg argues that the pervasiveness of patronage
means that what may, at first sight, look like corporate politi-
cal activity does not in reality function so as to channel col-
lective wants into the decision-making process.

Regardless of organizational form, continuity, or type
of demands, there is a common thread running through
most Greek organizational life: the tie of mutual obli-
gations that connects each member with the leader ... 
Although the formal organization may appear to be inter-
ested in group demands, the clientage networks within
the organization are primarily oriented to individual
concerns ... The Greek acts as an individual ... he
does not recognize the existence of a common interest,
or the necessity for organization. (pp. 101-2)

One can, then, be confident that the models used for the analysis
represent configurations which are central to Greek traditional
culture and are associated with deeply rooted forms of political expression.

No doubt this picture is one-sided. It has been pointed out, e.g., that there has been a significant corporate tradition in Greek villages. The economic and social welfare structures forged in Ambelakia, a village in Thessaly, in the 18th century on a community-wide basis are held up as a significant expression of the potential for viable corporate organization. Continuities are sought in the agricultural cooperatives which have spread throughout the countryside since the turn of the century. The major role of the State in the structure and operation of these cooperatives is not disputed. But it is argued that they have functioned as an important vehicle for the pursuit of common objectives in the political arena. Since detailed case studies are lacking it is difficult to decide whether agricultural cooperatives are indeed the structural expression of a tradition that contradicts atomism or whether, as far as the villager is concerned, they are yet another institution furnished from above which can be exploited for personal advantage to be pursued in competition against other members.

The question of whether there are important alternatives to atomism within the Greek village culture is an open one. There is, however, another tradition available to Greeks abroad, namely the culture of dispersion. This establishes the preservation of ethnic identity as a collective aim which can be realized only through corporate organizations. It is a tradition that need not be forged anew by every Greek community abroad but is taken over ready-made. How far the link of "we are" with "we want", which this tradition forges with respect to identity objectives, spills over to other goods and how far it serves to break the vicious cycle of the atomistic belief syndrome will be a major question examined in this study.

1. This is the major theme in the historical survey of the Greek cooperative movement by Abdelides (1976).
That migration can undermine dignity and self-respect, disrupt the social fabric and leave men rootless and alienated is clear enough. As Handlin points out, the pathology of immigration stands out and invites study, while healthy and beneficial aspects are more likely to stay hidden. (1969, p. 6) Certainly it is fruitful to think about the cost of economic opportunity and ask how the immigrant's potential is curtailed by a society that is hostile, indifferent or insensitive. And yet, it seems worth to consider, also, whether uprooting cannot have liberating aspects. To the Greeks this can, after all, appear as a country where the good is more plentiful and where, in politics, form is somewhat closer to substance than is the case at home. A people who, traditionally, and with good reason, have seen themselves as ciphers in political life may find that, alongside with the problems and anxieties of uprooting, comes also a degree of political dignity.
CHAPTER IX

The Research Design

The belief systems which have been operative in the ethnic culture over the years will be identified through analysis of a) the commentary of Greek newspapers published in Australia and b) material from interviews with people who held leadership positions in the Greek settlement in Sydney in 1971.

A sample survey, which is the usual research tool for studies in this area, was not suitable in this case. One could not have traced the development of ideas, nor could the sample have been kept to a manageable size since the relevant distributions would not have been of particular assumptions and ideas but of belief configurations.

Thus, the ethnic culture was not pieced together from below, through the way it is manifested in the outlook of members of the minority. Instead, the points of contact were found in the institutions and individuals who occupy key positions in the ethnic network of communication and are thus crucially involved in the process which moulds, crystallizes and expresses the cultural.

Part I - The ethnic press

The press as a pointer to definitions of the situation for action

The discussion which follows refers to commercial publications - those which Gilson and Zubrzycki have called "big press". These newspapers are geared to mass circulation, are distributed beyond the local settlement, derive their principal source of revenue from advertising, are published at least once weekly and are produced on letter press. (1967, p. vii) The material for this study has been drawn from such papers. The familiar argument which justifies the use of newspaper content as an indicator of beliefs, attitudes or values among a public is that a paper cannot sell unless it offers something that is needed in a manner which is meaningful. In this section an attempt will be made to
show that this argument has particular force for ethnic newspapers and that, because of the nature of the immigrants' needs, the ethnic press is bound to deal with and express the kinds of assumptions and beliefs on which this study focuses.

Necessarily, the immigrant condition generates the need for orientation. Handlin writes:

It was difficult of course to apply village experience to life in America, to stretch the ancient aphorisms so they would fit the new conditions. Yet that strain led not to a rejection of tradition but rather to an eager quest for a reliable interpreter. Significantly, the peasants sought to acknowledge an authority that would make that interpretation for them. (1951, p. 109)

It is by now commonplace that for the bulk of immigrants - particularly for national groups which have no natural cultural affinities with the host society - the orientation is effected via the ethnic sub-society. Certainly the immigrant gets much vital information and guidance through his primary networks. But one can hardly dispute that the ethnic newspaper is particularly well placed to play a role in this area.

The function of the ethnic press in answering the immigrant's need to find his bearings both in the society at large and in the ethnic sub-society has been well recognized by students in this field.

i. Orientation to the broader society

Park's claim that "Almost all that he [the immigrant] knows about the larger political, social and industrial life about him, he gets indirectly through the medium of the press" (1922, p. 113) may be exaggerated. But the role of the ethnic press as an interpreter of the host environment is not in dispute.

1. In his review of theoretical approaches to the study of immigrants Zubrzycki stressed the importance of using the primary group as "the true unit of ethnic relations". He stressed that primary relations "serve to transmit to the individual ideas from and concerning the larger structure", (1951, pp. 59 and 60); cf. also Eisenstadt (1951, pp. 223-4).

2. Gilson and Zubrzycki refer to the ethnic press as "a stepping stone from an old life to a new" and emphasize the role of the press in helping the immigrant "to understand the
Like the community newspaper, to which it has been likened, the ethnic newspaper addresses itself to an audience which shares, and knows that it shares, a characteristic that draws boundaries between the group and the larger environment. Whether the bounded community be ethnic or local, its newspapers can do for the group what the papers of the larger society cannot: interpret what conditions and events outside mean to them. Thus Janowitz regarded the community press as "one of the social mechanisms through which the individual is integrated into the urban social structure" and claimed that the local paper is geared "to interpret relevant external events to the local community in a meaningful and affectual context". (1967, p. 61) It is because it recognizes the important function of ethnic newspapers that the host society often seeks to exercise control over the ethnic press.¹

ii. Explaining the community to itself²

The ethnic society is something that the community at home has never been, a baffling blend of familiar forms invested with new meanings, a setting where traditional relationships have new implications and where the very existence of the community itself loses the quality of something that can be taken for granted. Here again, the function of the press has been well documented.³

By picturing the internal life of the community, by commenting on common endeavours, factional conflicts, achievements and

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¹ Australian way of life, legal and political institutions and generally assists them in learning as much as possible about their new country" (1967, p. 161). See also the observations about this in the Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (op.cit., vol. IV, p. 161).

² In Australia the right to publish was subject to certain conditions up to January 1956. These conditions allowed for considerable control over what the papers wrote about the host society. Cf. Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967, pp. 39-42).

³ The phrase is borrowed from Willey (1926, p. 14).

The theme that the ethnic community, as product of "social reconstruction", can never be a replica of the village at home has been fully developed in the Polish Peasant (pp.1469-1547); cf. also Price for a discussion of "assimilation" to the ethnic community (1963a, Ch. VI). On the function of the ethnic press in orienting the immigrant to the ethnic community see Park (1922, p. 115).
failures, the ethnic press articulates, or implicitly affirms, notions about identity, about the meaning of the ethnic bond, about common objectives and about communal assets and liabilities.

iii. Responses to the situation

For the immigrant the connection of knowledge to purpose and decision has particular salience and urgency since so much of his life consists in making choices. Correspondingly, in the ethnic paper information is almost inseparable from advice. Gilson and Zubrzycki make much of the papers' "social control" function. The press links its picture of how things are to prescriptions on how things must be handled and thus directs on strategies to the good.

It was argued in the previous chapter that ideas about the in-group, about relations with the society at large and about strategies to the good belong to the shared and cultural because they are generated by the abiding parameters of the immigrants' existence. The argument here is that the press is bound to respond to these parameters and, in doing so, channel its own communications to the flow of exchange about such matters which is going on all the time in the course of everyday life. Since its communications are widely available and have particular authority, the press is instrumental in transforming private perspectives into common frames of reference and thus constitutes a distinctive force in establishing these ideas as elements in culture. This in itself means that newspaper content corresponds to ideas which have currency in the community at large. Since, however, in the absence of readership surveys the correspondence cannot be proved, it is necessary to argue the case more closely.

1. (1967, pp. 161-5); The Committee on Biculturalism and Bilingualism (op.cit., p. 160).

2. Mead's observation that "Language does not simply symbolize a situation or object which is already there in advance; it makes possible the existence or appearance of that situation or object, for it is part of the mechanism whereby the situation or object is created" (1934, pp. 77-8) is particularly valid for text which reaches a wide public. Cf. also Gobner (1969, pp. 123-5).
iv. The exercise of influence

The ethnic newspaper is altogether geared towards influencing its public. This is implicit in its function as an instrument of social control. Another reason why ethnic papers must seek to exercise influence, and be seen to do so, or undermine their own existence, is their dependence on organized sub-groups in the ethnic society. For the Greek papers, at any rate, it seems that the ability to secure the support of organized groups has been important in sifting the survivors from the losers. It takes many years for a paper to reach the stage when it can sell advertising space on the basis of its circulation figures. From interviews with the old timers on the staff of the papers selected and the accounts of "early days" which the papers tend to publish on their anniversaries, one gets a picture of long years spent struggling against considerable odds. In such circumstances it is vital for the enterprise that there should be groups which have a direct stake in its survival and are prepared to secure it the much needed advertisements or even, as was the case with the leftist newspapers, to organize fund-raising campaigns and subscription drives. In the Greek settlements there has been no shortage of issues which have divided the communities. The protagonists have always sought to gain

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1. For example the failure of Australis, the oldest Greek newspaper has been attributed largely to the inability of the editor to strike root in the community (Krikos, Jul-Aug 1966). another of the first papers Ethniki Salpinx (1922-25) went bankrupt as soon as the faction which supported it lost out in one of the many incidents of the ongoing Church-Community dispute (Tsounis, 1971a, p. 146). On the other hand, the longevity of the two major papers, the Hellenic Herald and the National Tribune, has been attributed by Tsounis to their stable connections with organized groups (ibid., p. 192), an observation which was confirmed to me by the editors of these papers in 1972.

2. In a conference on Neos Kosmos attended by all leftist organizations and by representatives of Australian unions, ways of organizing such activities more effectively were a major subject (Neos Kosmos report on the conference, 15 March 1963).
wide public support and have therefore been anxious to secure the reliable services of a newspaper. A brief review of how the newspapers chosen were connected to groups is necessary at this point.  

The first edition of the National Tribune, successor to the oldest Greek commercial paper Australis, appeared in Sydney on 22nd December 1922. This was a little before it had become clear that the Ecumenical Patriarchate would make a bid for jurisdiction over the churches hitherto run by Community councils. Thus the Marinakis brothers, who bought Australis and renamed it, did not act in response to the promptings of an identifiable faction. But by the time the conflict broke out in earnest the editor's affinities with pro-Church elements had become quite clear so that, when factions crystallized, the paper became firmly connected with this camp. Though it changed hands in 1945 and again in 1962, the paper always relied on the conservative forces in the settlement and on the Greek political and religious establishment. Apparently Nicolaides, who was editor and part-owner between 1945 and 1962, found this dependence particularly irksome. Though firmly anti-communist, he was a man of progressive views and all his sympathies lay with the newcomers, whose problems he was inclined to attribute to the emigration policy of the Greek Government. Yet it seems that he could not extricate the paper from its ties with the establishment.

The consistent, committed and powerful ally of the Community supporters in the 1920's, and throughout the 35 years when Grivas remained as editor, was the Hellenic Herald. The paper

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1. The information in the following pages is drawn from Tsounis (1971a), Petrolias (1959) and from personal conversations with editors in 1972 and other leaders. No specific references will be given.

2. One of the brothers Marinakis, the Rev. Demetrios, devoted himself to journalism after he was sacked by the Community council mainly because, as a priest, he constantly defied the council's authority. The issue which took place in 1923 divided the Sydney community for a while and the pro-Church faction became an important basis for support for the newspaper.
first appeared in Sydney on 11th November 1926 and in this case the need to provide the pro-Community camp with a medium for influencing public opinion was a major consideration in the decision to issue the newspaper. Altogether, Grivas seemed to have a particular talent for striking alliances with organized groups which stood the paper in good stead and guaranteed its survival.

Links with organized sectors who had a stake in exercising community-wide influence were, if anything, even clearer for the leftist newspapers the *Australian Greek*, which first appeared in Melbourne in 1949, and its successor, in 1957, *Neos Kosmos*. By the end of the 1940's the Greek left had appeared as a force to be reckoned with in the communities and was determined to spread its influence among the masses of newcomers. In the company which was formed to launch the *Australian Greek* Tollis, the major shareholder and the paper's first editor, though sympathetic to the left, was not a known communist. This was indeed his major asset for the left, which previously made many futile attempts to obtain a permit to publish a weekly newspaper. The other shareholders, however, were drawn from the leftist ranks. Though Tollis, who was serious neither about his journalism nor about his politics, proved difficult to control, the left had been able to secure a post on the paper for D. Gogos, an energetic and competent young journalist with strong ideological commitment. In 1954 the left made a determined attempt to get a grip of the situation and Tollis, who remained the major shareholder, was persuaded to give the editorship over to Gogos. From then and until 1957, when Gogos left after a quarrel with Tollis and the *Australian Greek* ceased publication, the paper followed a clear coherent line in harmony with the objectives of the organized left.

In 1957 Gogos and other prominent leftists formed another company and launched *Neos Kosmos*. The paper openly acted as the platform for the ideas and policies of the Greek left. In fact

1. The paper gave such accounts of his origins in reviews of its history published periodically (20 Nov. '47; 15 Nov. '56). Until 1931 the paper carried the subtitle "official organ of the Greek Orthodox Community in N.S.W.". In 1929, the Kytheran fraternity proclaimed the paper its official organ.
the stand which the paper was to take on major issues was normally decided in close cooperation with leftist leaders.

Phos, an extreme right-wing newspaper which first appeared in Melbourne in 1936, was the only one of the papers studied that had no lasting links with important organized groups in the community. J. Panagiotopoulos, who launched the newspaper and remained editor throughout the 1960's, was a man with rigid extremist views and a marked tendency to personal feuds. His only lasting connection was with the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion, which could hardly be said to have played an important role in the communal life. Nevertheless, there were periods when the paper formed stable links with identifiable groups, as for example in the late 1940's when the so-called Phos party became so influential that it actually gained control of the Community council for a time. In any case the paper's commitment to exercise influence was guaranteed by the editor's self-image as one of the few remaining champions of the purely Greek, that is the traditional conservative values of "patriotism, religion and family" and as one who, unlike his naive compatriots, could perceive the communist danger through its multiple disguises.

It is largely because the papers were bound to direct much energy towards winning wide support for particular policies and philosophies that the text expressed assumptions and ideas which were widely shared among the public at large. This is hardly a paradox. The policies or strategies which the paper urges upon its readers may or may not be widely accepted at any given time, although here too the prescription must remain within the limits of the acceptable. But the arguments brought to bear, that which the paper appeals to, must be chosen with reference to widespread assumptions and beliefs. The key to influence is credibility and this would be seriously undermined if readers could not connect the text to their own perspectives. "They have always been telling me that I am 'pouring water in the wine'," said Gogos in the course of my conversation with him in 1971. He was referring to his arguments about Neos Kosmos with leftist ideologues. "It takes a journalist to understand that if you are going to put new ideas into people's heads you have got to get into their skin.
first. It is no use if you ignore the Greeks' mentality and write to them as though you were writing for Australian workers."

Gogos was in no way exceptional in his awareness that the persuasive argument is fashioned out of that which is already rooted in people's minds. When in the mid-1930's there were suggestions that it was time for the two Sydney papers to bury the hatchet, the editor of the Hellenic Herald wrote:

While the press leads a society, inspires ideals and strengthens the principles and beliefs of a people it also must mirror the people's mentality ... It cannot survive except as a prism which reflects the social, family and personal experience of its readers. The National Tribune adopted a clear policy. And in pursuing this policy it shut out the impulses from large sectors of the communities. The Hellenic Herald was formed of the impulses which the others rejected ... A united press which preserves one front and proclaims one policy will stop being sensitive to the totality of the people And in the end it will be despised and condemned to extinction. (Editorial, 2 Apr. 1936, p. 4, Col. 1)

This passage leads one to consider the question of alternative cultural themes.

v. Alternative themes and the central outlook

One can assume that each paper made the most of the areas of difference which must exist in the ethnic as in every culture, since each was anxious to differentiate its outlook and policies from those of its rivals. Methodologically this is fortunate since this study is as concerned with variation as with the common denominator in belief systems.

In short, the position taken here is that the text of each paper will embody assumptions and beliefs which are widespread enough to be woven in the normal communications of everyday life. If one is satisfied on this one can maintain also that the belief systems expressed in each paper will be universally intelligible

1. Such partisanship is not a uniform phenomenon for the ethnic press. The point is often made both about ethnic and its nearest equivalent, the local community press, that it keeps to the areas of broad consensus. Cf. Park (1922, p. 113) and Janowitz (1967, p. 61); Fishman and Fishman (1959).
in the minority; those whose outlook differs will recognize that this is a possible way for Greeks to look at things. The full range of these possible, or culturally viable, alternatives can be identified by looking at all the major papers of each period.

Just as important is to look for a central outlook, a common stock of ideas so widespread that variance may be termed as idiosyncratic to individuals. Here again the partisanship of the Greek press is a methodological asset. If newspapers are intent on opposing one another, the common ground in their commentary may be confidently regarded as evidence of a central outlook. In the absence of survey data it is particularly important to see how this central outlook changes over time. The influence of new ideas can be gauged by tracing which of them eventually find their way into the central outlook of later years. Conversely, the accepted notions of one period may be said to lose ground to the extent that they gradually move out of the realm of what everyone takes for granted and become the subject of controversy.

The final question to consider in this section is whether the newspapers can be relied on to make correct assessments of outlooks current in the communities.

vi. Sensitivity to the public

There are many reasons why the staff of the ethnic newspaper can be expected to know their public well. They are writing for a well defined collectivity, people of fairly uniform background, who have had broadly similar experiences. Mostly the editorial staff have gone through the same paces as everyone else. Grivas, for example, spent his first eight years in Australia as an itinerant worker, and several members on the staff of *Neos Kosmos* have had spells in factories.

Secondly, the editor and other important members of his staff are usually active in a variety of communal affairs. Grivas was secretary of the Community in 1927, and in the late 1950's when the Church-Community conflict entered its second major phase,
the Federation of Communities made a point of having him in on
their meetings precisely because they recognized his close con-
tact with public opinion. Similarly, N. Marinakis was a founder
member of the Hellenic Club in Sydney, acted as secretary in the
Greek consulate and was generally prominent in the activities of
his camp.

A day or two spent in the offices of each newspaper were
enough to confirm the picture of intimacy and continuous personal
contact with the public drawn by Gilson and Zubrzycki (1967,
pp. 164-6). Of the 15 telephone calls which D. Calomeris, editor
of the Hellenic Herald, received during one of our conversations,
three were from other journalists, five from people involved in
eric associations, one from a Greek teacher, one from an irate
lawyer complaining that he had had enough of being used as a
social worker by his clients and that it was time the paper did
something about the question of welfare services, two from readers
with views on recent items in the paper, one from an Australian
senator, one personal and one about a small ad. The last was the
only one the editor transferred to the "right department". Nei-
ther in the Hellenic Herald nor in the offices of the other news-
papers was there evidence of a protective ring of secretaries
instructed to guard the editorial staff from being importuned.
All editors stressed that it was part of their job to be acces-
sible. If such was the picture in 1971 when the papers had grown
into sizeable enterprises, one can well imagine how things were
in earlier years. Contact with the public was a particularly
strong point of "uncle Grivas". He made regular tours of
Australia to keep his finger on the pulse - a habit which, ac-
cording to Calomeris, also brought immediate financial rewards since
Grivas went around reminding negligent subscribers that he had
"eight mouths to feed".

Thus confidence in ethnic newspapers as a source for the
information sought in this study is justified if one considers
their functions and the reasons which guarantee that they have
the interest and opportunity to stay in tune with their public.
Originally the intention was to use the press throughout the
period. However, certain important changes in the papers' style and technique of communication after the early 1960's made the use of the text so problematic that it was decided to use the papers only up to 1965 and to rely on the leadership study for assessing developments since then. Before discussing this more fully, it seems necessary to say something about Greek publications up to 1970.

### Greek papers and the method for analysis

#### 1. Ethnic publications

As in all other ethnic communities, so also in the Greek the "big press" is only part of what is being published. In their bibliography of the foreign language press Gilson and Zubrzycki traced 35 Greek "little press" publications up to 1967. No attempt has been made to update this material since the ethnic press is of interest in this study only so far as it can be used as a research tool. Bulletins of clubs or churches, advertising circulars which contain news and comment but are distributed free of charge or literary magazines and sports papers hardly serve the purpose.

Twenty-four commercial papers have been in circulation in Greek settlements sometime between 1914, when the first paper appeared, and 1970. Of these the ten which survived for less than five years and the six which were launched after 1967 were excluded as sources from the start. The time span for each of these newspapers was too short. Of the remaining eight, all but the Australian Greek had been published regularly for ten years or longer and were still in circulation in 1970. When after preliminary reading it became clear that the press could be used only up to 1963, the question arose whether three papers, *Pyrsos* (Melbourne, 1958), *Kyriake* (Sydney, 1959) and *Ta Nω* (Melbourne, 1961) should be included. *Ta Nω* was excluded as a matter of course. The decision to exclude also *Pyrsos* and *Kyriake* was

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1. These were *Nεα Πατρις* (Sydney, 1967); *Embros* (Melbourne, 1967); *Ως Καίρωι* (Sydney, 1969); *Tachydrēmos* (Adelaide, 1968); *Nεα Εστία* (Adelaide, 1969) and *Tachydromos* (Canberra, 1969).
taken on the grounds that both contained very little relevant material during this period. Between 1958 and 1962 the Church-Community dispute went through its second and decisive phase and the text of the papers was dominated by it.

Thus the material was drawn from the five papers already mentioned. The three, National Tribune, Hellenic Herald and Phos had the great advantage that they began publication before the war. Regrettably library holdings for the National Tribune start only in 1950. The files held in the offices of the paper are very incomplete but all available issues were of course studied. From 1954 onwards when Gogos became editor, the Australian Greek and Neos Kosmos were treated as one paper, since under Gogos the line was very consistent. The papers covered the full spectrum of political allegiance and it was expected that they would express the widest range of politically relevant outlooks operative in the minority.

1. Information on circulation figures may be of interest here though the figures for the early years are simply estimates given mainly by the editors interviewed. In any case the meaning of such information is very difficult to assess. Many more people read the paper than buy it. According to the editors interviewed the figures ought to be at least doubled. And whether it be read or not, the newspaper content is widely discussed and assessed wherever Greeks meet at some leisure. For the pre-war period the two main rivals, the Hellenic Herald and National Tribune seem to have run very close to each other. The opinion of those to whom I talked was that in the 1930's each was selling about 1,000 copies a week. By the mid-1940's this had doubled. An old member of the staff on the National Tribune who remembered the negotiations when the paper changed hands in 1945 said that at the time the figure of 2,500 had been mentioned. Phos lagged much behind. By all accounts its maximum was 1,000 before mass immigration began.

All papers naturally increased their circulation sharply after the war. Phos reached about 2,500 by 1958, according to Petrolias. Figures given by Gilson and Zubrzycki show how Neos Kosmos gained ground relatively to other papers. For 1958-9 the figure for the Hellenic Herald was 12,000, for Neos Kosmos 6,000. Next year the figures were 15,331 and 10,000 respectively. The National Tribune did relatively less well. By 1960-1 it had been relegated firmly to third position (6,500), and even in 1972 the figure had not risen above 8,000.
The papers' definitions of the situation were pieced together from explicit comments on the Greeks' life in this country. Of course ideas are also communicated indirectly. For example, a crucial facet of the sense of efficacy is beliefs regarding the resources which are available to Greeks from each of the social systems to which they belong: Greece, the ethnic community, and the host society. All papers deal extensively with this in their commentary. Relevant messages are contained also in such material as a consul's letter of protest when Greeks are criticised in the Australian press, a report that a meeting for the relief of the unemployed in the Community Hall ends in deadlock; or a photo of an Australian political figure in the Grecian Hall.

It seems that on the whole one is on shaky ground when making inferences from such information about the multifaceted and complex assumptions and beliefs sought in this study. The subjective and arbitrary element, never absent when one infers meaning from symbols, would be particularly pronounced here. It is fairly safe to say, for example, that the consul's letter indicates belief in some protection from the Greek State. But it is very difficult to decide whether it is a comment about the poor means which the Greek State employs or about the fact that someone can be trusted to speak on behalf of the group. And what is one to make of the photograph? Is it the message about official recognition of the community that counts or is it the message that Australian public figures must always be shown the group's "best" or "most civilized" face, i.e., that recognition and protection are conditional upon meeting the standards of the dominant culture? In explicit comment much of this is quite clear or, if not, can be assessed from contextual and stylistic clues. Such context can only be built into straight information by constructing a coding frame too complex to handle.

Secondly, relative emphasis, which is integral to meaning at least for the ideas dealt with here, could only be judged quantitatively - by the relative frequency, space or prominence
given to different items of information. In the absence of the clues provided in commentary, the quantitative information would serve to establish relative emphasis but would leave one in the dark on the crucial difference between the unfamiliar perspective which the editor is bent on instilling and the taken for granted which is reiterated as a foundation for credibility.

Up to the early 1960's there was no difficulty about finding relevant commentary in the papers. Aspects of the Greeks' life situation were continuously singled out by the editors for speculation and analysis. In a manner suggesting village sages, the editor and his staff would discuss things leisurely in consecutive issues, with serious-minded generalization reserved for the editorial or the special feature, the elements of absurdity brought out by the humourist and the "small man's angle" given by the columnist. From the early 1960's onwards the emphasis shifted towards news, information and entertainment material. The papers kept their editorials, and regular columnists continued to appear but these began to look rather minor items amongst the many pages of other material. Most importantly, from 1963 onwards the papers reserved most of their commentary for the ongoing drama of Greek politics which then entered the turbulent phase which culminated in the 1967 military coup.

The general shift in emphasis away from wide-ranging commentary on general problems arising in the immigrants' life was explained to me by the editors of the Hellenic Herald and Neos Kosmos in very similar terms. Both made the point that the public was too sophisticated "to take" straight interpretation and advice and that the desired effect could be achieved much better through the selection and slanting of information. "He won't like to be told straight what unions can do for him. He has heard it all before. But the message will get through if you know how to present union activities." (Gogos) "Uncle Grivas could tell people that they must learn the language or modernize their shops or behave themselves. I wouldn't dare to write such stuff now. Not that things like that don't need to be told. But you can do it now by statistics, by information on available facilities, that kind of thing." (Calomeris)
A very rough indication of the change, which also serves to show the proportion of the text used for the analysis, is given in Table I. For every newspaper 10 issues were selected every third year and the space allocated to different types of material was measured and averaged for the year. Table I shows the proportion of the text, i.e., excluding advertisements, devoted to commentary. This included editorials, regular or special columnists, and special feature articles or series other than of general educational interest such as, e.g., historical or scientific or literary or travel features. Much of the commentary was not relevant as, for example, when it dealt with politics in Greece or with the Church-Community dispute. Therefore the proportion of the text consulted and the proportion used are shown separately. The figures relating to the latter are very rough. If, e.g., an editorial included something that was used in the analysis, the space devoted to the entire editorial was included.

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<th>Year</th>
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It seems that each paper had fairly well established habits as to the proportion of its text devoted to commentary. The differences between papers here are greatest for the proportion of the text which dealt with politically relevant definitions of the situation.
for action. Phos was evidently least oriented in this direction. The figures here reflect the editor's preoccupation with internal politics and with the national and religious ethos of his compatriots.

At the other extreme was the left-wing press, the Australian Greek and its successor Neos Kosmos. In their search for effective ways to propagate left-wing ideology, these papers found it necessary to concentrate on the situation the Greeks faced here, and to explain how the economic, social and political system affected Greeks as an ethnic minority, as migrants and as members of the working class. The Hellenic Herald also took its function as an interpreter of the environment seriously and contained a wealth of relevant material.

It can be seen also that during the main phases of the Church-Community conflict the proportion of the text devoted to commentary is high but the proportion of relevant commentary drops for all papers. But the main point to stress is the sharp drop in commentary and particularly relevant explicit commentary, by 1964. For the reasons given this precluded the use of the papers as sources of information from the early 1960's onwards.

iii. Treatment of the material

In his lucid exposition of the content analysis technique, Berelson clarified the qualitative-quantitative distinction and argued that too much can be made of the contrast between two approaches which differ in degree rather than in kind. (1952, Ch. IV and V) Nevertheless, as Berelson himself demonstrated when reviewing the literature, in practice text is treated quite differently when it is prepared for the computer than when the aim is to read and judge meaning in the traditional manner. In the former case, text is systematically processed before it is interpreted, i.e. alternative categories are formulated, indicators specified and meaning units are defined and coded. In the latter case, no separate processing operation takes place. Rather, distinctions are made and categories elaborated as the analysis goes on.
With this difference in timing go contrasting approaches to the research problem. Like the survey sociologist, whose methods he employs, the content analyst thinks away the concrete to abstract the common element, breaks down the complex to fit its components into mutually exclusive categories, constructs patterns by statistical correlation and measures change by comparing distributions at different points in time. His is an approach that suits analytical and static treatment of data.

Qualitative assessment, on the other hand, is a method borrowed from the historian of ideas, who keeps close to the concrete, adapts his categories to context, finds patterns in the way ideas are actually put together by those who express them, and traces development over time.

It is partly because it suited descriptive and historical treatment of the material that this latter method was chosen in this study. The ethnic press gave a running commentary on the many facets of the migrants' life in this country. It seemed important not to miss the opportunity to present the substance of what was said and trace the development of concrete assumptions, beliefs and ideas that were interesting in themselves and not only for what they revealed about the underlying orientations of opportunity and threat.

A coding frame would have been a useful tool in the search for the two cultural themes. But to devise valid criteria, to predict how each characteristic might be concretely expressed in the text was not possible without an adequate theory of the Greek language. There was no body of knowledge about the symbolism of ideas and attitudes to draw on; and the panel of judges technique, which might have served as a substitute, was not practicable with available resources.

In the circumstances it was important to remain flexible. Perhaps even more important was to avoid giving a "scientific" guise to interpretations that inevitably rely heavily on intuitive understanding and subjective judgment. To admit this is not to relinquish the claim to scholarly treatment of the evidence. Berelson concluded his discussion with the plea to end the "silly
dichotomization" between analyses based upon "mere frequencies" as against "real meaning". To this it seems only fair to add that just as it is superficial to label quantitative content analysis "unimaginative", so also is it unwarranted to dismiss qualitative assessment as necessarily "impressionistic" and "obscure". There is nothing in this approach to prevent one from taking all the relevant evidence into account and from spelling out the grounds on which distinctions are made, categories established and inferences drawn.

Naturally, frequencies could not be counted since the material was not coded. Here, too, it is worth repeating Herelson's simple point that qualitative analysis is "quasi-quantitative" and inevitably involves rough assessments of frequencies. This is not necessarily a defect. Indeed, if the main advantage of the quantitative approach is the mental discipline that it imposes, its main weakness seems to be that so much is built on the questionable assumption that there is a one to one correspondence between frequency and the intention of the author or his effect on his readers. In qualitative assessment, this assumption is not stretched beyond the point where it is valid, simply because it is only possible to take frequency into account when an idea is so obviously emphasized, or so conspicuously absent, that precise counting becomes unnecessary. Some counting was involved in identifying major themes. An idea expressed on at least fifteen separate occasions during the period is characterized as a major theme. In such cases particular care was taken to identify and point out contradictory statements.

Unless otherwise stated, each passage quoted is typical in the sense that at least fifteen similar statements have been found elsewhere in the text. Regarding quotations, it must be noted that because of the verbosity in the style, which meant that more often than not it took several paragraphs to reveal one idea, the passages presented are often condensed versions of the actual text. Sentences, though not re-phrased, have been shortened and much of the padding between statements has been left out.¹

¹. Thus for relatively short quotations the reference often spans 2 or 3 columns.
Part II - The leadership study

When it became clear that the text of the newspapers from the early 1960's onwards was not a suitable research tool, I decided to use instead interviews with people who could be expected to be as sensitive to important ideas and attitudes at large as the editors and staff of major ethnic newspapers. Such people would have to be so placed as to have the opportunity, and also a strong interest, in developing such sensitivity.

Two categories of individuals seemed to fulfill this requirement. Those who operated from within the ethnic sub-society, in particular editors of the major newspapers and office holders in major ethnic organizations; and Greeks who held office in Australian structures associated with ethnic clusters, such as Greek trade unionists and Greek aldermen in industrial and residential areas of ethnic concentration. The circumstances in which individuals within each of these categories came into contact with politically relevant beliefs and attitudes among Greeks, and the way this knowledge touched upon their activities, were quite different. The methodological question of how what they said could throw light on belief systems at large must be treated separately for each category.

Leaders in ethnic organizations

It should be pointed out at the outset that, since this is not a study of leadership patterns in the ethnic minority, no attempt was made to establish whether and how office holders in ethnic organizations wield power or influence. The relevant question, for the purposes of this study, is whether one can assume that those who occupy key offices act with some reference to the needs, beliefs and attitudes of the larger public and, more particularly, to those which are relevant for participation in the broader political process. A case for this can be made both on theoretical grounds and with reference to the history of Greek organizations in Australia.
The role of leaders and the character of ethnic organizations

Built into the role of any sub-group leader is the function of mediating between the group and the broader social system. This function necessarily entails reference to the values and beliefs of the group. This point is made, either explicitly or implicitly, in most statements on the mediation function of sub-group leaders. According to Eisenstadt, a major function of ethnic leaders is "Structuring and defining of new, wider fields of social relationship and explaining them in terms of the traditional values and attitudes". (1951, p. 227) Gerth makes a similar point:

Such a representative position exerts pressure upon the subgroup leader to build into the "generalized other" of the subgroup members, elements of the generalized other of "frame groups" - of the state, the church, and of wider status group codes. (1950, p. 409)

For an ethnic minority mediation involves the group in major institutional spheres of the society, so that leaders are bound to be working with, or on, beliefs and attitudes relating to the usage of the broader political process.

This is particularly true for those who hold office in central ethnic organizations, that is, organizations which, ideally at least, address their activities to community-wide needs and aspirations, or to basic needs shared by substantial sectors of the ethnic group. In the case of Greeks, the organizations which are there to answer the imperatives of the diaspora formula (Ch. I) clearly fall within this category. So do the workers' clubs which, again ideally, define their function with reference to a wide range of needs arising from a status shared by Greeks. On the other hand leaders of regional or sports or general cultural clubs have little occasion to act as mediators for widespread social, economic or political needs.

1. Thinking on sub-groups and sub-systems is inseparable from thinking about communication by the sub-group as an entity with a broader surrounding entity. (see Ch. I) The representative function thus almost becomes one that defines leadership. For the particular importance of communication and of this aspect of leadership for ethnic groups, see Eisenstadt (1954, Ch. 1); also Gans (1962, pp. 160-80); Jansen (1969, pp. 25-7).
The activities of leaders in central ethnic organizations necessarily entail choices about the extent and manner in which the group participates in the political process at large. The theoretical reason for this is to be found in the twin character of the ethnic sub-society, as a sub-system which allows immigrants to satisfy needs independently of the broader society and a structure for integration into the wider system. (Ch. I) Leaders of major ethnic organizations are constantly involved in decisions whether the organization should tackle a concrete need by drawing on the resources of the group or whether it should act as an avenue for getting access to the resources of the wider system. For example, during spells of unemployment in the 1950's and 1960's the question arose whether the Communities ought to concentrate on organizing alleviative measures or whether to handle the problem by making demands to the Australian authorities on behalf of the group. It was realized then, particularly by the radicals, that these two tactics were ultimately incompatible because large scale alleviative measures implied acceptance that the minority becomes responsible for the problems of its members. (see Ch. VI)

Of course major ethnic organizations can never choose to avoid altogether a political function in relation to the broader society, since they necessarily represent the group as an entity in the broader social system. But this representative function can be performed in a variety of ways. The way it is performed, whether for example it is limited to preserving good relations or whether, at the other extreme, it involves the organization in pressure group activities, embodies very different notions regarding the group's right and ability to make use of the political process at large. Since ethnic organizations do not

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1. In the American literature the emphasis has been on the factors which dispose leaders to seek their own rewards in their role as negotiators on behalf of the group, a role which enhances their status in the broader society. Similar emphasis is given on the ethnic group's tendency to use its organizations as power bases vis a vis the host society. These are standard American arguments. An excellent discussion is by Lowell Field in his foreword to Gerson (1964). Australian writers have tended to stress that the ethnic group will use its resources as alternatives to those of the broader system. In addition to works cited earlier, see Mapstone (1966, Ch. VI); Price (1965a, pp. 302-6); Lawrence (1969, pp. 47-56).
operate in a social vacuum, assessments of politically relevant beliefs and attitudes of a public are woven into the choices of those who run them, unless of course such bodies are marginal to the ethnic society and engage in activities with little or no consequence for the migrants at large.

ii. Political polarization and the competition for influence

In the aftermath of the civil war, and particularly since the 1950's, the ideological conflict between radicals and conservatives (ethnikophrones) became a crucial factor in the history of Greek organizations in Australia. Tsounis, who notes about this period that "the polarization of forces around the more nationally minded Greeks, the ethnikophrones, and the parties of the radical left discerned in several communities in the late 1940's came to stay", has shown how this conflict determined the alignment of groups competing for control of major ethnic organizations, particularly in the Church-Community dispute. (1971a, Ch. VII) By the 1960's a state of affairs had come about where different ideological camps controlled key parts of the ethnic institutional structure within each settlement.

In Sydney the central power in the rightist camp was the Archdiocese, which had instituted a "pyramidal structure" of leadership and power. At the grass roots level were the Community councils. There were twelve such councils in the metropolitan area in 1971, one for each of the churches that had been built in areas of Greek concentration. The councils were elected at parish level, but the Archbishop, operating through the Mixed Clergy-Laity Council where he held veto power, had the ultimate say over the appointment, and dismissal, of the Community council officers. The national Mixed Clergy-Laity Council offered an important field for leadership at the higher level. The lay members were drawn mostly from well established wealthy Greeks and second generation immigrants of professional status. Apart from several associations affiliated with this structure, such as the Greek Orthodox Youth association and various ladies' charitable groups, the Archdiocese maintained close contact with other ethnic organizations such as the wealthy Hellenic Club and AHEPA.
Within the sphere of influence of the radical camp were the Greek Orthodox Community of N.S.W., the leftist workers' association Greek Atlas League, its affiliated Democratic Youth League (Lambrakis), and the Cypriot Brotherhood.

From these institutional power bases, the ideological opponents competed for influence on Greek immigrants at large. Tsounis introduces his discussion of account of the schism in the 1960's as follows:

The religious schism emanating directly from the implementation of the new system of church administration after 1939 was part of a larger division among Greeks in Australia. On the surface, the polemical debate centred upon the canonicity or otherwise of priests, sacraments and national-religious practices. Underneath were the disputes over the rights of the Greek Orthodox Community and those of the Greek Orthodox Church. Lower still were the sharp political and social divisions in ethnic communities. (1971a, p. 407)

He goes on to show that the concrete issues involved needed to be seen in the broader context of the relative influence of opposing political outlooks in the communities at large. The spread of communist ideas among immigrants experiencing serious material problems in the 1950's and early 1960's, when there were spells of unemployment and serious housing shortages, (see Ch. III) presented a real danger to conservative forces in the communities. The official Church made much of the association of the left with the cause of the Communities in its propaganda campaign. To the radicals, on the other hand, the control of the Church over the institutions which handled the most central collective aspiration of the ethnic group - the preservation of identity and culture - meant the continuing hold of the Greek religious and political establishment over the activities of Greeks abroad. Underlying the concrete issues at stake was a struggle for supremacy of different formulas for Greeks' existence abroad. Integral to each formula was a position about the extent and manner of involvement in the political process. Tsounis points to the dislike of the conservatives for collective Greek involvement in industrial issues or criticism of the Australian authorities on anything, including the Cyprus question,
and the corresponding commitment of the left to encourage such activities. Analysis of the press and the interviews with leaders support this interpretation.

The implication of ongoing competition for influence on immigrants at large is that it heightens the sensitivity of the leadership to politically relevant ideas and attitudes of the so-called "average Greek family man" who represents the power base available to each camp. By the 1960's ideological camps were firmly entrenched in certain organizations, affording a good opportunity to relate leaders' views of present and future options of theirs and rival organizations to their beliefs about significant ideas at large.

What justifies interviews of leaders is not the assumption that their attitudes and beliefs reflect those operative in the communities. That viewpoint would be hard to argue even if offices were filled by large-scale popular vote and not by a combination of bargaining between factions, careful manipulation of membership lists and, as in the case of those placed within the Archdiocese camp, by frequent intervention from above. The rationale for the leadership study is, rather, that significant modes of thinking in the communities are revealed by leaders' assessments of how their camps could implement their objectives. In effect, the interview material will be used in much the same way as the text of the newspapers. Leaders' commitments, like each paper's editorial policy, will be taken as a given. Just as in the case of newspapers the clue to belief systems at large will be sought in the way the policy is pursued, so in the case of leaders such clues will be given by their ideas as to how objectives can be realized.

iii. The validity of the leaders' judgments

If leaders have a stake in understanding their publics, one need not be too concerned about the risk of serious misinterpretation and distortions, especially if the aim is not to establish statistical distributions but to identify significant themes in the ethnic culture. As Tsounis has shown, and as the personal
histories of those interviewed in this study show, key positions in major ethnic organizations are reached after many years of active involvement in the common affairs of the ethnic group. With the exception of the three clergy and one young president of an Archdiocese Community (one of a group of second generation Greeks whom the Archbishop was training for eventual appointment to the Clergy-Laity Council), the others had all been active in the ethnic society for many years, most of them since the 1950's. On grounds of ability and experience there is no reason to have any less trust in their judgment than in that of the newspaper editors. Given the leaders' knowledge of the way issues had been formulated by themselves and their opponents over a number of years and their involvement with others in their camp and with people on the other side, each had ample opportunity to test out his personal ideas against those of others. So it was most unlikely that their assessments would be purely idiosyncratic or seriously out of tune with every sector in the communities.

Even so, it is legitimate to question whether the activities of major ethnic organizations by the 1970's had become marginal to what mattered to Greeks generally and whether little of what leaders actually did had reference to the needs and attitudes of a broad public.

iv. The crisis of credibility

The alienation of Greeks from such organizations as a result of their prolonged inter- and intra-organizational conflict has often been commented on, particularly with regard to radical organizations. (see Ch. III) Certainly, both the Community and the Atlas club were at a very low ebb. That the Community was nothing like its former self was partly due to the fact that it had come out the loser in the fight with the official Church and partly due to the split in the left since 1968. Ever since then organizations in the radical camp had been rent by factional conflict.¹

¹ An example of the repercussions of internal conflict on other activities was the decision of the executive committee to put a stop to the very popular "Sunday sessions". These were initiated by Mrs. D. Buckland, who was not on the council and not directly involved in the internal conflict, in order to revitalize interest in the Community. On Sundays a cafeteria
To assess how far I was running the risk of talking to leaders of organizations without a public, I spent two weeks in Sydney to get information from people involved in Greek affairs (editors of newspapers or people who had held key offices in recent years). I also met socially some of those whom I had earmarked as potential respondents and also had as many casual conversations as I could with other Greeks.

Any doubts I had about access were dispelled. Contacts snowballed so that, as Bottomley puts it, "... one could conceivably link most existing networks of association so that the resultant pattern would eventually cover most of the Greek population" (1973, p. 158). To give an example, I had rented a room with a Greek family in Dulwich Hill, a suburb of Greek concentration. The host's brother who was working at General Motors Holden suggested that "since I was interested" I might come at lunch time to have a chat with people. That chat led to a number of invitations, including one to a meeting at the Cypriot Brotherhood. There I met the president whom I eventually included in the study and who, after that meeting, invited me for a "chat over a meal" where we were joined by the vice-president of the Community, also a Cypriot, also eventually included in the study. And so it went on.

From these preliminary conversations I formed the definite impression that major organizations were indeed facing a serious crisis of credibility. The standard comment of members of the public was that regional clubs were all right, since "one could meet compatriots there", "they were doing something for back home" or "they held very good dances". But as to the big organizations the best thing was to keep out: "they offer nothing", "go in and you'll come out with your name in the mud" were staple comments. There was, moreover, a clear stereotype of leaders as self-seeking individuals, eternally squabbling, either with a view to purely operated and anyone could come to have a cup of coffee and occasionally to listen to a lecture or see a film. Eventually the president decided that this was in fact a meeting place for all his enemies. Most importantly, the habit of countering dangers from opponents by manipulating membership lists had in many ways made the Community inaccessible to large sectors of the public.
personal gain or in order to serve political ends which had nothing to do with what mattered to Greeks as a whole.

The people to whom I talked for information warned me not to be too impressed by the multiplicity of associations. Their picture was that the majority of Greeks in Sydney by-passed the formal institutional structure, their interest being largely confined to attendance at club dances and sending their children to the nearest ethnic school. The decline of the Community and the Atlas Club was emphasized by all, although it was conceded that the Archdiocese camp had managed to conduct its internal factional disputes behind closed doors and provide a structure at parish level which kept many local people interested.

The leaders I spoke to readily admitted that their organizations were at a low ebb and that they themselves spent almost all their time and energy on things which were fundamentally irrelevant to matters that concerned Greeks at large. The president of the Community, who at that time felt that he was on the way out, was particularly vocal. His comment ran something like this:

When you wake up in the morning wondering who has talked to whom against you yesterday or whether A or B will stick to what he promised you, you have very little time to concern yourself really about whether the Community ought to keep putting so much money into churches that are getting emptier by the day, or whether it should turn to providing real services like kindergardens or social workers.

However, despite the impression that people had little time for organizations as they were and that those who were active in them had an overriding sense of marginality and irrelevance and the loss of their publics, there came through the picture of a shared ideology about the potential usefulness and importance of major ethnic organizations. Everyone I talked to expressed the conviction that these organizations had great resources, could be very powerful, and were badly needed to handle important common

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1. Bottomley (1973, App. II) listed 126 clubs excluding the Communities and Church affiliated groups. This picture of a flourishing associational activity must be seriously qualified because so often, as Tsounis also points out (1975, pp. 60-1), disagreements within a club are settled by the losers setting up their own rival organization.
needs of the group as a whole. Nobody suggested that they had outlived their usefulness or that there was anything apart from factional conflict to prevent them from becoming viable bodies with an active, interested public. There was no crisis of legitimacy about ethnic organizations in that sense. In fact one can argue that since leaders believed that there was a substantial potential public in the communities at large, the current credibility crisis made them all the more likely to look for ways to draw on this wide pool of potential supporters and therefore all the more likely to sharpen their sensitivity to needs, wants and attitudes at large. Certainly in the early conversations and later interviews it was quite clear that leaders had very definite ideas of how the lost ground could be regained. These ideas will be analysed in Ch. VII. But one example may be useful here. In order to re-establish the image of the Community as a body which drew on all progressive forces in the ethnic group but was in essence apolitical and broadly representative, the leaders of the Atlas club (the pro-Soviet group) made a deal with the opposing leftist faction that each would push only three of their members for council positions and otherwise leave the field to candidates whose political commitments were not so clear. Despite their bitter fight for supremacy, the leftist factions were prepared to take such a risk with each other, a compromise that shows that ideas of what is meaningful to immigrants at large continued to play an important part in the decisions of leaders.

It seems fair to conclude that people in key posts in major ethnic organizations not only had the experience and opportunities but also a direct interest in keeping in touch with modes of thinking and feeling that had currency in the community at large.

v. The respondents

Twenty respondents from the ethnic institutional structure were interviewed. From the radical camp I interviewed the president and vice-president of the Community; the president of the Atlas club, the club's secretary, and a member of the council selected because he was editing a newspaper recently launched as the organ of the Soviet faction; the president of the Cypriot
Brotherhood was selected despite the general decision to avoid regional clubs on the grounds that Cypriots had always played an important role in the organized left; a man referred to by all as "the wise man" who, though he held no post at the time, was selected because he had been prominent in the Community since the 1950's and at the time was constantly called upon to arbitrate and conciliate particularly in the ongoing conflict within the Community. (Moreover he was courted by many quarters within the left to stand for the presidency in the coming elections, in the hope that he would be the progressive, charismatic figure who would give the organization a new image and a broader appeal.); finally respondents on the radical side included the editors of the Hellenic Herald and Neos Kosmos.

From the Archdiocese structure I interviewed people at different levels of the lay and clergy hierarchies. Two prominent lay members of the Mixed Clergy Laity Council and two presidents of parish Communities; the bishop and an archimandretes from the Archdiocese headquarters and two parish priests; and the editor of the National Tribune.

Office holders within Australian structures

It has been argued that people in key positions in major ethnic organizations may be used as sources of information because they act as mediators between the group and the broader social system. By the 1970's, there were good reasons for assuming that this function was performed also by people placed outside the ethnic institutional structure. Kurt Lewin's argument that individuals who are competent in the broader system will be pressured and rewarded into acting as intermediaries is particularly applicable when numbers of the group are so placed that ongoing interaction with a larger structure is unavoidable. For the Greeks who clustered in particular industries and suburbs in the post-war period (Ch. III) dealings with a larger structure became part of life.

Of the many "competents" who find themselves pressured or cajoled into taking on mediating roles in such a situation, the most interesting for the purposes of this study are individuals
who hold office in Australian structures within an area where Greeks are clustered. Greek trade unionists in industries where Greeks concentrate and aldermen in Greek suburbs were an obvious choice. To their compatriots these do not appear simply as people who know their way about, but as "insiders", active participants in the decision-making process with some influence in securing access to goods. This builds a political dimension into their role as mediators. Most interesting in this context is that, in the eyes of Greeks at large, people in such positions are able to act both as patrons to individuals and as spokesmen for collective needs. Through the pressures exercised on them to act in this or that way, trade unionists and aldermen have the opportunity to assess politically relevant attitudes at large.

The "competents" which are available to individuals from within their immediate social world, the English speaking friend, the local chemist, the professional are probably more important to most Greeks in the sense that it is they who constitute the staple resource for communication outwards. A study of twenty Greek families has demonstrated that it is such persons who are modally used as linkages with bureaucratic structures at large. (Martin, 1975a, pp. 187-220) This in itself is symptomatic of certain attitudes towards seeking political solutions to needs. But for the purposes of the present study mediators of this kind are not particularly useful unless interviewed in considerable numbers, because their experience with politically relevant attitudes is not inherent in their mediation role but grows from their contact with compatriots who are in a situation of needing something from the society at large. Notably, the study of Greek families makes reference to the spokesman option only in the case of two Greek teachers in an Australian school who were active in setting up a Greek Parents Committee. This social context constitutes a typical ethnic enclave situation since the school had

1. See the discussion in the family study of a diffuse sense of inefficacy in relation to the structures of the host society and basic acceptance that the society cannot be expected to adjust its procedures to suit the migrant (op.cit., pp. 207-10).
several Greek children and the coethnic teacher is part of the larger structure.

It should be stressed here that, even in the early 1970's, the situation had not been reached where ethnics holding office in spheres of ethnic concentration were used as mediators by the society - at least not as a matter of course. This was symptomatic of the overall failure, or reluctance, to recognize the need for mechanisms through which specific migrant viewpoints could be fed into the system. Consequently Greeks operating within Australian structures were not compelled to see their role and define their objectives in relation to the needs of Greeks in their industry, union or residential area. Nevertheless the expectation that these individuals would act on behalf of Greeks proved fully justified. How this happened will be described in Chapter VII. The case of the trade unionists is cited here for illustration.

Of the five trade unionists interviewed, only one was chosen in the knowledge that he was committed to performing the function of mediator between the migrant worker and the trade union structure. He was a fully committed communist, an old member of the Atlas Club and a person whom the Greek left had used since the mid-1950's as a grassroots man to spread radical ideas among Greek workers. Three were chosen simply by getting the permission of the trade unions to go to the factory and find out who were the Greek delegates. The fifth man was suggested to me by the Australian organizer of the Vehicle Builders who had singled him out as a man with a potential for a trade union career.

1. Cf. Jean Martin's writings on this theme, discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. Australian officials of unions with a large migrant membership mentioned ethnic delegates and the occasional organizer to me as proof that the unions are unjustly accused of blocking the migrants' way to positions of responsibility. But it was not suggested that the union looks upon these people as useful contacts with the migrant workers. In response to my prompting on this matter I was told emphatically that as far as the union is concerned "it does not matter where they come from". (Interviews with L. Short, secretary of the Federated Ironworkers Association, and G. Thomson, area organizer of the Vehicle Builders Employees Federation)
It goes without saying that no pretence at all is made in this study to present anything like a representative picture of how Greeks in such trade union posts operate. It is worth pointing out however that all respondents, except the communists, had stepped into a more active role without any ideological commitment to syndicalism and, originally at least, without any notion of making a career in the trade union movement. In fact the decision to participate had been taken almost on the spur of the moment. One man had been abused by a foreman with some reference to his ethnicity and decided "to strike back by getting myself elected as a delegate". The other man had become increasingly annoyed by what he considered to be discriminatory treatment of him and three Greek mates who were working on a sector of a belt. At some point he decided that "it is time they find out how we feel about this kind of thing". The third man had decided to become a delegate out of loyalty to another Greek delegate who had quarrelled with his Australian colleague and asked my respondent to stand for election. In all cases then the respondents had assumed an active role conscious that they were doing so as Greeks and because of an experience which they attributed to their ethnicity. This meant that they operated with some reference to the collective experience of Greeks in industry and had from the very beginning built into their role in the Australian structure a basis for responding to pressures to act on behalf of other Greeks.

The three aldermen interviewed were serving on councils in Eastern suburbs in areas of heavy Greek concentration. One was a first generation independent who had lost his seat in recent elections. The other two were with the ALP, one a second generation migrant serving his second term.

The interviews

The interviews were conducted during March and April 1971. They were loosely structured and perhaps could be better described as conversations. I made a point of having at least two sessions with each respondent so as to have a chance to sort out contradictions, explore areas which seemed promising, and generally
follow up any clues that I might have missed on the first occa-
sion. In fact I met all except five respondents more often,
both then and on subsequent visits to Sydney.

I asked each respondent to tell me his "story". How he
came to emigrate, his various jobs here, the story of his invol-
vement in ethnic and other structures, and so on. I tried to
get accounts of as many "incidents" as possible. "What happened
next" was my main question.

I adopted this strategy because there is no surer way to
irritate, and alert every defensive instinct, than to face a
Greek with a barrage of questions which seem to have some hidden
purpose that he cannot immediately survey. It would take a most
formidable interviewing schedule to get at the things I was really
interested in in a manner that would ensure strict comparability
between interviews. Such an approach does fundamental violence
to the normal and acceptable ways in which Greeks express their
views and allow others an insight into their outlook. I was
fully confident that the tendency to explain, philosophise and
generally treat the occasion as an inter-personal event, guaran-
teed that the material which I really wanted would emerge
spontaneously.

An example of how this worked may be taken from my talks
with the vice-president of the Community. I asked him to des-
cribe the last Grecian Ball held by the Community. His descrip-
tion included the following passage:

You can use such an occasion well if you know how. We
of course always invite a prominent ALP figure. This
time it was Morrison. Now, in a ball like this you can
create an atmosphere. It is a very good occasion for
putting a word in his ear. You could talk to him
about pensions, about social workers, about anything.
That is worth something. The trouble is, nothing
usually comes of it, because we don't follow it up.
It is the kind of thing the Community ought to be
really geared to do. But the way things are ...

Thus a very general prompting produces a wealth of information
on the kind of thing one is really interested in, namely the
type of need considered convertible into a demand, a leader's
notion about the limits of competence of his organization, and
his notion about the likely response by Australians.

An important reason for allowing opinions and assessments to emerge spontaneously was that this was the only way in which one could really test how far leaders are inclined to refer to the attitudes and beliefs of immigrants when discussing the activities of organizations. Also, this technique offers a good opportunity to see how far there is real continuity between the themes identified as significant from the analysis of the newspaper texts and ideas deemed important by the leaders. That could be tested only if the respondent was not confronted with ready-made options but was allowed to talk with his own categories and meanings.

Finally, a comment must be made about recording the interview. I knew that tapes would be inappropriate, particularly at a time when an atmosphere of suspicion prevailed among leaders. On the other hand, everyone was very cooperative about my taking notes and were somewhat pleased about my anxiety to record what they said in the way they said it. Of course, large parts of the talks were quite irrelevant for my purposes and so the task of taking down, verbatim, the relevant parts did not prove too arduous.

In the next Chapter some aspects of the Greeks' history in this country will be reviewed in order to describe the situational context for the development of ideas. This will also serve to explain how the total period was subdivided in the analysis.
CHAPTER III

The Social Context of Ideas 1926-1970

Basic continuities in the circumstances and the history of Greeks in Australia allow one to look upon the ideas current at any one time as developments from earlier notions and foundations for later beliefs. Of course, between 1926 and 1970 the social context of ideas changed considerably. It is therefore necessary as well as convenient to divide the total period into time-spans that correspond to the most significant changes in the structure and character of the ethnic community and in the position of Greeks in the host society.

The composition of the ethnic group

If cultural uniformities and variations are to be placed in context it is necessary to know how homogeneous the minority was at different times. This will be examined with reference to the socio-cultural background of Greek migrants, the socio-economic stratification of the minority and the ideological division within the group.

Inevitably the Greek, like any other minority that has been growing by the steady arrival of newcomers, became increasingly heterogeneous over the years. But internal diversity increased so drastically with the post-war influx that on the basis of this criterion a major dividing line must be placed between the pre- and post-mass immigration era.

i. Socio-cultural background

Least affected by post-war immigration was the socio-cultural background composition of the minority. Post-war immigrants were drawn from a much wider geographical area than before. However, and most importantly, the large majority continued, as

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1. Continuity is a major theme in the work of Tsounis. See also Price who introduces his work on pre-war Southern Europeans with the remark that he based his enquiry on the premise of continuity (1965a, p. xi).
before, to come from villages and small towns. Altogether, regional heterogeneity cannot be regarded as a source of systematic differences in political outlook. The centralized political system of Greece affords little opportunity for individual regions to work out distinctive modes of political organization. The citizen’s political perspectives are shaped less by where he comes from than by how he is placed in the national economic, social and political hierarchy.

On the whole, the post-war immigration programme, geared as it was to attract manual labour, drew people from a broadly uniform socio-economic stratum. Referring to Southern Europeans who settled in Sydney and Melbourne in the post-war era, Burnley writes:

Clearly, Southern European immigrant populations have not represented a full cross section of the societies from which they came, but have been drawn very largely from the reserves of the underprivileged.

It seems that, by background at any rate, post-war immigrants were very much alike and not so very different from their pre-war counterparts.

ii. Social stratification in the minority

Bottomley uses criteria of class, status and power to contrast the small homogeneous communities of the pre-war period to the stratified ethnic society of the post-war era. (1973, pp. 136-55) By themselves the data on occupational distributions do not highlight this difference. Before the beginning of mass

1. Price estimates that 43% of the pre-war Greek population in Australia came from the islands of Kythera, Ithaca and Kastellorizo and that of Greek-born male settlers for the period 1890-1940, 75% came from islands and coastal regions (1965a, pp. 134-5; 1965b, p. 21). For the post-war period Tsounis lists the depressed rural areas of Peloponessus, central regions of Thessaly, and northern regions of Thrace and Macedonia, and the larger islands in the Aegean Sea as the main regions of post-war emigration (1963, p. 3; 1971a, pp. 346-8).

2. Burnley (1975, p. 14). In an analysis of the occupational and educational skills of immigrants on arrival, for 1971, Price gives the following figures for Greek-born males: of male persons not currently attending schools, 2.1% had had no schooling, 62% had had only primary schooling, 19.3% had had secondary schooling and 16.6% had had some further or tertiary educational experience (1971, Table 10).
Immigration Greeks concentrated in the employer and self-employed categories. Concentration into one stratum, this time that of manual workers, is very marked also after mass immigration. What matters however is the change from a socially fluid structure to crystallized class differences.

Certainly before the war each settlement had its rich, its decently off and its poor, and it is hardly to be expected that this made no difference to patterns of interaction or to life chances. Indications that a class, or at least an income factor, had acquired some relevance as a basis for formal association may be found in the labelling of the Hellenic clubs in Brisbane, Perth and Sydney as "elitist" or "aristocratic" and in the readiness with which their critics seized on the then consul's tactless reference to the "barefoot" migrants to call themselves "the barefoot battalion". Moreover, in his account of the Church-Community conflict of the mid-1920's, Tsounis makes reference to a class factor when discussing the alignment of factions. Then, as in the late 1950's, the poorer tended to support the pro-Community camp.

In the absence of evidence on how far social position circumscribed a person's social world, one can only use sociological common sense. Many prosperous Greeks must have felt at some stage of their life that financial security need not be their sole reward and must have begun to spend time and money on the life styles of the successful and to emphasize the distance separating them from their own beginnings and from their still struggling compatriots. At any rate the compatriot who struts about with golden watch chain and is forever defeated in his efforts to have people forget his origins by a chronic

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1. This change in pattern has been discussed and documented too often to need reiteration. Simply by way of illustration one may mention the census figure for Greek-born male employers and self-employed: 40% in 1921, 42% in 1933 and 55% in 1947. For post-war concentration in unskilled manual jobs, see Zubrzycki (1969, pp. 41 and 42, Tables 2 and 4).

2. Tsounis (1971a, pp. 175-6).

3. The discussion here and throughout this Chapter draws heavily on Tsounis's history of Greek communities and on his interpretations. Unless specific incidents are recounted, no detailed references will be made to this work.
awkwardness in the handling of knives and forks was a favourite figure of fun for the Hellenic Herald.

Regarding life chances Price is careful to dispel simplistic generalizations about all Greeks eventually ending up with their own café and Tsounis makes several reference to the poor as an identifiable stratum in the communities.

The socio-economic differences in the pre-war communities were not so negligible that they could not have conditioned differences in outlook. Yet it remains difficult to associate such differences with the kinds of social cleavages that embed people into separate social worlds, perpetuate their life chance differentials and shape fundamentally and enduringly opposed social and political perspectives.

What one knows about the character of ethnic communities at that time suggests that horizontal divisions were blurred by the vertical ties of kinship and region. Price uses regional origin as the main variable in his account of the process of migration, patterns of settlement and family formation. Tsounis, who is particularly alert to the impact of class on thought and action, stresses primarily regional loyalties and rivalries as the basis for association and conflict.

At work, the gulf of status and opposing interest was only one element in the complex relationship between employer and employee. Chain migration and the fact that the majority worked within the ethnic network often meant that the boss and the kitchen hand were linked by bonds of mutual obligation forged in the village back home. Though there was doubtless much exploitation and resentment, their common status as members of a minority group must have generated a sense of mutual dependence. As will be seen later, the notion of intermeshed fates is one of the major themes in the ethnic press of the pre-war years.

1. The heavy concentration of Greeks in the food and catering sector created an ethnic employment market. Cf. Price's much quoted finding that 71.6% of Greek-born male settlers during the period 1904-1947 appeared from naturalization records to be in food and catering. The rest were classified as labourers (10.2%) or engaged in primary production (12.7%) (1963b, App. 7, Table 5, pp. 56-57).
Another important reason why it is difficult to think of class-conditioned differences in social and political orientation is that most migrants before the war could realistically regard the careers of early settlers as models for their own. With all the care he takes to avoid oversimplification, Price finds it possible to write of a typical progression towards proprietorship. (1963a, p. 183) As long as the newcomers arrived gradually enough to be accommodated within the ethnic employment market, the mutual bonds and interests inherent in chain migration guaranteed that the road to proprietorship was not blocked for lack of opportunities to gain a foothold in the field.¹

It is only with the post-war influx and the mass entry of Greeks in industry that one may begin to think of a crystallized class structure within the ethnic group. In this respect the context for cultural variations changed so drastically that the material for the pre- and post-mass immigration eras must be analysed separately.

Yet it is worth stressing that just as one must qualify the image of the socially homogeneous communities before the war, so also one cannot take it for granted that the gulf in aspirations, opportunity and social worlds between different occupational groups in the larger and much more varied post-war communities parallels that between occupational strata in the broader society.

Price has pointed out that despite changes in the numbers, origins and outlook of Southern European migrants over the years, one finds in many recent arrivals the same yearning for proprietorship in farm or business that motivated those who came during the pre-war years.² It may well be that for many, or even most, of the industrial workers there came a time when the little business or farm took on the quality of the dream to be clung to rather

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¹ Tsounis points out that there were periods during the 1920's when the influx of newcomers was too large to allow their accommodation in the ethnic employment market. Even so, the continuing predominance of the shopkeeper class throughout the 1920's and 1930's reveals that progression towards proprietorship remained the dominant pattern (1975, pp. 23-4).

² Price (1968, pp. 6-7). Burnley suggests that in the post-war era one can still think of the catering trades and the shop as an avenue of social mobility for Greeks (1975, p. 16).
than of the ambition to be realized. On the other hand, as Bottomley has pointed out and as social workers, lawyers, politicians, bankers and estate agents often observe, the Greek worker is property- and investment-minded and it is not uncommon for him to have paid off his own house and be well on the way to owning his first investment property within the first fifteen years after arrival.¹ One cannot assume that the industrial worker fashions his ideas on the problems and opportunities of life in Australia from the perspective of a man who, rooted in the ranks of the propertyless class, feels that he has little to learn from the experience of compatriots otherwise placed in the social hierarchy.²

Neither can one say that in the post-war period socio-economic differences embedded individuals in entirely separate social worlds and that the bond of common ethnicity and of difference from the surrounding society no longer served to open up avenues for contact and communication between sub-groups in the ethnic minority. This point is made both by Bottomley and by Tsounis, though both stressed the diversity and divisions within post-war communities. After contrasting the pre- and post-war Sydney Greeks in terms of increasing heterogeneity Bottomley writes:

... despite the diversity, there is a recognizable community, marked by the institutionalization of central activities, a series of overlapping patterns of interaction and a basis of mutual understanding that arises from shared cultural values. This community is more accurately seen as a congeries of communities, since there are a number of divisions within the broader collectivity: class, length of residence, region of origin, political orientation. But I would justify the retention of the term "community" for the wider Greek population on the grounds that the more precisely defined communities are conscious of the other groupings even if it is only to define themselves in opposition. If there is not direct contact between the various groupings within the Greek community, there is, nevertheless, communication. (1973, p. 173)

¹ Bottomley (1973, p. 146). For evidence of high incidence of home ownership among Greeks, see Burnley (1971, p. 65).
² Even committed leftists recognize this. In an article on migrants and the unions George Zagalis refers to the migrants' idea that their stay in industry is temporary (1970-1971, p. 19).
Across the cleavages of class and status Greeks were connected, at the very least by awareness of one another as significant, or at any rate relevant, others within the ethnic sub-society. If ideas and orientations developed in response to disparate life situations they did not develop independently. The experiences and ideas of others existed for all as frames of reference, to be accepted, altered or rejected but never wholly ignored.

Nevertheless, the altered class structure of the ethnic minority in the past-war period and the fact that the socio-cultural background of those who came into the country was no longer as uniform as that of the earlier migrants have important consequences for the study of political culture patterns.

One of the most important differences in the situation of different strata within the minority lies in the force with which the norms and institutions of the wider society impinge themselves on their experience in the work situation, which is the area of activity where the migrant is most dependent on the wider society. The business man operates in the broader society and deals with Australians but he does so from a position of relative independence. He may, if he chooses, confine his direct dealings with the people and institutions of the host society to the point where the broader social system impinges on him primarily in the guise of impersonal market forces and of the laws that regulate his sphere of activity. The industrial worker, on the other hand, is on Australian ground. He is by necessity both witness to and participant in the day-to-day operation of an Australian system involving the active interaction of Australian power structures. Whether or not on the factory floor the Greek worker actually interacts with anyone but other Greeks; whether or not he sees himself as a permanent member of the working class, he is acting out a role defined for him by the traditions and norms of the Australian society. He is confronted, more or less directly and compellingly, with the culture within which that role is meaningful and with the assumptions, beliefs and values built into and defined around it. How the Greek worker accommodates this to
his own view of social reality is a matter to be studied empirically. Be that as it may, the mass entry of Greeks into industry inevitably opened up the ethnic culture to a new set of influences.

iii. Ideological divisions

The third crucial change in the context within which definitions of the situation developed was the emergence of the Greek left as an organized active and vocal force in the communities since the war.

Here, too, it is worth making the point that the Greek left was not imported into the communities with the post-war immigration wave. The first Greek left-wing association was formed in 1933, and by 1945 there were six leftist clubs in Australia. If not a force to be reckoned with, radicals were at any rate a recognizable section of the communities, particularly from the 1930's onwards when they began to make their presence felt in the Community organizations. The pre-war radicals both founded the clubs which later grew into forceful organizations and sought to exert influence in the communities through its central power structure - a policy actively pursued by the left throughout the post-war period.1

Nevertheless, it was only after the war that the left had its opportunity to infuse into the ethnic stock of ideas its own interpretation of the migrant situation in Australia, and to propagate views that the politically uncommitted majority might conceivably find meaningful and applicable to their immediate experience. In the pre-war years, when the web of obligations, loyalties and dependence was on the whole spun vertically rather than horizontally and when so many of the labourers worked and lived within the confines of the ethnic society, the poor were more likely to relate their situation to the character and behaviour of a personal sponsor or to their fraternity's readiness to "pass the tray around", than to the dynamics of the broader social system. The left acquired a potential audience only when

substantial numbers of Greeks found themselves placed directly inside that system as industrial workers, and when informal ethnic networks and ethnic associations, geared to accommodating small numbers, found their resources strained beyond capacity by the post-war immigration wave.

It is not necessary, for present purposes, to trace the history of the left since 1945 or to assess how effectively the movement made use of its opportunity to convert the uncommitted majority to a view of their situation that provided a meaningful alternative to the ideas handed down by the pre-war migrants or the post-war conservatives. What matters is that, since the war, an alternative view formulated by Greeks and designed for Greeks became generally available, from within the ethnic organizations, through the medium of the left-wing press and through the links the left forged with sections of the Australian trade unions and political structure.

Well aware of this, the right-wing forces in the communities were spurred into articulating rival interpretations. Of course, the polarization of right and left did not ensue from conflicting interpretations of the Greeks' situation in Australia. It was largely the by-product of the Greek civil war. And on Australian ground the main battles between left and right were not fought over how to cope with the problems of migration, but over the Church-Community conflict and over political issues in the homeland. But the hardening of positions in issues of central importance spilled over to peripheral points of disagreement. Thus, in the post-war period, variations in political culture patterns

1. The post-war history and activities of the left in areas other than ethnic politics is given in Tsounis (1971a, pp. 317-27 and Ch. V). Elsewhere Tsounis makes the point that leftists were never an isolated group in the communities. They were always able to strike alliances with sections in the community which did not share their ideology but took the same stand in the Church-Community conflict. The leftists' clubs also organized sports and cultural activities which appealed to many non-Marxists. On the other hand the organized left was much weakened by internal disputes, particularly in the late 1960's when the international split over Czechoslovakia was exacerbated by related divisions over the role of different leftist factions in the opposition to the military regime in Greece (Nov. 1970, pp. 8 and 9; Dec. 1970-Jan. 1971, pp. 10-11).
must be placed in the context of the sharpened social cleavages and intensified ideological arguments within the communities.

In short, if ideas are to be related to their context, the forty-four years covered by this study must divided into at least two major periods, even if one ignores changes that have taken place in the host society and concentrates only on the situation within the ethnic world. The dividing line may be drawn anywhere within the first decade following the formulation of the post-war immigration programme, depending on whether one wants to start at the point when developments were first intimated or whether one wants to allow time for changes to have made their impact felt.

1951 was chosen as a convenient dividing date. By then the post-war immigration programme had got under way. The entry of Greeks into industry had begun, the foundations of the post-war ethnic class structure were laid, and during the six years after the outbreak of the Greek civil war it had become clear that the communities in Australia could not stay immune from the ideological conflict at home. 2

So far, this discussion of the changing social context for ideas has made little reference to the Greeks' situation in the broader society. The next section will focus on situational changes relevant to the Greeks' perception of their position in this country. Such changes not only give added meaning to the pre-post 1951 division but also suggest the need for further subdivisions.

Greeks in Australian society

Most immediately relevant as a context for ideas about how far the group can seek the good by political means are the opportunities for effective demand activity actually open to Greeks at

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1. This was the year when the Australian Government finalized arrangements with the ICEN and the Greek Government for the emigration of selected workers as assistant immigrants.

2. Tsounis (1971a, p. 408). Political polarization as a major factor in internal politics is noted also by Mackie. Referring to the internal conflict of the late 1950's she writes: "There are strong overtones of the Greek Civil War in this political conflict which has been a central issue of the split since it began ..." (1967, p. 55).
different times. In order to assess these opportunities, the situation over the years was surveyed with two questions in mind:

a) How likely was it that Greeks might come into the orbit of attention of power structures in Australian society and be viewed by them as a distinct group (be it as Greeks, as Southern Europeans or as an ethnic section of broader socio-economic aggregates) to be considered when decisions are taken? and

b) In which areas of activity, or with respect to which goods, was the society prepared to consider Greeks as a distinct entity?

It can be taken for granted that Greeks have been seen as a culturally distinct group even since they began forming communities in this country. The questions posed refer to the political consequences which the society drew from this. For example, when cultural distinctiveness is deemed relevant only in relation to the goal of homogeneity, the group has little opportunity to bring itself into the orbit of attention of decision-makers, except, at best, when it comes to immigration policies or to measures for assimilation. But when ethnic distinctiveness comes to be linked to the social aim of equality of opportunity, there is a chance for the group to draw attention to itself at many points of the decision-making process.

Evidently the questions posed are not about the Greeks' power position at different times but about what might be called their "political presence". Social power is usually defined with reference to the likely outcome of group interaction. For example Blalock, who discusses power in the context of minority-dominant group relations, defines it as "the actual overcoming of resistance in a standard period of time". The questions asked here may be regarded as preliminary to any enquiry about the Greeks' power position in the society. They are not about the likely outcome of any dealings between the minority and other groups, but about the likelihood that Greeks were thought

1. (1967, p. 110). Also Lasswell and Kaplan, who define a group's influence as "value position likely to be occupied as the outcome of conflict" (1950, p. 58).
of as a collectivity that is to be considered in the normal course of taking decisions like any collectivity recognized to be a distinct and integral part of the society. This approach is adopted because some measure of recognition that ethnicity can generate needs which fall within the scope of what concerns the society is the minimum that is necessary before an ethnic group can begin to think of political activity as an option. This applies particularly when there is cultural distance from the host society, as is the case with Greeks. Cultural distance, with all it involves in terms of the ethnic group's values, its orientations to the host society and its skills for interaction and communication with individuals and institutions outside the ethnic community, is the constant that gives a distinctive dimension to the Greeks' life situation in this country. It is not simply that Greeks have specific common needs that directly flow from their ethnicity, for example that they need special facilities for religious worship because they are Orthodox. Rather, cultural distance in its various facets is intertwined with whatever interests Greeks may share with broader socio-economic collectivities. To take an obvious example: the problems of the Greek factory worker cannot realistically be subsumed under the general problems of unskilled workers. Language difficulty alone gives a distinctive dimension to the Greek worker's situation, affecting his range of alternatives in employment, his understanding of and participation in trade unions, etc.

It follows that Greeks cannot begin to think of political activity as an avenue of access to the good unless there is at least a chance that they can feed into the system the specific dimension of their needs. And for this the society must acknowledge that such a dimension is conceivable. If not, it is making assimilation the prerequisite for entry into the political

1. The situation which Jean Martin pictures in her writings on pluralism is one where political "presence", as understood here, would be enjoyed to the full. In one of her formulations she refers to "... recognition of the relevance of migrant needs, interests, characteristics, situations and problems to the operation of a number of major social institutions" (Seminar paper for the Dept. of Sociology, Australian National University, Canberra, Oct. 1974).
process since it is only the assimilated who can realistically merge their interests with those of other collectivities. The following conditions were assumed to have direct bearing on opportunities for political presence:

a) The group's corporate resources for communication with the broader society.

b) Australian ideas about the problems associated with ethnicity and about the society's responsibility towards non-British minorities.

A. Resources for communication with the society

The discussion will deal only with resources generated by the ethnic community. The representation machinery of the Greek State was of course important. Because of dual citizenship and the diaspora ideology, the consulates have always acted and been seen as part of the ethnic society. Though often resentful of undue interference, the immigrants expected Greece to do much more than regulate emigration. The indifference of the State to the problems of its citizens abroad and its failure to act as the group's spokesman in Australia is a major theme in the ethnic press. However, since the representatives of the Greek State implemented policies that were formulated outside the ethnic community it seems best to exclude them from this discussion.

From within the migrant community, representative or spokesman functions may be carried out by ethnic organizations operating within the ethnic institutional network or by groups or individuals located within Australian political or economic power structures. On this point Hedding writes:

In a pluralist system the official representation of the Jewish community as a whole by one body is not essential and this function could be carried on through

1. The other obvious component of visibility, numbers, will be discussed in connection with Australian attitudes because it was only late in the period that numbers, of themselves, compelled visibility. The distinction between numbers and social organization as basis for the quality of group relations was adopted in the light of Bierstedt's discussion of the sources of social power (1950, p. 737).
the activities of independent organizations or individuals. On the other hand, to speak with one united voice is both convenient and politically more effective. Two basic requirements must be met, however, before the community can be represented by an authoritative spokesman: designating the representative, demanding in turn internal political organization and co-operation; and determining the conditions under which the representative will speak out. (1968, p. 17)

For Greeks in Australia the problem of designating the representative was indirectly solved by the dispersion culture formula. This prescribed that the preservation of ethnic identity, the undisputed imperative of life abroad for all Greeks, must be handled by corporate organization. As the repository of the ideology of Hellenism, the Community was the central organization in each ethnic settlement. It was therefore well suited to represent the group in the broader society. Commenting on the Melbourne Community in the 1940's Tsounis writes:

Church, national leaders, Greek organizations and individuals, as well as the Australian public and authorities, in varying degrees recognized the Community's authority and prestige ... To Greek societies and individuals the Community was their representative and their protector in their new social environment; to Australians the Community was synonymous with the Greek ethnic community.¹

Furthermore since all Communities were built on the same formula to serve the same needs for Greeks in each settlement, they were well suited for federation on a nationwide basis.² In other words, the potential to generate significant spokesman resources for the minority was inherent in the character of these organizations. Thus Greeks have always had some resources for political presence. In order to assess how important these resources were at different times it is necessary to consider the handicaps of Communities as spokesmen.

2. The first, unsuccessful attempt at federation was made in 1947. The second, successful attempt was in 1958. The Federation of Communities, opposed to the Archdiocese remained viable to date. Tsounis (1971a, pp. 310-2 and 410-85).
That which equipped Communities for spokesmen functions (their character as pan-community organizations open to and representative of all Greeks and therefore politically non-partisan) also limited the range of common needs which these organizations could handle on behalf of Greeks, or at least meant that on a number of questions Communities had to tread very carefully.

Least controversial were what one might call purely ethnic needs - those which directly and explicitly involve the interests of all Greeks and are exclusive to them, or at least to migrants. Examples of purely ethnic needs are those relating to the preservation of ethnic identity, to the vindication of the good name of Greeks and the combating of prejudice, and to Australian policies formulated with specific reference to Greeks as migrants as, e.g., immigration regulations or rules about the eligibility of migrants for social security benefits. Notably, issues of this kind were for the most marginal to Australian partisan controversy. This was perhaps partly because it was felt that the groups involved were themselves marginal in the society and partly because questions concerning ethnic minority interests were debated in a context of broad political consensus about immigration policy. Consequently, the Communities could act as spokesmen on purely ethnic matters free from the fear that they might be labelled political organizations.1

On the other hand, Communities could not easily be used as spokesmen for sectional needs and interests. In this category belong problems that Greeks faced as members of particular

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1. Some examples of how Communities have acted as instruments for the presence of the group are: Social events; in the annual Grecian Ball held since the mid-1920's Australian public figures were always invited and the proceeds were donated to Australian charities. Gestures of loyalty and contribution; the group's contributions in World War II were mostly coordinated and presented by the Communities. Representations of ethnic interests; for activities on immigration restrictions see Petrolias (1959, p. 19); the Federation has been active on the question of reducing the qualifying period for pensions to 10 years (Neos Kosmos, 24 Apr. 1963, p. 1); for activities of the Adelaide Community on this issue and on unemployment see Neos Kosmos (19 June 1961, p. 1 and 15 Nov. 1961, p. 4).
occupational groups, be it as workers or as tradesmen. Even in the early pre-war years, when the Communities might well be thought of as shopkeepers' domains, it was recognized that they could not be used to promote economic interests. Later the organizations kept out of problems arising from the Greeks' relation to their industrial employers and to the trade unions.

Another sensitive area is needs which are not exclusively associated with ethnicity, needs that Greeks have as members of broader socio-economic strata. The Communities are possible spokesmen because ethnicity adds a distinctive dimension to the problems which Greeks share with other groups in the society. But as purely ethnic and ostensibly non-partisan organizations Communities find themselves in a difficult situation since such questions are at the centre of Australian political debate. If the Communities were to work through Australian agencies they would have to associate themselves openly with one side of the Australian political spectrum. If, on the other hand, they were to act independently they could easily be seen as a divisive force and be accused of demanding special treatment for an ethnic sub-section of broader collectivities. The "migrant power" or "migrant pressure group" label is easily attached to any ethnic organization giving an ethnic emphasis to questions that also affect other members of the society, as was shown by the reactions against the New Citizens Council on the part of trade unions, of both political parties and of the Greeks themselves. (see below, p. 123)

Of course the Communities can legitimize their involvement in sensitive issues with reference to their acknowledged responsibility for the material welfare of the weak within the ranks of the minority. It is worth mentioning in passing that ideas on how far Communities should take the risks involved and tackle these matters furnish important clues as to approaches to political participation at different times. However, in the present

1. The dilemma of an ethnic representative body which in order to preserve its character as a representative wants to stay outside politics and yet finds that it is compelled to associate itself with one side of a political debate has been illustrated by Nedding (1968, Ch. 10).
context the point is that there are many areas where Communities are not the best equipped agencies to draw attention to Greeks. Therefore the first question to ask about the spokesman resources of the group at different periods is whether Communities were the sole avenues for political communication available to the group. The second question relates to internal conflict. Communities were there first and foremost to secure the preservation of ethnic identity. Charity was also an important traditional responsibility. Representation of the group outwards was only a secondary aim. This meant that at times when the Church-Community dispute was going through an acute phase, the Communities had very little energy to spare on functions which were felt to be peripheral. Therefore one must ask how adequate the Communities were as spokesmen in different periods - a question to be answered in the light of the state of internal politics.

It must be stressed again that what will be assessed are the available resources and not the extent to which Greeks put those resources to effective use. The latter depends partly on the Greeks' notions of what demands they could make on the broader society (ideas which will be examined when the research material is analysed), and partly on how receptive the broader society was to Greek viewpoints, matters which will be discussed in the last section of this Chapter.

i. 1926-1950

With regard to the first question posed above, a major division is before and after 1950, with possibly another dividing line in the late 1950's. Before the impact of post-war immigration was felt in the Greek minority, the Communities were by far the most important agency for the communication of common needs to the broader society. Significant concentrations of Greeks within Australian structures had not yet emerged, and therefore there was little need for spokesmen operating outside the ethnic society. Moreover the relative social homogeneity meant that the Greeks' needs in relation to the social system at large were fairly uniform so that in this respect the group could act through a single organization.
Trade associations were perhaps the only other spokesman resource available to Greeks. There were no purely ethnic associations of this kind. However Greeks were an active and influential group in such bodies as the Confectioners Refreshment Sundae and Fruit Shopkeepers Association of N.S.W. set up in 1928, or the Fishmongers Association set up in Sydney in 1930. However one can safely say that during the pre-mass immigration period Communities were unrivalled as structures which could draw attention to the minority in the political process at large. But there were times when the ability of Communities to look outward was seriously impaired by internal conflict.

The beginning of the period covered by this study coincided with the first serious and prolonged conflict within these organizations and in the settlements at large over the issue of the relative powers of lay and ecclesiastical authorities. Up to about the mid-1930's, the energies of the Communities were almost entirely absorbed in the power struggle between pro- and anti-Church factions. Tsounis observes that during those years all other areas of activity were neglected. (1971a, p. 185) The running of schools, charity, help to Greece, all took second place. The Communities were hardly in a position to spend time and energy on strengthening their contacts with Australian structures and acting as spokesmen. One may therefore treat the years up to the mid-1930's as a time when the only spokesman avenue available to the minority was effectively blocked. The fact that this period roughly coincided with the depression years is an added reason for treating it separately.

The conflict of those years was bitter. But though the same principles were involved as thirty years later in the second phase of the battle which ended with permanent division, in the 1920's a compromise was eventually reached. This was possibly because in those years the issue was not complicated by class and political differences between the two sides, so that the conflict was fought between basically like-minded people who, having much in common, could meaningfully strive for unity.

1. Hellenic Herald, 6 Nov. 1930, p. 5
   National Tribune, 7 April 1930, p. 5.
From the mid-1930's, when peace was restored, until the beginning of political conflict after the war, the Communities went through a period of unity and consolidation. In these circumstances the Communities were well fitted to conduct the external relations of the minority. In April 1947, the first Pan-Community Conference was called to prepare the ground for federation. The main purpose was to lay the foundations for lasting internal peace. But one of the aims of the Federation was "to act on behalf of the Greek Orthodox Communities in Australia in every matter which in the opinion of the federation can usefully and appropriately be treated as a matter of common, ethnic concern". The reasons why the Federation did not become a going concern at that stage need not be considered here. The point is simply that between 1935 and 1950 Greeks in Australia had available to them strong and authoritative central organizations which could voice minority needs and interests in certain spheres and which could see their way to turning themselves into a nationwide representative body.

The 1926-1950 period can be separated from later years because it was a time when the Communities were the sole agency that could conceivably perform spokesman functions for the minority. During that period, the years when the internal conflict almost incapacitated the Communities as spokesmen up to 1934 must be considered separately from the time of unity, i.e. 1935-1950.

In the 1950's the spokesman monopoly of the Communities began to break down. Before the major Church-Community dispute, which started in 1959 and ended with a permanent division into rival camps in 1961, the situation can be described as one where the Communities maintained their central position and their representative character. To this central resource for communication were added others, most particularly those of the Greek left. After 1961, however, one must think in terms of fragmentation of spokesman resources since there was no longer one central representative body in the settlements. The context for

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ideas was very different during the two periods and one must therefore consider them separately.

ii. 1951-1961

Gradually, as the minority became socio-economically more heterogeneous, ethnic organizations became increasingly differentiated on a class basis and began creating their own network of contacts with different sections of the Australian socio-political system. Associations such as AHEPA or the various Hellenic clubs, which drew their membership from the more prosperous settlers, cultivated links with the Australian business and political establishment in a rather ad hoc manner, mostly by way of personal contact and social entertainment, and possibly more from the desire of their members to succeed socially than to promote specific interests. The leftist clubs, on the other hand, systematically pursued a policy of establishing contacts with the left-wing forces in Australian society.

The outward orientation of the left was integral to its aims. Trying, as it did, to politicize Greek workers within the context of the Australian labour movement, the Greek left was bound to enlist Australian support. The left was also committed to the spokesman function by its interest in sensitizing the society to the special problems of migrants. ¹ Furthermore, the

1. The left's general policy of promoting contacts outwards is stated in the national conferences of Greek workers' clubs that took place since 1962 (Neos Kosmos, 9 April 1962, p. 9). The left's role as instigator of demand activities was stated in the resolution of the second conference: "The Conference also decides to start intensive mobilization in all directions to promote the general demands of immigrants in the sphere of housing and social security". (Neos Kosmos, 17 April 1965, p. 3). Some issues on which the left made considerable efforts to encourage Greek demand activity in cooperation with Australian groups and other ethnic minorities were: unemployment (Australian Greek, 24 April 1956, p. 1 et passim; Neos Kosmos, 28 June 1961, p. 1 et passim, particularly 30 Aug. 1961, p. 1 for Greek Unemployment Committee); naturalization rejections (Neos Kosmos, 5 Dec. 1962, p. 13), in a meeting on this organized by Platon, the Adelaide workers' club, the main speaker was Sen. Cavanagh (Neos Kosmos, 15 April 1965, p. 4); the conscription of aliens. For reports of the activities of the Greek Committee and for inter-ethnic conferences see Neos Kosmos, 16 April 1966, p. 1 and 15 Aug. 1966, p. 1.
left's policy of seeking influence in the minority through the Communities was an important factor in stimulating new thinking about the spokesman function of these organizations. Whatever tensions radicals may have introduced by making a bid for influence, they never challenged the primacy of the Communities in the ethnic society or disputed their major importance as central spokesmen. Their challenge was to the old leadership and traditional ideas. This did not undermine the authority of the Communities or dissipate the spokesman resources of the minority. In this case one can say that the spokesman potential was increased rather than undermined by internal tension.  

In the national conference of Communities held in June 1958 to prepare the ground for federation, the role of the Communities as channels for demand activity was discussed at length. In this connection the president of the Melbourne Community wrote:

The migration of thousands of Greeks to Australia has created new responsibilities for the Communities in the field of promoting the interests of Greeks in this country... The federation is indispensable in order to coordinate the activities of our many Communities and to awaken and direct a great power, at present only potential, so that we can serve and cure the problems of our compatriots...

He proposed that the conference should among other things concern itself with the problems of cooperation with Australian authorities in problems related to the settlement of newcomers and finding work for the unemployed.

In short, at this time the minority had at its disposal authoritative central organizations that acknowledged their responsibility to act as spokesmen and were on the way to respond to

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1. The question of unemployment was acknowledged to be within the Communities' sphere of responsibility. The many reports given in Neos Kosmos highlight the basic difference between the more conservative view that this is a problem that calls primarily for alleviative measures and internal solutions, and the leftists who consistently argued that the major effort must be concentrated on political solutions. Cf. Neos Kosmos, report of a meeting in the Community Hall in Melbourne attended by representatives of Greek associations and by the Committee of the Unemployed whose secretary was Zagalis (14 June 1961, p.1).

the need for widening the scope of their spokesman activities. At the same time other, supplementary communication avenues were being opened up. If one were to consider spokesman resources alone, one might well look upon this period as a time when the Greeks had their greatest opportunity to enjoy political presence in a variety of spheres.

iii. The 1960's

The schism changed the situation radically. In the 1960's, a state of affairs developed in which the minority was effectively deprived of a single collective voice in the broader society. The result of the schism was not the emergence of two strong competing agencies each equipped to act as spokesman for the section that it represented. For the greater part of the decade one must rather think of a spokesman vacuum. This was only partially filled by sectional ethnic organizations and individuals located in Australian power structures.

Firstly, in the 1960's, as in the 1920's, the spokesman function was for the most part shelved while the two sides concentrated their energies on the internal struggle. The situation took long to crystallize. The Federation of Communities failed to find a legitimate and recognized independent Church Authority, several Communities changed sides, and compromise formulas for unity were sought periodically until the late 1960's. A "battle for survival" atmosphere persisted at least until the mid-1960's.

Another reason why the schism adversely affected the spokesman resources of the minority as a whole was the disaffection of the uncommitted majority with both organized factions. The flow of information and pressure from below, which is an important impetus for organizations to fulfil their spokesman potential, was bound to be weakened once people at large began to write off the Communities as the domain of squabbling cliques. This mood was noticed by Mackie in her study of the effect of the Church-Community split in Melbourne. She writes:

Since protagonists need supporters and since the supporters in this case must be Greeks, more recent migrants often tend to view the two sides of the split in the light of predators. Like many Greek villagers' view of the government, the split is seen by the people
as external to their affairs, incomprehensible and something of a threat. (1967, p. 56)

On the other hand, as pointed out earlier (Ch. II), conflict can motivate the protagonists to compete in trying to establish themselves in the eyes of the public and of the host society as the true representatives of the group. It became clear from the leadership study (Ch. VII) that this was happening in the early 1970's.

In the 1960's too the two sides tried to outdo each other in seeking recognition by Australians as the true leaders of the group. However the Archdiocese tried to make its point mainly by showing that it could keep its house in order and that the material needs of the migrants could be coped with internally and need cause no concern to outside agencies.1 The time had not yet come when the problems of non-British migrants were discussed widely in Australian society and when other ethnic minorities became active, thus making it difficult for those who wanted to be recognized as true leaders of the Greeks to stay out of the general debate.2

With the Federation of Communities the problem was not one of general philosophy, since here the influence of the left was strong. Precisely this, however, curtailed its spokesman potential. Knowing that their greatest problem was to avoid being branded as Communist-front organizations,3 and that the line between

1. Typical of the Archbishop's concern to project this image is an invitation to priests and presidents of Communities in N.S.W. "to discuss problems of settlement, employment and orientation to life in Australia faced by new immigrants. Because the happy and speedy solution to their problems will enhance our image as productive elements in this country." (Circular, 1 June 1959, Archives of Sydney Archdiocese).

2. In 1972 the Archbishop found it necessary to propose that submissions be made to the Government on the portability of pensions, better employment facilities for new arrivals, and arrangements for teaching English to Greek workers at the employer's expense (Introductory address to Third Clergy-Laity Conference, Sydney, 26 Jan.-2 Feb. 1972 (ronoed), Section 8, p. 32, Archives of Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia).

3. Communist influence in the Communities had emerged as a public issue since the late 1940's. Most relentless on the dangers of communist infiltration in the Communities and other organizations was the editor of Phos: "Most of our clubs are now in
legitimate projection of the collective needs of an underprivileged minority and Communist inspired trouble-making was a fine one, the Federation of Communities were inhibited in the performance of spokesman functions.

Finally, the Church-Community split undermined the credibility of both sides in the eyes of Australian government authorities, the administration, welfare agencies and, in general, those parts of the Australian power structure that might be interested in minority needs. Conditioned by the earlier history of the Greeks into looking for a single ethnic authority through which to communicate with the group at large and with which to consult, Australians have been both puzzled and exasperated by the bitterness of the internal conflict, and by the inability of unwillingness of the two sides to cooperate, and have often decided that nothing can come of dealings with Greeks.

On the whole, the last decade of the period under consideration may be seen as a time when the central ethnic organizations have largely lost their ability to act as spokesmen for minority

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the hands of communists and if we are not careful they will soon take over our Communities and Churches" (Edit., 10 April 1948, p. 1). In the late 1950's the Archdiocese camp took up the theme of communist infiltration and control of Federation Communities as a major propaganda campaign. Tsounis discusses this; also Klima, Oct. 1955, p. 21. The wide currency of the expression "Communist churches" testified to the success of this campaign (cf. Mackie, 1967, p. 21).

1. Jean Martin has argued that the Australians' expectation that ethnic groups ought to be united has seriously handicapped some groups in dealing with external bodies (1972a, pp. 126-7). The efforts of the Adelaide Community to persuade the S.A. government to support ethnic schools had been unsuccessful (up to 1975) because the government insisted that the funds be allocated to one central ethnic educational authority - an impossible condition since the Church and the community each run their own schools (Tsounis, personal communication). Another instance was the failure of a scheme, in 1969, by the South Sydney Community Centre in cooperation with the Good Neighbour Council to initiate a Greek welfare structure financed by those agencies. After one meeting, at which the community and the Archdiocese representatives were both invited, it became clear that the hostility between the two camps would create too many difficulties and the idea was abandoned (personal communication Mrs. D. Buckland and Dr. C. Price).
needs. The vacuum was partly filled by ethnic organizations openly representing sectional interests and by the increasing number of individual spokesmen operating within Australian settings.

Most important in promoting connections with the society at large and mobilizing demand activity within the group was the organized left. This was discussed earlier. Here it should be added that a large membership and feedback from the public were much less necessary to the left than to the Communities. The left derived the impetus to link the ethnic group to the society from its own philosophy. As spokesmen the radicals were certainly handicapped by the suspicion they aroused in the minds of both Greeks and Australians. But their skill in assessing how forces operating in the society at any given time could be used to advantage stood them in good stead, particularly in the 1960's which witnessed a more general awareness of the human and social problems associated with migration.

Though the energies of the left were diverted and absorbed by its active involvement in the Church-Community conflict and later also by the split within its own ranks following the Greek military coup and Czechoslovakia, it was a force which in the 1960's was an important spokesman resource for those sections of the ethnic group most vulnerable to the inequalities of opportunity associated with ethnicity.

Spokesman activities were undertaken also by sectional interest groups such as, e.g., the shopkeepers. Moreover some attempts were made to fill the need for more broadly based ethnic spokesmen, either by getting various associations in each settlement to work out a formula for permanent cooperation or by setting up new associations to function specifically as links with the society. The object was to help individual Greeks with their problems, but also to draw attention to minority needs in close cooperation with the Good Neighbour Council and with other minority organizations. The idea was to by-pass the established ethnic organizational network. But in the end this, like other such attempts was unsuccessful because the organizations could

not avoid getting involved in ethnic politics and controversies connected with the Church-Community conflict and the divisions between right and left.¹

In the 1960's there also came to the fore individual ethnic spokesmen based in Australian structures. This was discussed earlier (Ch. II). Here one may add that the influx of Cypriots in the early 1950's significantly widened the pool of ability from which such spokesmen could be drawn. Cypriots, who were familiar with an Anglo-Saxon social system, could operate much more competently and effectively in the Australian institutional setting than the mainland Greeks. As a group they tended to be more radical than other Greeks and many were experienced trade unionists. The few Greeks who became active trade unionists were largely drawn from the ranks of Cypriots.²

In sum, four periods may be distinguished in describing spokesman resources available to Greeks in Australia over the last half-century.

(1) 1926-1934, a time when, to judge from spokesman resources alone, the opportunity for a political presence was minimal. Conflict had paralyzed the Communities, which were the sole available agencies for the communication of collective needs to the society.

(2) 1935-1950, a period of internal peace and consolidation. The strength of the Communities during that time substantially increased the ethnic group's chances to be considered by the broader society, at least in matters that were directly related to ethnic minorities and were not focal issues in Australian political debate. On the other hand, opportunities for political presence in a wide area were limited by the lack of spokesmen

¹. Two such attempts in Sydney, one in 1959 for a Greek Migrant Council to work in close cooperation with the Good Neighbour Council and other welfare agencies, and another in 1969 for a Federation of Greek Associations failed for these reasons. (Neos Kosmos, 29 April 1959, p. 2; and personal communication by D. Stathopoulos who initiated the 1969 effort)

distributed widely in the Australian social system, able to articulate sectional interests and to marshal the support of political forces.

(3) 1951-1959, years during which opportunities for political presence were maximized. The Communities maintained their central and authoritative position, and internal pressure from the newcomers gave the impetus for widening the scope of the Communities' spokesman activities. In addition supplementary spokesman avenues were opened up.

(4) 1960-1970. During this period the hitherto major spokesman resource of the minority was greatly weakened by the Church-Community conflict and the ensuing schism. The authority of central organizations in the eyes of both Greeks and Australians was undermined and Greeks were no longer able to present a united front to the outside society on any issue. Although alternative avenues for the communication of sectional interests did multiply during this period, on the whole it was not its own spokesman avenues but, as will be seen later, the society's increasing concern with the social inequities associated with the migration programme that increased the minority's chances of being taken into consideration by power structures in different spheres of social life.

B. Australian attitudes

In this section an attempt will be made to assess the group's opportunities of political presence in the light of the society's attitudes, particularly those prevalent in Australian power structures. As stated earlier, the situation will be surveyed with reference to the range of needs which were likely to be taken into consideration at different times.

Here again, a major dividing line must be placed between the pre- and post-mass immigration eras. As a background to the discussion in this section, it is useful to repeat some of the well-known facts about numbers and residential concentration.
By 1971, if one includes estimated Australian-born and Greeks from Cyprus and Egypt one could think of a 300,000 strong Greek element in the population.

Source: Tsounis (1975, Tables 2.1 and 2.2, pp. 25 and 27)

The impact of numbers is of course intensified by concentration in metropolitan areas and, within them, in certain suburbs. Numbers have affected Australian attitudes in many ways. What they did not do was to introduce a so-called political muscle element in the relations of Greeks to Australian power structures. When it comes to political muscle the situation of post-war Greeks was not much different from that of their predecessors. If in the post-war era Greeks had a greater chance than before to be considered as a distinct group with specific needs it was not because anyone in the Australian system thought that his position and his influence depended on the favour he could carry with members of the minority. Rather, the Greeks' opportunities for collective presence derived from the importance the society attached to the success of its immigration policies and also, paradoxically, from the very factors which account for the obstacles which the society put in the way of Southern Europeans gaining power in Australian political life. Behind the "dispersal" device which so greatly impeded access of migrant groups to

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1. For example, in his analysis of the 1954 census figures Zubrzycki showed that in Sydney the "index of concentration" for Greeks was 408.0 for the City of Sydney and 347.6 for Randwick. The index reveals areas of heavy concentration in Melbourne: Fitzroy (1050.5), Collingwood (456.8) (1960b, Tables XLV, p. 62, and XLVI, p. 63). Burnley shows that in 1966 63.3% of the Greek-born in Sydney and 53.5% in Melbourne were living in inner metropolitan or older residential inner suburbs, the equivalents for the total population were 18.2% and 11.99% (1974, Tables 10.1 and 10.2, p. 65). See also F.L. Jones (1967, pp. 412-3).

2. This has been discussed in the Introduction. See Appendix 1 for some evidence on Greeks as voters.
the decision-making process, lay the view of migrants as people whose alien traditions were a threat to the Australian way of life. Knowing that this view was widespread among the public, governments were bound to put a premium on finding a place for the newcomers as efficiently and inconspicuously as possible, and therefore had to pay some attention to their needs.

This applied to the post-war situation when Australia had to rely on a steady supply of European migrants. Before the war, when it was felt that British immigrants were quite enough to meet the country's need for population growth, the device for dealing with actual or anticipated problems associated with the presence of Europeans was to regulate the inflow rather than pay attention to the problems of those already settled in the country.

There was little need to do the latter. To be sure, the society was unanimous in its commitment to preserve a homogeneous British culture, maintain standards of living and protect the Labour movement and the democratic system in general. And, some academics excepted, if anyone thought about Southern Europeans it was only as a threat to these values. But the threat was not so evident in the everyday experience of people and organizations to create a sense of urgency about dealing with ethnic groups established in the country. The aliens were simply too few. Even if they were to stay unassimilated they did not present a threat to the dominance of British culture, nor cause any practical difficulties for anyone in the broader society. In 1949 Borrie wrote:

1. Even the British were not welcome in too large numbers, at least by the trade unions, Bailey (1933, pp. 74-5).

2. On restrictive legislation for Southern Europeans, see Price (1963a, pp. 95-100). Notably these restrictions were imposed whenever there was a sign that Southern Europeans might come in larger numbers and might become a threat at times of unemployment, or as in 1916 might be used for political purposes.

Until recent years Australian immigration schemes have paid little attention to problems of assimilation... The non-British minority was small enough to be practically ignored and until recently the question of whether or not it has been absorbed into the Australian way of life has simply not been asked.¹

The pre-war years, then, were a time when the society afforded very little opportunity for Greeks to establish their collective presence. They were dispensable, marginal, few and unpopular. And no one needed, or felt they ought, to take such a group's special needs into consideration when resources were allocated.

However there was an important area of needs, those associated with overt discrimination, where Greeks had some opportunity to ask to be taken into consideration. They could appeal to what Bailey has called:

the large positive ideal which has never been wholly absent from Australian thought about immigration ... of a great democratic community of British stock, avoiding, on the one hand, the racial difficulties which have marked South African development, and, on the other hand, the discordant heterogeneity characteristic of some parts, at least, of the United States ... This ideal clearly requires both a restrictive and a selective immigration policy. The natural corollary is that once migrants are allowed to come in they should be treated on the same footing as the native born.²

(1955, p. 86)

This principle did not preclude discriminatory laws.² But it entailed recognition that the society has certain obligations towards immigrants as such and therefore gave ethnic groups some opportunity to draw attention to specific problems arising from their distinctive status in the society. For example, in the 1930's the Community in Sydney persuaded the State government to

¹ (1949, p. 82). On the same theme Cronin observes that "Australians had not developed any kind of response in dealing with non-Anglo Saxon peoples" (1970, p. 131).

² Bailey discusses legally sanctioned discrimination on political and civic rights, acquisition of property, eligibility for welfare and freedom to enter certain occupations. Nevertheless he shows that Australia adhered to the principle of equitable treatment as defined, for example, by the Economic Committee of the League of Nations in 1928 (1973, pp. 86-103). For an analysis of the constitutional basis for discriminatory legislation, see Bartholomew (1966, pp. 166-91).
reconsider its decision to exclude aliens from unemployment benefits.¹

Equitable treatment under the law gave very little leeway to Southern Europeans to ask that their needs be considered in decisions about resource allocations. It is hard to imagine that, at a time when it was felt that the society had nothing to gain by the presence of these groups and bestowed substantial benefits on them simply by allowing them in, the idea of positive help would have struck an answering chord anywhere in the socio-political system.

In the altered circumstances of the post-war years, these ideas changed. Though a watchful eye was kept on the British/non-British ratio, no one disputed that a constant inflow of non-British migrants was an integral part of the immigration programme.² Immigration restrictions could no longer serve as a major device to avoid the social problems that the presence of alien groups might cause.

The principle that resources must be allocated to facilitate economic settlement and cultural integration of non-British minorities was repeatedly stated by Mr. Calwell in his statements of policy between 1945 and 1947.³ The final step in setting up a machinery for the after-care of new arrivals was taken in 1950, when all major groups involved in migration were called for the first Citizenship Convention in Canberra. 1950, then, can be taken as a convenient date to divide the pre- from the post-war period on the basis of Australian attitudes relevant to the European migrants' opportunities for political presence. From then on, the specific needs of ethnic collectivities began to be taken

¹ Hellenic Herald, 16 July 1931, p. 4
² For a lively presentation of the well-known consensus of all major power structures on the desirability of immigration, see Walsh (1971).
³ "... the department will approach its problem from the basis that it is economically unsound to bring migrants to the country until there is continuous employment for them, and secondly, proper housing and other social amenities to help them to fit themselves quickly into the Australian way of life" (Ministerial Statement, Hansard, H. of R., Vol. 184, 2 Aug. 1945, p. 4911).
into consideration by those formulating policy in different spheres of social life.

Ideas on what these needs were, who should define them and how they could be dealt with changed during the next twenty years. It will be argued that these changes gave ethnic groups greater opportunities to establish their political presence. Though it is difficult to date such developments and though the ground is familiar, it is still useful to survey the situation so that the Greeks' ideas about their position in Australian society may be placed in context.

i. The 1950's

For the greater part of the 1950's the Australian approach to problems associated with ethnicity was shaped by: a) Concern with getting the Australian public to accept and support the immigration policy; b) Agreement about what the main dangers were and how they could be countered.

a. Selling immigration to the public:

"Any immigration plan can succeed only if it has behind it the support and the goodwill of the Australian people" said Arthur Calwell in 1945.¹ In order to persuade the Australian people that it was worth putting up with the presence of the non-British, rhetoric on the benefits the country derived from population growth was not enough. It was necessary also to see to it that the Europeans would not unduly disturb the native born. No one doubted that the Australian people would suffer some inconvenience. Even Ministers of Immigration, who were least inclined to dwell on the social costs of the programme, talked of "the burden of immigration for the native born Australians".²

Anxiety to lighten the burden meant that the problems associated with migration were approached mainly from the viewpoint of their consequences to the average Australian. This was clear from the tenor of debates in the Commonwealth Parliament about

¹ Ibid., p. 4912
² H.E. Holt, Opening address to the Sixth Citizenship Convention, published as pamphlet, A Happier Land, Dept. of Immigration, Canberra (1955, p. 6).
unemployment, housing, the burden that the States had to carry in the educational and welfare field, the dangers of allowing migrant concentrations in cities, the threat to standards of living and about the British/non-British ratio.¹ In 1952, the leader of the Opposition expressed strong concern that Australians should not be "disturbed" in their housing or employment arrangements because of immigrants and even went so far as to suggest that aliens should not be allowed to purchase property within the first five years. However this suggestion was forcibly rejected by the Minister.² Next year, a debate on unemployment focused entirely on the evils of migrants competing with Australians. One remark stood out for going against this pattern. The member for Batman, A.L.P., said: "It is bad enough for native born Australians or one who well knows the language to be unemployed. But it is infinitely worse for a foreign immigrant, who knows very little English and has no friend to help him."³

Thinking about problems associated with ethnicity was the inevitable by-product of concern with minimizing difficulties for native born Australians. This provided ethnic groups with new opportunities for political presence. But these were quite limited because thinking in this sphere was almost entirely done from an Australian perspective with the focus on Australians' views and Australians' reactions.

b. Definition of the danger areas:

During the 1950's there was widespread consensus on what problems the presence of European immigrants might create for the society and on the objectives and strategies of the settlement programme. From the beginning the cooperation and agreement

¹ For example, in the estimates debate in November 1951, immigration and the related problems in housing and welfare were discussed exclusively with reference to possible competition of migrants with the native born, Hansard, H. or R., Vol. 215, 7 Nov. 1951, pp. 1681-98.


³ Ibid., Vol. 221, 19 Febr. 1953, p. 140.

⁴ The connection of the salesmanship outlook to the failure to see problems from the immigrants' perspective has been discussed by Jupp (1966, p. 159).
of all major social power structures and organizations was solicited by setting up mechanisms for consultation and by providing a regular forum for discussion in the annual Citizenship Conventions. In the 1955 Citizenship Convention the president of the A.C.T.U., Mr. A.E. Monk, introduced the discussion on a proposed Charter of Australian Citizenship in these terms:

I take the point that this Immigration Convention should deal with the conditions, privileges and responsibility associated with the assimilation of new Australians into our Australian way of life ... if we are not careful and discuss matters beyond this ... we shall be called upon to deal with issues of general economic, social or political character and that may lead to controversy ... if social, political and economic questions are to be discussed at these gatherings we shall destroy the unity that we have striven for over many years in relation to the assimilation of new Australians.¹

This not only shows the importance attached to consensus but also reveals how much it was taken for granted that there is no danger of disagreement when it comes to questions about immigration. Jean Martin notes that:

In the early post-war years, official and non-official bodies ... shared to a surprising degree a common ideology of settlement, a set of beliefs and values on the way in which migrants could and should be incorporated into Australian society. (1972b, p. 14)

Jean Martin's account of what this ideology entailed shows that there was much that Australians agreed on at that time. Most fundamentally they agreed that the presence of the non-British in large numbers should not be allowed to affect the character of the society, either culturally or institutionally. From this flowed consensus on the objectives and strategies of the settlement programme and, generally, on the treatment of immigrants.

The ideology of settlement embodied a formula for the incorporation of immigrants. In order to form a picture of the opportunities for political presence it is useful to consider not only the formula itself but also what its adoption reveals about the society's approach. Ignorance of the dynamics of adjustment and acculturation played a large part in the principle

¹ Transcript of proceedings (typescript), Dept. of Immigration, Canberra, p. 59.
that ethnic organization is to be discouraged and in the various devices for handling immigrants as individuals. Many attitudes and considerations came into play here. But there was also a genuine belief that once immigrants were cajoled and manipulated out of their habit of sticking together they would be set on the road to trouble-free assimilation. This, as well as the other misconceptions which generated confidence that all it took was a little personal warmth and friendliness and some effort to inform the newcomers about the Australian way of life, might not have survived so long if it were not for the fact that discussion on the problems of migration was conducted exclusively amongst Australians. It is very doubtful for example that, had anyone been listening to what migrants had to say, it would have been possible for a Convention to pass such a resolution as that "organizations should be requested to ask their members and citizens to "adopt" one migrant family". The idea that the migrant perspective was superfluous was clearly expressed by L. Baylen (who in 1945 had been chairman of the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council). In the course of a debate on naturalization in 1959 he said:

I do not think that you do much good by using a migrant to tell you what is wrong with the Australians. It is probably better to employ some sort of general understanding with the underlying idea to get these people naturalized.

The corollary was that communication with the immigrant was a one-way process: the society had to communicate its standards to the newcomers and educate them into Australian norms. This

1. Evident from the reaction to the paper which Price delivered to the Convention in 1956 was that his very cautious suggestion that the ethnic group can facilitate the assimilation of individuals introduced an entirely new perspective in the thinking of most present. For report on the discussion of the paper see Digest, Report of Proceedings of Australian Citizenship Convention, 1956, p. 28. The element of ignorance is also clear in the many statements which take for granted that the extent to which ethnic groups would remain physically clustered was a matter for the society to decide and implement (e.g., Calwell in Hansard, H. of R., Vol. 216, 5 March 1952, p. 894).

2. Digest, 1953, p. 33.

was evident even when migrants were thought about in the context of political competition for electoral support, in other words when one might expect thinking to have been oriented towards understanding what migrants want. For example the report on New Australians submitted to the 1957 A.L.P. conference recognizes that migrants could become an important source of support. The conclusion is not that the labour movement should ask itself: "What do we really offer these people?", but rather that a major effort should be made to reach the New Australians with a concerted series of literature and public addresses "to impress upon them the struggles of the Trade Union movement from its infancy to the present day" and to show them that "the Labor Party provides the best means by which they can become good citizens in this country".

Going back to the ideology of settlement, it must be emphasized that the dislike of ethnic clusters did not just stem from the belief that if it were not for ethnic communities individual migrants would have found it easier to assimilate. There was also the fear that ethnic organization affirms a distinctive corporate existence for immigrants in the society - a state of affairs which was inherently incompatible with the blueprint for a homogeneous nation. A most particular danger associated with this was that ethnicity would become a basis for political organization.

Altogether it seems that during the 1950's the presence of immigrants was approached mainly as a problem of social control. Such ideas and attitudes meant that opportunities for political presence were fairly limited.

2. Cf. Martin (1971 and 1972b). The link between the fear of immigrant political power and the dispersal device is evident in such statements as: "The only sure way of preventing such an occurrence (the political power of migrants) is to disperse immigrants in small groups throughout the whole of Australia", Senator Tate, Hansard, Senate, Vol. 213, 21 June 1951, p. 214. Most revealing here was the reaction to an attempt to set up a migrant union in the late 1950's. In a press statement on the New Citizens Council the Minister for Immigration expressed the prevalent fear as follows: "Nothing could be more calculated to arouse antagonisms and resentment than for migrants to attempt to use their growing numbers to act together as a
Consensus itself was a major obstacle. It meant that it was very difficult for an immigrant group to find spokesmen from within Australian power structures when it came to anything that ran counter to the general trend. Such spokesmen were particularly necessary at that time, since the society had not made place for migrants in its mechanisms for communication about the problems of settlement. For example, given consensus on assimilation, it was almost inconceivable that the needs which stem from the desire to preserve ethnic identity would be included in what the society needs when allocating resources.

Secondly, concern with selling the policy to the native born, as well as refusal to acknowledge ethnicity as an enduring differentiating characteristic, meant that ethnic minorities could not hope to be thought of as distinct units in the normal course of political decisions about equality of opportunity, except for instances of overt discrimination.

Thirdly, as long as the society was not prepared to define difficulties and decide on solutions with some reference to migrant viewpoints, a wide range of needs were bound to be pre-judged as non-problems in relation to ethnicity.

Finally, dislike of dealing with immigrants on a corporate basis was largely incompatible with making it a political habit to take distinctive ethnic needs into consideration.

With all this, the situation in the 1950's was radically different from earlier years. For the first time the society accepted responsibility for what happened to immigrants after arrival and articulated a policy regarding settlement. With this it acknowledged the principle that needs and problems which flow from ethnicity are relevant to decisions about resources. At the time, the principle may have been applied in a narrow and uninformed way. But the presence of immigrants as a sector of the population to be taken into account in the process of decision-making was established in principle.

pressure group to achieve sectional aims", A.R. Downer, 14 June 1960. For trade union reaction see report of the secretary of the Labour Council of N.S.W. on New Citizens Council, The Australian Worker, 8 July 1959, p. 9; also two-page article "Beware of the New Citizen Council", ibid., 19 Aug. 1959, pp. 6-7.
One area where immigrants could make considerable headway was overt discrimination. Whether it was in the name of assimilation or in the name of justice, the society took a genuine interest in implementing equal treatment. In the mid-1950's the Commonwealth actively tried to persuade the States to equalize access to public housing between British and non-British migrants.\footnote{1} Or again, in 1955 the Citizenship Convention passed a resolution to abolish the discretionary special benefit for alien widows and make them eligible for ordinary widows' pensions, "in view of the present commendable trend to remove, where possible, distinctions between old and new Australians, and because of the democratic principles involved ...".\footnote{2}

Certainly the obstacles put in the way of migrant groups feeding their needs into the system were substantial and were largely a matter of deliberate policy. But they were also the outcome of a set of attitudes and preconceptions which could be, and eventually were, revised as the number of aliens grew, as the real problems arising from cultural distance became more evident, and as the effectiveness of the society's methods was tested by results.

ii. Subsequent developments

From the late 1950's onwards one can detect the beginning of changes. People began to recognize the need to refer to the migrants' perspective, there was some acceptance of ethnic social organization and the burden of migration began to be assessed for the way it weighed on the immigrants. These developments were closely related and will be discussed together. Much later, possibly from after the mid-1960's, one can detect a new trend towards seeing the problems of ethnic groups in the context of equality of opportunity.

It is difficult to date these changes. Indeed many have doubted that Australian attitudes changed significantly in the directions indicated almost until the 1970's. It was in 1966 that Jupp wrote of the salesmanship mentality and the failure

\footnote{1} Cf. H.E. Holt, Building for a Better Future, address to the 1956 Citizenship Convention (pamphlet), p. 17.
\footnote{2} Transcript of proceedings (typescript), p. 88.
to be concerned about immigrant viewpoints. In 1971, Jean Martin pointed to the dearth of information about the place of migrants in the society as symptomatic of the society's refusal to recognize that the presence of immigrants calls for institutional change. She talked of "emasculated pluralism" and showed that though the idea that immigrants could be dispersed physically had been abandoned, dispersal continued in the form of devaluing ethnic organization and refusing to articulate it with the society's structures. Here and in her other writings Martin points to enduring inequalities of opportunity as the inevitable by-product of such patterns in the treatment of immigrants.

Such assessments of the position are well justified if one goes by what had actually been done up to the late 1960's by way of equalizing opportunities of access to goods and by way of drawing migrants into the decision-making process. For example, in reviewing opportunities for access to welfare facilities up to the early 1970's, Cox writes:

The crucial requirement here is for bi-lingual, bi-cultural workers or, as a second-best alternative, the provision of trained interpreters. It is lamentable, to say the least, that 25 years of large-scale immigration has occurred without much progress in this area.1

However, even when developments are mainly a matter of new attitudes beginning to emerge and accepted notions beginning to be challenged, the context for the ethnic group's own perspectives on its situation changes significantly. The options widen as it becomes possible to perceive new trends and make something of them. An important attribute of the ethnic culture is the degree to which it is sensitive to such trends.

The tenor of public debate in political and other forums suggests the beginnings of change somewhere in the late 1950's. That far-reaching policy changes did not follow does not mean that the system had not become more sensitive to problems associated with ethnicity and that the migrants' opportunities to

1. (1975, pp. 18-9). The situation with reference to the education of migrant children has been documented by Jean Martin (1972). In a paper delivered at the 1968 Citizenship Convention, Zubrzycki pointed to the failure to take account of special migrant needs both in education and in apprentice-ship training (1968b, pp. 11-5).
get a hearing for such problems had not expanded. Between changes in attitude and changes in policy, there intervene rival political priorities and also the failure of the minorities themselves to make the best of the situation.

a. The migrant perspective and pluralistic thinking:

Gradually the idea began to take hold that for the society to achieve its objectives it was not enough that intelligent and interested Australians apply their common sense and exchange their views. Certainly the idea that the newcomers ought to be listened to as well as educated was not universally accepted by the end of the 1950's, and it took several more years before listening to migrants was interpreted to mean that they ought to be drawn into the decision-making process. (Cf. Introduction) Nevertheless, signs that organized sectors of Australian society began to see the need for two-way communication are evident even before the 1960's. The Good Neighbour Movement made efforts to develop migrant committees. After 1959, European names appeared on the list of delegates to the Citizenship Conventions and, occasionally, background papers to start off discussion were given by migrants. In the latter part of the 1950's one begins more and more often to come across pleas such as:

Is it possible for us to ascertain the problems of learning English that confronts members of the family, particularly the lonely mother? ... Is it not necessary, as we members of Parliament know, for us to get into the home and make personal contact? ... I suggest that there is great need for trained social or welfare workers to make that essential contact.

Moreover thought on what might be involved in opening up channels of communication began to take account of the realities of migrant existence, and particularly of ethnic structures. As early as 1956 it was agreed in the course of the discussion of Price's paper that: "Leaders should be found and developed within national groups to become channels of communication between

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1. In the Australian paper submitted to the Havana Conference in 1956 it is stated that migrant committees were set up "to put the newcomers' point of view to the Good Neighbour Movement" (Reported by Borrie, 1959, p. 74).

2. R. Cleaver M.P., Citizenship Convention 1957, Transcript of proceedings (typescript), p. 146. For a report of more systematic efforts by the government to gather information, see Kern (1966, p. 42).
groups and the rest of the community". Combined with the old idea that the inner life of the ethnic communities can be manipulated from outside - that leaders can be "developed" - one finds the new notion that Australians will have to work with national groupings, rather than concentrate on dispersing them. This element in thinking about communication is evident also from Mr. Monk's summary of the debate on "the new citizen at work" in the 1962 Convention:

The general opinion was that while it was highly desirable that there should be a better comingling between Australians and migrant workers, those with identity of interest and similar background would continue to associate in and outside of employment. Trade Unions and employers might consider whether an effective liaison was being maintained between groups of Australian and migrant workers.

Partly because the need for two-way communication was becoming apparent and largely because it was becoming increasingly clear that the ethnic community could play an important positive role in assimilation, Australians began feeling their way towards acceptance of ethnic structures. Appleyard describes this development as follows:

Years of experience in trying to resolve problems of assimilation, fortified by research ... have revealed the crucial significance of segregated ethnic communities in the assimilation process ... Accordingly, Government policy concerning ethnic concentrations was changed, though slowly, and in 1970 is significantly different to the policy reported by Mr. Calwell in 1953. (1971, p. 21)

As mentioned earlier, the view taken here is that such changes matter as a context for the study of ideas in the ethnic group even if they are only tentative. Thus one can accept Jean Martin's critique of Australian pluralism and still maintain that once ethnic systems were accepted as givens and used for purposes of communication, ethnic groups could begin to think in terms of enhancing their collective presence in the society. They had something to build on if they wanted to persuade the society to go further on the road to pluralism and accept ethnic structures.

1. Digest, p. 29.
not as "transitional cultural way-stations ... but as permanent features of the general social system". (Lawrence, 1969, p. 52)

In fact there is something almost inevitable about such a development. It may be that, to begin with, acceptance of ethnic communities was simply a more informed way to work for assimilation. But gradually such acceptance had repercussions on the objective itself and there occurred the well known change in aim from assimilation to integration. Moreover, though Australians invested pluralism primarily with cultural meaning and were nervous about it spilling over to the political sphere, once ethnic communities were treated as permanent features in the social system, they could develop organizations to negotiate with the host society. Much as they disliked the term, Australians opened the way for ethnic pressure groups.

Another development in the 1960's was a new tendency to see problems for their effect on the migrants rather than solely for the disturbance to the native born. For example, concern with equal treatment went beyond criticism of explicitly discriminatory legislation. Rules that applied to all began to be assessed for the specific effect that they might have on newcomers. Also there was more discussion of problems that were not seen to have repercussions on the native born, such as, for example, the isolation of migrant women, the psychological strains experienced by Mediterranean villagers trying to make their way in an Anglo-Saxon industrial environment, the exploitation to which newcomers were vulnerable not only in the matter of wages, which had always been seen in the context of a threat to Australian workers, but also in matters such as exorbitant rents or unreasonable fees for services.

Sensitivity to the migrant viewpoint and concern with the cost side of the migration experience as it affected the migrant

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1. The question of the 20 year residence requirement for old age pensions was raised repeatedly by the Labor Party from 1959 onwards, on the grounds that it unfairly penalized newcomers. Eventually the government abandoned the stock reply that there was no question of discrimination since Australians coming home after long periods abroad were similarly disqualified. Cf. Hansard, H. of R., Vol. 26, 1 Oct. 1959, p. 1710 and Vol. 33, 4 Oct. 1961, pp. 1631-60; see also suggestions for a migrant legal service bureau, Vol. 33, 5 Oct. 1961, pp. 1795-97.
were stimulated firstly by awareness that some of the original objectives were not being achieved. Australians could congratulate themselves, as they often did, on having sustained such a large-scale immigration programme without unmanageable social tensions. On the other hand, it was not possible to ignore that assimilation was not progressing as well as it might, that naturalization rates were low, or that not enough migrants were learning English. Searching for reasons led interested groups to question, on the one hand, whether it was efficient to define problems and decide on tactics without reference to how migrants saw things and, on the other hand, whether the benefits of migration to the migrant were as great as had been previously assumed.

By 1963, for example, field research into the reasons for low naturalization rates had revealed that for many naturalization was a symbolic act expressing feelings of satisfaction and identification with the country. And it was clear from the debate in the Citizenship Convention in 1965 that many of the participants had realized this and were giving serious thought to the possibility that migrants do not get a good enough deal to make them feel like taking the step that commits them to the country. The same mood was apparent in the discussion of low attendance and high drop-out rates from English classes. In the 1965 Convention the question was discussed with reference to the migrants' priorities, their life style and general attitudes. There was talk of the newcomers' concern with financial security, which left them little energy after a long working day and the role of women in Mediterranean society which made it hard for them to go out in the evening and attend mixed classes. And the remedies proposed were classes at work or at home.

Secondly, as the absolute numbers of Europeans grew and substantial concentrations formed in the inner city areas, in industry and in the lower social strata, the occasions when Australian organizations actually had to deal with migrants multiplied. When the migrants' difficulties became problems that had to be dealt with in the course of the day's work, policies and tactics worked out by Australians with Australians in mind could come to look irrelevant. Teachers facing classrooms more
than half full with migrant children could not always keep to the comfortable belief, so often expressed in the early 1950's, that all problems cease at the first generation. Or welfare officers, frustrated in their work by the barriers of language, shame and suspicion might come to doubt the efficacy of the hand of friendship approach. ¹

You cannot conduct migration like a Rotary meeting with soft drinks and crackers and the best of all good things in the best of all possible worlds ... we are so darn complacent. We believe he ought to feel lucky that he is in the country but he is going through hell's own misery in some cases to get adjusted and assimilated ... It is futile to talk about the success of migration when you know that every suburb is reeking with sickness and insanitary conditions because of overcrowding of the available housing by migrants. It is not their fault. We brought them here and as soon as they have got into the country we wipe our hands of them ... we ought to think of them and their problems and ought not to be smug about them ... We have to turn over the unpleasant situation and find out what we are up against. And you do not do that by having little meetings in town halls and having a cup of tea behind the aspi-distras and being damn sure that you do not have a migrant near you in your own life.

This extract from a speech in the course of the estimates debate in 1960² illustrates how self doubt and a new readiness to look at the cost of migration to the migrant could grow from increasing visibility of the migrants' difficulties and problems.

Finally, from the mid-1960's onwards concern with preventing high departure rates and maintaining an adequate inflow of Europeans at a time when conditions in Europe were improving and when the more affluent European countries were attracting migrant

¹ In 1959 H. Opperman, later Minister for Immigration, assured the House that "... after a few months in school most of the children become so thoroughly Australian that only their names distinguish them from the native born children", Hansard, H. of R., Vol. 22, 27 Aug. 1959, p. 711. This might be compared to Jean Martin's account of the teachers' experiences and reactions (1972b, pp. 8-10). Elsewhere Martin mentions professionals in direct contact with migrants as an important source of pressure in relation to policies in the handling of migrants and later immigration itself (1975b, p. 160).

labour, also stimulated a critical approach to what Australia actually offered migrants.¹

b. Towards equality of opportunity:

Sometime after the mid-1960's, one may detect signs that problems associated with ethnicity began to be seen in the context of the society's responsibility to equalize access to the good and help the disadvantaged overcome their liabilities. This development was only in its infancy in the late 1960's when there was still strong resistance to the idea of favourable discrimination. In 1969, the Minister for Immigration gave this answer to a proposal that newcomers should be granted a tax-free period:

"There is a lot to do in terms of making sure that a migrant coming here is not at a disadvantage compared with other citizens ... I am quite persuaded that one thing we will never be able to do is positively to advantage migrants compared with other persons in the community."² However, opposition to favouritism was only one element in the Minister's reply. The other elements were awareness of the migrants' disadvantaged position in comparison with Australians and an acknowledgement that it is the society's responsibility to remove such disadvantages.

As knowledge about the migrants' difficulties accumulated, the disadvantaged position of migrants in relation to the native

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². W. Sneddon, Hansard, H. of R., Vol. 65, 26 Sept. 1969, p. 2054. Notably, however, the year before, when discussing the disadvantaged position of migrants in housing, Mr. Sneddon hinted at the need for favourable discrimination. To the 1968 Convention he said: "In one sense it is best that he be treated just as an Australian member of the community. But this is too simple a view ... migrants are all different and there is urgent need for continuous professional assessment of the nature and magnitude of migrant problems." Digest p.14. By the late 1960's the situation had been reached when favourable discrimination was conceivable and could be appealed to depending on the measure proposed.
born became more evident. Of course there has always been some concern with the comparative position of natives and newcomers. But in earlier years it was legal rather than social inequality that was under scrutiny. The change in perspective is evident in the discussions of the migrants' housing problems and on education. In the 1950's the focus was on equalizing eligibility for public housing. In the late 1960's the emphasis was on the inequalities in real opportunity. In 1970 the Leader of the Opposition talked of the migrants' problems in all spheres of life in terms of relative deprivation. In his address to the Citizenship Convention he said:

We have thought it natural that migrants should be content to fill the lowest paid occupations, accept the costliest housing in the ugliest areas, send their children to the most crowded and least equipped schools and accept worse health services, worse public transport, fewer recreational amenities and poorer urban services ...

Another development of some significance was that a longer time perspective was adopted when thinking of migrant problems. It was not just that policy makers became aware that it takes migrants much longer to adjust than was previously assumed. Some thought was also given to the possibility that initial disadvantages breed permanent inequality extending beyond the first generation. Thinking along these lines gave new content to the traditional concern about the long term effect of the immigration programme on the character of Australian society. To the traditional anxiety about cultural segregation was added a concern with social and economic segregation. In other words, the "little Italys" began to be seen not only as cultural islands but also as population pockets segregated from the rest by their unequal access to the good. And the idea began to emerge that this was as much a threat to the blueprint for Australia as were cultural differences.

1. Cf. Sneddon's speech to the 1968 Convention and discussion. The question of special disabilities of migrants was also raised by the Minister for Immigration in 1970, P. Lynch, address to the 1970 Citizenship Convention, Digest, p. 15.

2. G. Whitlam, address to the 1970 Citizenship Convention, Digest, pp. 8-9.
Before the 1970's it was mainly the academics who thought in these terms. But their ideas are of some importance because in the field of immigration academics have not been without influence, at least in the sense that their empirical findings and their insights have been allowed to enter the forum of broader public debate. Thus in his paper to the 1968 Citizenship Convention Zubrzycki talked of behavioural and structural assimilation not simply as sociological concepts but also as goals of social policy. And he argued that only positive policies designed to promote structural assimilation would prevent ethnic minorities from forming permanent clusters in the lower strata of society. (1968b, pp. 8-9)

The idea that a crucial concern when thinking of migrant problems ought to be the future character of a society which allows the initial disadvantages of being a migrant to crystallize into permanent inequalities was put forward to the 1968 Citizenship Convention by Borrie (at that time on the Immigration Planning Council). After reviewing the migrants' problems in housing, education and work he said:

I think we should cease talking about these as aspects of our migration problem and realize that these are problems of national policy. Migrant children represent a quarter of our children. Migrant factory workers are a very significant part of the factory population. These aspects have to be dealt with as part of a national scheme and not as a supplementary policy specifically designed for migrants.¹

Such ideas were not given high priority in policy objectives. Nevertheless they were not out of tune with political thinking at the time. For example, in his 1969 address to the Committee for Economic Development of Australia the Minister for Immigration treated the specific problems of migrants in the context not of humanitarian problems but of the social goal of an improved quality of life for Australia as a nation. And he expressed the view that by barring migrants from equal access to the goods and institutions of the society, Australia is impoverishing itself as well as the ethnic minorities.²

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1. Digest, 1968, p. 47
Though, on the whole, by 1970 one may find no more than early intimations of a development towards the ideas and policies of equality of opportunity, the development is worth keeping in mind as a background to the study of leaders.

In the light of the review of changes in the composition of the Greek minority, of its resources for communication and of Australian attitudes, one may subdivide the forty-four years into the following periods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composition of the minority</th>
<th>Avenues for communication</th>
<th>Australian attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1926-1954 Homogeneity</td>
<td>Communities sole avenue - incapacitated by internal conflict</td>
<td>Indifference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1950 Homogeneity</td>
<td>Communities sole avenue - periods of unity and consolidation</td>
<td>Indifference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1961 Heterogeneity</td>
<td>Strong Communities, supplemented by sectional interest groups</td>
<td>The principle of social responsibility for settlement is acknowledged. Australian definitions of problems. One-way communication. Assimilationism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dividing dates of the periods with reference to Australian attitudes, particularly within the post-war period, is obviously arbitrary and set at the earliest date when changes could possibly have been detected by an alert minority. It should be pointed out that the description of circumstances in the 1960's serves only as a background to the study of leaders since the ethnic press material was not analyzed after 1963.
A final point to be made is that the division was made so that one can say that within each period there were no radical changes in the context for ideas. Thus in the analysis there will be little attempt to trace changes in ideas from one year to the next. The patterns will be identified by drawing on ideas as they were expressed over the entire period.
CHAPTER IV
1926-1935 Atomistic Patterns and Corporate Commitments

The sketch of the group's circumstances given in the previous chapter shows that these were difficult years for Greeks. Hard hit by the depression, disliked and occasionally attacked by the Australian people, regarded with suspicion and not a little contempt by the authorities and divided amongst themselves, Greeks had much reason to be disheartened about their situation and prospects in this country. On the other hand, the group had by then formed stable communities so that Greeks could feel that they had a secure base and were less vulnerable than in earlier years. Nor was factional dispute necessarily demoralizing. Individuals could feel involved in an important and exciting confrontation and see a chance to make an impact on communal life in a manner not possible at home. Though much happened to bring home to Greeks their unpopularity in the society at large, they also were given signs that the State extended its protective machinery to them and guaranteed them basic rights.

These observations are made in order to underline again the position adopted in this study. Namely, that any set of objective circumstances admits of a range of "realistic" interpretations and that the ones adopted as meaningful will depend on a cultural predisposition to interpret circumstances in one way rather than another. In this chapter politically-relevant beliefs and assumptions evident in the newspapers at that time will be described and analyzed in the light of the threat and opportunity models outlined in Chapter I.

1. The 1933 Census shows that Greeks had a higher proportion of breadwinners in the lower income groups than other ethnic groups: 64.4% of Greek-born compared, for example, to 52.4% of Australian-born, 58.1% of Italians or 57.3% of Yugoslavs were listed in the three lower annual income categories, i.e. No income, under £52, £52-103. Tabulation from 1933 Census in Tsounis (1971a, Table V, p. 204).
First it is necessary to say something about the material. As explained earlier, (Ch. II) the two newspapers in circulation at that time, the Hellenic Herald and the National Tribune, were allied to opposing factions in the Church-Community dispute. It is therefore important to stress again the class factor in the alignment of factions. Very broadly one can say that the Hellenic Herald was written with an eye to the concerns and problems of the small man, while the National Tribune adopted the perspective of the more prosperous. This distinction is very rough. Not only were class differences relatively small, but factions were aligned primarily on regional lines. The Hellenic Herald certainly steered a careful course in trying to avoid causing offence to the more established strata in the community.¹

So few copies of the National Tribune are available for this period that it was not possible to extract a view of the social system and of the Greeks’ situation from the text. The little there is suggests that even as it contradicted its rival on every issue,² the paper expressed basically similar assumptions about the immigrants’ social reality. This will be illustrated whenever possible.³

The Hellenic Herald was rich in relevant commentary. The first three years were fairly barren because editorial attention

1. In its editorials and articles on the employees’ complaints of exploitation the paper stresses that small shopkeepers would go bankrupt if they were to pay normal wages and observe usual working hours, and consistently presents the Greek shop as the employment “haven” of the newcomer. However, it is conceded that employees are not treated by the rules and have some legitimate grounds for complaint. The conclusion is invariably some appeal to mutual understanding, e.g. Feature, 30 Aug. 1928, p. 6, or Editorial, 11 June 1931, p. 1.

2. The constant argumentation between the papers was not confined to questions immediately relevant to the Church-Community dispute. On almost every happening or proposal the papers took opposing stands, be it about a boy scout team or the proposals of the occasional adventurers who managed to stir the imagination and often hit the pockets of the public. Tsounis gives several examples (1971a, pp. 187-92), and there is no need to document the point further.

3. The extracts from the National Tribune are usually the only ones found on the theme discussion. For the Hellenic Herald, however, the rule about quotations mentioned in Chapter II was maintained.
was focused on internal politics. Later, however, the depression, the hostile campaigns of newspapers such as the Truth or the Tribune, the Kalgoorlie riots, concern about the long-term effects of immigration restrictions, directed the newspaper's attention to the Greeks' relationship with the host society.

Of the two men who wrote the editorials at this time one, M. Malachias, was a withdrawn "intellectual", apparently much respected by his compatriots as a man of wisdom and objective judgment. From his perspective as a sympathetic and dispassionate observer he wrote two serials, "Memories or a Migrant" and "Impressions of a Migrant", published in the paper over the period 1931-1935. Grivas, who later became owner and editor of the paper and is now characterized as the father of Greek journalism in Australia, was a public figure. A powerful and flamboyant personality, partisan and skilful in his manipulations of ethnic politics, he felt free to sermonize and castigate his readership secure in the knowledge that, being himself the proverbial "100% Romios", he understood how to strike a responsive chord. In editorials he was censorious and indulged in rather heavy irony.

In his other two regular contributions, signed "Naxela Savirg" and "Penna", he adopted a gossipy, lighthearted style. Notable also among those who wrote occasional feature articles was A. Goumas, known to be well connected in the "elitist" circles. His contributions, signed "Angus", dealt primarily with economic problems and are interesting because they may be viewed as representing the approach of the more prosperous.

In accordance with the conceptual framework employed in this study (Ch. I) this chapter will identify beliefs and assumptions about the self and others in the contest for goods, with

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1. "Memories of a Migrant" was serialized in 75 instalments between 30 Aug. 1931 and 8 Dec. 1932. "Impressions of a Migrant" was serialized in 106 instalments between 12 Oct. 1933 and 14 Nov. 1935 under the pseudonym Michos. The characterization of Malachias was given to me by D. Calomeris, editor of the paper in 1971 and on the staff since the 1940's. He informed me that Malachias had written a scholarly history of the Greeks in Australia which he intended to publish posthumously. Apparently the manuscript "disappeared" from the office.

2. This was A. Goumas employed in the consulate in Sydney since the mid-1930's.
particular reference to the relations of unequal power and the relations of equality in which Greeks in Australia are involved. These will be dealt with in the first part. The second part will deal with ideas on strategies to the good since, as already explained, the propensity to political participation is judged by the place accorded to political demand activity as a means of access to desired things.

Part I - Definitions of the situation

Relations of unequal power

Apart from occasional references to strength and weakness, the commentary at this time is not written in the vocabulary of power relations. Terms such as dominance, subordination, oppression, pressure, resistance, etc. are not used. That such catchwords are missing suggests that the paper was written for readers who were not, as yet, inclined to take issue with the host society over the place reserved for them. The alternative explanation, that the text reflects a general failure by Greeks to perceive or be interested in the power dimension of social relations, is unlikely. A people so tuned to the realities of power in their own society were hardly likely to change perspective so radically in the new country.

In the absence of key terminology, it was necessary to have some other criterion by which to identify beliefs and concerns about the Greeks' position in the power hierarchy. To this end, power was defined as the ability to manipulate opportunities of access to valued things. Beliefs about the power hierarchy and about power relations were sought in any part of the text that dealt with the relative capacity of individuals or groups to act upon one another's life chances. This approach does not do violence to meaning in the text. The hearing that others could have on the immigrants' life chances is the main perspective from which the newspaper assesses the Greeks' position in the society.

A. The group's position and the nature of power inequality

As argued in Chapter I, characteristic of the threat syndrome is the cleavage view of power inequality. Power is seen as indivisible: something that belongs to some and not to
others. By contrast, the basic opportunity tenet is that there are many facets to the influence that groups can exercise on one another so that there is room for reciprocal influence in relations between unequals.

Furthermore, the threat outlook tends to discard the possibility that a group's ranking varies for different goods. Here power, or weakness, is seen as a group's fixed attribute. On the other hand, the opportunity view sees power as variable, the product of circumstances that need not place a group at the same advantage, or disadvantage, in all spheres of activity.

Three sets of hierarchical relations are pictured in the text. Between Australians, between Greeks, and between Australians and Greeks. The last, which is relevant here, suggests the threat notion of a hierarchy of two undifferentiated strata—the powerful and the weak—with the dividing line drawn unequivocally along the ethnic boundary.

The view of the ethnic group as an undifferentiated stratum in the society is expressed in the notions that the internal ethnic hierarchy has no validity in the eyes of Australians and that, while in reality some Greeks are stronger than others in their relations to one another, and while power is distributed unevenly between Australian collectivities, all Greeks are equally weak in relations with Australians and, conversely, any Australian has the capacity to affect any Greek's opportunities for access to the good.

The following is a typical passage expressing the subjective dimension of equality between Greeks:

Here in Australia, the Greeks do not belong to different social classes—as some of us perhaps imagine... At home we all came from the same class. Here, nothing has changed... We divide ourselves into bosses and workers. But the division is ours, a formality, laughable to the Australians. Don't our so-called bosses do as dirty a job, work as interminable hours and live as mean an existence as their workers?

(Hellenic Herald "Impressions" 11 Jan. 1934, p. 10, col.4)

Moreover, and most importantly, in the eyes of the society Greeks share one basic identifying status, that of foreigner. Thus categorized, they are defined as interchangeable units of the same social aggregate. In Australian eyes ethnicity carries more weight for placement in the social hierarchy than any characteristic that differentiates one Greek from another:

None of us can hope to be viewed as a cut above the others ... Just as wealthy or poor, educated or illiterate we all are one, one ethnic minority, so also naturalised or not, we are still foreigners never on the same footing with the Australians. (H.H., edit., 12 Feb. 1931, p. 1, col. 4)

To this subjective construct, there corresponds the reality of power dichotomy. In inter-ethnic relations Australians are consistently portrayed in the guise of the powerful, while Greeks are invariably pictured in a situation of dependence. This is evident in the commentary on the manner in which Australians can impinge on the life chances of Greeks in every sphere of activity.

i. Economic relations and the dichotomy of power

In the economic sphere the sense of one-sided dependence is expressed in many ways. It is assumed, for example, that the total amount of the good available to Greeks is at the discretion of Australians. This is expressed in the occupational ghetto argument and in the notion that, even within their own sector, the space which Greeks can occupy is determined by outside forces.

It should be stressed here that there is no major theme to the effect that most Greeks want to break out from the food and catering area. On the contrary, the texts abound with references like: "naturally all of us come here in the hope that eventually we will open a shop ..." (N. Trib., Edit., 15 Feb. 1928, p. 3, col. 2) or: "the Greek village boy who sees himself as the future merchant must ..." (H.H., Penna, 23 Aug. 1928, p. 3, col. 4). However, as with a residential ghetto, the defining feature is not the inclination of the inhabitants but the lack of viable alternatives. In "Memories" the cafe proprietor explains to the newcomer that practically all arrivals are headed for work in the Greek kitchens:
Of course, where else? You say that you are educated, that you speak English... Just try to get a job with Australians and you'll remember my words. They hate us here. (H.H., 18 June 1931, p. 4, col. 7)

Indeed the hero's attempts to make his way on Australian territory are useless. When not rebuffed, he is allocated the heaviest tasks, and each job ends in misunderstandings and dismissal. His entry into the Greek sphere is inevitable and his exit blocked.

The National Tribune states:

Greeks find employment only with other Greeks or in work which is too heavy for Australians. For example in Port Pirie Greeks work either in Greek shops or in the smelters. And which jobs do they get in the smelters? Only the heaviest ones, which ruin health or which Australians reject. (Edit., 7 May 1930, p. 3, col. 1)

Expressions such as "they are allowing us a corner of their economy", "they give us, the foreigners, some space under the sun", also reveal the assumption that Greeks operate within the confines of a space allocated to them.

Even within their own sector Greeks are not in control. All it takes for the Greeks' space to shrink is for Australians to decide that the ethnic niche is no longer beneath their notice:

It is true that Australia progresses by leaps and bounds. But progress means intensified competition, catastrophic for the weaker members of the commercial class... No longer do we have the run of the catering field. Today Australians, equipped with capital and business know-how, invade the field which previously they despised... The Greek migrant is constantly losing ground... (H.H., Edit., 19 Jan. 1928, p. 1, cols. 1-3)

The sense of dependence is evident also in the belief that the Greeks' chances for economic advancement are materially affected by the general image of the group in the society.

The much maligned Greeks of Australia try as best they can... to secure a measure of financial independence. And yet everything is spoiled for us, we encounter...

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1. In "Impressions" the author discusses the Greeks' position in every branch of the catering sector (21 instalments, 1 March 1934 to 26 Aug. 1934). The theme throughout is that Greeks occupy only as much territory as the indifference of Australians allows.
obstacles at every turn because ... the people of this country dislike and despise us. (H.H., Edit., 20 Sept. 1927, p. 6, col. 1)

And the National Tribune:

Our quarrels and disputes have not only ridiculed us in the eyes of Australians but have confirmed their poor image of us and thus greatly impede the progress and prosperity of each of us. (Feature, 9 Apr. 1930, p. 4, col. 4)

In direct dealings with Australians inequality of power is the sole theme. Particularly revealing is that this theme occurs even when dependence is not built into the statuses of Greeks and Australians in the particular situation - as is the case, for example, in the client-supplier relationship. In a series of articles on the food markets, the Greek shopkeepers are shown nervously to wonder, every morning, whether they will be able to afford the prices and meet the terms of the Australian supplier. It does not occur to them that they might use their custom as a lever. References to the Greek shopkeepers' relation to the Australian food manufacturers are on the same lines:

It is the strangers who profit while we remain in obscurity and become the path to prosperity for McRoberts, Nestles or hundreds of others. (H.H., Feature, Angus, 3 May 1928, p. 2, col. 2)

Scenes of interaction between Greeks and Australians as colleagues are rare. But they are worth mentioning because here, too, the sense of powerlessness is evident. In an incident where Australian fellow workers in Port Pirie mock Greeks, the latter "boil" inwardly but: "What could we do? We had to take it and control ourselves". (H.H., "Memories", 3 Dec. 1931, p. 5, col. 2) Powerlessness must have been keenly felt if the writer could portray a state of affairs where Greeks were unable to respond to abuse in the manner prescribed by the philotimo rules.

In relations where mutual positions entail inequality, as between Australian employer and Greek employee, the theme of unequal power is spelt out even more clearly:

His rough words offended me. I was now a foreigner and he a small Sultan. Everything for me depended on his good will ... It was my first lesson in the realities of leaving home ... I, so quick to anger, so rebellious, so jealous of my philotimo, took this man's abuse like a lamb and answered him like a frightened schoolboy. (H.H., "Memories", 27 Aug. 1931, p. 4, cols. 6 and 7)

Finally, in business competition, David-Goliath imagery is employed. The Australians in the field are invariably presented as large-scale organizations - the Greek as a lone individual:

... a small man, struggling on for years in a little shop to earn his bread and defend himself against the English giant. (H.H., Feature, Angus, 10 May 1928, p. 1, col. 6)

The same themes are evident in the treatment of socio-cultural desirables. Two goods are constantly referred to: the good opinion of Australians and preservation of identity and culture.

ii. Ethnic reputation

This is a major concern. A prime evil associated with the Church-Community dispute is that it "ridicules", "humiliates", "lowers" the group in the eyes of Australians. Riders such as "so that we enhance our reputation", "so that they come to regard us as civilized" are added to discussions ranging from business ethics to expressive behaviour. The reality of anti-foreign feeling does not, itself, explain the preoccupation with the ethnic image, particularly since outbreaks of violence were rare. Anxiety about prestige in the early years may be seen as symptomatic of the sense that the group is vulnerable and dependent. Reputation is in fact treated as a major determinant not only of economic opportunities but also of the group's ability to perpetuate Greek culture beyond the first generation:

1 The "anti-dago" riots in Kalgoorlie in 1954 seem to have been the only major outbreak of violence (cf. Price, 1963, pp. 209-10). The bombing of the Acropolis Club in Melbourne (cf. Tsounis, 1971a, p. 124) was an isolated incident not involving popular violence. Judging from accounts of old settlers and from Tsounis, it seems that violent episodes were mostly confined to the occasional scuffle.
Our children deny that they are Greeks. They adopt the prevalent opinion about Greeks and abhor everything Greek. They consider their parents dagoes. (H.H., Edit., 25 May 1933, p. 1, col. 3)

Poor reputation also threatens dignity and self-respect.

The sarcasm and abuses of Australians have made us see ourselves through their eyes so that we have come to believe that we are, indeed, inferior. (H.H., "Impressions", 30 Nov. 1933, p. 10, col. 3)

Evident here is one of the basic tenets of the threat syndrome, that the powerful act as gatekeepers to the good and can facilitate or impede access at will, guided only by their own inclinations. Moreover, through the guest theme, the papers attribute to the society absolute power to set standards and determine conditions under which the ethnic group must strive for a favourable image. "As guests in this hospitable country" is possibly the main stock phrase in the texts. Implicit in the term, and also explicitly stated, is the notion that the immigrants are on territory that belongs to others and where other men are masters.

Australians extend their hospitality to us and allow us to live in a corner of their house. It is their house, not ours. It is up to us to obey the rules of this house as befits a guest. (H.H., Edit. following the Kalgoorlie riots, 6 Feb. 1934, p. 1, col. 2)

The guest theme is given an unmistakable power dimension with the belief of one-sided benefit: while Greeks emigrate to escape the most basic impass - poverty and stagnation - the host society gains nothing from their presence:

... Every Englishman who comes to Australia ... comes to contribute like any Australian to the development of a country that belongs to both ... He does not come as a parasite ... But we come here to get away from our poverty at home. We ask for and are granted hospitality. (N.Trib., comment column, 12 Nov. 1930, p. 1, col. 4)

Australians see that we are fit for nothing other than parasitic occupations. And since we cannot contribute to the development of the country, we are despised. (H.H., Feature, 16 Nov. 1926, p. 4, col. 4)

Dependence is built into the position of those who have everything to ask, and nothing to offer. Conversely, Australians, as
hosts to uninvited and superfluous guests, are free from con­
straints of self-interest or obligation in relation to the ethnic
group.

iii. The preservation of identity and culture

Though, as was seen, the power of the society in this area
is acknowledged, the commentary on this topic reveals a sense of
autonomy which is an important departure from the general theme
of dependence. Australian attitudes do not affect the Greeks' com­
mitment to preserve identity and culture:

By nature the Greek does not assimilate. He may pre­
tend to adjust ... But in spite of the pressures, in
spite of the influence of another civilization -
aland a higher one - the Greeks have stayed and will
stay pure Greeks ... Wherever there is a Greek com­
nunity there is a Greek school and an Orthodox Church,
 castles of the Greeks' faith and immortal language.
(H.H., Edit., 26 Nov. 1931, p. 1, col. 1)

and the National Tribune:

The Greek does not forget the traditions of his
fathers. He does not forget his language. He never
loses his orthodox ethos. Let them call him dago as
they will, the Greek will stay Greek in his soul and
mind to his dying day. (Edit., 3 March 1926, p. 3, col. 1)

Most importantly, one finds here a confidence that Greeks have
the moral and organizational resources required to realize this
objective:

The Greek Community organizations were created out of
the common will of the people ... they became strong
and solid because of the generosity of every immigrant.
They were preserved and grew over the years ... because
they are rooted on an unshakeable ideology, the granite
of our national and religious feeling. (H.H., "Impressions,
9 Aug. 1934, p. 10, col. 3)

It should be stressed that the notion of the strength and
solidity of ethnic organizations is developed only with reference
to identity. Nonetheless this may be seen as the first step to­
wards the important realization that the group has the corporate
potential to deal with an outside power structure. Indeed this
idea was forcefully expressed even at this time with reference
to the minority's relations with the Greek State:
The Hellenism of Australia is in a position to demand its autonomy on matters concerning its own family and will prove it ... by ignoring the mediaeval dictates of those unworthy Fathers of Fanari. (Re the Patriarchate) (H.H., Edit., 2 Aug. 1927, p. 1, cols 5 and 6)

The fact that such statements were part of the polemics of the period does not alter their significance. The editor of the Hellenic Herald could evidently count on confidence that ethnic institutions are also structures for negotiation with a larger system. This mitigates the threat theme of collective helplessness, though at the time the idea was not seriously applied to relations with the Australian polity.

iv. The political good and the inter-ethnic hierarchy

Here, too, the commentary is written from the perspective of the weak. This is evident firstly in the minimal definition of what Greeks want in this area. The political good is conceived almost exclusively in terms of equitable treatment by executive agencies - so-called "subject competence". During the entire period the Hellenic Herald contains only five references to the possibility that Greeks might aspire to be taken into account in political decisions. That this was not a widely shared aspiration is indicated by the didactic tone adopted in such passages:

This first contact by the politicians of our State with us honours us greatly but it also gives us a valuable lesson ... he is telling us, you are a sizeable mass and we are prepared to heed you ... This shows us that the Greek Community has not only charitable, religious and educational roles but is also important politically ... Unfortunately we have not as yet understood this ... we still act as a group of guests ... We have not understood that (as long as we fulfil our obligations) ... we have the right to present to the State any just and legal complaints and to ask for the defense of our interests, so that the voice of the Greeks of New South Wales is heard. (Edit., 16 Oct. 1930, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2)

1. "The competence of the subject is more a matter of being aware of his rights under the rules than in participating in the making of the rule" (Almond and Verba, 1963, p. 214).

2. This was written after two Nationalist Party candidates addressed a Greek gathering in a coffee house in Sydney. The following week two Labor Party candidates did the same. Reported in Hellenic Herald on 16 and 23 October 1930, p. 5. The other references to the possibility of a political voice were in Editorial, 5 Feb. 1931, p. 1. In a commentary on the news of
This passage is interesting because it contains intimations of later developments in ideas — namely the view of corporate structures as political resources, the challenge to the guest theme and the link of rights and freedoms to political action. However, during the early period these ideas were only hinted at. In the following excerpt from "Impressions of a Migrant" the rights and freedoms of citizenship are interpreted in the manner that is characteristic for this period:

Possibly for the first time in his life, the Greek ... begins to realize what meaning the rights of citizenship have in a civilized country. He forgets "favours" and "bribes". With his newfound dignity and confidence he even laughs at his old self, remembering how frightened he used to be whenever he had to go into a police station or a ministry office. Now he knows what freedom means. Now he knows that as long as he obeys the laws, the agents of the law cannot harm him and that he can face any public servant as a free citizen, not as a serf faces his master. (H.H., 8 Feb. 1934, p. 10, col. 5)

The reference here is to equality under the law and immunity from arbitrary or oppressive exercise of executive power, and not to the right to be active in political life.

Furthermore, though the term "right" is frequently used, the complementary notion of the State's obligation is not developed. Rights are seen as a function of the hospitable disposition and benevolence of the Australian State rather than the self-evident corollaries of the citizenship status. That Greeks enjoy "isopolitia", equality under the law, is frequently stated. But, significantly, the context is almost invariably a reference to the host-guest relationship:

Of course we do not doubt that the Australian Commonwealth treats all equally, regardless of origin or religion. We know that the law grants us its protection unstintingly, even though we are not Australians. Isopolitia is granted to us by this hospitable country and we, as guests, are grateful. (H.H., Edit., 8 Feb. 1934, p. 1, col. 2)

the State Government's decision to discontinue the dole for aliens: "This hasty decision by the government could possibly be reconsidered if the interested groups make representations" (Editorial, 28 May 1931, p. 8, col. 9). And in editorials 7 July 1932, p. 1 and 19 Apr. 1934, p. 1. The relevant passage in 1934 is quoted later in this chapter.
That "isopolitia" is not seen as a right is evident also in the mixture of gratitude and surprise with which the Hellenic Herald greeted the prison sentences imposed of those who bombed a Greek club in 1928. Moreover, in relation to the Australian polity the idea of protection is strictly legalistic. The lament "we are entirely unprotected" (frequently expressed in connection with anti-foreigner campaigns in Australian newspapers or general exploitation) is invariably a preamble to a discussion of what the Greek government ought to do. Everything in the discussion of what Greeks want and can expect in the polity spells the perspective of the weak.

In short, with the important exception of ideas relating to ethnic identity, one can say that the view of the Greeks' situation in the society closely fits the threat model, in the clear-cut division between the powerful and the weak, in the notion of one-sided dependence and in the view that the dichotomy of power extends to all spheres. One can now look for ideas on how far it is possible for the group to improve its position.

B. The determinants of weakness

The basic threat tenet is that weakness is a given over which the weak have no control, while power involves unlimited capacity to manipulate the circumstances that make for strength. This may be called the entrenchment view of power inequality, because its dynamic consequence is that change can work only in the direction of widening the power gap and further entrenching groups in their respective positions. The opportunity view, on the other hand, less absolute in its distinction between the weak and the strong, leaves room for influence by the former and limitations on the latter.

The closure of the Australian socio-political system, the indifference of the Greek State, the inadequacy of ethnic corporate structures as well as overall inferiority are presented as the determinants of Greek weakness.

1. Comment column, 14 March 1929, p. 3.
i. The closure of the Australian system

Two related themes which both express and explain helplessness are outsider status and the absence of protective structures within Australian society.

The idea that difference goes with separation is found in the pervasive theme of social distance. This is built in the kinds of interpersonal contact portrayed. Contact is either casual as, for example, when Greeks are mocked or abused by passers-by, or instrumental, involving discrete transactions between individuals in different roles, such as client and shopkeeper, supplier and retailer, employer and worker, landlord and tenant. The context is never one that calls for sustained cooperation with Australian peers. Social distance is evident also in the affective quality of interpersonal contact. The Greeks are concerned solely with Australian respect and esteem. Entirely absent from the vocabulary of the time are warmth, ease, or personal acceptance. The inaccessibility of Australians is expressed symbolically, in that the appearance or personality of individuals is never described. Invariably remote and anonymous, Australians are not pictured as concrete persons but as units of a power category. The stationary and unidimensional quality of relationships denotes the same. Between Greeks and Australians there is in fact no relationship but series of repetitive transactions conducted by the rules of power inequality. In the market, the shopkeeper behaves to the supplier as to a stranger, thinking only of the man's power and his own dependence, as though they had not been dealing with each other at dawn over the years. Employers and foremen treat old employee and newcomer alike as indistinguishable foreigners to be suspected and taught the rules. Finally, no threads of social network are ever shown to connect Greeks with Australians and no reference is ever made to a shared experience.

The sense that Australians are inaccessible has clear power implications. Without the affinities which serve to draw the powerful into a personal relationship of mutual benefit and reciprocal obligation and to give the weak anchorage points within the domain of power, Greeks are denied traditional and
familiar methods of coping with power inequality. To be weak is not a new experience. But to be helpless and incompetent in relations of unequal power is part of the harsh reality of being a foreigner.

Furthermore it is taken for granted that the foreigner identity automatically places Greeks as a group apart. In later years one finds the idea that Greeks, though a distinct ethnic group, are nevertheless deemed to be part of broader Australian socio-political strata. But at this time it is assumed that the foreigner identity is woven into all other statuses and constitutes their salient component. Greeks are guest residents, foreign workers, Greek shopkeepers - indistinguishable from one another and not to be subsumed under Australian collectivities. Meaningless also, to the average Australian, is the notion of a common citizenship:

To the people we are above all a foreign group. They care little about whether we have our citizenship papers. All they want from us is that we should behave as befits foreigners and guests: obey the laws and attend to our business. (H.H., Ed., 12 Feb. 1951, p. 1, col. 4)

Even "isopolitia", which suggests the belief that the foreigner identity is irrelevant to political relations, is invested with special meaning through the guest status.

Corollary to the belief that no larger aggregate includes Greeks in its ranks is the idea that the group is not covered by the structures which protect Australians and mitigate power inequalities. In "Memories" the hero marvels at the solidarity and bargaining power of Australian workers. But to him, as a worker, this appears only as an added threat: he is all the more vulnerable in the face of an employer who must heed the dictates of organized labour when it comes to employing and dismissing foreigners. A stock phrase used when pointing to the helplessness of Greeks in the face of injustice or abuse is "we are foreigners among strangers - with no one to protect us".
ii. An indifferent Greek State

The Greek immigrant could not expect protection from the Greek State. The emigrants are "cows to be milked", "the excess weight of the national ship, to be thrown overboard", "the abandoned children of an indifferent stepmother".

The state acts like a captain of a ship in danger, who throws into the sea part of the cargo to save the ship... It must not sacrifice part of its people for the sake of the remainder without tenderly caring for those obliged to go away... Till now the emigrants have been regarded as "lost for Greece"... The State remains a mere spectator of the misery of people whom it has the obligation to protect. (R.H., Ed., 14 Aug. 1950 "Greek emigration and the obligations of the State, p. 1, cols. 1-2)

It may be noted in passing that the strong sense of grievance evident here contrasts sharply with the theme, developed in relation to the Australian polity, that little is due to foreigners and guests. But though Greeks have legitimate claims in relation to Greece, they have no way to compel the State to heed them. Uncertain of belonging to either Australia or Greece and feeling dispensable to both, Greeks felt deprived of a reliable source of protection. The recurring theme "we are nude and unprotected" expresses and explains the sense of vulnerability.

iii. Flaws of ethnic organizations

Lack of protective structures is a major theme also in the portrayal of the ethnic community. It will be seen that the Greek community is often depicted as a source of shelter, warmth and support to the individual. However, communal arrangements, organized or informal, are not seen as power bases or even buffers against the forces of the outside society. Thus, inherent in the David-Goliath imagery, is the picture of the individual alone, bearing the full brunt of the Australians' power. Important in this context is the idea already discussed that the internal hierarchy of the ethnic group does not count in the society at large. If all Greeks are equally powerless, then patronage is useful only for intra-group relations. Australian patrons are inaccessible, Greek patrons are accessible enough but hardly of use since they have no privileged access to goods or people in the dominant society. When the hero of "Memories"
is unjustly sacked from the Port Pirie smelters, no one among the more established Greek workers whom he asks to speak for him dares to do so. "Who will listen to me?" is the stock reply. (3 Sept. 1931, pp. 4-5) Similarly, there is little confidence that organizations can represent and defend the minority as a group:

We have scores of associations. We are, indeed, in a fever of founding clubs ... But when our national honour is at stake, ... when we need someone to speak on our behalf and answer our attackers, to stop the war waged against our shops and the persecution of our workers, or represent us in the society as a law abiding people, hard working and worthy of respect and support, our so-called organizations are mute and impotent. (H.H., Edit., 9 Feb. 1933, p. 1, cols. 1, 2, 3)

And the National Tribune:

Unfortunately the Hellenism of Australia lacks proper organizations ... we are unprotected and exposed to every offense and malignment and have no means to defend ourselves. (Edit., 27 Aug. 1931, p. 3, col. 2)

However, a most important theme here is that the situation is not beyond the immigrants' control. The structure of the ethnic community is not a given of existence to which the individual must adapt. It is a social reality created by Greeks: an arrangement of resources which Greeks have shaped and Greeks can reshape. Clubs founded in the coffee house, charters worded in ungrammatical Greek, meetings memorable more for the apt repartee than for decisions taken, cause Malachias much despair. Nonetheless, such a picture communicates that in the ethnic community the process by which resources are generated, structured and allocated is not in the hands of remote authorities but is open and accessible to all. In the belief that it is open to the average man to take part in moulding the institutional framework of everyday life, one can see a component of a potential sense of civic competence.1

Moreover the dearth of protective structures is not seen as unavoidable in the sense that basic resources are lacking. Though

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1. Cf. the idea discussed earlier (Ch. I) that political efficacy develops from participation in the decision-making process in areas close to the individual.
not a major theme, the notion of a potential for strength is not uncommon. An editorial urges a national federation of Communities in these terms:

There are more than thirty thousand Greeks in this hospitable country. Here is strength, here is a mass ... A Federation of Communities ... could speak on behalf of Hellenism and bring to the attention of the Greek, and even the Australian, government every reasonable request of Hellenism. (H.H., Edit., 19 April 1934, p. 1, col. 2)

Parallel to this runs extreme pessimism about the ability of Greeks to realize the possible. The vision outlined above is accompanied, in the same editorial, by this prediction:

Our power will remain as it is now: disorganized, abandoned, in reality a power that does not exist, since it can never be used to serve us, since our problems will remain unsolved and our needs unsatisfied.

The most insuperable obstacle of all - ingrained flaws of character - make the possible impossible:

Greeks, and particularly here in Australia, are by nature inclined to divisiveness, quarrels and factions ... we will always be the same. No harm, no catastrophe that results from our divisions has taught us and planted in us the idea of unity ... We are warm blooded, quick to take offence, have a strong dose of pride and are impervious to the voice of reason. Till when will we stay the eternal Romios? Will our living in the midst of a calm and civilized people never change us? (H.H., Edit., 16 Jan. 1950, p. 1, col. 2)

Along with the theme of unalterable inner weakness is an assumption of lack of control. There is no greater helplessness than that which stems from inability to channel one’s own activity to the rational pursuit of self-interest.

The incongruence between possibilities and expectations is important in terms of the analytical distinction between beliefs about the social system and beliefs about the self in the system. (Ch. II) The idea that circumstances furnish the group with some, at least, of the raw materials for strength belongs to the social philosophy of the Expanding Good, not to that of Atomism. In the ethnic culture the definition of the group’s situation in terms of threat begins to be detached from its supportive social philosophy. Essentially unstable and anomalous, such a combination
of ideas contains the seeds of a fundamental change in outlook.

iv. The sense of inferiority

With the notion of flaws of character goes also a pervasive sense of inferiority: the belief that Greeks are weak and helpless because they are the wrong human material for an advanced society.

In the economic sphere this is expressed in the notion that the Greeks' skills are inappropriate for an advanced economy. The David-Goliath theme is as much a question of quality as of size:

Our immigrants are of our simple Greek stock, honest, tough, clever ... Marvellous qualities at home ... but quite inadequate for progress and prosperity in this country ... Here, we are like soldiers without weapons. We lack the skills, the education - the means to defend ourselves, let alone win. (H.H., "Impressions", 2 Nov. 1933, p. 8, col. 5)

An important expression of this theme is ambivalence about the value of much that is distinctively Greek. The wish and commitment to preserve ethnic identity is not in doubt. This extends beyond the minimal dispersion culture imperatives of religion, language and attachment to the nation and covers basic Greek values, particularly those formulated around family and sex roles. In "Memories" the characters constantly test themselves and others for adherence to these core values, which is treated by all as the mark of personal worth and as the essence of staying Greek:

In seemed such a short time ago that my manliness and pride were paramount. And yet now I took a stranger's charity. Had I not lost my Greek philotimo anyway? ... Was it not I who yesterday had pretended not to hear the Australian's mockery? ... Lost was my dignity, lost the right to call myself a man, to call myself a Greek. (H.H., "Memories", 24 Sept. 1931, p. 2, col. 1)

The preservation of the core values in Greek culture is portrayed as a vital personal concern anchored on personal dignity and self-respect and associated with ethnic identity.

Nevertheless, a striking feature of the commentary of the assumption that most Greeks view Anglo-Saxon patterns as inherently superior and belonging to a more advanced level of
cultural evolution. This view is fully shared by the editor of the Hellenic Herald. It is revealing, for example, that the term "civilization" is reserved for the Australian or ancient Greek cultures, whereas the living culture of the village is described in terms of mores, habits, ways and attitudes:

Since the civilization of Australia is naturally higher than the ways of life in our poor country... we must ask in what ways we have adopted the culture that surrounds us. We are like a silver jewel. Put a layer of gold on it and it looks real gold. (H.H., "Impressions", 8 Feb. 1934, p. 10, col. 5)

Anxiety about acculturation springs largely from a negative self-image. Change holds dangers because Greeks are unprepared for the transition to a higher civilization, and ill-equipped to evaluate critically its standards and life styles:

To the simple Greek, bred in a narrow and restricted environment, this free and civilized country appears like a social paradise... And he mistakenly believes that he will reach this higher level, if he forgets the traditions of his upbringing and apes everything he sees. (H.H., Comment column, 3 May 1928, p. 1, col. 4)

The discussion of aims for the second generation also reveals low evaluation of the Greek design for living. One finds frequent references to parents' pride in seeing their children absorb the "finer", "civilized", "superior" habits of thinking and behaving of the host society. It is seen as self-evident that from this higher level the children will naturally reject the Greek culture as they see it acted out:

The atmosphere and demands of their Greek family cannot but seem to them inferior and oppressive compared with the progressive and advanced mores of the Australian life. Of course it is only to their benefit that they should grow up in this higher civilization. To us, what matters is that they should be made to feel that they can be proud of being Greek. (H.H., Edit., 11 May 1955, p. 1, col. 2)

There is no hint of assimilationism in the text. The equation of acculturation with progress is significant for what it shows about self-image. The view of the self as inadequate is of course part of the threat syndrome. Moreover, the idea that Greek culture, dear though it is to the Greeks, is objectively
inferior to the Anglo-Saxon, has important implications for ideas about the right to translate distinctive ethnic needs into political demands, not only in cultural but also in other matters.

In short the determinants of weakness are seen to run so deep that it seems beyond the capabilities of the group to master that which accounts for their weak position in society. From this flows deep pessimism about their chances of improving their power position. The assumption of minimal control and the entrenchment view of power inequality are clearly dominant in these early years.

C. The policy of the dominant society

In this period neither the threat view, that the powerful always act so as to keep the group in its weak position, nor the opportunity tenet, that the dominant group is under some constraint to heed the needs of the minority, are found. Integral to the outsider theme is the belief that the society is too indifferent to such a marginal group as the Greeks to concern itself with their fate, for good or for bad.

Certainly the dynamics of prejudice, the manner in which hostile predisposition generates its own justification, is understood so well that the hostility of Australians is treated as an unalterable given of existence. However, open hostility referred to in such statements as

*We live in the midst of a people who hate foreigners and are always on the alert for any opportunity to abuse and harm us* (H.H., Reader's contribution, 5 July 1927, p. 7, col. 4)

are treated as expressions of anti-foreign feeling and not as part of a consistent policy to keep the minority down. Indeed, it is assumed throughout that good relations with Australians would be promoted if Greeks could be seen as a successful, united, well-organized group:

*If they see us prosperous, with our schools, our cultural activities, our athletics, if they could see us united, organized, if they could hear our children speak their language and act as though they were proud to be Greek, they would no longer think of us as dagos and would come to respect and appreciate us.* (H.H., Edits., 11 April 1929, p. 1, col. 2)
In later years, when Greeks saw themselves as part of broader Australian collectivities, organization on an ethnic basis, particularly for the pursuit of economic or political objectives, came to be seen as problematic. Lack of anxiety in the early years flows from the sense of marginality rather than from confidence in the society guaranteeing the freedom to organize. Nonetheless, the belief that the powerful have no interest in preventing the cohesion of the group constitutes an important departure from the traditional contest view of relations of unequal power.

To summarize: The basic components of the threat outlook (the cleavage view of power inequality, the assumption of minimal control, and the entrenchment approach to power position) dominate the commentary on relations to the society at large. Moreover, aspects of the immigrants' situation which have no equivalent at home (the foreigner identity and the outsider position) are interpreted in threat terms as yet another dimension of powerlessness.

Yet, paradoxically perhaps, from this sense of marginality flows the novel belief that visible progress and corporate organization hold no dangers for the group. The sense of boundary and the notion that there are areas of existence which are immune from invasion and control appear. Moreover, corporate organization generated by the group itself is woven into the image of the Greeks' existence in Australia. It will be argued later that these ideas, combined with new notions about the relations between equals, contain the germs of an alternative to the threat view of reality.

Relevant in this context are beliefs about how relations of power operate in the society at large. Throughout, Australia is portrayed as a land of plenty, a country of vast unexplored potential; since there is room for all, the interests of individuals or groups are not necessarily in conflict, and conflicts can be reconciled and managed to the equal benefit of all; in this political system everyone has avenues for expressing wants and exercising influence; and the weak enjoy protection while the
powerful are subject to controls.  

These characteristics are seen to make little difference to the Greeks' situation and life chances. To those who cannot break out of the sphere wherein the good is finite it matters little that beyond their horizon there is an environment where the good is plentiful; and to outsiders who have no access to the broader system it is not particularly relevant that within that system mechanisms operate to protect the weak and control the powerful. Yet, this view of the system means that the situation of the group is no longer seen as the necessary and logical consequence of laws of social existence. With this, the threat outlook cannot but lose some of its force. (Ch. I)

Moreover, once a group begins to see its situation as an anomaly, a step is taken towards the notion of relative deprivation, which is an important impetus for formulating claims on the political system. Though, at this time, Greeks saw themselves too much as outsiders to think in these terms, the idea is implicit in the contrast between beliefs about the system and beliefs about the self in the system.

Of course, this idealized picture of how the system works for Australians can be taken simply as yet another sign of the outsider perspective. Nonetheless, this view prepares the ground for a participant orientation in a manner that blanket cynicism, the other option of outsiders, cannot do. It means, at the very least, that relations of power where the weak are not helpless and the strong are responsible are seen to be workable and possible models.

Relations between equals

The analysis so far shows that in these years the universe of peers is seen to be coextensive with the ethnic community. The outsider theme contains the notion that Greeks have no peers amongst Australians. The view of relations with Australians is

1. A comment such as "Nowhere does one hear an honest voice to say that the time of difficulty and privations will be far from over on eleventh January" written in connection with the State election campaign in 1932 (H.H., Edit., 2 June 1932, p. 1, col. 1) is notable because it stands out from the general tone of admiration of the perfection of Australian democracy.
based on the idea that all Greeks belong to the same level in the social hierarchy.

It was argued in Chapter I that the threat and opportunity belief systems contain fundamentally different notions of how peers can cooperate in order to achieve objectives. The crucial difference is that the former denies, while the latter accepts, that it is possible for peers to act together in order to achieve a shared objective. Relevant here are the following beliefs:

a) The objective basis for concerted action: The notion of common interest is crucial. It involves the idea that what each wants will either be equally available to all or will be available to none, or, alternatively, that each person's chances of success are enhanced by the success of others. Also, individuals must believe either that they cannot achieve their personal objectives without making common cause with others, or that their chances are significantly enhanced by such action; b) Beliefs about others as partners for concerted action: First, the individual must believe that those with whom he has interests in common are accessible to him in physical or social space. Essential is the belief that others can be trusted. Trust follows partly from community of interest. But interpersonal trust is fragile if partners assume that nothing but self-interest guarantees trustworthiness, because people cannot survey all the other interests that their partners may have and cannot know how much the common interest weighs in the others' priorities. Individuals must place some faith in the good will and integrity of others and in shared norms and values. Trust in leaders is particularly important, since concerted action requires some form of corporate organization, however rudimentary.

A. The objective basis for concerted action in the commentary

i. The idea of common interest

Interdependence of fate, the idea that the interests of Greeks are interlocked so that what happens to each depends on what happens to others and to the group as a whole, constitutes a radical departure from the pure threat model. It is taken for

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1. The threat model allows only for mutual aid in the context of dyadic contracts, that is agreements which do not require a shared objective.
granted in the commentary that everybody can see that the esteem enjoyed by individuals is the by-product of the respect accorded to the group as a whole and that, conversely, each is keeper to the collective reputation; that the opportunity to practice Orthodoxy and perpetuate the Greek language is either there for all or for none; that each man's ability to live as a Greek and instil pride of origin in his children is enhanced by the success of others and undermined by their failure; and that safety in the polity is a benefit which individuals enjoy only to the extent that the society is prepared to grant it to the minority as a whole.

The diaspora ethos builds common interest into the existence of Greeks abroad with respect to the vital good of preserving identity. Moreover, interdependence of fate is the necessary by-product of shared parameters in the Greeks' life situation: dependence on Australians, the society's definition and treatment of Greeks as interchangeable units of a distinct collectivity, and the closure of the Australian social system. The connection between similar situation and community of interest is spelt out particularly in discussions of the economic good because here the editor finds it necessary to be persuasive. Here it is argued that Greeks have a stake in one another's prosperity because the dynamics of prejudice mean that each prosperous member of the community reflects well on all others and because the Australians' respect of the group as a whole is an economic asset to each. Another standard argument is that the ghetto character of the ethnic niche, which means that both employer and employee operate in a situation of limited alternatives, interlocks their economic interests and gives each a stake in the other's welfare. An editorial, which explains in detail why Greek shopkeepers are forced to rely on Greek labour, concludes:

In view of the mishellenism in this country, which means that our workers cannot find work outside Greek shops, the closure of Greek shops would be catastrophic for our people. (H.H., Edit., 11 June 1931, p. 1, col. 3)

1. These ideas are so much taken for granted with reference to other goods that they are never spelt out. This taken for granted quality is evident from the passages quoted throughout this chapter in other contexts and it seems unnecessary to illustrate it at this point.
What matters here is not whether, when applied to the economic sphere, such arguments were convincing, but that the editor chose to argue the case on the idea that common interests grow from similar circumstances.

In the ethnic culture the unique circumstances of Greeks as an alien group are seen to deny individuals the opportunity to clear their own personal paths to the good. While this makes the view of dependence and powerlessness all the more absolute, it introduces a conception of how the self-interests of individuals are connected, which radically departs from the threat model and which could ultimately generate the cultural potential for collective competence.

ii. Concerted action

At first sight the papers' appeals for cooperation and organization suggest that the link between community of interest and concerted action had not struck roots in the outlook of migrants at large. Editorials under such titles as "Organization means progress", "Towards new paths of cooperation", "Let us organize" abound in the papers. Yet it is not really the principle that editors are preaching — except in the economic sphere where it seems that the main difficulty was to persuade readers about community of interest:

We lack proper organization. We hardly know what organization means. We think it is enough for us to get together, for everyone to say what he thinks and if he does not find supporters to get up and go ... We think it is enough to talk of councils and committees and vote and make grand plans ... We shall never achieve anything unless we learn to keep our minds on our common problems, learn to evaluate proposals for what they are and not always to think about what trap may be behind a reasonable opinion. We must not be so interested that our own opinion should win the day. We must learn that leaders should be chosen among the most educated and best people for the job whether or not they be our friends. (Nat.Tr., Edit., 5 Jan. 1927, p. 3, cols. 1, 2)

In such a passage, taken from an editorial entitled "It is time to organize", acceptance of the need to act together is taken for granted. The editor finds cause for despondency in the attitudes and behaviour patterns which impede the success of attempts at concerted solutions to common problems.
B. Beliefs about others

i. The internal hierarchy and the sense of community

It was argued earlier that to act together people must define one another as socially accessible. The relevant ideas here are revealed in the treatment of hierarchical divisions within the group. There are many references to an internal ethnic hierarchy of status and power. "Bosses" and "workers", "the large ones" and "the small ones", "the leaders" and "the people", and, of course, "the aristocrats" and "the barefoot ones", are frequent hierarchical labels found in the text. To such distinctions there correspond real power differences. In a situation where many avenues of employment are blocked, the Greek "boss" becomes crucial for the life chances of the less established.

We disembark, despised foreigners among strangers. Add to this that we have no capital, no training, no skills of any kind. Inevitably we come up against insuperable barriers. The only shelter is the Greek shop. (H.H., Comment column, 30 Aug. 1928, p. 6, col. 5)

Amongst ourselves where we are divided into the bosses and the workers ... there is something like a secret bond between those who belong to each category ... Say that a boss is not pleased with one of his workers. That man will be branded and all doors will be shut to him ... Even if he moves to another State he might find that his bad name has travelled first. Again, a boss may get a bad reputation and then people will not like to work for him. (H.H., "Impressions", 11 Jan. 1934, p. 10, cols. 4-5)

The distinction between "leaders" and "people" also involves unequal power. To leaders is attributed the capacity to control the organizational framework of the immigrants' social world, manipulate groups, set the objectives of organizations, manage the external relations of the group and thus materially foster, or hinder, the average man's chances of a good life.

The Hellenism of this country is brought closer and closer to disintegration solely because our leaders, in order to satisfy their selfish ambitions and interests, do all they can to prolong divisions ... Today, when we stand close to the abyss, when Greek shops shut one after the other, when the unemployed have no bread, when our Churches stand empty, our poor abandoned, when we have lost all respect of Australians ... our leaders do nothing to set us on the path of reorganization ... and to lay the foundations of peace and cooperation. (H.H., Edit., 11 Dec. 1950, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2)
However, such inequalities have none of the characteristics of the inter-ethnic hierarchy. In the Greek community there are no crystallized strata, no haves and have-nots of power, but only individuals at different stages of the same life course. The major theme is that what individuals have in common (background, shared meanings and a common situation as immigrants) is more salient and more "real" than anything that sets them apart. Those who would place social distance between themselves and their compatriots can always be shamed out of pretentiousness by some reference to common background or kinship. In "Memories" the hero, who was so conscious of his helplessness on Australian ground, challenges the Greek "boss" who demands respect:

Our armies could not be made to stand up when King Constantine went by. And am I, you think, going to stand up for a fellow villager? Who are you anyway? I work and you pay me. We were equal at home and your little shop has not made us any the less equal here. (7 July 1972, p. 5, col. 2)

Or again the coffee house, the club, the festivities, are settings for intimacy, where socio-economic differences hardly seem to count. Thus, bonds of affinity and the connections forged in communal life abroad cut across horizontal divisions and serve to bring all Greeks within one social orbit.

ii. Interpersonal trust

The picture of interpersonal relations given in the text closely resembles the anthropologists' descriptions of life in Greek villages.

We have always seen partnership as a source of quarrels and ruin. We have never understood what partnership involves. In everything, each thinks only of his own philetimo and that stands in the way of trust and cooperation. (H.H., Edit., 19 Jan. 1928, p. 1, col. 3)

The National Tribune:

The Greek is by nature suspicious. He often hardly trusts himself. Add to this his other characteristics - he must always be in the right, he knows everything, has no idea of give and take, and you see why we can never work as one ... The envy between us is stronger even than the instinct of self-preservation. (Edit., 15 Jan. 1926, p. 3, col. 1)
Distrust, and the attitudes and habits which generate, justify and perpetuate it, is attributed to national character, endemic and ineradicable. But distrust is also a product of social disorganization, bred in a situation where adherence to traditional norms cannot be taken for granted and where mechanisms of social control are weakened.

The portrayals of life in the ethnic community given in "Memories" and "Impressions" are not devoid of warmth, support and help. The view of the ethnic community as an island of safety in an alien environment emerges from descriptions of how individuals adjust to a new environment, and in sketches of the social setting which Greeks create for themselves:

In our coffee houses much more goes on than drinking coffee. They are our clubs, our shelters. It is here that a long-forgotten compatriot will turn up to embrace you like a brother. Here business deals are struck. Here a job will be found. And if you are down on your luck, somehow from somewhere a plate of food will appear. Here the go-between will do his work to seal the marriage contract. The latest scandal in the Community will be discussed and all the political questions of our time settled. (H.H., "Impressions", 15 Oct. 1934, p. 4, col. 1)

Taken for granted also is a general feeling that Greeks can stake claims on one another because of the ethnic bond itself, or the closer bonds of kinship or region.

But when such claims are made, social disorganization becomes evident. Descriptions of the newcomers' experiences, which is the device used to highlight social change, reveal the belief that the traditional norms which regulate mutual help are changing and have not been replaced by new agreed values. Socialization into the ethnic community is not so much a matter of learning new norms as one of learning to adjust to a state of flux where little can be taken for granted. Traditional mechanisms for social control are seen to be diluted in the ethnic community and to have lost much of their hold on the individual. "Away from the supervision of the family", "removed from the restrictions of the home environment", are common expressions. In "Memories" the hero soon finds that in the arena for public evaluation of individual conduct, the coffee house, no single
set of standards prevails:

Is it not stupid to try and act by the dictates of pride and philotimo and self-respect when others all around have forgotten the old principles and customs? ... Is it wise to keep to the known rules when in others they have been forgotten and drowned by the instinct of exploitation? Is it possible for a pebble to halt the river's flow? (H.H., 28 July 1932, p. 5, cols. 1-3)

Uncertainty about standards can be manipulated to free individuals from fears of sanction. Despair about the prospects of improving the ethnic image derives partly from the belief that the community has no way to control the activities of those who bring the group into disrepute.

Disorganization undermines the traditional bases for trust between individuals, as shown by the staple advice given to the newcomer by his knowledgeable acquaintances: "Here you can't even trust your brother", "Be wary of the "helpful" compatriot - more likely than not he has a scheme to exploit you".

The ethnic belief system can be summarized and assessed as follows:

Greeks at this time saw their ethnicity as the characteristic which defined their identity in the society and which determined the relationship of the individual to others. For the individual the most significant distinction in his social world was that between Australians and Greeks. Relations with Australians were seen exclusively in terms of unequal power; and this power inequality was perceived as absolute, vast and static. The immigrants' sense of powerlessness involved the belief that Greeks, as individuals and as a collectivity, were necessarily dependent, inadequate, unprotected and dispensable to the host society. A further and most important component of the sense of powerlessness was the belief that the foreigner identity precluded common interest or affinity across the ethnic boundary. Greeks could not draw on anyone in Australian society for help in achieving objectives. On the other hand, the Greeks' position as outsiders was seen to guarantee some immunity from interference by the dominant group. Australians were assumed to be too indifferent to translate their diffuse hostility into a consistent
policy designed to perpetuate the immigrants' inferiority and impotence.

Seeing himself as a member of a group that occupied a collective position in the social hierarchy, the individual defined other Greeks as his peers in the social structure. They were peers in the sense that they stood in a similar relationship to the dominant group, and peers in the sense that their life chances were similar to his own. Ethnicity was, of course, more than an ascriptive characteristic placing all Greeks in the same category. It was also a bond. Thus, with his peers in the social structure the individual saw himself to be multiply connected. To the bonds of kinship, region and ethnicity was added interdependence of fate, bred in the circumstances of life in the new country. At the same time trust in others as partners in dyadic contracts was undermined by the knowledge that traditional norms were changing, that new norms had not crystallized, and that social control mechanisms were weak. Where traditional devices for drawing on the help of others seemed unreliable, individuals found themselves in what one might call a support vacuum. This, combined with acknowledgment that life abroad created areas of common interest, where none existed at home, created the impetus for cooperative activity. At the same time endemic distrust meant that individuals had little faith in the efficacy of concerted action. Only commitment to identity and culture was felt to be strong enough to guarantee the survival of corporate organization, despite pervasive distrust. But the extension of corporate organization to the service of other common interests was regarded with extreme scepticism.

This system of beliefs closely approximates the threat syndrome in that it preserves the two basic threat tenets: collective powerlessness and internal divisiveness.

Subordination is seen as an inevitable consequence of social conditions. Divisiveness also is seen as a permanent facet of existence. But the ethnic culture deviates from the threat model in that divisiveness is no longer the necessary corollary of immutable characteristics of the social system. The traditional idea that the powerful pursue a policy of perpetuating the
The notion of common interest is also introduced, and cooperation for a common objective comes to be seen as safe, necessary and possible. In the ethnic culture, the belief that divisiveness is permanent is stripped of its supportive rationale.

The ethnic view of reality lacks the closed system quality of the pure threat syndrome. Powerlessness and divisiveness, though assumed to be permanent, are no longer logically connected: they are no longer deduced from the same set of characteristics of the social system or derived from each other in a self-perpetuating cycle. Therefore the two assumptions about reality may be said to constitute an unstable combination. Instability is built into a system of beliefs in which ideas about what is are not grounded on notions of what need be and in which expectations about the future do not flow from a conception of what is feasible. The evidence suggests that this break in the threat syndrome came about partly as a response to the forces which impelled members of the group to re-assess their relationship to one another, and partly because Greeks could draw on the ready-made tradition of the diaspora.

That the ethnic community is not a village transplanted intact, and that interpersonal relations are not replicas of those at home, is as evident to the immigrant as it is to the sociologist. As he restructures his networks, the individual necessarily re-assesses his traditional assumptions about his relation to others in the group. On the group level, the individual's preoccupation with the stability of his social world is translated into concern with social cohesion, a concern particularly salient for Greeks who see the preservation of their collective entity as the sine qua non of life abroad. The tendency to reinforce the weakened bonds of affinity with connections of shared need, in other words to associate the status factor of group membership with the class factor of common interest, may be seen as a solution to the problem of social cohesion. The solution was meaningful because the circumstances in which Greeks found themselves as immigrants highlighted community of interest.
However such an explanation is not entirely satisfactory. As so many despairing observers of the "Greek mentality" have stated over the years, at home too, it is objectively true that those similarly placed in the social structure have interests in common. As stated earlier (Ch. I) the view is taken here that a connection, alien to traditional Greek thinking, is established abroad because it is inherent in another tradition: that of the dispersion culture. In fact it was often acknowledged in the texts that the idea of a major collective goal which can be realized only through corporate organization represented an important departure from the village tradition:

Greeks want to preserve their religion amongst people of a different religion; to teach their language to their children ... to create a Greek social world in the midst of a foreign environment. If they acted alone they could not succeed, they would be drowned in the sea of the strong foreign influence of a higher civilization. That is why they have come to look to one another for cooperation. (H.H., Edit., 17 Mar. 1932, p. 1, col. 1)

Even in the early years it is evident that, once established, this idea could not be confined to identity and culture. This and the other opportunity components built into the overall outlook of threat dominant at this time, intimate further changes in later years.

Ideas on political participation may now be examined in the light of the ethnic belief system.

**Part II - Strategies to the good**

Built into ideas about how to act in order to achieve objectives are orientations to political participation. The position adopted in this study is that the participant outlook begins once demand activity comes to feature among normal strategies to the good, even if demands are confined to the equitable application of decisions. The right to equity, which people who are of the society can take for granted, is not self-evident to those who have come from outside. Therefore the analysis must allow for a pure non-participant outlook, which denies that anything at all may be asked of the polity as of right.  

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1. Thus the distinction between non-participant and participant does not quite correspond to that between participant and
The ideas expressed in the texts will be examined in the light of Easton's broad definition of political demands as "an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so". (1965, p. 38) Even when one uses this inclusive definition one finds that during this period demands do not appear as a normal option. Though there are a few references to "representation", the idea that anything can be asked as of right is absent. Moreover, political confidence takes, at best, the form of wistful comments about a potential which might come to be realized if things were altogether different.

i. The general outsider perspective

In a general way the retiring approach to the broader political process is expressed through the pervasive theme that Greeks are not involved in the society's politics. Indirectly this is revealed by the scarcity of comment on Australian politics. Moreover, what is said on this topic, usually before elections, has the character of general information. Links between what happens in politics at large and what matters to Greeks are hardly ever traced.

Of the passages which explicitly refer to the Greeks' approach to the political process at large the following, taken from a humorous feature on the State elections, is worth quoting at some length because it illustrates the psychology of distance and detachment, and a general sense that Australian politics are not congenial to the Greek outlook and temperament:

This year the State elections had a bit of salt and pepper ... A little quarrelling and they became tasty ... not of course for the stomach, because here votes can't be bought. But for the nerves ... It has got to the point when you might even hear us talk about them ...
- What do you know about their politics?
- I am telling you, brother. A country must balance its books. The "budget" they call it.
- Don't you know anything? Don't you know that books

subject since the definition of the latter allows for demands relating to the application of decisions (above p. 15 fn.)

1. Between June 1931 and June 1932, the time of the Lang political crisis, only six out of sixty editorials in the Hellenic Herald were about or made reference to the issue.
which don't balance on their own can be combed and
prettied up?
- It is you who don't know. You think you are still
in Greece.
- Well, at home at least there is always something hap­
pening. Where have you learnt so much about the politics
anyway? Let's get back to our backgammon and leave them
to it. (H.H., Feature, 23 Oct. 1930, p. 6, col. 3)

The connection of non-involvement with the outsider position,
which is implied in this passage, is spelt out by the National
Tribune:

Of course we Greeks are simple onlookers of political
campaigns and competitions ... In our own community
affairs we are, as always, prone to passions and
partisanship ... But when it comes to relations bet­
ween Australian classes and Australian political groups
we remain unmoved spectators, caring only for the gene­
ral progress and prosperity of the country as guests
must care for the well-being of their host. (Edit.,
13 June 1934, p. 3, col. 1)

One does not know how typical such a remark was for the paper.
But to find it at all strengthens confidence in the view that
one can think of a central outlook at this time, because the
National Tribune strongly supported naturalization in 1931.
Predictably, the Hellenic Herald took the opposite view. The
positions taken by the newspapers can be seen as yet another ex­
pression of their antagonism. But the arguments used are signi­
ficant. The argumentation of the National Tribune is not known
because relevant issues are not available and the extracts
printed in the Hellenic Herald only refer to the Tribune's denial
that to naturalize is to be disloyal to the mother country. In
the Hellenic Herald, on the other hand, the whole argument is
conducted on the assumption that Greeks naturalize only so as to
quality for social benefits. The idea that those who take
citizenship want to express a sense of belonging to the country
or can be interested in exercising the positive rights of citi­
zension does not enter.

ii. Abstention from demands

The non-participant approach is not found in explicit state­
ments against demand activity. The idea, it seems, was so remote
from prevalent thinking that it hardly needed to be dealt with.
It was seen that demand activity was tentatively mentioned by the
editor of the Hellenic Herald as a remote possibility which few of his compatriots had ever thought of. The notion that nothing may be asked of the polity is implicit in three maxims which run through the commentary on appropriate behaviour: reliance on internal resources, maximizing autonomy, and submissiveness towards the host society.

a. Self-reliance

The idea of self-reliance is evident in that the resources for the solution to all problems and for the satisfaction of all needs are located within the self and the ethnic community. The alternative to individual effort and the provision of communal facilities is to leave problems unsolved, not to seek the help of the host society. For example, unemployment is discussed consistently as a problem that admits only of internal solutions. The Community must establish employment bureaus and everyone must join to alleviate the plight of the destitute. Significantly, when the State government decided to discontinue "the dole" for aliens, the Hellenic Herald does not suggest protest but a better organization of communal welfare.

Every one of our attempts to cooperate has failed because of our destructive divisiveness. But the effort to take care of the unemployed MUST NOT FAIL. It is a great shame on us all to leave our brothers hungry. (Editor., 4 June 1931, p. 1, col. 2)

Similarly the paper is constantly lamenting the absence of communal facilities to assist the process of adjustment and settlement. On this the National Tribune writes:

There is immediate need for organization so that our young do not find themselves without protection and guidance in their first steps in this country. Work, a roof, education and entertainment facilities must not be left to chance and to the "helping hand" of the coffee house gamblers. (Comment column, 9 Apr. 1932, p. 2, col. 4)

It is worth stressing here that, though non-political in relation to the Australian polity, the approach to needs is in essence political: it is recognized throughout that individual effort is not enough. Even the question of ethical standards is linked to social conditions (unemployment, poor leisure facilities, defective social control) and treated as a problem that requires
allocation of collective resources.

b. Maximizing autonomy

This is stated most clearly in the discussion of economic relations. Corporate organization is the answer to the Australians' power to exploit the Greek shopkeeper, not so that Greeks are in a better position to negotiate but so that they might minimize their dependence on the dominant group. "So that we no longer depend on the strangers' whims and disadvantageous terms" is the staple argument. Again, in response to employment discrimination Greeks must organize, not to combat discrimination, but to build up an efficient ethnic employment market and minimize the need to seek work outside. Organization is treated as a means to autonomy, rather than as tool for negotiation with the dominant group.

c. Submissiveness

That autonomy can never be complete, that the attitudes and actions of Australians are by necessity major determinants of the immigrants' life chances, is a basic notion in the view of inter-ethnic relations. To this given of existence, submissiveness is consistently presented as the appropriate response. This theme runs strong in the commentary on how to manage the relationship to the polity:

We must conform because we are not in our own country. We are 15,000 miles away, foreigners amongst strangers and it would hardly be surprising if in the end we were kicked out. (H.N., Comment column, 26 Apr. 1927, p. 6, col. 4)

The emphasis is entirely on how Greeks must act so that the authorities become favourably disposed towards the group as a whole. Nothing is said on what can be done to ensure that the State honours a duty to guarantee Greeks equitable treatment by executive agencies. Behind this is the notion that the only guarantee is the society's approval of the group. Approval is to be sought by conformity. This extends far beyond abiding by the law. The formula is for each Greek to conform to the standards and demands of the host society and for ethnic organizations to educate and control the members of the group and, at the same time, act so as to elicit the approval of the host society by public gestures.
of loyalty and gratitude. These maxims are applied to all interaction with Australians, not only political:

If we want to progress we must always remember that we are foreigners and must therefore display irreproachable behaviour. To achieve this it is necessary first and foremost to control and punish those few who harm our good name in the eyes of the strangers and thus greatly hamper our prosperity. (H.H., Edit., 18 Apr. 1929, p. 1, col. 2)

Revealing in this context is that voting is treated throughout as a legal obligation rather than as an opportunity to express preferences. Pre-election editorials are usually prefaced with a reminder to the naturalized that they will incur penalties if they do not vote and that it is their moral duty to vote with some understanding of the issues. A typical ending of editorials about elections is:

We hope that the Greek electors will do their duty in the coming elections. We remind them that voting is compulsory and hope that they will not vote in a partisan way but only with a view to the well-being and prosperity of this State. (H.H., Edit., 23 Oct. 1930, p. 1, col. 4)

Nowhere is it stated or implied that the right to vote is an asset to the individual or that it provides an opportunity for the group to make its presence felt.

In an earlier section it was shown that the political good is conceived only as equitable treatment by the executive agencies of the polity. The notion of submissiveness implies the belief that even this limited requirement cannot be translated into political demands. A note on the shortcomings of the material is necessary here. Discrimination by the polity is not systematically treated at this time and it is therefore not possible to determine at which point the idea of specific demands for justice might have occurred. All one can say is that the absence of this notion and the cursory discussions of discrimination, at a time when one might reasonably assume the treatment of the immigrant to have been less than even-handed, reveal a minimal definition of what Greeks can rightfully expect in this area.
These maxims are woven in with the general theme of powerlessness:

Since there is nothing we can do to stop the damaging attacks of the local press, we must take care not to give the slightest opportunity for such attacks. Any conflict with Australians is bound to turn to our disadvantage. (Nat. Tr., Edit., 7 May 1930, p. 3, col. 1)

Moreover, self-reliance and submissiveness are not simply seen as maxims of necessity; they are also legitimized. Their legitimacy is derived from the guest status and, less emphatically, from the idea of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon civilization.

d. Legitimations

As was seen, the guest theme contains the idea that the impulse for migration comes entirely from the immigrant and that the benefits are all on his side. The society is thereby absolved from the responsibility for the welfare of uninvited and dispensable guests. Correspondingly, the immigrants carry full responsibility for their own welfare and for adjustment to the society. Again, one must infer this primarily from what is not said. Only later, when the notion of legitimate claim is formulated, does the question of the society's responsibility become an issue for explicit comment. In the early years, one can only point to the absence of any statement, explicit or implicit, that to rely on internal resources is to abdicate on rightful claims for help by the host society.

The assumption that the foreigner identity and the guest status give to everything that Greeks may receive from the host society the character of a benefit conferred out of benevolence, not only denies the immigrant the right to stake claims but makes reliance on internal resources part of the guest's duty not to exploit hospitality. This view of self-reliance as an obligation is revealed in that when economic and social problems are discussed (unemployment, poverty, demoralization, poor quality of life), the host society is consistently presented in the guise of the judge rightly condemning Greeks for their failure to cope with their problem:

We get angry because papers like Truth constantly attack us. It is not their fault. It is your fault,
Greek immigrant ... because you do not conform, you do not hide your misery and your problems. (H.H., Feature, 7 March 1929, p. 1, cols. 1-2)

Notable here is the idea of shame, which itself is a powerful obstacle to the development of the participant orientation. This last presupposes readiness to draw the society's attention to the group's problems.

Furthermore, the guest theme legitimizes submissiveness. Here the major theme is that it is the host's right to set conditions and impose demands and the guest's duty to conform:

We came to this country to ask for prosperity and a better future. We are willingly granted hospitality. Is it not our duty to respect this hospitality? ... to remember that we do not live in our own house? ... to conform to the rules of the house, as is the duty of a guest? (H.H., Edit., 23 Aug. 1934, p. 1, col. 3)

In this general sense, submissiveness is legitimized further through the belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization. To conform is the rational response to powerlessness, but represents also progress and improvement:

If we behave well, as is expected of us, as citizens and family men we ... come nearer to the civilization and high level of Australians. (H.H., Edit., 14 Feb. 1935, p. 1, col. 2)

A minority's consciousness that its legitimate rights are arbitrarily withheld by the dominant group is of course a major politicizing force. At any one time a minority may adopt the tactics of non-participation because it feels itself to be too powerless to claim its rights. But the idea that there are rights to be claimed introduces an important element of instability into such tactics. This element of instability is not evident in the ethnic system of ideas at this time. On the other hand there are several elements of instability in the ethnic belief system and in the strategies to the good which were founded on it.

iii. Patterns in transition

In the form it takes during this period, the ethnic definition of the situation leads to a pure non-participant orientation to the political process at large. In fact the papers present a picture of actual behaviour patterns which closely fits the
description of maximum avoidance strategy. (Ch. I, p. 46) Endemic divisiveness and the attitudes of pervasive distrust are shown to stand in the way of peers using one another as resources. Maximum withdrawal can hardly constitute a stable pattern of social organization, simply because it is intolerable. In atomistic societies the mitigating mechanism, which also guarantees stability, is the dyadic contract. In the ethnic society, normative disorganization and the limited usefulness of patronage undermined confidence in the dyadic contract. However, new formulas became conceivable as the notion of common interest took root (first and foremost for identity objectives but also for such desirables as ethnic prestige), and as corporate organizations were created.

The picture of the system at large was important in generating confidence that corporate organization is safe. However, the beliefs that the situation permits and requires concerted action cannot be seen as the result of acculturation. They were not ideas borrowed from the culture at large. They emerged as threat premises were applied to the particular conditions of the Greeks' life in Australia and as the diaspora tradition was incorporated in the ethnic culture. The latter was particularly important because it meant that there was one area of interest (ethnic identity) and one corporate structure (the Community) which could be taken so much for granted that neither the idea nor the structure were seen to be under serious danger from divisiveness.

Thus the ethnic culture came to embody the model of one-sided withdrawal (Ch. I, p. 47) as the major strategy to the good. The aim was set at a combination of group self-sufficiency with avoidance/submissiveness towards the powerful. This, too, led to a non-participant orientation to the broader political process, since at that time the idea of corporate organization was linked to that of autonomy from the host society and therefore entailed non-participation.

But this, too, constitutes an unstable combination. It foreshadows changes towards participant orientations. Since autonomy can never be complete and the problem of handling relations with the host society presents itself constantly, the
idea that corporate structures which are strong enough to maximize autonomy can also be used as bases for negotiation was bound to emerge. It was seen that this had been expressed quite clearly for relations with the Greek State. It was also expressed for relations with the Australian polity, though very rarely, tentatively and minimally.

At this time and for many years to come, one of the main obstacles to this development was the view that divisiveness is rooted in the national character. This view operated as a self-fulfilling impediment to developing ethnic organizations to the point where they could be put to political use. Distrust, and the expectation of distrust, sapped the energies of organizations and made them inward-looking. Leaders and members alike felt it necessary to keep a close watch on one another. The view that others can be trusted only to the extent that there is coincidence of self-interest tended to limit the activities of organizations to a minimum on which everyone agreed. Moreover, normal difficulties encountered in running organizations have often been defined as unmanageable since they were attributed to inherent flaws of character.

Yet development towards the notion of political participation was set in motion by the new ideas accepted at this time. An oversimplified, but still largely true, summary of the evidence is that politicization of the ethnic culture was the unintended, and yet logically congruent, consequence of the Greeks' commitment to the preservation of their collective entity.
CHAPTER V

Corporate Confidence and the Participant Outlook
1936 - 1950

Conditions improved for Greeks after the mid-1930's. In the post-depression era and during the war, commercial enterprises had scope to prosper. Though the position which the society reserved for non-British minorities did not change, wartime admiration and sympathy for Greece created a more favourable climate of opinion towards the ethnic group. And in a period of peace in the settlements, Communities could consolidate their position as authoritative central bodies and all organizations could concentrate on developing their resources. In such circumstances Greeks could be optimistic about their future, have confidence in the viability of the ethnic society, and look forward to the prospect of large-scale immigration.

On the other hand, in the aftermath of the Greek civil war political divisions between right and left became bitter, particularly once the left started to organize and bid for influence in anticipation of mass immigration. When immigration actually got under way, the socio-economic gap between the old and the new gave the first taste of the social divisions and tensions that were to follow. On political and social grounds, the prospect of a united and strong minority looked more doubtful than ever.

In this complex situation, with its promise of new opportunities and forebodings of unfamiliar problems, quite different interpretations of the Greeks' position and potential in Australian society could vie for influence in the ethnic culture. By 1951, indeed, it is possible to distinguish three different views of the immigrants' social reality.

The threat outlook and the separatist approach to Australian social and political life are coherently expressed in Phos - politically on the extreme right. It is difficult to assess how far the editor of Phos, relying on his talent for caustic epigrams on personalities and confident that he could keep his small and
faithful readership amused, allowed himself the luxury of venting his personal philosophy when it came to broad questions. Judging by the overall tone, it seems that Panayotopoulos saw himself as the bastion of a purist ideology in danger of extinction. However, what the paper had to say on the Greeks' position in the society constituted a coherent belief system, couched in the language of traditional ideas and emotionally appealing symbols. On balance one may regard the Phos outlook as a viable but marginal strand of the ethnic culture.

Tentative steps towards another, quite opposite, view of the group's position and potential in Australia were taken by the Australian Greek. There is much that is contradictory and sketchy in the text. Though the somewhat confused mixture of ideas can be attributed partly to the shortcomings of the editor, Tollis, (Ch. II, p. 59) it also indicates uncertainty about whether there was an audience for a leftist perspective beyond the ranks of the committed. It seems that at this time a radical paper was published more to symbolize that the organized left was a force in the ethnic society than to serve as a vehicle for widely shared beliefs.

The two major newspapers, the Hellenic Herald and the National Tribune, express yet another interpretation of reality. The overall perspectives of the earlier period are preserved, but there is a clear development away from the threat model. In the improved circumstances of this period, that which earlier was only just conceivable could be established as a viable view. One can claim that at this time the major newspapers represented the mainstream of thought in the communities at large. Geared to mass circulation and competing for the title of the immigrants' newspaper, the Hellenic Herald and the National Tribune had more reason than the other papers to tailor their commentary to the ideas of the notional average reader. Being politically moderate, they were less inhibited about doing so than Phos and the Australian Greek. Moreover, as before, one finds that, despite their anxiety to appear as alternatives, the papers wrote with

1. "Five hundred a week; when he sold 499 he knew that someone had died" is a standard joke about the Phos circulation figures.
reference to basically similar assumptions and attitudes. In the 1940's there still was, it seems, a broad central strand in the ethnic culture.

Part I - Old Perspectives reformulated - the Major Newspapers

During this period when the communities were no longer split into clear "Community" and "Church" factions, both papers made moves towards broadening their base of support. After 1933 the Hellenic Herald detached itself from the radical elements and was less keen to appear as the champion of the small man against the political and social establishment. The National Tribune showed signs of moving in the opposite direction. But both papers adopted an unequivocally anti-communist stance after the war. It will be argued that then, and for many years to come, the fear of communist influence in the communities became an important obstacle to the development of a fully participant orientation to the Australian political process.

As in the previous chapter, ideas about the immigrants' situation will be categorized into those which have a bearing on the relationship between the individual and his social peers and those which define relations of unequal power. These ideas will then be linked to notions about appropriate strategies to the good, in order to reveal orientations to political activity.

The definition of the situation

A. Relations of equality - the connection between Greeks

Important new themes appear in the commentary at this time. But the perspective is still that of a people who define their

1. In an editorial of 9 Mar. 1933 the paper announced that it no longer recognized the division between the "barefoot and the elect" and in this way publicly stated its intention to dissociate itself from the radical groups.

2. E. Bezanes, who had married into the Marinakis family and joined the staff of the Tribune in 1926, became editor in 1932. Partly motivated by his personal dislike of Grivas, a feeling which was fully reciprocated, Bezanes offered his support to the radicals in the Community who were disenchanted by Grivas' "betrayal". (Interview with L.M. who had joined the staff of the Tribune in 1928 and was still employed there in 1972. Also Tsounis, 1971a, p. 238)

3. The order of treating these topics was reversed for purposes of
ethnicity as their most important social characteristic. It is still taken for granted that only within the ethnic community can the individual form sustained relationships, be they solidary or instrumental. Ideas about the connection between social peers are still found exclusively in those parts of the text which deal with relations between Greeks.

i. The objective basis for concerted action

It was argued in the previous chapter that the notion of interdependence of fate is a crucial departure from the traditional threat view of relations between equals, because it establishes that members of the group have interests in common. After the mid-1930's, the notion of common interest is much enriched and strengthened. To the individualistic conception, which derives community of interest from the fact that the life chances of individuals are interlocked, is added the idea of collective aspirations for the group as an entity.

This is a major theme in the Hellenic Herald. The paper now clearly and consistently formulates the concept of a future which transcends the sum total of the personal futures of members of the group:

As individuals we progress and perform miracles. But as a totality we are very deficient and have little to boast of. The future of Australia's Hellenism hangs on whether we are prepared to work so that our little society develops into a flourishing and dynamic unit. (Edit., 31 May 1945, p. 4, col. 2)

While in earlier years the editor appealed to enlightened self-interest, now he assumes that he can strike a responsive chord by references to what Greeks want for the ethnic group:

The ideal which inspires us, the future national, religious, social and economic cohesion and entity of our society in Australia cannot be realized unless ... (H.H., Edit., 22 Sept. 1949, p. 4, col. 1)

is a typical introduction to appeals for corporate organization. At that time such passages served as introduction to appeals for

exposition. That this was necessary indicates that ideas on the implications of the inter-ethnic power hierarchy changed largely as a result of new perspectives on relationships within the ethnic group.
a Pan-Community Conference - the first time when this idea was seriously considered in the Greek communities. Notably, the collective future is envisaged in terms of developing the ethnic society rather than in terms of attachment to structures of the broader system. This is more clearly spelt out in other passages:

With our churches, our schools, our newspapers, our clubs and coffee houses, organized as a cohesive united group through our Communities, we can appear as a useful and creative entity in this country. (H.H., "Notes", 19 Sept. 1946, p. 2, col. 1)

We must act now to lay the foundations for the future of our society. We can create centres for learning, centres for varied and civilized leisure activities. Our Communities must acquire proper buildings which can become the house of every Greek. We can found Chambers of Commerce and form large partnerships, to secure our position and expand into new fields. (H.H., "Notes", 4 Oct. 1945, p. 2, col. 10)

But though it is still taken for granted that to be culturally distinct is to be socially separate, it will be seen that the group's marginal position begins to be denied, or at least resented.

The tendency to reify the group and identify with its destiny has been linked to the social organization of the ethnic society. The Polish Peasant gives a classical account of how commitment to the group grows as a by-product of ethnic organization and in turn generates the drive to develop further the ethnic society.1 Gordon was impressed by the same phenomenon and called it "historical identification". He saw in it the fusion of a sense of common heritage with consciousness of interdependence of fate in the new country. (1964, pp. 52-3) To Greeks the conditions of this period were propitious for this development. While the circumstances which heighten the sense of belonging to one group and which force interdependence of fate upon consciousness still prevailed, internal unity favoured the consolidation of corporate ethnic structures. Thinking about,

1. (1958, pp. 1517-37) "For the ideal of the development of the community which did not consciously exist while the community had no organ and was only vaguely conceived and intermittently realized ... becomes now clearly formulated as the common idea of the whole group and relentlessly pursued" ibid., p. 1530.
and commitment to, the collective future was encouraged also by the expectation of a new immigration wave.

Historical identification can have important political consequences. In the United States the vision of the ethnic group as a respected and influential entity in the society has been a potent force impelling ethnic organizations to seek political influence and motivating individuals to vote for a co-ethnic across party allegiance long after assimilation and social mobility had reduced the need for "a friend in court". The broader political significance of historical identification is that it weaves the notion of common interest and the idea of corporate organization into the meaning which individuals attach to their membership in the ethnic group. No longer derived primarily from calculation of how personal self-interests are connected, community of interest is invested with an ideological and lasting quality. Moreover, strengthened consciousness of common interest is likely to enhance confidence that divisiveness can be overcome.

ii. Others as partners for concerted action

The Hellenic Herald paints the same picture of divisiveness as in earlier years. Envy, ill-will, suspicion, pride, inability to compromise and to accept the discipline of long term cooperation, are persistently and despairingly attributed to national character:

Our three deficiencies are pride, suspicion and envy ... The eternal "I" of the Greek keeps us divided. We all know our needs ... we are all convinced that working together is the only solution ... But the mere thought that the product of his effort will benefit everyone and not only "I", is enough to stop each of us from working with others. (H.H., Edit., 18 Mar. 1937, p. 1, col. 1)

Though less emphatic on this point, the National Tribune also makes several references to "the weaknesses of our race" and

1. These are standard American arguments. See, e.g., Litt, who attributes as much importance to "recognition politics" as to the distribution of material benefits to the ethnic group (1970, Ch. 4).

2. Ideological is used here to denote that community of interest becomes embedded in the normative pattern characteristic of self-conscious minority groups. Cf. Francis (1951, p. 221).
treats suspicion and pride as a major obstacle to organization. However, divisiveness is no longer seen as a factor which makes all thought of concerted action utopian. Instead, it is treated as an obstacle which can be overcome:

A national conference of Communities would bring the best representatives of each organization together, so that they can lay the foundations for the future of Hellenism in this country. Often we find ourselves clashing over small and insignificant matters. Once we set aside such small conflicts and develop the habits of working together, there is no limit to what we can collectively achieve. (H.H., Edit., 22 Sept. 1949, p. 4, col. 1)

The experience of internal peace and a heightened sense of common interest made concerted action seem feasible as well as necessary. Once it has reached this stage a minority can be expected to question its powerlessness in relation to the dominant society.

B. Relations with the dominant society

Continuity with earlier thinking is evident throughout the texts. It is still taken for granted that ethnicity is the Greek's most potent social identity: it determines crucial common parameters in the situation and possibilities of Greeks, places the group in a subordinate position in society, precludes community of interest across the ethnic boundary and entails separation from Australian collectivities. These ideas are expressed in much the same way as before and will not be documented at this point. They are evident in most of the passages quoted in other contexts.

Yet there are important developments in the thinking of this period. The cleavage view of power inequality gives way to the notion that there can be an element of balance in relations between the minority and the dominant group, and to the related belief that, though subordinate, the group need not be helpless in relations with Australians. Secondly, the sense of being culturally distinct and socially separate is combined with the idea that the group can seek a less marginal position in the society.
Economic relations

New self-confidence and an enhanced self-image are immediately evident from the terminology employed by both newspapers. "Competence", "confidence", "achievements", "vision", "expansion" are now recurring terms. The emphasis shifts from the inadequacy of the individual's assets to his ability to stand his ground:

The intense competition of Australians has spurred us to keep up with the times ... The Greek businessman can take pride in his achievements. In spite of all the initial disadvantages, in spite of constantly intensified competition, he can cope with all problems and look forward to a promising future of expansion. (H.H., "Sermons", 23 July 1936, p. 5, cols. 1 and 3)

One sees the Greek progressing and extending the scope of his operations, where his Australian competitor can hardly stand on his feet. Miraculously, the Greek with his special genius and energy makes the impossible possible. With all their capital and organization, Australians are no match for the Greek wit and ability to exploit every opportunity. (N.Tr., Edit., 30 Jan. 1935, p. 5, col. 1)

The attenuation of the theme of powerlessness is revealed also in that the attitudes of Australians are no longer treated as a major determinant of life chances:

The Greeks in Australia are now an established group with roots and experience in their field ... Humiliating though it is to be regarded as inferior beings ... we know that we can stand up to all difficulties ... Hard work and enterprise guarantee our economic future. (H.H., Edit., 30 July 1936, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2)

To the sense of competence is added the notion that Greeks can now exercise some influence when they deal with Australians. Behind this important development towards the balance view of power relations is new confidence in the ability of the group to make common cause:

The new organization [re AHEPA] is a colossus of considerable power. A thousand merchants speaking with one voice cannot but be reckoned with by everyone ... Every Australian supplier, every organization with whom we deal, will think twice before refusing to accommodate the demands of such a body. (H.H., Edit., 22 Oct. 1936, p. 1, col. 2)

On the same theme the National Tribune ran a series of editorials
in January and February 1935 urging Greeks to make use of their collective bargaining power and adopt an aggressive line in negotiation with Australian companies. With the belief that Greeks can do something positive to influence the society's attitudes, the sense of subordination is stripped from its connotation of helplessness.

ii. The political good

Occasionally, tentatively to begin with but more and more emphatically as time goes on, it is stated that Greeks can realistically ask that their needs be considered when political decisions are taken:

Churches, schools, fund raising, all this concerns our internal affairs only ... Now we must turn to matters which have a bearing on our position and future in this country ... We must make sure that Australian authorities know of our needs. We must project our demands and ask to be protected from injustice. A central committee can speak on our behalf ... In the coming elections, we need a representative body to approach candidates and secure their support for our requests. (H.H., "Sermons", 19 Aug. 1943, p. 2, col. 1)

And the National Tribune:

With every legal means at their disposal our Communities can act to counter anti-foreign propaganda and activities. Through representations to the authorities and general activity in this sphere we can work to ensure just and satisfactory solution of the various matters that concern our interests. (Edit., 21 Jan. 1948, p. 5, col. 2)

Political aspirations at this time do not extend to influence. What is envisaged, at most, is that those who take decisions might take cognizance of the group as an entity whose needs might be considered. At this time the press operates with notions that are close to the concept of political presence. (Ch. III, pp. 97-100)

There is no evidence that the mainspring for this development was a perceived change in the political climate for European minorities. The society's need for immigrants is often discussed, particularly from the 1940's onwards. But this hardly improves the group's bargaining position. The benefit of migration, no longer as one-sided as before, remains much greater for the
immigrant than for the society. Furthermore, the host-guest model still dominated thinking and left little room for the idea that Greeks are in a position to demand attention and help on the same grounds as any other sector of the population. Finally, since separation from Australian groups continued to be taken for granted, Australian structures for political influence were still deemed to be inaccessible.

If it became possible to think of political presence, it was mainly because of greater confidence in ethnic organization:

> Our Community organizations are our official representative authorities in Australia. The government of this country takes account of the power of serious organizations and their voice and demands are listened to and satisfied. (H.H., Edit., 30 Mar. 1950, p. 4, col. 1)

This simplistic model of a just democracy could hardly have been offered to a readership seasoned in the ways of the political market place. It is significant, nevertheless, that the perfection of Anglo-Saxon democracy is no longer held up as yet another thing for Greeks to admire from afar. The assumption that the properties of the broader social system can be used to advantage indicates a change in the outsider perspective and leads one to consider the development of a new tendency to dissociate separation from marginality.

iii. From outsiders to inclusion in the social mosaic

At this time there emerges the idea that, though a group apart, Greeks can be an integral part of the society. This is symbolized by a change in terminology. Instead of the earlier "as onlookers", "as impartial well-wishers", there are now references to "as a piece in the social mosaic", "as a molecule of the social organism", "as a component of the social whole". Such expressions serve more as declarations of intent than as statements of fact. The texts do not take for granted that Greeks see themselves as an integral part of the society and even less that the society accords this status to the group. The editors, particularly of the Hellenic Herald, frequently lament the failure of compatriots to grow out of their "bird of passage" mentality and turn their attention away from "straightening the candles in
the Church" and towards establishing the group "within the frame-
work of Australian society". The editor himself is steeped in
the outsider perspective, as is evident from his continuing
adherence to the guest theme. The important change is that in-
tegration is now treated as a recognized good which Greeks can
realistically aspire to. Before documenting this further it is
worth looking to the commentary on integration for continuity
and changes in the conception of the power dichotomy.

Here, where the good sought is a collective status, the
theme of dependence is much stronger than in the discussion of
economic desirables. This is evident from the emphasis on ethnic
prestige when integration is discussed:

It is time that the Community councils be manned by
people of high calibre, who understand Australian
customs and institutions. Only then will we be in-
cluded in the framework of Australian society ...
So that Australians can see us as a civilized people
and not as a foreign body which constitutes a caco-
phony in their society ... we must prove that we are
a group with vitality and progressive intentions, which
can contribute to the prosperity and progress of the
country and thus deserves to be treated as part of the
society. (H.U., "Notes", 27 Sept. 1945, p. 3, col. 1)

We have at this time a unique opportunity to demonstrate
that we think of ourselves and want to be regarded as
part of this society. Only by coordinating our indivi-
dual contributions to the war effort so that we appear
publicly as a group who can bring something to this
country will we secure a place in the society. (N.Fr.,
Edit., 15 Oct. 1945, p. 5, col. 1)

When it comes to the collective position, the power of the society
to grant or withhold the good on the essentially arbitrary grounds
of general approval or disapproval is unequivocably acknowledged.
In fact the power of the society to make its treatment of immi-
grants conditional upon their meeting its terms is acknowledged
and largely legitimized with reference to many areas of life.

Without a trace of irony the Hellenic Herald writes:

Australia wants to preserve its English character. She
does not want to become a society of ethnic minorities.
She treats these people /the small number of foreign
settlers allowed in/ hospitably and allows them to
work free from persecution. Naturally, she allows
these freedoms on the understanding that the foreig-
ners will adopt wholly and without reserve the habits,
ways and mores of the English as citizens, as family
men and as workers. (H.H., Edit., 16 May 1938, p. 1, col. 2)

And the National Tribune:

The fears expressed in the Australian press that our presence imperils the ideals, standard of living and national character of Australia are nothing short of ludicrous. How could this be when we know that we are a small group of foreigners, left free to work without interference but at the same time constantly under surveillance? We know well that our welcome and the welcome of our brothers and relatives from Greece depends on our acceptance of the British way of life. (Edit., 27 Apr. 1938, p. 5, col. 1)

What is more, it is taken for granted that no constraint operates on Australians to regard Greeks as an integral part of the society or to question their general attitude to the group. It is never suggested that, since it needs immigration, the society is compelled to act as a country of immigrants rather than as a host granting hospitality. After 1945 a new note of challenge is evident in the commentary on Australian attitudes. However, the challenge is not to the terms imposed but to the society's refusal to acknowledge that its conditions have been met. The following extract from a Hellenic Herald editorial on anti-foreign prejudice illustrates these various assumptions:

Since the war ... it has become crystal clear that a continent like Australia, surrounded by Asian peoples, cannot hope to remain independent if its vast land is sparsely populated. Australia needs many thousands of immigrants ... (And Europeans come, even though no help is given to them. Europeans, unlike the British, cost nothing to this country.) And yet we are still treated as alien parasites. In spite of all our efforts to prove that we are ready to conform, to work hard, to contribute to our new country and thus show that we, too, are an integral part of this country and that we, too, are Australian citizens, we are surrounded with suspicion, hostility and contempt and branded foreigners for ever. (Edit., 20 Feb. 1947, p. 4, cols. 1-2)

Here, too, however there is more confidence. It is assumed, at least, that the group can influence the society's attitudes. The idea that the group is in a position to conduct positive public relations sharply contrasts with the resigned attitude of the earlier period when it was assumed that all Greeks could do was to behave unexceptionally. An enhanced self-image is an
important element. From hiding shortcomings, the emphasis shifts to publicizing achievements. "So that Australians come to know who we are" is a favourite phrase in both papers. Just as crucial is the belief that the group now has the organizational resources needed to handle public relations:

They [AHEPAN] must collect data on the number and collective assets of the Greek business sector, so that it becomes known that we are a factor in the economic life of the country and a dynamic particle in the society. (H.H., Ed., 17 Sept. 1956, p. 5, col. 3)

The committee of the Panhellenic Federation of Communities ... is an important representative body of the Greek society in Australia ... and is in a position to enlighten the government and people of Australia about our many qualities, our vitality and our commitment to the progress of this country. (H.H., "Notes", 27 Apr. 1944, p. 2, col. 1)

The emphasis on integration may be seen as both symptom and precursor of ideas which deny absolute powerlessness in relations with the dominant society. There is little doubt about the importance attached to achieving this new status. In all areas, activity is evaluated by whether it tends to enhance recognition of the group as an integral part of the society. The group's economic entrenchment is now welcomed because "it establishes us as a recognized part of the country's economic activity" rather than, as earlier, because it minimizes dependence on the dominant society. The discussion of the ethnic image becomes so intertwined with references to integration that most relevant statements in the text were classified under both headings:

It is time that the authorities and the people in this country are informed about who we are and what we can contribute ... because when the time comes for post-war reconstruction we want to be part of the social blueprint. (H.H., "Notes", 22 July 1943, p. 2, cols. 1-2)

Political presence is also linked to integration:

It is time that the Hellenism of Australia is recognized as part of the social organism because in truth we contribute to the progress and prosperity of this country ... Now, at election time, we have the opportunity to demonstrate this by promoting contacts with the various candidates and by giving our support to those who take an interest in us and are prepared to speak up for our rights. (H.H., "Notes", 19 Sept. 1946, p. 3, col. 1)
It is interesting, finally, to note the emphasis on asserting that cultural distinctiveness is compatible with the qualities, attitudes and behaviour which the society demands:

As a distinct people Greeks want to preserve their ideals, their convictions and their mores. They will always want their churches, communities and communal life ... These do not constitute a cacophony in Australian society ... they in no way impede the Greeks' performance of their duties as active and creative citizens, well able to contribute to the progress and prosperity of their adopted motherland. (H.H., Edit., 23 Sept. 1948, p. 4, col. 2)

By keeping our language, religion and national feeling we in no way threaten the British character of Australia. Neither does the preservation of our Greek character mean that we reject Australian civilization. Our schools, our newspapers, our national life prepare and educate the immigrant into Australian values and civilization. (N.Tr., Edit., 12 Dec. 1938, p. 5, col. 2)

Such protestations reveal a new concern with the cost of distinctiveness, which is yet another sign that Greeks were beginning to question their marginal and isolated position. At the same time, the tendency to gloss over the difficulties of the formula "distinct but integral" indicates that the thinking of this period could offer no solutions on how to reconcile these two objectives. Only later, when it became conceivable to challenge the society's right to make acceptance conditional on Anglo-conformity, were the real problems of pluralism acknowledged by the newspapers.

The two developments in the thought of this period, historical identification and the tendency to seek a less marginal position in the society, are related. The idea of marginality has a component of impermanence, which is fundamentally incompatible with the notion of a collective future.

The view that integration is desirable flowed from commitment to the collective future. Belief that it is feasible derived from confidence in ethnic organization. All discussion of how Greeks can move away from "the margin" or "backstage of social and political activity" focuses on the potential of the communities to project Greeks as a group worthy to be accepted as an integral part of the society, to act as "connecting links."
to build up avenues for communication with Australian political and economic power structures.

We must understand that the Community constitutes the ... connecting link between Hellenism and the citizens and authorities of our adopted country ... The Community can no longer confine its activities to raising money for the salaries of priests and the purchase of candles ... Only they can bring Hellenism in contact with Australian organizations and project our image as a united creative entity, worthy to be respected and included in the framework of Australian society. (H.H., Edit., 26 Apr. 1945, p. 4, col. 2)

While it reveals confidence that the group now has the structures needed to forge links with the society, such a passage also highlights the perspective of separation. Thinking is still very far away from Gordon's concept of "structural assimilation", i.e. a state where large numbers of individuals enter the primary and secondary groups of the society. Here integration is conceived as a location or status for the group as a unit. "Structural assimilation" may be pictured as a state where the boundary of the ethnic society has become permeable, allowing the passage of multiple network lines connecting individuals on either side. With "group integration" the boundary of the ethnic world stays solid. But instead of remaining isolated in a marginal position, the ethnic world is connected to the environment by lines fanning out from ethnic organizations.

One basic component of a pluralistic modus vivendi in society, namely the view of ethnic organizations as permanent structures for communication with the larger system, became part of the ethnic culture once the group came to believe in its long term collective future in the country. In the 1940's and largely also in the 1950's the assumption that ethnicity naturally entails aggregate subordinate status was not questioned thoroughly enough to leave room for challenge to the society's "ideology of settlement". Nonetheless the basis for pluralism had deep roots in the ethnic culture so that one could expect ready response to signs of change in Australian attitudes.

Even at this time the idea of integration has important political consequences since for groups, as for individuals, position and activity are inseparable. Belief in being part of
the society is meaningless without the notion of taking part in social processes.

C. Strategies to the good: signs of participant orientation

The shift towards a participant orientation to the political process occurred as part of a more general shift towards the idea that the group must look outward and seek contact with the wider society:

The resources of our Community are now considerable. The value of the new Community office is inestimable. Not only because now every one of us has somewhere to go if he needs help, but because now that we have such an office, we can communicate with the authorities of this country and with every national, charitable or cultural organization which seeks the participation of the Greek element in the civic and social life. (H.H., Edit., 23 May 1946, p. 4, cols. 1, 2)

Concurrently, the concept of political communication extends beyond collective gestures of loyalty and comes to include demand activity. The term "demand" now appears frequently. There is even one reference to ethnic voting:

It is a pity that we have not, as yet, tried to make use of our political assets. It is a pity that our votes disperse in all directions. It is a pity because our thousands of votes have not secured us one friendly voice in the parliament of Australia. (H.H., Edit., 7 Oct. 1937, p. 1, col. 1)

The ideotypical participant outlook (Ch. I, pp. 15-18) provides a standard for assessing how far participant ideas went at this time.

i. The right to voice demands - the "who" facet

Evident from the material on integration is the belief that residence, or even the formal status of citizenship, does not automatically entitle Greeks to make demands on the polity. This is a right to be earned since the group is not deemed to be part of the polity simply by virtue of living in the country, but must qualify for this status by adhering to standards of behaviour legitimately imposed by the society.

Our organizations have the duty to project us as a group which cares for the progress of our adopted country. They must demonstrate what we can contribute and prove that we deserve to be regarded as citizens and
that we have the moral authority to ask that our demands be listened to. (H.H., Edit., 31 May 1945, p. 4, col. 2)

Implicit in such passages is continuing adherence to the strategy of submissiveness. This and the association with the guest theme is constantly spelt out:

As guests in this country, we must be disciplined, polite, and display unexceptional behaviour in every way ... Australians are in their own country and may behave as they will ... But we, as foreigners, cannot allow ourselves such licence. (H.H., Edit., 9 June 1949, p. 4, col. 1)

Particularly revealing of submissiveness is that such passages typically conclude editorials on the injustice of anti-foreign feeling. In the sense of commitment to act within the law, submissiveness is of course compatible with the model participant outlook. But in the ethnic culture submissiveness goes much further and takes the form of a general predisposition to acquiesce to special conditions imposed on Greeks.

Yet, the change from earlier attitudes is significant. From feeling that they can ask nothing because they offer nothing, Greeks had come to believe that they had met the society's terms and were therefore morally entitled to be accorded a place in the political arena. Once it has reached this stage, a group cannot for long absolve the society from responsibility to recognize this right. The distinction between a moral and a political conception of legitimate claim is so fine that the transition from one to the other is almost inevitable.

ii. The range of political demands - the "what" facet

The range cannot be delimited by listing the needs which are deemed convertible into political demands, because this is hardly ever specified in the texts. The Hellenic Herald refers to immigration policy in general. Very occasionally concrete demands are mentioned, as when the Hellenic Herald urged that the government be asked to give endowments to Greek soldiers' families in Greece, or when the National Tribune suggested that the Cypriot brotherhood should protest against the "cruel practice" of
turning individuals back at Australian ports. 1 But on the whole the papers confine themselves to generalities and write of "our many demands", "the various matters which affect our interest" or "our claims for justice". This itself is significant. Had they addressed themselves to a readership who took for granted its right and competence to take part in the political process and who were in the habit of seeking to satisfy needs by political means, the papers would have had more to say on concrete issues. As it is one must look for indirect clues of how far the principle of equal treatment is carried at this time.

Signs of a new tendency to treat equality as a right which Greeks can claim, rather than as a benefit for which they must be grateful, are evident in the frequent references to "injustice" and to "demands for just treatment". What exactly is meant by injustice is not clear. Passages such as

Foreigners are granted the same rights and duties as Australians. Our religious freedom and our freedom to act is not limited by any constraint imposed on racial, national or religious grounds. (H.H., Edit., 18 May 1938, p. 1, col. 2)

suggest that equality is defined as the absence of discriminatory constraints. Since concrete issues are not discussed, one does not know what degree of overt discrimination is defined as "natural". Nor is it clear whether it was considered legitimate, or feasible, to ask the polity to concern itself with discrimination practised by other than political institutions. It is still taken for granted, for example, that the only response to employment discrimination is to organize the ethnic employment market. Interesting, however, is an isolated passage which suggests a fairly broad view of what the State can conceivably do in this sphere:

The arrival of new immigrants will no doubt create many misunderstandings and foment anti-foreign feeling unless, of course, the government takes strong measures to forbid activities which foster prejudice. (H.H., Edit., 6 Mar. 1947, p. 4, col. 1)

There is hardly anything to suggest that thinking on equality went beyond overt discrimination. The idea that Greeks can ask for help to overcome disadvantages associated with ethnicity is conspicuously absent from the texts. The problems of settlement, adjustment and cultural distance continue to be treated as the responsibility of the ethnic community. In the Hellenic Herald, relevant passages in the late 1940's might have been written in the mid-1920's. In a long editorial on the problems of the newcomers, written in 1947, the National Tribune suggests only that a special organization be set up in order to "educate the new arrivals into the mores and standards of the country", draw the newcomers' needs to the attention of other ethnic organizations and of the Greek government and encourage the integration of recent arrivals into the ethnic society. That the Australian government might assume some responsibility is not mentioned.

That the thinking of this time was not tuned to equality of opportunity is revealed in that only two yardsticks are used for evaluating life situation and life chances: what Greeks could have expected at home and what they can expect in view of their personal disadvantages. As long as the life chances of Australians were not used as a standard and as long as expectations were adjusted to disadvantages, the idea of a right to equal opportunity could hardly occur.

What is more, adherence to the principle of equal treatment under the law did not entail the view of the society's resources as equally and freely available to Greeks. In the 1940's it was still assumed that even needs common to all members of the society,

1. The only instance of the idea that the society can be asked to make allowance for the special circumstances of immigrants was the proposal that eligibility for endowments to the families of soldiers should be defined so as to include families living in Greece. It should be kept in mind that in this context the Greeks' equal contribution to a society-wide objective could not be in doubt, and therefore the injustice of being effectively excluded from a social benefit stood out particularly clearly.

2. (21 Apr. 1947, p. 4). Notably the editor and part owner of the newspaper at that time was Nicolaides who was particularly sympathetic to newcomers and inclined to think in terms of their rights.
e.g. those connected with employment, the quality of life and social welfare were handled by the ethnic community.

Greeks abroad cannot live without their Communities. It is they which provide us with our churches and schools and they which care for the poor, the sick, the weak and the unprotected ... Where will the Greek go for help? His relatives and his Community are his only shelter. (H.H., Edit., 15 Dec. 1949, p. 4, col. 1)

It is never stated as a principle that Greeks are less entitled than others to claim social resources. But much emphasis is placed on "not being a burden", on demonstrating "that we can run a good household" and, generally, on putting the group's best face forward. Commenting on the proposal to build a hospital for immigrants, the National Tribune writes:

The aim will be to ensure that the foreigners do not become a burden on the public hospitals. This will greatly enhance our standing with the Australian authorities. (Edit., 10 Mar. 1948, p. 4, col. 1)

As long as they felt that in order to be accepted as part of the society they had to prove themselves to be a positive social asset, Greeks were bound to set a premium on handling their problems internally. The scope for political participation is severely curtailed as long as a group accepts the paradoxical position that the right to voice demands is conditional on the ability to keep demands to a minimum. The discussion of avenues for political participation further reveals that the thinking of this time was very far from the model participant position.

iii. Avenues for political activity - the "how" of demand

Instead of the open system assumption of the model participant outlook, one finds the belief that ethnic organizations are the only avenues for political expression open to individual Greeks. This is entirely in tune with the way integration is conceived. Just as the idea that individuals will be drawn into the social world of Australians does not enter into the concept of integration, so also the notion that Greeks can participate as individuals on the basis of a status which they share with Australians does not enter into the concept of political participation.

Neither does one find the idea that ethnic organizations
can gain access to Australian resources for influence by way of forging links with other interest groups in the society. The lines of political communication are drawn in one direction only: upwards from the group to those who take or apply decisions. In such circumstances one could hardly expect a strong sense of political efficacy.

As mentioned earlier, influence was not built into political aspirations, and discussion of what ethnic organizations might do stops at the point of articulating demands. Reluctant to admit that Greeks can do no more than ask, and unable on the other hand to argue credibly that ethnic organizations are instruments of political power, the papers simply by-passed the issue and wrote as though once the group was respected and appreciated its demands would automatically be heeded. Such unrealistic treatment could hardly have been possible if political activity had come to be included among the normal means of gaining access to goods.

Though the participant outlook was only just beginning to be formulated in its most modest and exploratory form, important changes in ideas had occurred. The group had begun to feel qualified and entitled to be included in the political process. The idea that as dispensable guests Greeks are not in a position to communicate anything but gratitude gave way to the notion that certain things could be claimed as a right. And the first steps towards a sense of political efficacy were taken as Greeks came to believe that they could gain access to the political system through their corporate structures, and could show a common front to the dominant society. The qualitative change from a non-participant position to a tentative and modest participant outlook was at least as important as further development in the direction of a more fully fledged participant culture.

The key to this change was evidently a heightened sense of common interest and correspondingly greater faith in ethnic corporate structures. It is the dynamics of the ethnic society rather than new forces at large that brought the ethnic culture over the threshold of the non-participant approach.

It seems likely that the major newspapers' cautious combination of new ideas with the premises of earlier years was close
to the outlook of most Greeks. However the old view of Greeks as an alien body in the society neither equipped nor entitled to conduct its relations with the polity on any principle other than acquiescence had not as yet been relegated to the sphere of the purely idiosyncratic. It was consistently and coherently articulated by the newspaper Phos. At the same time there occurred the first signs that a fundamentally new perspective would come to vie with the others in the ethnic culture of future years. Intimations of this alternative approach are found in the text of the Australian Greek, first published in 1949.

Part II - Alternatives to the central outlook

The ideology of separatism

Contemporaries of the owner and editor of Phos, I. Papanayotopoulos, describe him as "narrow minded", "passionately nationalistic", "blindly anti-communist", "monolithic", "irascible", "vitriolic" and "incorruptible". Certainly the personality of the editor dominates the text much more clearly than was the case for the other papers. Nevertheless, the ideas expressed constitute a recognizable tradition in Greek thinking about politics. In the Phos platform of cleansing ethnic organizations of corruption, and revitalizing the values of "patriotism, religion and family", one recognizes the slogans and the appeal of the "strong men" of Greek political life. His extremism notwithstanding, the editor did not write as a lone eccentric on the lunatic fringe but drew heavily on traditional symbolism and habitual modes of thinking.

There is a familiar ring to the paper's commentary. It reads very much like the Hellenic Herald of the 1920's in its most dejected mood. Here one finds again the imagery of the ill-equipped, inadequate, unprotected individual; of endemic and insuperable divisiveness, self-seeking and corrupt leaders and make-shift ethnic organizations. The group is presented as an alien, dispensable and despised collectivity, necessarily insecure in its dependence on the benevolence of the host society.

1. The connection of such attitudes with the interludes of dictatorship in Greek politics is beyond the scope of this discussion. Notably, Phos strongly supported the Metaxas regime.
The tenets of non-participation - reliance on internal resources and submissiveness - are consistently advocated. A selection of characteristic passages serves to illustrate these themes.

**Personal inadequacy:**

The naive Greek immigrant, lacking all assets to succeed in this society falls easy prey to exploitation from foreigner and compatriot alike. (Edit., 15 Dec. 1943, p. 1, col. 1)

The mystery is not that the people of this country forgot that we are the descendants of Socrates, but that some of them, in their kindness, overlook our ignorance and roughness and manage to detect in us traces of our illustrious tradition ... With our pitiful spiritual inertia we fall easy prey to the danger of imitating and adopting foreign habits and ways of life. (Edit., 9 Feb. 1938, p. 1, col. 4)

**The unprotected immigrant:**

He is left to struggle alone with the huge waves ... in that tempest which is the essence of life in a foreign land ... What hope is there for him? Where can he turn to for help? He lives like a child, without home, without family, without protection. (Feature, 9 Sept. 1942, p. 2, col. 1)

**Divisiveness:**

Forever unable to control their atomism and pride ... Greeks will always stay divided ... and will miss every opportunity to appear as a totality of people who can cooperate and help one another ... We shall never understand the value of unity and consequently will always stay locked in our hopeless individual struggles. (Edit., 1 Dec. 1937, p. 1, col. 2)

**Corrupt leadership:**

How can a people progress in a foreign land when its leaders think only of how they can project themselves, how they might use their position to enrich themselves and serve their interests and how they can hide their criminal indifference behind high sounding titles. (Edit., 20 Aug. 1941, p. 1, col. 2)

**Organizations:**

An outsider, reading about the Greek communities in Australia in the newspapers, might think that we are an important society, with organized communities, progressive clubs and charitable organizations. How disappointed such a man would be were he to come closer and experience the sorry reality. (Edit., 14 Feb. 1945, p. 2, col. 1)
An alien and dispensable collectivity:

Those who talk of Australia as a paradise on earth, those who indulge in sentimental reminiscences of the comradeship with Australians in the war, must realize that to this society our presence here is an undesirable burden and not a good, particularly since our occupations make us a parasitic element in the society. (Edit., 26 June 1946, p. 1, col. 2)

Those who say "I don't need the Community or Greece, I now live in Australia" should remember that we are foreigners here and can never know what fate is reserved for us. (Edit., 10 Mar. 1948, p. 1, col. 3)

Political behaviour appropriate to the foreigner identity:

i. Submissiveness:

As residents in a country which offers us hospitality we must display blind obedience to its laws and regulations. (Edit., 15 May 1940, p. 1, col. 2)

The proposal for a Greek Chamber of Commerce is overly ambitious and dangerous because the Australian authorities dislike the idea of foreigners forming organizations to promote their particular interests. ("Comments", 6 Aug. 1945, p. 1, col. 4)

ii. Separation from Australian political activity:

We must learn to suppress the tendency of our race to live dangerously and learn to check our propensity for acting like the child who, on his way home, does not walk along the safe road but climbs narrow walls and balances on rocks. In this country we are foreigners and in no circumstances must we get involved in its affairs. (Edit., 30 July 1947, p. 1, col. 2)

iii. Political solutions for the immigrants' problems to be sought from Greece only:

The Greek immigrant arrives in a strange land and is left at the mercy of fate. No one is there to find out about him, care for him or take any measures to help him in any sphere be it economic or social ... And we ask those whose duty and province it is to provide some answer to our many needs - above all our Ministry for External Affairs. (Edit., 19 Oct. 1958, p. 1, col. 2)

The inner coherence of these themes has been discussed in the previous chapter. Particularly interesting in the Phos commentary is that the non-participant orientation has also an ideological base and becomes, in this sense, separatism. Unlike the other newspapers, Phos derived separatist consequences from the ideology
of the diaspora. It built withdrawal from the broader system into the conception of what it means for the individual to be a Greek and live as a Greek and what it means for the group to function as part of the diaspora.

The indifference of the Greek consular authorities, the selfishness of the clergy and the unbridled personal ambitions of so-called leaders, have deprived the Greek immigrant of any chance to live as befits the ideals of Hellenism ... They have made him forget who he is, even despise himself and his origin and blindly seek amongst the strangers satisfactions which can only be found amongst his own. He craves a house, a Greek house, where he can speak freely, where he can live in an unalloyed Greek environment, where he can instil in his children the sacred traditions of our race ... Hellenism abroad means living as one family, under one roof. It means community, school, church, hospital, welfare so that our poor do not go begging outside from strangers, provision for our youth... (Feature, 9 Sept. 1942, p. 2, cols 1 and 4)

To live within the boundaries of the ethnic society is to enact the "ideals of Hellenism". The emphasis is on the value of the ethnic society as an alternative social world. Unlike the major newspapers, Phos never mentioned the ethnic society as a base from which the group can seek integration into the wider system.

Moreover, the passage quoted contains the important notion that what Australian society has to offer is somehow not fitting or truly satisfying and that the right answers to needs can only be given by the Greeks themselves. A more explicit formulation of this theme is in one of the many editorials on the indifference of the Greek State:

The Englishman is English. His spirit, his outlook, everything is English and he cannot know anything about the Greek temperament, the Greek mentality, Greek affairs and Greek aspirations ... The Greek State is absent from the life of Greeks in Australia. And so they have to make do with receiving what strangers may offer. But strangers offer things which are alien to us. (Edit., 9 Sept. 1942, p. 1, col. 2)

The implication is that cultural distinctiveness or cultural distance give an idiosyncratic quality to the needs of Greeks. Paradoxically, thirty years later this became a basic component in the most advanced participant strand of the ethnic culture: recognition of the distinctive quality of ethnic needs became the basis of
claims for pluralistic social policies. But in the early years it was inconceivable that the society might concern itself with the distinctiveness of Greeks except to depreciate it. In this context, to highlight the unique facet of ethnic needs was to deny that they can be met by claims on the resources of the broader society.

The other major ideological premise in the separatism represented by Phos was that as part of the diaspora Greeks remain members of the Greek polity. This has always been an important element in the thinking of Greeks abroad. In itself, the idea that the Greek State is responsible for the welfare of Greeks abroad is compatible with the view that demands can be made of the Australian polity. If dual citizenship is conceivable, so also is the notion that people have a legitimate claim on the resources of both societies. But in practice the tendency has been to see the two political environments as alternative, not complementary, sources for the satisfaction of needs. The major newspapers, for example, made the case for political presence partly on the grounds that, since they are building their future in Australia, Greeks cannot look to Greece for answers to their problems.

In Phos, emphasis on political ties with Greece had two separatist consequences. Firstly, all responsibility for the welfare of immigrants is placed with Greece. Unless qualified, references to "the State", "the appropriate authorities", "government care", "our rights", are invariably about the relationship of immigrants to the Greek polity. It is not only as "hosts", who have already done more than enough by allowing Greeks living space in their house, that Australians are absolved from further responsibility. In Phos the values of familism are given political content in the notion that it is not legitimate to expect anything from "strangers". Just as personal claims presuppose bonds of kinship, so political demands presuppose organic ties with the society.

A related notion is that communication with the Australian polity is a matter for the Greek government and not for the immigrants as a group. The path of political communication should run
from the immigrants to "their" government and from there to Australian authorities. As far as political activity goes the paper might have been written for the inhabitants of some giant diplomatic enclave and not for people who constituted one collectivity amongst others in Australian society.

Thus, in Phos separatism had a double foundation. It was simultaneously an ideological stance and a response to a sense of powerlessness and inadequacy:

The criminal indifference of our government has had the unfortunate effect of forcing the immigrants themselves, the illiterate and the rough, to make representations and appear publicly amongst the strangers. (Edit., 1 June 1936, p. 1, col. 2)

Here the sense that it is not fitting to go directly to "strangers" merges with the belief that the group is too inadequate to make a respectable public showing.

The beliefs and values which enter into the separatism expressed in Phos were so deeply rooted in Greek culture that one can safely assume that the paper could strike a responsive chord. However, neither at that time nor later did separatism become assertive in relation to the host society. Because it was combined with the threat outlook, separatism did not lead to a challenge of the society's right to define the limits of autonomy. For example, in Phos a proposal for a Greek boarding school and for a Greek Chamber of Commerce are opposed partly on the grounds that such activities might be resented by Australians as an attempt to set up "a State within a State". Aggressive separatism might have involved the group in political activity. But in its Greek version it emphasized only what cannot be asked and has functioned as a brake on tendencies towards looking outward and seeking cultural, social and political contact with the broader society.

Alongside the separatism represented in Phos and the group integration approach embodied in the major newspapers, another perspective was beginning to take shape during this period. This was still so tentative and drew so heavily on traditional assumptions that it can hardly be seen as a comprehensive and coherent alternative belief system. But in tone and overall orientation
the text of the Australian Greek is discernibly different from that of the other papers and contains the germs of a radically new view of the position and potential of Greeks in Australian society.

Intimations of a radical alternative

For a long time after its first edition on 15th November 1949, the Australian Greek had all the marks of a makeshift enterprise. Poorly printed, it appeared irregularly, and between April and November 1959 stopped publication altogether. Though after this it took on a more professional appearance, the paper never quite managed to look like a going concern. It changed its format frequently, appeared to have few regular contributors and relied heavily on translated feature articles. In content, also, there was a tentative air about the paper during its first two years as it felt its way towards a consistent line and a coherent interpretation of the immigrants' social reality.

That the paper intended to cultivate a distinctive image and stand for a distinctive approach was quite clear. Its usage of the popular Greek (demotike) was intended to symbolize identification with "the people" or the small man. Moreover, the language clearly placed the paper in the camp of the left although the extreme or "hairy" version of demotike, typically used by avowed communists, was not employed. But the paper did not go much further in presenting a radical image, evidently aware that there was as yet no market for an articulated Marxist ideology. The statement of editorial policy could have appeared in any of the rightist papers:

To serve the Hellenism of Australia ... to foster the best that historical and modern Greece has to offer, to steep Greeks in our marvellous national tradition. To bring our fatherland's heartbeat to her children abroad and to enhance the maligned Hellenism in the eyes of the world and of this country. (Edit., 15 Nov. 1949, p. 1, col. 2)

While it made no secret of its identification with the newcomers, the Australian Greek was on the whole careful to steer clear of the terminology of class conflict:
Hand in hand with the Greek tradition is religious feeling. Often religion is the spine of our traditions. We came to live with you (the established), we the newcomers. There is plenty of space in Australia. We did not extend our hand to ask for your financial help... we asked only your cooperation. We said good luck to you with your riches... You don't have to fear anything from the young who ask to cooperate with you. We don't hide dogmas and ideologies... lone, united, old and new to work... for the educational and moral progress of our community. (Edit., 29 Sept. 1951, p. 1, cols. 2-3)

Interesting in this connection is the contrast in content and tone between the Greek and English material. Unlike the other papers, which kept the English content to the minimum required by law, the Australian Greek devoted about one tenth of its text to English material. In English editorials the economic exploitation and unjust treatment of immigrants was a major theme. Several feature articles gave an unequivocally Marxist interpretation of the history and social structure of Greece and Australia. A regular column for the first three years was written in English by Senator Don Cameron on social and political questions. It dealt with the achievements of the labour movement, with capitalism, etc. and was strongly Marxist in tone. It is hardly likely that the English material was meant for Greek readers, particularly since the paper clearly looked for its market among the newcomers. The difference in tone and content in the Greek material shows how much care was taken not to go beyond that which could conceivably be meaningful in the communities at that time.

The Greek text was almost non-partisan. Though it made no serious effort to hide its support of the Labor Party, the paper often declared its intention to be impartial politically and was indeed very moderate in its political commentary. For

1. It seems that the English text was published as part of the policy of the Greek left to cement ties with the radical sectors of the Labor Party and the trade unions. Consequently this commentary will not be taken into account in the analysis.

2. "Our newspaper keeps to a strictly independent policy when it comes to the political convictions of the Australian people. In no circumstances will we get embroiled in party politics and we will even refrain from advising our readers to cast their votes for this or that political party." Commentary on elections, 9 Dec. 1949, p. 1, col. 4.
example, the results of the 1951 referendum were given prominence as a news item and greeted with approval as "a sign of the high level of civilization and the sound political judgment of the Australian people". (Comment column, 29 Sept. 1951, p. 1) But the paper steered clear of talk about capitalist conspiracy to suppress the people's democratic rights, which would have been the line adopted in any such issue in later years.

Not only was the Australian Greek aware that an aggressive political line would undermine its chances of being taken seriously by a wider audience. It was aware also that in its general commentary it could not depart too radically from the outlook and assumptions which were built into the mainstream ethnic culture. This may be illustrated with reference to the treatment of the guest theme. The guest mentality, with its associated emphasis on the foreigner identity and its political implications of submissiveness, was fundamentally incompatible with leftist thinking. In later years the guest theme was consistently and explicitly challenged. At this time the familiar terminology of hospitality and gratitude is avoided, but the paper is not too emphatic about rejecting the host-guest model. Though it appears very rarely, the "guest" vocabulary is not entirely absent: "... the country who grants us hospitality as though we were her real children". ("Comments", 9 Dec. 1949, p. 1, col. 4) The one passage where the guest mentality is directly challenged is notable as much for the fact that it draws on familiar assumptions as for the fact that it intimates a novel orientation:

A good friend of our newspaper recently gave us food for thought. "Till when" he complained, "are we to be plagued with this tiresome refrain about a hospitable country? Does she feed us free of charge? Or have we not given her our lifeblood? Who is it that must be grateful?" ("Commentary, 10 Feb. 1950, p. 1, col. 2)

Its far-reaching political implications notwithstanding, this challenge to the guest theme builds on familiar ideas. It is still taken for granted that only by virtue of their specific contribution can Greeks earn the right to be counted as belonging to the society.

Somewhat surprisingly the Australian Greek has relatively
little to say on economic and political aspirations and needs, and places its major emphasis on the good of a culturally meaningful life. In the sporadic political and economic references one does find hints of new perspectives. But these are not developed into major themes. For example, in the following passage, written at election time:

None of us doubts the philhellenic sentiments of Mr. Chifley. But this had no bearing on our choice in the coming elections. Greeks are perfectly aware on the vital impact which the outcome of elections has on their fate and have quite a developed political judgment. (Commentary, 9 Dec. 1949, p. 1-2, cols. 4 and 1)

one can detect a hint of an approach which no longer defines ethnicity as the most important social characteristic of Greeks, which subsumes the interests of Greeks under those of other collectivities in the society and ultimately redefines the universe of social peers. But all this was not articulated. It seems hardly fruitful to try and make much of ideas which, at this stage, only appear as faint hints.

The focus is on the dignity and objective validity of the living Greek culture, on the immigrants' contribution to a developing Australian nation. Here, too, one is struck by the extent to which the text echoes familiar themes. A passage such as

Let us all, old and new, unite in our common striving for a new victory: the educational and moral evolution of our society to a higher level of civilization.

(Edit., 29 Sept. 1951, p. 1, col. 3)

might have been found in any of the other newspapers.

There is, nevertheless, an unmistakable new note in the commentary, in the emphasis on the purity, spirituality and humanity of the Greek tradition as lived and enacted by the common people. By preserving identity and culture Greeks do more than cling to what is their own. They also perpetuate a tradition which is inherently valuable. The paper consistently contrasts Greek with Australian cultural patterns, not to emphasize their incompatibility and not to rank them as stages in cultural evolution but to show them as two equally valid approaches. The Australian girl is educated, strong, a pleasure to watch in her uncomplicated
competence. "But something is missing. The spiritual quality, the mind that agonizes, warmth." ("Conversations", 15 Aug. 1951, p. 1, col. 4) Or:

We live among a people who have a strong sense of realism. There is nothing here of our passion, our melancholy, our romanticism. ("Conversations", 24 Aug. 1951, p. 1, col. 4)

A series of editorials on Australian culture, published in September 1951, was significantly entitled "The big children". Here the Australians' practical, materialistic, uncomplicated self-confidence, their talent for reducing questions to manageable dimensions and for living at ease with the world was contrasted to the enquiring, tense Greek spirit, forever lost in grappling with insoluble dilemmas, forever straining against the limitations of the possible. Thus the notion that to behave by the standards of this society is to move on to a higher level is replaced here by the image of Greeks as carriers of an alternative world view; spirit versus materialism, sense of tragedy versus easy choice of comfortable alternatives, the visionary versus the pragmatic element in society. Though the old theme of the impressionable immigrant dazzled by an advanced civilization still appeared in references to undiscriminating imitation, the Greek was now also cast in the role of critic of his environment.

The view that their distinctive tradition arms Greeks with the standards by which to evaluate Australian culture cuts at the root of conformity to Australian standards as a pervasive principle of conduct. Whether this was transferred to the political sphere, whether questioning the legitimacy of conformity flowed on to questioning the legitimacy of submissiveness in the polity, will be examined in the next chapter.

Inherently valuable, the distinctive Greek culture becomes also a contribution to the common culture. In the early editions of the paper several editorials were, revealingly, entitled "Bonds". Here again, it may be noted, the importance of links with the broader society, which became a major theme in the 1950's,

is only hinted at. The editorials deal primarily with cultural contribution:

To the Europeans, Australia offers matter and receives, in return, spirit. It offers life's necessities and receives its luxuries. It receives civilization. (Edit., 25 Nov. 1949, p. 1, col. 1)

The country opens its windows to the breezes of the world. To shut them would be to suffocate in her materialism. She needs light. Yesterday she asked us for our labour. Today, unwittingly perhaps, she asks for the spirit of the children from the Mediterranean to give shape and content to the material. Greece, the purest, most creatively restless daughter of the Mediterranean, can offer zest, harmony, beauty to this world. Young Greeks: your parents, with their sweat created the first bonds with Australia. You with the quality of your spirit will build yet another bridge. (Edit., 2 Dec. 1949, p. 1, col. 1)

Though articulated only in a cultural context, such ideas pave the way for a radically novel conception of the Greeks' position and potential in the society. For example, the concept that Greeks, by their very presence, bring something valuable to the society merges in later years with the general theme that Greeks earn the right to make political demands by virtue of living in the country, being what they are, and not meeting standards of behaviour defined and imposed by the society.

The image of Australia as a product of incoming cultures prepares the ground for the pluralistic formula. The notion of immigrant cultures as valid components of a common culture is a step towards the idea that immigrant institutions and social systems can claim to be acknowledged and incorporated into the blueprint for a society which belongs to all.

These implications of the themes which the paper articulated at this time were not spelt out. It took many years before they were fully incorporated as component elements of an advanced participant orientation. But from its first edition the Australian Greek foreshadowed the role of the left in bringing to the surface and giving shape to elements of thought and attitude which, directly or indirectly, could give impetus for political participation.
Ideology and the development of ideas

So far the development of major ideas has been described as a gradual progression from one belief system to another. The analysis has been based on the premise that the change of one element in a set of interrelated beliefs is bound to lead to further changes. It has been argued for example that from the introduction of the notion of common interest flowed a series of changes which, by the 1940's, meant that the group could see itself as subordinate without feeling impotent in relation to the dominant society, and could believe that it is appropriate and possible to articulate political demands, thus taking the first step towards a participant orientation to the political process. Such an analysis assumes that thinking develops according to an inner logic, which one might refer to as a tendency towards cumulative change. Whether this tendency will work itself out and whether the connections which are logically possible will be made will depend on external circumstances. For example, internal unity facilitated the transition from seeing corporate organization as necessary, to defining it as feasible. Or again, individual prosperity and the fact that before the new waves of immigration got under way a large proportion of Greeks could feel that they were well established, adjusted and culturally competent, facilitated the break from the threat theme of collective powerlessness.

On this basis one might expect that, once established, the participant approach was bound to gather momentum and develop further in the direction of the model participant culture. But in the post-war period, development can no longer be explained solely according to the principle of cumulative change. The division between right and left, or rather the new meaning which this division acquired in the aftermath of the Greek civil war, introduced a novel ideological component in thinking about political participation. (Ch. III) Though, as was seen, the battleground was ethnic organizations, the battle itself was between rival political ideologies competing for influence in the community at large. What was at stake, ultimately, was the way immigrants thought about themselves and about their problems, be it with reference to their relations with Greece, to their activity in the ethnic society or to their behaviour in the society.
at large. Alongside with all the other issues on which the right and left took opposing stands, political participation was invested with ideological significance.

This meant that on the one side there were in the communities identifiable and organized groups who were committed to political involvement and who articulated and propagated a participant approach as a matter of policy. The organized left introduced into the common stock of ideas an approach much more advanced than the kind of outlook which one might have expected to grow by the process of cumulative change.

Fear of communism, on the other side, was an ideological force which impeded the natural development towards expanding the area of political participation. Abroad as well as in Greece, one of the legacies of the civil war was that fear of communism, or rather of communists, has tended to blur the difference between the legitimate use of the political system and subversive troublemaking for "ulterior motives".

The ideological element becomes evident in the text of the newspapers after 1945. It was not only Phos that kept warning the public about the motives and methods of the left. In an editorial entitled "the Enemies of Hellenism", the Hellenic Herald wrote:

People who unfortunately appear as Greeks are beginning to undermine the good name of Hellenism in Australia. Under the pretext that they are fighting for the immigrants' interests they attack the peace-loving and law-abiding Greek family man ... these parasites appear as leaders, presidents and executive committees of high-sounding "democratic", "athletic" and "educational" and artistic clubs and organizations ... It is time that the Greek people recognize them as Public Enemy Number One and take steps to inform the Australian authorities about the quality and motives of these subversive anarchist elements who are working to upset the social order. (29 Mar, 1945, p. 4, cols. 1-2)

Evident also is the tendency to associate the articulation of collective grievances with the danger of communist influence. In a 1950-series of editorials on the housing problems of immigrants and on complaints about conditions in the reception centres, the Hellenic Herald advocated patience and discipline and warned
against the motives of those who foment discontent:

Under no circumstances must a revolutionary stand be adopted towards the authorities. Whatever is done must be done only after consultation with the appropriate authorities and then only if they permit it. (Feature article, 25 May 1950, p. 4, col. 5)

Even though the editorial intent is clear, such passages reveal as much about the people to whom they are addressed as about the policy of the newspaper. It is only because then, and for many years to come, Greeks were uncertain about how far they could place their needs on par with those of the general population that the spectre of communist influence could be raised in such a context.

In the next chapter the development of ideas will be examined both in the light of cumulative change and in the context of ideological conflict.
CHAPTER VI

Ideological Conflict - Class versus Ethnicity

The 1950's

During the 1950's much of what was taken for granted in the pre-mass immigration era began to be questioned. As substantial socio-economic differences developed within the ethnic group it was no longer self-evident that ethnicity is the crucial determinant of life situation, interests and opportunities and outweighs class or other social characteristics. Also vulnerable, particularly in view of the Greeks' large scale entry in industry, was the assumption that the world of social peers stops at the boundary of the ethnic society and that ethnicity precludes common interests with Australian collectivities, dissociates Greeks from Australian groups and places the minority outside the scope of the activities of Australian organizations. Furthermore, for the first time immigration was built into the blueprint for Australia. In this Greeks could find the key to their status as an organic part of the society. Consequently they could adopt new perspectives on the balance between their rights and their obligations in the polity.

But while an overall sense that things had changed might guarantee a measure of acceptance to new perspectives and new formulas, the outlook of earlier periods had much to feed on. The newcomers could find much within themselves and in the society around them to confirm that their predecessors' assumptions were valid and the accumulated experience of the past relevant. Their aspirations were identical in essence to those of earlier generations; their background much the same. And, like the old settlers, the newcomers were a different people living in a society which devalued difference and was disinclined to devise formulas to stop difference from affecting status and opportunities.

Analytical perspective

By the end of the 1940's some of the basic threat premises had been eroded and ideas on political activity had developed to the point where the question was no longer whether Greeks can
make political demands but how much they have the right to ask and how effectively they can act. The distinction between the belief syndromes of threat and opportunity did not seem as pertinent to the thinking of the 1950's as in earlier years.

This chapter relates alternative positions on the how much of political activity to ideas on whether and how ethnicity sets Greeks apart in the society. This provides a useful tool for description and analysis because beliefs on this theme can be contrasted without difficulty. Moreover these ideas came to the forefront as radicals and conservatives competed for influence on the outlook of the newcomers. In these years, political participation became a central divisive issue. A selection of representative passages from the major newspapers serves to show that both sides appreciated that attitudes to political activity hinged largely on whether a foreign origin was equated with outsider status.

The conservative case:

We must understand that we are foreigners and that our only justification for being here is to work honestly in obedience to the authorities of this country who grant us hospitality ... We recommend to those who are at work in Australian enterprises to do their job well and forget politics and political theories ... Every such activity will only make things difficult for them and for all Greeks. (Phos, Commentary, 25 Sept. 1957, p. 2, col. 3)

It is against the rules of elementary logic that we as foreigners should start shouting about "rights" and project unreasonable claims to the Australian authorities. (re protest activities in relation to unemployment) (H.H., Edit., 28 June 1961, p. 2, col. 1)

The Greek immigrants must be careful and law abiding and avoid activities (re protest against refusal of naturalization to Greek radicals) which, for all they know, are inspired by communist ideology ... It is our fate that we have found ourselves in a foreign land. Any kind of "cleverness", any kind of involvement in activities that go against the grain with the authorities is not for us ... (N.Tr., Edit., 27 Sept. 1961, p. 4, col. 1)

The radical case:

Do not listen to those who say that because we were born in another country we must not be interested in
things that concern Australians. We have the same rights and the same obligations as our Australian colleagues. (N. Kosmos, Feature, 15 Feb. 1961, p. 9, col. 7)

Though the focus of analysis is shifted, the conceptual framework remains the same. The meaning invested in ethnicity entails a picture of the immigrants' place in the social hierarchy, of their relations to those deemed to be social peers and of their rights and possibilities in relations of unequal power.

Participant orientations may be described as "stronger" or "weaker" according to the types of political demand deemed appropriate. (Ch. I, pp. 14-6) So far demands have been characterized as more or less assertive according to whether they were directed to the decision-making process or to the administration of decisions, whether or not they involved claims on social resources and whether they were for measures to counterbalance disadvantages or simply to abolish overt discrimination. To compare alternative strands of thinking in the 1950's and place them in relation to the model participant outlook, these distinctions must be integrated and refined.

Basic is the distinction between demands about the way decisions are applied and demands about the decisions themselves (outputs versus inputs). Within this framework categories of demands may be ranked in order of increasing assertiveness by applying supplementary criteria.

A. Demands not involving political decisions (output demands)

Equitable application of the law as it stands. This does not involve allocation of resources and refers to overt discrimination.

B. Demands that particular decisions be taken (input demands)

i. Not involving resources. For example, removal of overtly discriminatory measures.

ii. Involving resource allocation to broader collectivities which include Greeks. Such demands are made with reference to the common denominators in the needs of Greeks and Australians and do not refer to particular disadvantages associated with
ethnicity. The corresponding needs will be referred to as "general".

iii. Involving resource allocation to the ethnic group or to ethnic minorities in general. These are demands for equality of opportunity.¹ They can be ranked by the type of need which is projected.

a. Special access needs. These arise because circumstances or attributes particular to immigrants place them at a disadvantage in gaining access to goods which all members of the society supposedly want.

b. Unique needs. Specifically ethnic requirements arising from objectives which Greeks see as exclusive to themselves.

c. Participation. These arise from wanting equal access to the decision-making process and to positions of responsibility in it.

This ranking is based on judgments about how difficult it is for the group to make different kinds of demand, in other words how much political confidence is involved. Most doubtful is the low placing of demands relating to general needs. It can be argued that the participant orientation is most advanced when an ethnic group is prepared to take part in demands about general social policy. The needs involving special allocations to the ethnic group were ranked higher because they entail the important belief that ethnic group needs are on par with those of other collectivities; they can be projected just because they are widespread among the group and do not have to meet a further, special, condition that they also be common to others in the society.

By the 1950's Greeks had come to feel that they could make demands when there was overt discrimination, particularly in the way decisions were applied, but also when the decisions themselves were discriminatory. During this period the conception of what may and can be asked was extended to other categories of demand.

¹ Ultimately all demands are made in the name of equality of opportunity. In accordance with common usage the term is reserved for demands involving positive help to counterbalance particular disadvantages which flow from ethnicity, e.g. from the immigration experience, from prejudice or from the migrants' attributes.
Part J — The radical approach

Until 1954 the Australian Greek cannot be taken seriously as an alternative to the other newspapers. The paper itself admitted as much:

Many technical difficulties prevented this paper from taking root in our communities and becoming a spiritual need. It has gone through many phases. It has wavered and changed format and has therefore not been able to attract the respect of the reading public. (A.Gr., Edit., 6 Aug. 1954, p. 1, col. 1)

After Gogos took over (Ch. II, p. 59) things changed. The paper took on a professional appearance and articulated a coherent policy. Through the Australian Greek and Neos Kosmos, its successor from 1957 onwards, the left sought to politicize Greeks, and most particularly the newcomers, within the framework of the Australian labour movement. It must be emphasized that little attempt was made to prosyletize to Marxist ideology. The tone was aggressive but the message was no more revolutionary than that Greeks should enrol in trade unions, support the Labor Party and use the mechanisms for influence which the society makes available to citizens generally.

The paper devoted about a fifth of its text to editorials, features and general commentary. There is little variety in content. The basic themes are relentlessly reiterated. This kind of material can be presented better through summaries than through illustrative passages. Every quotation given is representative of scores of others in the text and expresses ideas which were communicated by the way news was slanted and by the choice of topics for comment. The analysis will deal first with the definition of rights and secondly with the view of possibilities.

Rights in the polity

The left set out to combat traditional diffidence about the rights of immigrants in the society. The paper's outlay, with its large banner headlines and expansive spreads of news and

1. Since they followed the same line under the same editor, the Australian Greek and Neos Kosmos will be treated as one paper.
commentary, makes this intention clear. So does the aggressive style of writing and the constant use of such terms as equality, rights, demands and struggle.

However, what radicals were actually saying at the time was a rather cautious combination of new and early ideas. The case for claims on social resources is made by emphasis on the common denominators in the wants of immigrants and Australians. The principle that, when it comes to exclusively ethnic needs and requirements, the burden is on the immigrants themselves remains unchanged.

A. The radical view as an alternative to traditional ideas

i. Immigrant needs as population needs

From 1954 onwards, almost every issue of the paper deals with the economic good. The central theme is that the economic interests of Greeks are indistinguishable from those of the general population or "the people". The commentary is studded with statements like:

The interests of the Greek immigrants - whether industrial workers or small shopkeepers - are exactly identical to those of the Australian people. (N.Kos., Comment column, 12 Sept. 1956, p. 1, col. 7)

The problems of the Greek immigrants cannot be examined separately from those of Australians because they are one and the same. Housing, wages, working conditions, social security, our problems and interests are identical. (N.Kos., Edit., 17 Sept. 1958, p. 1, col. 1)

The scores of editorials and features which emphasize that the major economic issues in the political and industrial arena are about the fundamentals of economic well-being communicate two related ideas. The basics, which so obviously preoccupy the immigrant, are just as vital to Australians so that there is a central area of identical aspirations. Secondly, the people's access to such basics is the society's recognized responsibility.

The focus on shared desirables is compatible with recognition of special access needs. During spells of unemployment much is

1. In 1961, 42 out of the fifty issues contained at least one major item on some aspect of Australian political activity or debate on economic fundamentals.
made of the immigrants' handicaps in finding and keeping a job. Similarly, many articles and editorials are devoted to the disadvantages in the areas of housing and social welfare. The following is a typical conclusion:

Because we are immigrants our life situation is disadvantaged compared to that of Australians. Because we are Greeks we are worse off even than other migrants. In other words in this country we are the last wheel of the carriage. (N.Kos., Edit., 2 May 1961, p. 4, col. 6)

Combined, the themes of identical wants, the society's commitment and the immigrants' disadvantages, legitimize claims for equality of opportunity. This represents an important advance towards the model participant outlook. By extending the scope of the immigrants' rights and the society's obligation to the area of special access needs, radical thinking also establishes the principle that the group can claim to be considered when decisions are taken and can stake claims on social resources.  

ii. The meaning of equality

The right to equality as a general principle is established by the way radicals define the ideal relationship to the polity. Here, too, it is emphatically argued that the relevant standards for immigrants are those which operate for every other resident. Equality looms large in the commentary and "first-class" and "second-class" citizenship are favourite terms. An open letter addressed to the editor of the National Tribune, who warned that political activism is dangerous to foreigners, illustrates the staple radical position:

You talk of "foreigners". Who are the foreigners? Immigrants who come to live in Australia, who work all day together with Australians, who found families and raise the country's future citizens, who greatly contribute to the development of this country. The immigrants cannot accept second class citizenship. They have the same rights as everyone else. (N.Kos., Open letter, 4 Oct. 1961, p. 2, col. 5)

Again and again the paper denounced the dictation test and the

1. It is argued that Greeks are entitled to claim special government help in the areas of employment, housing and taxation, e.g. Neos Kosmos editorials 7 Aug. 1957, 2 April 1958, 18 March 1959, 8 July 1959.
discretionary power to withhold citizenship from political activists as indefensible attempts to negate that for Greeks, as for all others, freedom of political expression is a right inherent in residence:

As residents we belong to Australian society and have every right to take an active part in shaping the policies of this country ... We have every right to be critical of the political parties and ask them to account for their position regarding the solution of our problems. (N.Kos., Edit., 16 Apr. 1958, p. 1, col. 1)

The radicals were not the first to attach political rights to residence. In the 1940's the idea that ethnicity ought to be irrelevant for relations with the executive agencies of the polity had taken root. The radical contribution was that they extended this principle to all areas of political activity. From such ideas flowed a much wider definition of the political role of ethnic organizations.

iii. Ethnic organizations as pressure groups

On the occasion of the first Pan-Community conference (Ch. III) the paper writes:

The vital problems of immigrants must be the first concern of the Conference ... Which are the rights of immigrants? How can they be extended and secured? It is the duty of the Conference to concern itself with every area where Government measures perpetuate a distinction between locals who have full rights and immigrants who have limited rights [in the areas of employment, housing, access to social benefits] ... the Conference must perform its function, which is to use its power as a representative of Greeks in order to demand that appropriate measures are taken by the authorities. (N.Kos., Edit., 11 June 1958, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2)

1. Throughout the period it is emphasized that demand activity is a central function of the Communities. Government help to find work for those handicapped by the language, housing loans to counteract the immigrants' disadvantaged position in qualifying for public housing or in amassing the required capital, changes in the tax laws to allow immigrants to deduct for their families in Greece, changes in the 20 year qualification for pensions, are some of the economic demands which the Communities are enjoined to press for. Such arguments are particularly prominent in the latter half of 1957 and throughout 1958 and 1959, when the National Conference of Communities and, later, the Federation were discussed (e.g. editorials 7 Aug. 1957, p. 1; 2 Apr. 1958, p. 1; 7 May 1958, p. 1;
In the 1940's the demand function of the Communities had been accepted. But it was much restricted not only because the range of legitimate claims was defined narrowly, but also because of the group's overall concern that it should not be a burden on the society. In any case, political diffidence left little room for anything which might suggest pressure group activity. Radicals provided the rationale for lifting these restrictions. If the right to claim equal opportunity means anything, it means the right to trouble the society. Secondly, in a political process which functions through corporate activity, full freedom of political expression can only mean that immigrants may use their corporate resources as freely as any other collectivity.

This principle also legitimizes corporate demands made independently of the Communities. The paper strongly advocated organization by the unemployed, the homeless and recent arrivals:

It is absolutely necessary that our unemployed organize themselves into unemployment committees. Through these they will be able to exercise pressure on the Communities as well as on the government to take an interest in the solution of this problem. (A.Gr., Edit., 14 June 1956, p. 1, col. 7)

We advise all new immigrants to go to the meeting in order to constitute a Panhellenic association of recent immigrants because here their welfare is at stake. They must not listen to "well-meaning" advice to "foreigners". This is offered in order to stop new immigrants from uniting into a body which will give them the power to demand that which rightfully belongs to them. (A.Gr., News report, 6 Aug. 1954, p. 4, col. 2)

The traditional assumption that none but the Communities can speak for the ethnic group precluded political partisanship. (Ch. Ill, pp. 102-4) The radical model of multiple channels for corporate demand activity paved the way for the idea that, like other social groups, immigrants are entitled to use any help available to them in the political marketplace. This both undermines the assumption that immigrants must tread more carefully than other groups and enhances the sense of efficacy. Yet, the

radical conception of rights remains conditioned by the assumptions of earlier years.

B. Traditional elements in the radical approach

Traditional assumptions are most evident in the treatment of cultural distinctiveness. An important new theme, which had been taken up in the Australian Greek from the very start, is the conception of Australia as a country of immigrants and the image of a distinctive future Australian culture to which Greeks have a positive contribution to make:

The existence of Australia as a country in its present form is due exclusively to immigration. With the exception of the aborigines, who are fast becoming extinct, we are all newcomers irrespective of whether our time of arrival differs by a few decades. (N.Kos., Edit., 5 Mar. 1958, p. 1, col. 1)

We are proud of our folk songs and dances. Australia too has such a culture. Hers, ours, those of the many other peoples who live together here, are the seeds from which tomorrow's Australian culture will spring. (N.Kos., Feature, 4 Nov. 1959, p. 11, col. 4)

Most importantly, the politically inhibiting ambivalence about the value of the Greek design for living is entirely absent from the commentary. The paper includes "improvement of the immigrants' cultural level" in its policy objectives. (A.Gr., Statement by the new editors, 19 Mar. 1954, p. 1) But this means development of "the best, most purely Greek, most progressive elements of our country's culture". (N.Kos., Feature, 29 May 1957, p. 3, col. 4) While the paper often holds up Australian political attitudes as models, acculturation is more likely to be characterized as "crushing of the spirit", "hardening of the heart" and "betrayal of ideals" than as a step upwards in the level of civilization.

Radicals were well aware that cultural self-confidence was a step towards the demand for a pluralistic social policy. As early as 1953, it is suggested that the ABC be asked to allocate a weekly half hour to a Greek programme: as an integral part of the population Greeks are entitled to ask that the society treat their culture as a strand of its own. (A.Gr., Edit., 18 April 1953)
But this idea is not pursued. Throughout the period, it is taken as a matter of course that the resources required for the preservation of identity and culture are to be generated by the ethnic group without recourse to the society. Demand activity is never mentioned when Communities are discussed as instruments for "the preservation of the mother tongue, mores and customs, religion and ties with the motherland". (N.Kos., Edit., 3 Apr. 1957, p. 1, col. 1) This stands out all the more clearly because of the emphasis on the political function of the Communities in other areas.

In fact the traditional principle that the society has no obligation to heed distinctiveness remains unquestioned. The polity is absolved from responsibility not only to help the group achieve its cultural aspirations, but also to assist Greeks in overcoming disadvantages which flow from cultural traits. This is applied even to that most pervasive source of disadvantage, language.

This limitation is built into the paper's treatment of political equality. Behind the aggressive presentation lies the modest definition of political equality as absence of discriminatory restraints on the freedom to act. Cultural barriers to political participation (the language problem, unfamiliarity and home-bred political attitudes) are fully recognized:

The traditional Greek fear of political activity, the fear that any demand, even the demand for work and bread, will bring some retribution must be overcome. Here in Australia we must learn that as citizens we have the same rights as everyone else. (A.Gr., Feature, 27 June 1956, p. 3, cols. 1-2)

1. A series on the special problems of immigrants published between 25 November and 36 December 1959 covers such questions as medical insurance, hospital care, workers' compensation, unemployment benefits, bank loans, etc. In every article it is pointed out that the immigrant is at a disadvantage because he does not understand a complicated system and does not speak the language. But instead of treating this as a preliminary to a criticism of the government and to recommendation for political action, as it does with other problems, the paper here does no more than urge Greeks to learn English, suggest that newcomers are well advised to ask English speaking friends for help, and propose that the Communities institute an interpreting service. (Feature articles by Marinos)
Yet it is not suggested that the society must help familiarize the immigrant with its political process or that it must make its politics more accessible to the unassimilated. Moreover the entire responsibility for political communication is placed on the ethnic society. The idea that the broader system might devise mechanisms for the flow of information on ethnic viewpoints and interests, even in areas where political decisions patently affect ethnic groups as in immigration policy, does not occur.

Acceptance that the burden of coping with distinctiveness lies on the immigrants confines what may be asked in the name of equality of opportunity to only some special access needs. Radical thinking during this period falls far short of the model participant position. Nonetheless, radicals provided a rationale for a much more assertive view of rights than was conceivable before. This is complemented by a scheme that promotes a new, more confident view of possibilities. Here, too, the case is built on what immigrants have in common with others in the society.

**Immigrants in the political process**

A. **The radical alternative to the outlook of dissociation**

Up to the 1950's it had been taken for granted that Greeks have only themselves to rely upon. A small group which believes that its only political asset is internal unity can hardly rate its chances high in the political market place. In traditional thinking the sense of political isolation rested on two related beliefs: the "halo effect" of ethnicity, and the primacy of ethnic subordination. The former assumes that, built into every characteristic which might entail that Greeks belong to an Australian collectivity, is the more potent disqualifying constant of being different and foreign. The latter asserts that there can be no peers for Greeks in the society because ethnicity fixes them as a subordinate group. Greeks cannot fit into any hierarchy which cuts across the ethnic division and places them on the same level as other collectivities.

Radicals formulated the alternative to this traditional outlook of dissociation. They developed the central idea that what
Greeks have in common with others in the society weighs more than whatever separates them. Concretely, radicals treated the worker identity as the crucial common denominator between the majority of Greeks and large sectors of the population at large.

i. From interests to class

a. The workers' interest

The basic Marxist tenets are applied to the immigrants' situation in scores of news items, editorials and features which argue that the Greek workers' obvious and direct stake in employment and wages defines his interests in every issue which matters in the society at large and which is the subject of political decisions. The corollary, a broad identity of interest between Greek and Australian workers, is constantly spelt out:

The interests of Greek immigrant workers are identical to those of Australians. (A.Gr., Columnist, 12 Sept. 1956, p. 1, col. 7)

Workers must not for a moment forget that no matter where they are born all have the same interests. (N.Kos., Edit., 31 May 1961, p. 1, col. 4)

The notion that ethnicity generates particular interests is integrated into this major theme through the idea that these are variants of the needs and interests of all workers. For example, an editorial on a strike by wharf labourers, which begins by showing that immigrants are particularly vulnerable to unemployment and to exploitation on the factory floor, concludes:

The strike has a direct bearing on these problems of immigrant workers. Wharf labourers fight for the right to work and demand that the economic crisis be dealt with. Their victory will therefore be a victory for all workers. (A.Gr., Edit., 27 Jan. 1956, p. 1, col. 3)

b. Greeks in the society's hierarchy

From the notion of identical interests flows the central theme in the commentary: Greek workers are an integral part of the society's working class:

We do not constitute a separate class. Our interests are interwoven with the interests of the working people of this country. (N.Kos., Edit., 24 Feb. 1960, p. 2, col. 2)
As industrial workers, whose interests are the same as those of all other workers, the Greek immigrants belong to the working class. (N. Kos., Feature "Capitalism and the worker", 8 Feb. 1961, p. 9, col. 3)

Notable is the unorthodox order of the argument - from interest to class rather than from class to interest. Evidently radicals knew that the idea that ethnicity mattered more than any other status was so deeply rooted that the obvious argument that Greeks belong to the working class because they are workers would seem to their audience to beg the question.

The idea that the universe of social peers extends beyond the boundary of the ethnic world is possibly the most important new perspective which radicals introduced in the ethnic culture. This and the related notions that the worker status is a more potent social identity than ethnicity, that it is more crucial to interests, carries more weight in placing Greeks in the social hierarchy and thus overrides ethnic separation and ethnic subordination have far reaching political consequences. Cutting at the root of the outsider perspective, they lead to the notion that the immigrants' life is pervasively affected by the political process at large. Moreover these themes strip the concept of subordinate status from connotations of helplessness and pave the way for a more confident view of what corporate action can achieve.

ii. From class to politics

a. The relevance of politics

As long as Greeks saw themselves as a subordinate minority facing a monolithic, dominant society, they could hardly feel involved in the competition among collectivities in that society. But politics could look relevant once the group placed itself within the society-wide hierarchy of class. Radicals made much of that logic. The relevance of politics is communicated in the paper by the prominence given to industrial and political issues:

The workers of Australia, the newcomers just as much as those born here, know that the subjects discussed in the ACTU Congress immediately affect their life work and freedoms ... The Labour Movement of this country ... is determined to resist the employers class and the government of the day ... so that the living conditions of
the working people are improved. (N.Kos., Edit., 25 Sept. 1957, p. 1, col. 1)

Tomorrow's elections are very critical for Australia as a country and for the Greek immigrants who are part of its working class. Our immediate future will depend on these elections. (A.Gr., Edit., 9 Dec. 1955, p. 1, col. 2)

b. Corporate action as a model

In a political system which does not function on lines of ethnic pluralism the demand activity of ethnic groups may be tolerated, but is not built into the behaviour models of ethnic minorities. As long as they derived ideas on how to act from the view of themselves as a collectivity of immigrants, it was unlikely that Greeks would accord high priority to corporate demand activity as a means of access to the good. On the other hand, the way to such an idea was open if Greeks could become class conscious, even if they did not develop an overall Marxist perspective. In a country with a syndicalist tradition, corporate demand activity is established as the workers' major avenue to the good quite apart from Marxist ideology.

The radical papers made a major effort to school Greeks into this way of thinking. For example, 26 out of the 51 issues of the Australian Greek in 1956, and 42 out of the 50 issues of Neos Kosmos in 1961 contained prominent editorials or features under such titles as "Australia land of syndicalism", "The labour movement protagonist for workers' rights". Their central theme is that every benefit workers enjoy is due to the activities of the industrial and political labour movement.

Now as in the past everything that workers have gained has been achieved through the syndicalist movement of Australia. (A.Gr., Feature, 4 Nov. 1955, p. 1, col. 4)

We know what leads to our progress. Within the unions, side by side with our Australian colleagues, we can solve our multiple problems. (N.Kos., Edit., 20 Nov. 1957, p. 1, col. 2)

This serves simultaneously to counter the ingrained Greek sceptism about what the weak in society can achieve, be they organized or not.
The repeated victories of the workers prove that there is nothing they cannot achieve when they act as one. (A.Gr., Feature on G.M.H. strike, 4 Nov. 1955, p. 1, col. 2)

c. The accessibility of working class power structures

The definition of the universe of peers leads to the idea that Greeks have natural political allies in the society at large. In this context the crucial question is whether the machinery of organized labour is accessible to the Greek worker. In one way the answer is implicit in the basic concepts of the radical scheme. If Greeks belong to the working class because their basic interests are indistinguishable from those of other workers, then there is a large area where their interests are necessarily represented by the labour movement. The gist of this somewhat tautological argument is clearly contained in articles and editorials condemning the New Citizens Council.

There is no room for separate political or union movements in Australia. There are in Australia political parties which represent our class ... Australian unions protect the interests of the workers and so protect our own interests as well. (N.Kos., Edit., 24 Feb. 1960, p. 4, cols. 1-2)

This partly counters the belief that only ethnic organizations can act for immigrants. But it does not go far enough. The true test of whether the immigrant has access to the resources of the working class lies in whether he can use them to promote his particular interests. The radical formula for handling special access needs always implies that ethnic organizations can seek the support of organized labour. This is a significant advance over the traditional model for political communication which allowed only for the straight path from Communities to the government.

On the other hand it is notable that radicals limit the role of the labour movement to one of supporting initiatives taken by ethnic organizations. Labour organizations appear as protagonists only in cases of direct discrimination. In an editorial entitled "Let there be no discrimination", the paper gives instances of employers setting a quota on the number of foreign workers:

"Work for everyone" must become the slogan of the working class in its totality. On this issue of possible
discrimination the labour movement is resolved to act in accordance with what is right. (N.Kos., Edit., 31 May 1961, p. 1, cols. 4-5)

Much is made of instances when unions' industrial action has been used as a protest against an employer's discriminatory policy (e.g. reports are headlined by such titles as "Unions and unity - the guard of our rights", N.Kos., 3 May 1961, p. 2)

But when it comes to questions of unequal opportunities, the idea that Greeks can hand their case over to labour organizations does not occur.

On employment:

The only solution is that the unemployed themselves should be active in their cause. There is a need to organize committees who will emphatically ask the authorities to give them work and provide substantial material help the unemployed. For this Greeks must come into contact with other such committees by other ethnic groups and seek the cooperation of their unions. (N.Kos., Edit., 3 July 1957, p. 1, col. 1)

On access to social services:

The task falls directly on our State representatives on the Communities, on our associations and on the Greek press. Only if they all act will we be able to help our newcomers, solicit the active support of the Australian people and its organizations and make the authorities understand that it is time for them to take an interest in immigrants. (A.Gr., Edit., 21 Oct. 1955, p. 1, cols. 1-2)

Notably, radicals did not argue that, since the labour movement is committed to secure certain goods for the working class as a whole, it is bound to take up the case of equal opportunities for migrant workers. In this way radical thinking recognizes that Greek workers do not belong so unquestionably that they can expect what matters to them to have a natural place among the collective concerns of the working class. Support may be available. But the migrant worker cannot regard the resources of the labour movement as his own.

B. The outlook of dissociation in radical thinking

With all their anxiety to cement the bonds between Greek and Australian workers, radicals did not transcend the us-them division. They tried to abolish it by force of logic and yet
recognized its force in much of what they said, or failed to say, about the relations between Greeks and Australians.

i. Affinities

The connection between workers is derived entirely from the political and instrumental bond of common interest. The theme of deeper historical, cultural or personal affinities is conspicuously absent. In the many pages devoted to the history of the labour movement there are occasional attempts to point to parallels in the historical experiences of the Australian working class and the people of Greece.

By its hard struggles, the labour movement in this country won the eight hour day in 1856, the 40 hour week in 1946, and the workers' right to organize in trade unions. By such struggles democracy and freedom have struck deep roots in this country ... The worker immigrant, with his recent memories of the tragedy of unemployment, of war and of the denial of all freedoms has a deep feeling for the fighting and progressive spirit of the Australian unions. (N.Kos., Edit., 25 Sept. 1957, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2)

To those with historical memories of the wretched Greek peasantry of the mid-nineteenth century, and with the picture of the devastation of the mid-1940's still vivid, such parallels with the experience and aspirations of the Australian working class must have seemed ironic.¹

Just as unconvincing were attempts to make a case for cultural affinity. The author of a feature entitled "The Australian way of life" begins by questioning the assumption that there are fundamental differences between the two peoples. But when he comes to argue his case, he finds himself forced to refer to "the values shared by us all in our common humanity ... justice, tolerance, honesty, freedom and respect for law". (6 Aug. 1954, p. 3, 2

¹. The condition of the Greek peasantry in the newly established Greek State after the mid-nineteenth century has been painted in stark colours by Greek historians: "After Independence a large section of the Greek peasants found themselves in a clearly worse position than under Ottoman rule ... the peasant ... (on whom a special tax (decte) of 30-35% on his income had been imposed by the new State) was being pressed to the point of exhaustion ... by the State and its local representatives" (Vergopoulos, 1975, pp. 83, 84, 85). Also Noskof (1972, pp. 150-49).
Far more common are statements which contain the image of Greeks as a people living in the midst of an alien culture. The many promptings that Greeks must try to understand the Australian way of life hardly suggest cultural consonance.

Moreover, tacitly, and often openly, it is admitted that the sense of difference and distance are salient in interpersonal contact. The picture of Australians as companions in leisure or friends in personal difficulty is as absent as it always was. For example, a feature article on Greeks in Woolongong paints a dark picture of loneliness and disorientation among the 1,000 or more factory workers. The "only place to go" is one Greek coffee house. Without a Greek Community hall there is no place where "the Greek migrant can take his family for a few hours' relaxation". (A. Gr., 16 Sept. 1955, p. 1, cols. 1-3) Also taken for granted is that suspicion and antipathy lie just under the surface. It did not suit radicals to admit that Australians disliked foreigners. Despite emphatic denials that a hostile Australian press reflects public attitudes, it is assumed that widespread hostility is easily kindled:

It takes only a few irresponsible statements and the harm is done. An unbridgeable chasm opens up ... The imagination of the people is kindled into hatred of foreigners. (N. Kos., Edit., 5 Mar. 1958, p. 1, cols. 1 and 2)

A fundamental disharmony between articulated argument and unstated premise characterizes the radicals' theme of bonds between immigrants and the workers, or people, of Australia. The same applies to the related theme that Greeks and Australians are social peers.

ii. Subordinate peers

Unwittingly, the paper communicates ethnic subordination within the working class:

There are many Australian workers who do not look kindly upon the immigrant. It is up to us to do something to change this by taking an even more active part in the unions. (N. Kos., Feature article, 18 Dec. 1957, p. 5, col. 6)

Fortunately this time the incident was averted a quarrel between two Greeks on the job and so we were not, as so often happens, compromised in the eyes of our Australian colleagues. (N. Kos., 8 July 1959, p. 8, col. 3)
What Greek has not felt guilty when last week the Herald of Melbourne published a survey about the clubs where our compatriots gather? The sad thing is that we ourselves have started all this... some well known superpatriots went to certain authorities to complain against the Greek clubs... To publicize our weaknesses to the strangers... is a tragic and unforgivable crime against the Hellenism of Australia...

(N.Kos., Edit., 15 Nov. 1957, p. 1, cols. 1-2)

Such passages contain all the classic symptoms of a subordinate perspective. The picture remains one of a minority under surveillance. Neither the value of Australian approval nor the need to earn it by conformity to Australian standards, or, failing this, by hiding discordant behaviour, is questioned.

Furthermore, it is never suggested that participation of Greek workers in trade unions is a problem that challenges the labour movement as well as the immigrant. Much emphasis is laid on the Greeks' duty to prove themselves worthy members of the working class, but nothing is said of their right to ask for devices which take account of their traditions and pay heed to their needs. The only difficulty occasionally discussed as one that deserves attention is the language barrier:

The unions must give greater care to immigrants. They must publish pamphlets in their mother tongue, provide interpreters in meetings, etc. Unfortunately there are still several labour leaders who have yet to be convinced that such methods are necessary. (N.Kos., Feature, 18 Dec. 1957, p. 5, col. 1)

The picture of inter-ethnic relations within the working class is hardly one of equality. Of course, the message of conformity must be seen in the context of the policy to integrate Greeks into the labour movement. Radicals knew well that prevalent Australian attitudes precluded pluralistic formulas for integration. Given Australian inflexibility, it seemed likely that to question conformity would only create grievances against the labour movement and lead to separation. On the other hand, though it suited their purpose, radicals could not have adopted this stance unless they were addressing themselves to an audience that was receptive to the language and attitudes of subordination.
The credibility of the radical approach

The paper is most useful as a guide to areas of traditional thinking with the greatest staying power in the 1950's. It does not much matter whether radicals were careful not to go too far or whether they themselves were unable to think differently. In either case, it appears that in the 1950's there was no room for ideas on rights which failed to recognize that immigrants are not as woven into the social fabric as those who belong by birthright. The idea of equal rights had to be limited by recognition that, unlike other major sectors of the population, immigrants cannot ask that their distinctiveness be heeded in the society's institutional arrangements. That the we-they division and ethnic subordination were salient in relations between Greeks and Australians, and that ethnicity limits access to the resources of political negotiation open to the immigrants' socio-economic equivalents in the society at large, were similarly taken for granted in the 1950's.

It is much more difficult to tell whether, when they negated traditional assumptions, radicals expressed ideas which were emerging in the communities at large. The style of the paper suggests that there was much convincing to be done. It should be emphasized again that it is not essential to ask whether the Greek left, as it was organized and as it operated in the 1950's, was influential in the communities at large. The question is rather whether the approach expressed in the papers can be said to constitute a viable outlook - the kind of ideas which an imaginary observer of Greeks in the 1950's might have found echoed in the normal communications of everyday life.

A. The radical concept of legitimate claim as a viable idea

Concern with the basics of economic welfare was bound to be prominent during a period of mass immigration. The theme that what immigrants want is just what everyone in the society is entitled to expect was thus well timed. This, and the fact that immigration could now be seen as a response to Australian initiatives, worked in favour of the general message that immigrants are entitled to ask for positive help.
The contention that immigrants are entitled to equal rights of political expression simply because they live and work in the country was also within the bounds of the acceptable, and consonant with the traditional view that immigrants must be seen to make a contribution before they can ask to be treated as an integral part of the population and accorded equal rights. Once the society itself acknowledged that Southern Europeans were needed, the idea that it is up to the immigrants to prove that they are worthy could credibly be challenged.

The conception of Communities as instruments for projecting claims on social resources could also gain some currency. Eventually, it was bound to become obvious that material problems were experienced on too large a scale to be handled internally. Either the Communities would have to accept that they could no longer play an important role in the area of material needs or they would have to be prepared to discharge their responsibilities in this area by new methods. The radicals' formula had the appeal that it was grounded in the traditional tendency of Greeks abroad to look to their central organizations for solutions to any widespread problem within the group.

Much less likely to gain ground was the idea that immigrants could project collective claims independently of the Communities and thus work also on partisan lines. This was too suggestive of political activism for comfort and was likely to arouse fears for the collective reputation of the ethnic minority. But it was an idea with a future. As long as the ethnic group was small and homogeneous one central spokesman was plausible. But as numbers grew, socio-economic differences crystallized and the variety of life situation and interests became obvious, the adequacy of the single spokesman model was bound to be questioned.

On the whole the radical concept of legitimate claims remained on the right side of utopia. It contained ideas which could well have emerged without the help of propaganda. This is less true of what radicals had to say about bonds with others in the society and about the Greeks' potential for satisfying needs by political means.
B. The credibility of the radical case for the primacy of the worker status and political participation

i. Class versus ethnicity

Though there have always been many Greeks who drifted in and out of jobs in industry, it is only with mass immigration that industrial work became a collective experience for the ethnic group. The radical scheme was an interpretation of this new reality. The question, therefore, is whether the manner in which this reality was typically experienced by the Greek workers lent itself with ease to the radicals' interpretation.

On the whole, it seems unlikely that Greek workers recognized their own experience in the picture painted by the radicals. On the factory floor, the divisions of ethnicity must have seemed more real than the bonds of class, and it was probably brought home to the Greek workers in a multitude of ways that they hardly rated as peers to Australians. Moreover, in the 1950's most workers were still in the early stages of settlement and the fundamental differences between their own preoccupations and priorities and those of Australian workers must have been more salient than identity of interest. Furthermore, the organizations of the labour movement most probably appeared to most Greeks as yet another power structure over them. Such viewpoints were taken for granted by the radicals themselves.

In retrospect it may seem remarkable that such skilled propagandists should have embarked on the seemingly futile course of denying the undeniable. Most probably, however, the Greek left had little option. As an organized political force they had to pay heed to their Australian political connections. Given that assimilationism was firmly entrenched in the Australian labour movement, the Greek left could probably not afford to bring out into the open the many ways in which ethnicity separated Greek from Australian workers and from the labour movement, and thus risk the suspicion that they were pointing the way to divisiveness within the working class. It is because it went too far in belittling ethnicity that the radical scheme, as it was articulated, strikes an artificial note and looks as though it could not constitute a viable outlook in the 1950's.
Yet the industrial experience could hardly fail to leave a mark on the way Greeks thought about themselves and their relations to the outside society. Despite the forces which operated to keep the group marginal and isolated, industrial work placed Greeks within central areas of the social process and exposed them to a multitude of economic, social and political relations across the boundaries of the ethnic society.

Eventually, many Greeks were bound to see themselves as workers rather than as businessmen in the making. Greeks are possibly more inclined than most people to cling to unrealistic aspirations. But as it became increasingly clear that the progression to proprietorship was not longer the typical immigrant career, there must have been many who tailored their self-image to their situation and prospects.

Of course, it is one thing to accept worker status and another to identify with the Australian working class. But the belief that there are areas of identical interest, that the immigrant connections extend beyond the ethnic world and that the group was no longer quite isolated in the polity but could draw on powerful sources of support, were bound to strike some root. If the potency of ethnicity could not be denied, the situation warranted some questioning of whether the dissociative force of ethnicity always weighed more than the integrative power of class.

While radicals made too much of such ideas and pushed their implications too far, they contributed significantly to the thinking in the 1950's by articulating a scheme which could serve to fashion a coherent belief system out of impressions which otherwise might have remained vague and disjointed. By making the common ground in the experience of Greeks and Australians the central unifying theme of their system, radicals made available to the Greeks at large a viable alternative to the outlook of dissociation.

ii. Political participation

Everything radicals said about the situation of immigrants was intended to build to the conclusion that involvement in the political process was a major avenue for access to the good. The
radical scheme was geared to persuading immigrants that they could not meet their needs unless they were active and, on the other hand, that when they acted they could be effective. The radical model for participation points to two modes of activity. One, that Greeks should participate on the same basis as every other worker, that is through the industrial and political activity of organized labour; and secondly that Greeks should act on a corporate ethnic basis to seek political solutions for their special access needs.

a. Involvement in the labour movement

Perhaps there was something inherently stirring about the imagery of Greek workers "fighting side by side with their Australian colleagues" in defense of interests vital to them both. Nevertheless there is good reason to be sceptical about the influence of a model which glossed over cardinal elements of experience.

Even if one assumes that Greek workers could see community of interest with Australians and that they had begun to see themselves as part of the working class, such ideas were still so devoid of affective content, the sense of socio-cultural distance was still so dominant, that it is unlikely that many individuals could see their way to stepping into common areas of activity.

The alternative, namely collective participation as an ethnic sector of the working class, was not envisaged by the radicals. They had their own reasons for not taking this line. That they did not go out of their way to argue against it suggests that the idea was not seriously discussed by anyone else at that time. As it stood, the radical formula of class-based political activity by immigrants as individuals had little chance to gain currency because it was built on the shaky foundation of de-emphasizing ethnicity. Passage after passage makes it clear that radicals themselves hardly felt that they were arguing a good case. More often than not the paper falls back on the lame argument that participation is a duty and retreats into generalities about the solidarity of the working class:

The Greek workers and small businessmen are facing a new attack against their interests [re bill on lifting rent controls in Victoria]. It is therefore their duty
to join with the Australian people in the fight to stop this bill which is directed against the people. (A.Gr., Feature, 28 Oct. 1955, p. 1, col. 6)

The fact that the large majority of Greeks are workers and small businessmen imposes on us the duty of active and unqualified support of the interests and rights of the working people of this country. (N.Kos., Edit., 15 Feb. 1957, p. 1, col. 1)

The prerequisite for a better life is the unity and decisiveness of the workers as a class ... Greek workers must despise the sermons and threats of those who want to divide the working class. They must take an interest in their trade unions and fight next to their Australian colleagues. (A.Gr., Edit., 19 Apr. 1956, p. 1, col. 2)

b. Ethnic organizations

The contention that corporate activity on an ethnic basis was necessary and could be effective seems more plausible.

Here at least the idea that the outcomes mattered and were dependent on action by Greeks suggested themselves easily. Greeks did not have to share Marxist dislike of charity in order to recognize that material needs were experienced on too large a scale to be covered by the resources of the ethnic society. It is a short step from awareness that the tactics of self-sufficiency were patently inadequate to the notion that the situation calls for political solutions.

It is quite conceivable that such views served mainly as food to the Greek propensity for musing about how things might be if only things were different. How many unfulfilled conditions Greeks then included in their "if only" is impossible to tell. But at least ethnic corporate action did not entail the improbable prerequisite that individual Greeks overcome the barriers of social distance, prejudice, and their own incompetence to express themselves politically in concert with Australians within Australian demand structures. The formula of corporate participation had the great advantage that it built on the traditional model for communication with the broader society. It limited the individual's function to the safe and familiar activity of alerting their own spokesmen to the need for some action and delegated to them the threatening business of direct contact with the outside
world. The crucial question is whether Greeks in the 1950's could find grounds for confidence about their chances in the political market place. As long as they confined themselves to the innocuous request not to be discriminated against, Greeks could perhaps feel that the justice of their case was enough to grant them a sympathetic hearing. But to ask the society to do something positive necessarily involves the group in assessing its potential for exercising pressure. It is improbable that many Greeks at the time shared the radicals' picture of possibilities. Nevertheless, if there was any room for the idea that industrial experience placed Greeks within the working class, there was room also for the belief that Greeks were connected to others in the society in a way that gave them a claim on the sympathy and support of concrete sectors of Australian society and on resources for political negotiation far more powerful than anything that might be generated by the ethnic group. However minimally and cautiously such ideas might occur, they cut at the root of the group's self-image as an isolated minority and paved the way for a new sense of political efficacy.

If one strips the radical scheme of its distortions and exaggerations, there remains a set of ideas which invests the industrial experience with plausible meaning. The tantalizing question of whether these ideas would have emerged in just this form and integrated by just this logic had the Greek left never existed is unanswerable and, in the end, futile. What matters is that the industrial experience lent itself to the interpretations promoted by radicals, and that crucial elements of the radical approach might well have some moderate counterpart in the outlook of uncommitted Greeks.

The ideological opponents of the radicals were not at all confident that circumstances left no room for the radical outlook. Even the editor of the National Tribune, who was least inclined to see the communist danger at every turn, was prone to conclude discussions of problems, particularly those associated with settlement, with remarks like

... in such a situation it is little wonder that even the clear and solid convictions of the purest and most enthusiastic democrat are at risk. (N.Tr., Edit., 5 Nov. 1952, p. 4, col. 1)
Conservatives realized that an orientation towards the standards of the broader society and the common denominators in the lives of Greeks and Australians set a course towards political involvement. In the post-civil war era, when shadings and distinctions were overshadowed by a clear dichotomy between right and left, conservatives were hardly inclined to heartsearching about where democratic participation ends and political activism begins. As an alternative to the radical scheme, the conservative forces in the communities integrated major elements of traditional thinking around the differentiating and segregating force of ethnicity.

**Part II - The conservative approach**

Of the three conservative papers Phos, under its original editor, remained on the extreme right. The Hellenic Herald, still edited by Grivas, kept its politically moderate line, while the National Tribune, under its new editor, moved slightly left of centre. The papers did not speak with one voice. But their emphatic anti-communism constitutes an important common element in their editorial policies.

In Phos and the Hellenic Herald, anti-communism was combined with the usual anxieties which the influx of large numbers causes to old settlers. It was seen that the 1940's had brought to Greeks a sense of well-being, a sense that things were well in hand and that the future was promising. In this first era of mass immigration, the established knew that they could not protect the status quo by cutting themselves off from the newcomers. As long as the Communities remained the central organization in each settlement, it was unthinkable that there could be separate and parallel structures for different sectors of the minority. Moreover, multiple network links between the old and the new persisted, since chain migration remained a major pattern. Mutual involvement and interaction made the outlook of newcomers a matter of immediate concern to the old. Anti-communism did not just echo the bitterness of political divisions at home. It represented also a systematic effort to resist the spread of ideas undermining the power of the established in ethnic organizations and the authority of their formulas for life in Australia.
The psychological dimensions of the outlook of dissociation are most clearly expressed in the National Tribune. Nicolaides, the editor since 1945, was a post-war immigrant who evidently felt the private cost of migration keenly. The central theme in the text is that there can be no good life away from Greece:

We have said it so often ... The fruits of our striving are not worth enjoying anywhere but in Greece ... only there can we rediscover our former spontaneity and joy. Only there can we take off the mask of pretention which we are forced to wear for the sake of some kind of harmonious coexistence with the strangers. Here in this country we live and breathe on compromise. (Regular feature column, 28 Dec. 1960, p. 5, col. 2)

Here the outlook of dissociation assumes its most extreme form. The theme of the fundamental meaninglessness of life abroad entails pervasive estrangement from the society. The paper's message to its readers was that if they themselves could not go back they should discourage their kin and friends in Greece from seeking a future which could only offer a second-rate substitute for a meaningful existence.

I can advise only one thing. No one should abandon Greece, however great its privations. He should give in only if the foreign country appears as the last means of salvation, if he is pressed from all sides, if everything is black and dark and if he has come to think of ... suicide. (Feature on immigration, 26 Sept. 1959, p. 5, col. 9)

We want to go, we must go, but the flesh is weak. We are, alas, condemned to the slow death of life abroad ... But let us not encourage others to come here, let us not lure new victims to follow our fate. (Edit., 9 Dec. 1959, p. 4, col. 1)

As a major and long-established ethnic newspaper, the National Tribune could not give uninhibited expression to such a perspective on life abroad. But this outlook colours the approach to the problems which face immigrants. Although, unlike his colleagues, the editor identifies with the newcomers and is prone to emphasize their rights, his tendency to look away from the society at large lends an apolitical quality to such discussions.

From their somewhat different perspectives and priorities all three papers developed themes which explained the situation of Greeks in Australia by reference to what differentiated them
and set them apart from the wider society. The outlook of disassociation is central to the conservative approach. It is expressed in the theory of the immigrant condition.

The immigrant condition

Conservative thinking explains the situation of Greeks in the 1950's in terms of experiences inherent in being an immigrant. These can have no parallel in the experience of others in the society and are so fundamental that they constitute a common denominator in the existence of Greeks over time. Conservative thinking derived major consequences for the life of Greeks from the meaning and character of emigration and from fundamental properties of Australia as an immigrant receiving country.

i. The meaning of emigration and the immigrant life plan

A major theme, found in all papers but most coherently articulated in the Hellenic Herald, is that the act of emigration builds a central guiding purpose into the life of the immigrant in Australia. In the long history of Greeks as a migrant people, and for the individual who re-enacts the collective tradition, emigration represented a major and conscious sacrifice for the sake of a secure economic future.

The immigrants who come to Australia have abandoned their homeland, their families, everything that is familiar and dear to them, with one aim only: to improve the economic conditions of their life ... The very same dreams and hopes made us, the old migrants, leave Greece so many years ago. (H.H., Edit., 18 June 1953, p. 4, col. 1)

Only a life planned to realize the objective of emigration can vindicate the sacrifice of leaving Greece. Several themes flow from the model of an immigrant life-plan. With emphasis on choice and purpose goes a tendency to attribute the fate of the individual to his own actions. Stress on personal responsibility is a major element of conservative thinking. Secondly, the model of a life organized for an upward course towards a future achievement makes room for phases of privation and difficulty. The view of Australia as a land of opportunity is also a necessary part of this model. Without such basic confidence, there can be no sense to the emigrant's sacrifice and no point to the immigrant's striving.
It is true that the bread of a foreign land is bitter and that we cannot look for happiness ... But here the bread is there to be earned and there is always a piece left over to send home ... Many Greeks in Australia have been successful. Everything depends on what line they take. With work, moderation and honesty, they have succeeded. (N.Tr., Edit., 22 May 1955, p. 4, col. 1)

The reasonable, the diligent and those who keep in mind the aim for which they have sacrificed the bonds of motherland, family and friendship and the pleasure of life at home, will adapt as time goes by, they will progress, they will achieve the prosperity they seek. (H.H., Edit., 12 Nov. 1956, p. 4, col. 1)

No one fails here unless he is lazy or tries to be too clever. If amongst us we see groups of Greeks who live in need this is due exclusively to their own wrong headedness and improvidence. (H.H., Edit., 14 Mar. 1957, p. 4, col. 1)

Many new immigrants have had privations. They have had to live in hostels. They have had to work in far away country places. They do not complain. They know that they are bound to experience difficulties and privations. They face every difficulty patiently because they believe that progress and prosperity can be earned only by hard work. (H.H., Edit., 7 Mar. 1957, p. 4, col. 1)

We have left our homeland because we know that Australia is a large and rich country, a country where everyone who is prepared to work can secure his prosperity. (H.H., Edit., 14 Aug. 1952, p. 4, col. 1)

Another theme is the inevitability of hardship.

ii. The inevitability of hardship

We have repeatedly pointed out to the new immigrants that if they take an honest look at their assets they will see that it is very natural for them to meet with serious difficulties ... (N.Tr., Edit., 3 June 1953, p. 4, col. 1)

The immigrants who have left their homeland to seek a future in Australia will meet many difficulties and problems. What else could they expect? They don't speak English. They have no skills, they have no money ... The reasonable and honest immigrant who acknowledges the background he came from and sees things here as they are decides that his only asset is hard work. (H.H., Edit., 24 May 1956, p. 4, col. 1)

The fact that the emigration from Greece has its source in the lower strata of the society means that it has brought to this country a class of Greeks who are inferior physically, socially and culturally to the
average Australian. (H.H., Feature, 1 June 1961, p. 2, col. 2)

Hardship is seen as inherent in the logic of a process which brings the uneducated and unskilled to seek an economic future in a developed society. Here again conservative thinking finds the standards for defining expectations and evaluating experience in the particularities of the immigrant's situation rather than in conditions affecting the population at large.

The third "given" in the immigrant's situation is the salience of ethnicity in the society.

iii. The salience of ethnicity

The importance of ethnicity, which radicals admitted in spite of themselves, is accorded pride of place in the conservative scheme. The old assumption that it is as an ethnic group that Greeks are categorized, stereotyped and judged is now founded on a rationale. As a major policy related to clear social objectives, immigration must be justified by continuous assessments of whether the society gets what it wants. This entails evaluation of particular immigrant groups.

(Stereotyping and evaluation as a fact and as a determinant of life's opportunities)

In the government statistics on the conduct of foreign minorities the Greeks have got good marks ... (H.H., Notes, 1 May 1952, p. 3, col. 1)

It is natural that Australia should be watching the foreigners it brings in and judging them by their behaviour. (Phos, Comment column, 15 Sept. 1961, p. 2, col. 1)

Our good name is the foundation for our future as a collectivity in this country. We do not know what the future has in store. In any case we must not give the slightest occasion to create antipathies against us. (H.H., Notes, 3 Apr. 1952, p. 3, col. 1)

The Greek workers must realize that on no account must they give occasion to the employers to look upon them with dislike and thus stigmatize the name of the Greek worker. The fortune of future generations of immigrants depends on the good behaviour of those who now work in Australian factories. (Phos, Notes on the week, 1 July 1959, p. 2, col. 1)
We Greeks are an idiosyncratic people. Our language, our religion and our cultural and spiritual formation is very different from that of other people ... this idiosyncracy makes us very visible in this country. (H.H., Edit., 5 Oct. 1961, p. 1, col. 1)

"We want immigrants in order to populate the vast expanses of this country. We need working hands to cultivate the land and man the factories. It is a vital matter of national security to increase the population of Australia. We do not want Asians or blacks. Only Europeans. And Europeans who are special, blond, handsome, educated and noble ..." For the new immigrants we have heard no word of praise in the Canberra Citizenship Convention. (H.H., Edit., 30 Jan. 1958, p. 4, col. 1)

Australia's aim is to mould an Australian character, not to bring in Greeks, Poles, Italians and other "patriots" who will create here nuclei for foreign national entities. Quite apart from whether or not this is reasonable, it constitutes the basic condition for accepting immigrants and those who do not meet it are regarded as undesirable. (H.H., Edit., 16 July 1959, p. 1, col. 1)

Conservative thinking derived major consequences for the life of Greeks from something intrinsic to immigration: people who are not of the society are allowed or encouraged in. By fixing on the fact that the presence of immigrants is bound up with the society's decisions, plans, objectives and assessments, the conservative approach establishes the salience of ethnicity as a necessary part of the immigrant's existence.

The fourth major component of the theory of the immigrant condition is the theme of historical continuity.

iv. Historical continuity

By explaining what happens to immigrants now with reference to that which is fundamental, or intrinsic, to migration, conservative thinking invested the determinants of the Greeks' existence in Australia with an enduring quality. The continuities of immigrant existence are emphasized particularly in the Hellenic Herald since it was the policy of the newspaper to impress upon the newcomers that they had much to learn from their predecessors.
A life of countless ups and downs, long years of trials and difficulties as we make our way... constant endeavour to appear in the society as good citizens, honest workers and businessmen and respectable family men... all this is part and parcel of every immigrant's life. Today's immigrant is the same immigrant who came to Australia fifty years ago. (H.H., Edit., 16 Feb. 1961, p. 1, col. 1)

In the classic manner of old-timers, the editor is inclined to emphasize that things are much easier for today's immigrant, and to admonish new arrivals to count their blessings. But even this implies that past experience is a meaningful frame of reference for the new immigrant.

Our brother Greeks left their country equipped only with physical strength and the hope that in a foreign land they will find their way to economic security and a better future. We, too, who left Greece in 1912, came with the same dreams and hopes and with just as few assets... Regarding however the disappointments, the trials, the attacks and daily humiliations, the experience of the first immigrants was very different from that of those who came since 1946... For them the conditions of life in Australia are far superior, pleasant and lucrative. They must count themselves lucky to have come since the war... They have found relatives, compatriots, protectors. The path which for us was fraught with so much hardship opens itself to them easily. And it only takes patience and goodwill for them to progress. (H.H., Edit., 18 June 1953, p. 4, col. 1)

Though conservative newspapers did not go out of their way to emphasize that ethnicity set Greeks apart in the society, this is precisely what the thesis of the immigrant condition amounts to. When experience is traced to conditions pertaining exclusively to immigrants, the common denominator in the lives of Greeks and Australians is negated and the relevance of society-wide standards for defining the desirable, estimating the possible, and evaluating the actual is denied. This means also that Australian collectivities cannot serve as reference groups for immigrants. Built into this major theme is the outlook of dissociation.

The thesis of the immigrant condition has important consequences for the definition of legitimate claims and for the priority accorded to political activity as an avenue for access to the good.
Rights in the polity

The conservative position is set out succinctly by the Hellenic Herald in the context of discussing the functions of the Communities in demand activity.

The Communities are most concerned about the problems of immigrants. But it is not their province to interfere in questions relating to the conditions of life in this country. It is the duty of the Communities to help those in need. But they have no right to ask for privileges or special help for Greeks. The Communities are obliged to raise their voice on behalf of Greeks only when there is evidence of discrimination. (H.H., Edit., 19 Mar. 1959, p. 1, col. 1)

Such a restrictive definition of what immigrants may ask of the society is consistent with the conservatives' view of the immigrants' existence in Australia. By emphasizing distinctiveness, the idea of the immigrant condition places large areas of immigrant aspirations and needs beyond the scope of the society's responsibility. Altogether the conservative model tends to deflect thinking from rights and claims. For example, it seems misplaced to take the society to task for hardships and privations when these are deemed to be both normal and temporary. Again, men who feel that they have taken their life in their own hands, and have assumed responsibility for its course, are more disposed to see problems as challenges for the self than to think of their right to ask help from outside. All the more so when they believe that circumstances afford real opportunities for achievement.

The conservative perspective legitimizes a very moderate definition of what the society owes the immigrant. The newspapers took pains to spell this out; well knowing that a sense of grievance creates a responsive climate for the radical message.

The immigrants came here to improve the conditions of their life. Of course it is necessary for them to find work. But it is very hard to place hundreds of people who are unskilled and don't even know the language. To anyone who approaches these questions reasonably it is quite evident that ... it behoves immigrants to be patient. It is quite unreasonable to blame the government ... Australia is a young country and offers a wide future for those who want to work ... but the immigrants must realize that the conditions of their
life cannot be expected to change overnight. (Phos, Edit., 24 June 1953, p. 1, cols. 3 and 5)

Noise and thoughtless talk about the responsibilities of the government are quite out of place. The communist ruffians who try to persuade the immigrant that he has a right to expect enviable jobs and an easy life, do so to promote their own ends. The Greeks who know why they have come and with what assets know that it will serve them well to be disciplined, to adapt to the circumstances here and to this society and its ways. (H.H., Edit., 25 June 1953, p. 3, cols. 1-2)

Given the conservative commitment to resist political activism, it is significant that the theme of individual responsibility increasingly alternates with statements on the society's obligation for basic material welfare. The editor of the National Tribune, who was least vehement in his anti-communism and inclined to sympathize with newcomers, began to talk of rights early in the period:

It is true that the man who uproots himself and goes to work for a better life in a foreign land must expect hardship. He must have more patience than others and be ready to face things as he finds them. At the same time it is not right and permissible for the authorities to ignore the difficulties experienced by those whom they have brought here and to whom they have promised a better life. They ought to treat them with special care. Out of respect for their contract and for their word. (N.Tr., Edit., 3 June 1963, p. 4, col. 1)

Eventually the other newspapers also began to write in this vein. In the Hellenic Herald, the first full statement of the society's responsibilities is found in 1958.

The Greek immigrants are not protected in any way in this country ... the job of the Ministry of Immigration ceases when the immigrant arrives in this country. The Australian government renounces any responsibility ... She appears as a benefactor by giving the dole ... Beyond that the immigrants are on their own ... And when they look for work they are subjected to severe tests on whether they speak English or know the work ... The Australian government, which continues its immigration programme and announces to the ends of the world that this is the Land of Promise ... takes no measures to secure that the immigrants are protected from hardship ... And it is not only hardship. It is also the daily attacks by the Australian press and a section of the people ... Because we are not born in Australia we are not counted as "white" and as civilized ... how then is it possible for immigrants to live
decently and, gradually, adapt and integrate into this society? Where is the understanding, the help, the support by the Government ...? (H.H., Edit., 13 Feb. 1958, p. 4, col. 1)

From then on the paper vacillated between two lines. For example, one week's editorial in 1960 contains the following passage:

Our new immigrants are left unprotected and at God's mercy. The excuse of the authorities is that they don't speak the language and have no skills ...


The very next week the newspaper greets a new shipload of Greek immigrants with the usual admonition that they must accept hardships. In 1961, however, when recession was in full swing, the paper placed increasing emphasis on the society's responsibilities. Ten out of 15 editorials on the matter took this line. Even Phos felt compelled to publish articles and editorials under such titles as "Left to the mercy of their fate" (26 Jan. 1955, p. 1) or "The Land which is no paradise" (25 June 1958, p. 4).

Notably, there is no appeal to equality of opportunity. Altogether there is a remarkable dearth of statements on relative deprivation. When hardship is traced to the immigrants' specific disadvantages it is to emphasize that needs are real and serious rather than to highlight inequality. The society's responsibility in the area of special access needs is derived from the pledge inherent in the policy of mass immigration. Here again it is a facet of existence particular to immigrants that shapes the relationship of the immigrant to the polity. This is a far cry from the model participant conception of rights, which states that ethnicity ought to be deemed irrelevant to rights and be made irrelevant to opportunities. Conservative thinking legitimates the relevance of ethnicity to both.

Migration has always been associated with the promise of a better life. But while in the pre-mass immigration era this promise was seen entirely in the context of the emigrant's dreams, now it is given a contractual dimension and is seen to entail a concrete pledge by the receiving society. Conditions in the 1950's clearly favoured such a development. Immigration could be seen as a response to Australian initiatives. Moreover,
things were not so smooth and easy as to make it seem that the society honours its pledge simply by virtue of being prosperous. In the 1950's, when the problems attendant on the rapid influx of large numbers were aggravated by spells of economic recession, vague ideas about the society's obligations were translated into expectations of concrete positive support. Conservative newspapers could still afford to by-pass the principle of equality of opportunity. But the feeling that the society owed something to immigrants was evidently too much in the air for any major newspaper to ignore. Thus, by the 1950's even minimal definitions extended the scope of legitimate claims to include access needs which flow from particular disadvantages. The immigrants' right to make demands on the society's resources is firmly established during this period.

The immigrant condition and political activity

The text of the papers does not lend itself easily to analysis on ideas on political efficacy. There is little in the texts for most of the period that amounts to assessment of the group's potential to carry through successfully a political demand. Quite possibly the papers were reluctant to counter radical argumentation by appearing as harbingers of collective powerlessness. But the theory of the immigrant condition serves to define the situation in a way that makes political activity seem irrelevant and dysfunctional as a means to satisfy needs and realize aspirations.

The idea of a life plan and the themes built around it direct thinking towards non-political devices for handling problems. Political activity is likely to have low priority in the thinking of those who see a direct connection between personal qualities and success. Similarly, when difficulties are deemed to be the unavoidable and temporary by-products of transition to an unfamiliar socio-cultural environment it seems easier and more efficient for the individual to bear them and concentrate on accelerating his own learning process. To put it differently: the political process is so slow that the propensity to use it is greatest when people can see little in their future but a repetition of the present.
The effectiveness of handling problems by looking to the resources of the self is lent added authority by emphasis on historical continuity. If basic parameters of existence are the same now as they always were, the patterns and formulas of the past remain abidingly pertinent and the previous generation can serve as the new immigrant's role model. After the 1940's there was a general air of prosperity about the old settlers which lent credence to the message that if patience, hard work and single mindedness could bring such rewards in the bad old times when the group existed as a despised and unwanted minority, they were surely the right qualities for life abroad.

Finally, belief in the salience of ethnicity and the conception of the way immigration fits into the blueprint of Australian society can quite easily lead to the view that demand activity is dysfunctional for immigrants, whether they act to promote their particular interests or are seen to take active part in broader political activities. The demand activity of concrete groups is always an irritant for those to whom demands are addressed. The association of demand activity with danger flows from a belief system which negates viable organic connections between the ethnic group and the institutions and groups of the broader society. Those who feel a group apart quickly come to doubt that they are covered by the devices which guard claimants in the democratic process from greater risks than failure.

Some hot blooded young Greeks, forgetting that they live in a foreign country ... get mixed up in political activities which are in conflict with the interests and the policy of this country ... Every involvement of foreigners in the politics of the government is not popular here. We advise our young compatriots ... to leave all this alone and concentrate on realizing the plan with which, for the sake of which, they left the homeland... (Phos, In a few words, 4 June 1952, p. 1, cols. 3, 4)

Commenting on protest activities by migrants in Bonegilla the Hellenic Herald writes:

To the Greeks who took part in the disturbances we emphasize they can only lose by appearing in this society as trouble-makers. (H.H., Notes, 27 July 1961, p. 3, col. 4)
In this period of slight crisis we find that many Greeks were sacked from Australian enterprises. This proves that though nowadays employers are quite willing to give jobs to Greeks, as soon as there is the slightest anomaly it is the Greeks who are sacked. Therefore Greeks must always appear as willing, enthusiastic and disciplined employees since their chances depend on their good name as a group. (H.H., Notes, 18 Sept. 1952, p. 3, col. 2)

The credibility of the conservative approach

The conservative perspective is psychologically congruent with non-involvement in politics and it seems likely that such a perspective would appear eminently viable in the communities at large. A belief system which relates experience to the migration process and makes the most of that which differentiates Greeks and sets them apart in the society would be directly meaningful to the large numbers of recent arrivals. In the long run, no doubt, such a perspective was bound to lose ground unless it recognized that mass immigration and the industrial experience introduced fundamental new parameters to immigrant existence. But in the 1950's these facets of the situation were still very new to the ethnic group. The burden of proof lay on those who maintained that the immigrants' situation must henceforth be seen in an entirely new light. Possibly, a diffuse feeling that things were different now favoured a climate of questioning traditional thinking. Even so, it was more likely that the questions would be put in terms of how much traditional thinking had lost relevance than in terms of how much was still pertinent.

In terms of the theory of the immigrant condition, low evaluation of demand activity as a device for satisfying needs made sound sense, especially when difficulties experienced by immigrants could credibly be attributed to their particular problems of adjustment. Once this belief was shaken, and needs began to be seen in relation to faults in objective conditions, the idea of political remedies was bound to come to the fore, a possibility of which conservatives and radicals were well aware. The editor of the National Tribune found it difficult to paint a rosy picture of Australia. But his colleagues made a point of attaching postscripts about the opportunities of life in Australia to their various formulas for appropriate behaviour, a habit to
which the radical paper made constant ironic reference.

Our new immigrants will experience a sudden change in the conditions and manner of their life. It will take them very long to cope with their difficulties and orient themselves. Life in Australia is very good. All that is needed is for each of us to learn to get his bearings and to adapt. (H.H., Edit., 17 Mar. 1960, p. 1, col. 1)

Above all don't get mixed up in the politics of the country ... Your first steps are difficult and this naturally gives communists their opportunity ... Here the conditions for your life are better than anywhere else in the world. With a little patience you will orient yourselves, you will adapt, you will get settled. (Phos, Special front page insertion, 25 Nov. 1955, p. 1)

And so they tell us. Sit quietly, don't get mixed up, life is good in Australia. Be patient, save and tomorrow you too will become businessmen. (N.Kos., Edit., 25 Nov. 1959, p. 1, col. 2)

When the papers eventually recognized that the country offered the immigrant less than a decent chance, a political dimension was added to the commentary.

Even when they recognized that the situation called for political remedies, the conservative papers skirted the question of possibilities. Most editorials on just grievances make no reference to actions which immigrants themselves may take. It is interesting that despite their anxiety to make the strongest possible case against the kind of demand activity that would bring Greeks into the political arena, the conservatives avoided openly resorting to the argument that Greeks were not in a position to achieve anything by such activity. In advocating patience, discipline, adaptability and obedience (hardly a list of qualities that would commend itself to the politically confident) conservatives evidently counted on widespread feelings of inferiority and incompetence among immigrants. Yet the texts were written as though the label of collective powerlessness had become unacceptable to the public at large. No doubt Greeks had still a long way to go before one could regard them as a collectivity which took political efficacy for granted. But it seems that they had at last reached the point where the situation did not seem so devoid of possibilities that they were prepared to
accept powerlessness as a given of collective existence.

In the 1950's two alternative definitions of the immigrants' situation competed for influence in the communities. The one drew on those elements which Greeks had in common with others in the society, which attached the ethnic group to the major institutions of the socio-political system and made Greeks part of widely shared spheres of activity. The other made the most of the differentiating and dissociative forces flowing from ethnicity. The fact that these alternative theories of immigrant existence were advocated by ideological opponents makes it all the more significant to find assumptions shared by both, reflecting continuities and changes in the outlook of immigrants at large which the organized political forces in the communities could ignore only to their cost.

Ethnicity was, and would probably for some time to come continue to be, seen by Greeks as a crucial social identity and a major determinant of their interests, associated with a sense of boundary and separation from Australians.

A major change was a new conception of rights which legitimized demands on the resources of the society. The idea that immigrants are entitled to expect positive support for access needs arising from the particular socio-economic disadvantages became firmly established. The right to equal opportunities was still interpreted in a fairly restricted way and certainly did not cover the disadvantages that resulted from Greek culture and modes of social organization. But once the idea of the society's responsibility for particular disadvantages flowing from ethnicity was established in one area, the chances were that it would gradually spread to others.

The differences between the radical and the conservative strands of thinking, and the ways in which each could appear as a viable perspective to immigrants in the 1950's, need not be pointed to again. What must perhaps be stressed once more is that each approach ignored fundamental facets of experience and could not survive unaltered in the long run. The radical scheme failed to find a real place in its approach for what ethnicity meant to Greeks, while the conservatives ignored the implications
of mass immigration and industrial experience which drew the group into the common life of the society. The perspectives and responses of outsiders were bound to be eroded in the long run. Whether and how recognition of the abiding importance of ethnicity for the Greeks' relation to the people and institutions of the society, combined with acknowledgement of connections across the ethnic boundary, and what this meant for approaches to political participation, will be examined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VII

The Turn of the 1970's - A Culture at the Crossroads

Facets of life situation which in the early era of mass immigration had appeared as imperfectly developed trends had, in the course of time, become familiar realities in the lives of many Greeks. By the early 1970's the anticipated growth in numbers had materialized, industrial work had become a collective tradition and the group had accumulated a stock of experience on what it meant to be different while occupying a more central position in the social system. Closer contact with Australian people and institutions afforded Greeks the opportunity to perceive how conditions and attitudes were gradually changing and to respond to such changes even if they were not dramatic. There was at any rate plenty of drama within the ethnic community, as the Church-Community dispute reached its height in the early 1960's and eventually ended in the consolidation of two rival institutional structures.

The 1960's were a time when belief systems which had in the previous decade emerged as alternative interpretations of what mass immigration meant for the immigrants' existence were being tested, rearranged and generally lived with by immigrants at large. In this chapter an attempt will be made to assess the outcome of this process of selection. As explained, this will be done by analysis of the ideas and judgments of leaders of major ethnic organizations and people so placed as to function as mediators between ethnic clusters and Australian institutions. (Ch. II)

Part I - Leaders of ethnic organizations

The radicals

All those interviewed from within the radical institutional structure (the leaders of the Community, the leaders of the Atlas club, the president of the Cypriot brotherhood and the editors of the Hellenic Herald and of Neos Kosmos) were, or had been, active in the organized Greek left. All except the
editor of the *Hellenic Herald* still described themselves as leftists, by which they meant communist though not necessarily a member of the Greek or Australian Communist parties. The editor of the *Hellenic Herald* described himself as a progressive but mainly "an observer and student of the scene". The leaders of the Community, the president of the Cypriot brotherhood and the editor of *Neos Kosmos* belonged to the anti-Soviet faction within the leftist movement. They tended to talk the language of "reason", "compromise" and "realism". Their style was markedly different from that of the so-called "intellectual" and the "theoretician" of the Atlas club, who had a militant and "theoretical" approach.

Despite their personal and ideological differences, the respondents expressed remarkably similar views regarding the objectives and options of the Greek left in the 1970's, and agreed substantially in their assessments of the needs, beliefs and attitudes of post-war immigrants. All saw political participation as the key to the future of Greeks in Australia and linked the future of the Greek left to the role it could play in this area.

The leaders as participant citizens:

All respondents had a clear participant orientation. Most had considerable experience in militant trade unionism and in political work within the Australian labour or communist movement. Without any prompting on my side, they adopted a political

1. The extracts quoted from the conversations will not be attributed to individual respondents except in the case of "the wise man" and the editors of the two newspapers who said that they did not mind being quoted in the thesis. All others asked me to keep the material confidential mainly on the grounds that they were talking "freely" knowing that much of what they were saying was in conflict with their public stance. "I can tell you about what I really think of the chances that Greeks develop class consciousness in the near future because I know that it will help you. But I can't say these things in public", was one remark of this kind.

2. The bitterness between the two factions was exacerbated by the association of the two camps with opposing views as to the sources of support and organization of resistance to the Junta. These paralleled and reflected the split in the left in Greece. This is only mentioned in passing since it is beyond the competence and the scope of this inquiry to discuss the history of the Greek left.
perspective on the questions they touched upon, and talked as men who knew their way about in the broader political scene. For example, the president of the Cypriot brotherhood introduced political dimensions in whatever he was talking about, whether his personal experience of settlement in Australia, problems about building extensions in the brotherhood's headquarters, or the Cyprus question. He usually concluded his accounts with the comment: "You see, everything is political". Thus, he attributed the difficulties he had with obtaining building permission for the extensions to political opposition against an association which had always been a thorn in the side of the Australian political establishment:

But we can do something about it. Locally, and higher up, we have many contacts in the labour movement. We work on them and try to get some promise that, when it comes to it, they are prepared to make it an issue. That ought to be enough in a case like this.

Despite their strong criticism of the government's treatment of migrants, respondents shared a view of Australia as a viable democracy, a country where there are definite limits to the arbitrary exercise of power, and where major social collectivities have the institutional resources to exercise influence on the decision-making process. This had little of the quality of the outsider's idealized picture of a "just system" evident in earlier years. For example, confidence that an eventual victory of Labor in the coming elections would improve conditions for immigrants was based on belief that

They have said too much. You'll see that if it comes to it they'll try to manoeuvre their way out. But something they must do.

The expression "They can't do as they like" was a recurring one in most talks. It should be pointed out that, with two exceptions, respondents had come to the country as committed communists fully prepared to get involved in political activism. It was interesting that each gave me a full account of the "significant experience" which demonstrated to him that the system here afforded real opportunities to act with some effectiveness. The most dramatic story was by one respondent who in the early 1950's got notoriety as an activist, particularly for his part
in the mobilization of migrant workers in strikes:

When I was eventually arrested on some trumped up charge and the question was put that I should take the dictation test (so that I could be deported) I was not in the least surprised, and I was not in the least surprised that the unions were not at all innocent in this affair ... All this was very familiar to me. But when all came to nothing, when actually the seamen declared that they were prepared to stop any ship that would deport me, that was a real turning point. For the first time I really felt it, that "they just cannot do as they like in this place". It was really exhilarating. And you know it is different to tell yourself about worker solidarity and different to feel it. Now I can tell you that it was a revelation to me that they did this for a migrant.

Such experiences of real limits to power, or an on-going balance of forces and counter-forces, were recounted less dramatically by other respondents.

In such personal experiences one can find a clue to the leaders' belief, which will be discussed later, that if the task of the left in the 1950's had been to do the groundwork, that is introduce the ideas on political rights and possibilities, its task in the 1970's was to create the concrete contexts within which Greeks had real opportunities to experience the broader system as a democratic political process in operation.

Two more preliminary points must be made before presenting the substance of the leaders' ideas. One is that any doubt I might have had about whether the respondents were thinking in terms of some public (Ch.II,pp.75-82) were almost immediately dispelled after the first interview. Although the leaders' own beliefs and their judgments about the belief system of Greeks at large can be distinguished, the talks showed that the respondents' assessment of the latter was a major factor in their own thinking about possibilities. Secondly, all these men were highly articulate and had spent almost a lifetime thinking about the kinds of issues I was interested in. It seemed that the quality of their thinking would be spoiled more than brought out by paraphrasing too much. Therefore I decided that lengthy extracts from my talks with individual leaders would be just as illuminating, and certainly more lively, than lengthy analysis.
A. A culture at the crossroads

i. The struggle of ideologies about the immigrants' existence

In the course of conversations it became clear that radical leaders thought in terms of a continuing struggle between rival organized forces in the communities, the "reactionary" and the "progressive" forces.

There was marked uniformity in the interpretation of what this competition was about. The essential issue was and had always been whether the diaspora Greeks could live free from the power of the Greek political establishment, and create a framework for their lives that allowed the development of democratic cultural and behaviour patterns. The leaders' theories as to why the Greek State is interested in the diaspora communities does not much matter here. Notable, however, were references to fears that Australia's Greeks might import into Greece free and assertive ideas about the citizens' relations to the polity. This was not linked only to the military Junta. It was presented as a traditional fear of all Greek governments about diaspora Greeks. This is an interesting expression of confidence that conditions of life abroad favour new patterns of political culture.

The competition between rival camps was defined as a competition between two interpretations of the nature of the Greeks' existence in Australia:

The Archbishop wants to control the Communities. What it is really about is that the Church and the State want to dictate to the Greeks on how they should run things. It is a matter of keeping Greeks under the thumb of the Church and the State altogether. In the end it comes to how they will think of themselves in this country. Are they the citizens and subjects of Greece, who will stick to their business and to their family, work hard, keep out of trouble, and leave things to those that know? Or are we a group distinct and separate if you like but knedded into the society, able to make use of every right that this society gives to citizens. For us it is a question of taking the blinkers off and looking around. That is really what it is about. (The editor of Neos Kosmos)

Quite possibly radicals had an exaggerated impression of the influence which either side could exert. Notable however
is the assumption that the sources of meaningful political ideas were located within the ethnic sub-society. There were many references to the impact of Australian ideas. But it was taken for granted that these could only be influential if mediated through Greek channels. It seems that, by the 1970's, the left had finally recognized the enduring importance of ethnicity in the process which moulds ideas and beliefs out of life situations.

As expected, concern with influence tuned the leaders' thinking to the ideas of the public at large. (Ch. II, pp. 75-7) Respondents had a clear and coherent picture of what they called "the Greek mentality". It was obvious that much thought had been devoted to ways in which widespread attitudes and beliefs did, or could, serve as levers for influence, "buttons to press", to each ideological camp.

ii. The "Greek mentality"

References to "the Greek mentality" suggested that respondents thought of post-war immigrants as a socio-culturally uniform collectivity. Such references were also a symbolic or short-hand way of expressing that the strands of thinking, which had appeared in the 1950's as clear alternative interpretations of the immigrants' existence, had since been lived with, tested, assimilated and sifted so that elements of both had worked themselves into the outlook of most Greeks. The editor of the Hellenic Herald made this point succinctly:

It happened with these ideas as it happens with language. You get a new word, first people think it strange, then before you know where you are everyone is using it and they don't even know they are doing it. Others never catch on. Others just fade out.

The radicals' central interest in political participation was revealed in that they spontaneously tended to assess the "Greek mentality" in terms of a potential for satisfying needs by political means. The Greek outlook was visualized as one with psychological and cognitive components. The psychological dimension was believed to work in the direction of non-participation. When they talked of this "psychology", leaders were thinking of attitudes that directed immigrants' day-to-day
activity. Underneath, so to speak, lay a cognitive foundation. It was the general belief that the psychology of non-participation was no longer supported by a congruent system of ideas about rights or by a view of possibilities which negate collective political efficacy. The problem of the conservative forces was that the rationale of non-participation was losing its grip on the thinking of Greeks. The problem of the radical camp on the other hand was that they had not as yet found a way to mould a participant "psychology" out of the various elements in ideas which favoured the use of the political process.

a. The psychology of non-participation

The immigrant life-plan was mentioned as a major component of the psychology of non-participation.

The Greek comes here to make money and go back: that is the root of all the rest. He tells himself, I'll work, my wife will work, it does not matter how we live, who knows us? That is what they [the conservative camp] work on. It is the philosophy of "you come here to work for a better future", "if you work hard enough you'll get there", "we're not here to have a good time". In other words, put up with things as long as year by year your capital grows. They have a very strong hold here because they are working with the immigrant's dream, the thing that keeps him going. It strikes very deeply, we have seen it a lot in the factories.

A related component of the psychology of non-participation was the particular quality of Greek self-reliance which puts a premium on individualistic solutions.

The Greek tells himself, I can make it. After all, that is why he left home. He comes here and he keeps his eyes and ears open for every opportunity that is going. You see them; they think nothing of moving from job to job. If things are bad in one place he will not wait to stay on till things get better. He'll just keep an ear open in a coffee place, everywhere he is to see where else he can find another job. (The editor of the Hellenic Herald)

He has learnt to live on his wits, to think it is all a matter of being quicker off the mark than the next fellow. He tells himself: here, I survived in Greece, won't I manage here? The art, he reckons, is to find out how the land lies and get cued up on all the shortcuts. That kind of thing you do best on your own. (The "wise man")
You can put up with a lot of things, because all the while you believe that you are on your way up and out. To the Greek it is all a matter of finding out how things are and getting your personal way around them. That is why the conservative slogan about adapting catches on. It latches on to the Greek's idea that it is all a matter of clever manipulation. (The editor of *Neos Kosmos*)

The predilection towards individual rather than political handling of needs is the outcome of the complex interplay of psychological and cultural factors: the culturally ingrained view that change in conditions is a long and at best uncertain process, the prospective self-made mad's belief in his personal resources and the premium placed on going after opportunities wherever they exist rather than working for change in an existing situation - a tendency demonstrated by the very act of emigration.¹

A third important factor was the immigrant's frame of reference for evaluating the conditions of his life. It was pointed out that most Greeks were oriented towards comparisons with Australians when they felt overt discrimination. By the 1970's there were no longer enough issues of this kind to sustain an impetus for political activity. The relevant issues now were those that involved inequality of opportunity. Here sensitivity was blunted by a tendency to think in terms of absolute improvement in relation to conditions at home:

I don't need to tell you that what we are saying about exploitation and about treating the immigrant as factory fodder is true. You must know very well that he is not getting an equal deal. The difficulty is that to him it is good enough, better than he has ever known. Take all the talk about education. A public school in Greece - eighty in the class and rotten buildings. Tell him after that about a bad deal in Australia.

The "wise man", by far the most academically inclined of the respondents, gave a sophisticated explanation of why difficulties about politicizing Greeks on the issue of inequality of opportunity are inherent in the logic of migration. He pointed out that once the differences in standards of living between Greece and Australia were reduced immigration would cease.

¹. Cf. Davies' point that "local political reform is always the theoretical alternative to emigration" (1966, p. 114).
Furthermore, the sense of social distance, so painstakingly denied by the left in the 1950's, was now spontaneously referred to. The implications of the new readiness to accept the disassociative facets of ethnicity will be discussed later. Worth noting at this point is that social distance was seen as a pervasive lack of emotional affinity with individual Australians and the Australian design for living, which ultimately meant that Greeks could not identify with the society. All this was entailed in the expression "they are not of his own". Such an expression is self-explanatory. To anyone familiar with the blending of solidary and instrumental relations in Greek culture it conveys that as long as the essential affectual context of intimacy was missing, Greeks, as individuals, would be inclined to stay away from common activity with Australians if they had the choice.

As shown earlier, (Ch. VI) in the 1950's the conservative papers sought to exercise influence by appealing to precisely such attitudes. Whether or not one accepts them as "typical" or modal, they constitute a significant and enduring syndrome in the ethnic culture.

Respondents saw a direct link between this psychology and the tendency to use the ethnic sub-society as an environment within which the immigrant could satisfy needs without recourse to outside resources.

The truth is that the existence of the Greek community gives most people a chance to manage with a little help here and a little help there. As long as he is prepared to put up with a lot of hardship and as long as he looks upon this primarily as just a bad patch, he'll always find someone among other Greeks to help him keep body and soul together. (The editor of the Hellenic Herald)

The great strength of the reactionaries is that they cover the two basic needs which Greeks are not prepared to compromise on: Church and school. And they have been clever enough to see that they must also give opportunities for people to get into public activity. It is a joke of course since everything is really controlled from the top, but it still satisfies the need for status, for prestige, for office. (The editor of Neos Kosmos)
Most Greeks will know someone who is "good at" dealing with Australians. He will go to him to fill up forms, to help him with getting permission for extension, that sort of thing. In this way he still can feel that he is managing on his own. He does not see it like the Englishman who would say that it is wrong to have to rely on help. I can tell you he even likes it. He is used to it, it makes him feel that he has important friends and that, for a Greek, means that he can manage his life. (The "wise man")

In the light of the last remark one wonders whether radical leaders, despite their ideological dislike for the idea of patronage as a "political" solution to access to goods, may not have placed some of their faith in the future political participation of Greeks in the patronage potential of ethnic integrative structures. It will be seen that indications of this are found in descriptions of how such integrative structures would work.

When they explicitly referred to "the psychology of the Greek", respondents talked only of the dimensions mentioned above. Yet in accounts of incidents another attitude was often described and often labelled: a "need" or a "thirst" for recognition by Australian society. I was told of "Australians licking their fingers over (Greek) bean soup", of Greek exhibitions in primary schools, of television programmes, and of duty evenings with Australian politicians turning into "Greek feasts". Such accounts often ended with the remark: "You see, we are thirsty for recognition". Recognition was also referred to as an important element in the moves for introducing modern Greek in the school curriculum.

The contradiction between this and the many assurances that the days when Greeks were "making themselves ridiculous trying to appear like "civilized" Anglo-Saxons" were past, that Greeks "don't really care about what Australians think", was only apparent. The one referred to the society's recognition that what Greeks are is of the society, a legitimate variant of a common design for living. It was the complement to the group's position within the social system. The latter referred to a dominant society's judgments about a foreign sector in its midst. It was approval sought by people who saw themselves as outsiders, the minimum prerequisite before the group could begin to claim acceptance as part of the society.
In the thirst for recognition respondents saw a psychological basis for the participant outlook. This was a well thought out model, but usually emerged in the course of descriptions of ethnic integrative mechanisms in operation. Only the "wise man" had a theory:

Greeks have always wanted something like that. But things have changed. We really no longer need or care about that which was so close to the hearts of the old: to be considered civilized, to be approved of. We don't have that kind of feeling of inferiority any longer. It is a different kind of recognition that matters now. It goes much deeper. It is acceptance that what Greeks are is also something which belongs to Australia, which can be expressed in Australia. If Greeks can feel that then we have really won; and for that they must see that Australian society takes their world seriously. They must feel that they can stay inside their own world and still have all sorts of connections from there outwards. If the progressive camp can make this a reality it will have given the answer to the reactionaries.

While in no way inclined to underestimate the force of the non-participant psychology, the leaders expressed considerable confidence in the possibilities to counteract it through crucial ideas about rights and possibilities that had seeped into the normal assumptions of the average Greek and could serve as a foundation for moulding the participant psychology.

b. Participant beliefs

- Ideas on rights

The greatest advance was deemed to have been effected in the area of assumptions about rights. Leaders were confident that any claim which could conceivably be formulated in the name of equality between immigrants and Australians had come to be considered legitimate.

It is not a question of propaganda any longer. No one has really anything new to tell Greeks about what they are entitled to. Some years ago it was still new to tell them about first-class citizens and second-class citizens. And there was this kind of feeling about being foreigners. He told himself: "It is natural they look after their own first. They can't get burdened now with all the problems we brought with us."
Now you won't find this any more. Just go around and talk to people and bring the conversation to any problems and difficulties you like and you will see how often you hear this about second-class citizens.

It was recognized that Greeks did not spontaneously evaluate their situation with reference to the opportunities available to other members of the society. The development which leaders were pointing to was that the legitimacy of such comparisons was no longer questioned. Indeed in this area concern was expressed that such a development might go too far. When they talked in generalities, respondents did not display any of the inhibitions of the 1950's regarding the immigrants' right to claim attention for special access needs arising from cultural attributes. When they talked of concrete demands on the other hand leaders were sensitive to the difficulty of drawing the line between righting wrongs and preferential treatment, and displayed considerable uncertainty about how far the recognition of the unique dimensions in the needs of immigrants was compatible with the ethnic group's status as an integral part of the system.

Special teaching for migrant children, Greek social workers, special welfare measures, language learning on the job. It is just all of it but there is a point when it piles up and becomes a double-edged sword. You treat him differently, means you single him out and this perpetuates the idea that migrants are a class apart.

The truth is that certain things are up to the migrant. Take the syndicalist movement. We know very well that the unions must make more positive efforts. But you can't ask them to compromise on certain things. It is no use complaining that there are so few migrants in union offices. You can't ask them to bring people in just because they are migrants. The fact is that they also have to be effective as trade unionists. If they don't know the history of the labour movement, if they don't know what the real issues are all about, if they can't hold their own with the management and within the union it is no use; the migrant must make the effort to learn these things.

Quite apart from what this reveals about the attitudes of the left, it shows a solid belief that diffidence about rights was no longer a significant obstacle to political participation. This was attributed to the Greeks' collective self-image as an integral part of the society.
An important factor in this development was consciousness that migrants constitute a sizeable part of the population: What does it mean, are we or are we not a real part of the society nowadays? The place is full of migrants. You see this very much among the workers. If we now came to tell to the migrant that he belongs to the country's working class he'll look at you strangely. It seems to him self-evident; I mean he can hardly think of workers without thinking of migrants.

Also important was a sense that migrants have made a crucial collective contribution to the development of Australia.

Just try telling Greeks that they are guests in a hospitable country and see what happens. You will find that the newer ones haven't even heard of this. Even the reactionaries have stopped that particular song. Guests! what guests. Here we've built up their country, who's going to talk to them about guests.

To these factors leaders attributed a widespread feeling that the foreigner origin can no longer justify any equality and that the society owes something concrete to the immigrant. These, combined with a diffuse sense that immigrants are generally at a disadvantage, were seen by leaders to provide solid foundations for assertive ideas about rights.

On the face of it there seems to be incompatibility between this and the description of the Greek's psychology. It is difficult to see how the sense of being an integral part of the society could co-exist with aspirations which built impermanence into the immigrant's view of his life in Australia. Similarly, taking "belonging" for granted did not seem congruent with the ever-present consciousness of the inter-ethnic boundary in all contexts of interaction.

The key to the co-existence of a participant belief structure and the psychology of non-participation lay in that the former referred to ideas which Greeks had about themselves as a social collectivity, while the latter was a description of the common elements in the way individual Greeks saw their life pattern. Thus the sense of belonging, as described, was not made up of feelings of kinship or affinity with Australians, but was an idea about the social and political entity of the
ethnic group and came into play in the Greek's view of their rights vis à vis the institutions of the society.

You see now how things have changed. When the Greek worker sees that one way or another he and the other migrants always find themselves doing the worst tasks he now feels that this is wrong. In the beginning he said: "Well, it is natural, we don't know anything else, or "after all this is why they brought us here". Now you'll see he says: "Why?" It may not make much difference because he probably does not do anything about it, but it isn't because he doesn't see that he is entitled to do anything about it. If he knew that there were Greeks in the Union movement it would probably not take long before he asked them to bring it up. The important thing even if they don't realize it themselves is that Greeks now feel that any systematic injustice or disadvantage against them is an injustice against a part of the working class.

Though confident that diffidence about rights no longer constituted an obstacle for the development of a participant psychology, leaders were aware that this was only one prerequisite. The other was the sense of political efficacy.

- Political efficacy

A striking feature of the talks was that the sense of efficacy was discussed exclusively in relation to beliefs about the political potential of Greeks as a collectivity.

Here I departed from the general rule of limiting the conversations to whatever was talked of spontaneously in order to make sure that this constant use of an ethnic frame of reference was not simply built into the interview situation. I pointed out that the activities of the left had not been focused only on mobilizing Greeks in the area of their special needs and asked respondents to talk of the kinds of attitudes they encountered in situations where there was no ethnic angle to the interests in question. The response of one respondent from the pro-Soviet group was particularly revealing because in his case it had the character of a painful admission:

The Greek worker has not as yet acquired a strong class consciousness. He knows about things. He feels the exploitation, he knows about solidarity, he knows that in the end the workers' interests are the same. But something is missing. He still does not feel involved unless you find in the situation something to do with
his interests as a migrant or as a Greek. We, for example, are working so that Greeks vote for leftist candidates in the Union leadership. Of all the things that you say about it, as you work on this you can tell that where you catch him is when you talk of how the Australian left has stood by the migrant in the society. On the one hand there is that and on the other hand is that he cannot see how he can become a "mate" with Australians. It has got to be through Greek organizations, through Greek spokesmen, through "his own".1

Such a statement expresses the belief that typically Greeks see elements of particularity in their needs and cannot easily conceive of political activity otherwise than through ethnic channels. This explains the leaders' tendency to discuss the sense of efficacy as a function of confidence in ethnic organization. Belief that objective conditions favour political efficacy combined with scepticism as to the ability of the ethnic group to avail itself of opportunities was described as typical.

The widespread view of Australia as a viable democracy (where "they can't do as they like", where "if people don't want something in the end they can stop it", where "numbers count") which has always been how Greeks thought about the system at large, has now become a source of political confidence because Greeks had come to believe that migrants could no longer be ignored or denied the support of major Australian demand structures.

These beliefs were attributed to consciousness of numbers and a related sense of centrality in the social system. In the leaders' view the accumulation of experience and the impact of leftist propaganda had worked in favour of what radicals had been arguing since the beginning of mass immigration. Quite apart from how individuals conceived and planned their own life, the collective self-image of Greeks as a working class group had taken root, and Greeks had come to believe that working-class

1. The editor of the Hellenic Herald who took delight in pointing to the subtleties of the art of influence and the skill of balancing a multitude of concerns, told me that while on the one hand it suited the left to present the Greeks' electoral support of the ALP as proof of working-class consciousness, the radicals were very adept at soliciting the voters' support by promoting the ALP as a party sympathetic to migrants.
power structures are bound not only to provide support but also to handle special immigrant needs as they handle the needs of other sectors of the working class.

You don't have to prove to Greeks that the workers are strong here. That is not the problem any longer. The other thing is that he knows that the migrant is part and parcel of this class, also for the Australians, because he knows that the migrants have been brought here to be the workers of the society. By the nature of things they know that they are inside the class struggle; whatever strength the working class of this country had is also their strength.

Things have changed. In the old days they told you: "What part of the working class? They can't stand the sight of us, the worst dislike of migrants you find among the workers". They still feel the prejudice but they know that whether Australians like it or not their working class is a class with a large migrant sector. For example, Greeks know that it is not possible nowadays for the labour movement to wash its hands if there is unemployment among migrants or if you find discrimination. This feeling that whether it likes it or not the labour movement must appear as the migrants' allies is very important; it is a feeling that as a group we are not alone.

There was another element in the consciousness of centrality. This was described epigrammatically by the editor of Neos Kosmos as an awareness that "if our problems are not dealt with they fall on their own head". He went on to explain.

It is not of course that people have any clear ideas. What has grown into the thinking of the average Greek is simply that the migrant problems are large scale problems. That is a very useful basis on which to build up confidence. It is not at all hard for Greeks to see that the society must for its own sake pay heed to the things that matter to them. I have spent my life talking and working with Greeks. I can see the difference by the kind of thing that sticks nowadays. Take the question of naturalization. It has never quite made sense to Greeks why the society should care that they become citizens. You used to hear all sorts of explanations. I remember particularly a strong feeling that "it is the children they want". But now people see that for its own sake Australia cannot have large sectors of its population without the vote. You still hear all sorts of theories about this but what I mean is that there is a sense that
it is simply not on for the society itself and for the way it works because the problem is a big one.

What the leaders were in effect pointing to was a development towards differentiation between what ethnicity means for the individual and the set of relationships in which he involves himself, and what it means for the Greeks as a collectivity in relation to the social system at large. It was assumed that the outlook of dissociation remained in full force in the former realm but had been significantly eroded in the latter.

The fact that such differentiation occurred points to an important advance towards the sense of efficacy which characterizes the participant culture in a democratic system. It is one of the defining components of the "civic culture" that the potential for influence is seen as interest in the situation and does not depend on the unreliable factor of the benevolence or approval of elites. This is what is entailed in the theme that "whether they like it or not" Australians are bound to heed the immigrant.

On the other hand the dissociative force of ethnicity on a personal level did, indirectly, undermine the sense of collective efficacy. While feeling that they must rely on ethnic mediators Greeks had little confidence in ethnic structures. (Ch.II,p.78 and Ch.III, pp.109-11) It seems that the most abiding strand in the ethnic culture has been the frustration of a sense of possibilities by a cynical view of Greek organizations. Yet leaders believed that conditions for viable ethnic structures to serve as integrative mechanisms had become so favourable that the way out of the impasse was open.

B. Catalysts to the participant outlook

The most significant development in the radical approach since the 1950's was that it was now fully recognized that the use of the political process by Greeks depended on whether it would be possible to integrate the group as an entity into the broader system or into the parts of the system where Greeks were concentrated. The immediate problem was no longer presented in terms of how class-consciousness could spread or
how more and more Greeks could come to realize that what they have in common with Australians was more important than what differentiated and divided them. Instead, leftist leaders talked of the need for ethnic linkage structures which would be oriented outwards towards the broader system, function as channels through which social resources would reach the ethnic group, and operate as a recognized part of the society's mechanisms for political communication with the minority.

The "wise man" gave a very full picture of how the Community could develop along such lines and become the framework within which Greeks could act out participant behaviour patterns.

Anywhere you start the whole thing would snowball. Just to organize an office with a couple of people to speak English, who are efficient and can get together the information and a few contacts where they are needed in the bureaucracy. Do you know what it means to a Greek who comes here to see if he can find someone to fill up a form, when that someone picks up a few telephones and speaks to some Australian in some office and calls him Bill and then is told to go to that or this person with a note in his hand "and tell him you are coming from me". It means that he does not have to face and deal with the system on his own, that he can step on his own ground and from his own ground make the system work for him. It means that there is somewhere a Greek in a Greek office who can talk to Australians as a colleague. It means, in the end, that we count. Then when you go to this man some time and say to him that, say, you are collecting statistics about how children are taught English in Australian schools and about whether their children are given a fair chance to get to the university because the Australian government wants to know if Greek children have difficulties he won't suspect you. He won't think: "what does the Australian government want to know about Greek children? It can't be how they are doing at school". All that he has heard and read all these years will wake up in his mind as something real and instead of shutting the door in your face he will tell you about his child and he will see that what he says can have something to do with what matters to him. Do you see how it works? The Community has all the possibilities to do all this. It can forge real links with all the forces in the society which have some interest in migrants. A few alert professionals in there and we can get connections into any part of the structure we need. The academic world for example is wide open. The bureaucracy is open and it is not difficult to draw in the Greek professional:
it has a lot to offer to him that kind of thing. He may not quite make it on Australian grounds but if he operates from within the community as the channel that can get the Australian information about migrants and can get back the aims of the society into the community he gets enormous prestige. I am prepared to test this out any time; just let the Community get associated with some publication on migrants, any migrant problem from any angle it'll get so much publicity in the Australian press that the Greeks will say: Look how we matter. The point is that if Greeks of any competence get into this act, he (the migrant) will recognize his real problems in there, it won't be some Australian report that is full of misunderstandings and that simply tells him: they talk about it, they talk about us over our heads but they don't listen.

The traditional notion that ethnicity is abidingly relevant in all areas of the individual's relationship outside the ethnic group - an idea which radicals were so anxious to negate in the 1950's - is now used as the basis for the formula for participation. Combined with the belief that there is a pool of competent leadership within the group, that Greeks are no longer politically isolated and that the society is prepared to take the ethnic sub-system seriously, recognition of ethnic affinity and inter-ethnic distance on the level of individuals has ceased to spell the danger of separation and withdrawal.

The personal feelings of individual leaders about this formula varied considerably. They all recognized that it constituted a basic change in the objectives of the left since the 1950's. The anti-Soviet group were inclined to refer to this change as "a much needed dose of realism" or "liberation from the purist theoretical blinkers". Quite different feelings were expressed by the others.

You can't understand how we felt in those times. You must know a lot of things about the struggle of communists in Greece to understand how we felt when we came here. Everything was lost in Greece for us. Everything had ended in ruination. All our struggles had just given a new big boost, a new lease of life to the forces of oppression. We saw a new chance here. We saw the first chance that here there would emerge a real Greek proletariat, that here would happen that which seemed
impossible at home, real class consciousness bred out of the reality of the position of Greeks in the production process. It seemed to us that such a force would sweep away all differences, Greek, Australian, language, misunderstandings seemed nothing to us. All that could not survive. We really believed that class consciousness would throw Greeks into politics almost of itself. It is not that it can't happen. Look at the G.M.H. strike in '64. There you saw it. But there are too many things that stand between the mentality of the Greek migrant and class consciousness.

(From this ensued a long conversation which gave a very clear and comprehensive picture of his image of the potential ... political involvement in the attitudes and beliefs of Greeks.) The thing is, we have got to accept it and work with what we have, and what you have to accept is that the Greek will not join, not really, not anywhere if he can't do it with Greeks, if he hasn't got his own man to speak for him.

One of the remarkable facets of leftist thinking throughout the post-war era is that it has contained so little basic challenge to the society's ideas about how immigrants ought to be integrated into the system. In the 1950's the society's formula of integration on an individual basis was closely adhered to by the left. By the 1970's the pluralistic formula advocated hardly constituted a novel and challenging approach. In one way this was a matter of political skill. If the leftists were aware of the maximum which the society was prepared to tolerate, so were the immigrants. Credibility for the left was difficult enough as it was, not to be strained further by "Quixotic" policies. On the other hand the last statement quoted reveals that the enduring importance of ethnicity and ethnic organizations for relations with the broader system was as painful a surprise for the left as for the society - though for different reasons.

The themes expressed in the "wise man's" view of the Community were echoed by several respondents, for example when the integration of Greeks in trade unions was discussed:

The point is, we cannot say "no" to assimilation, but when it comes to what you do, forget that you are Greek and remember only that you are a worker. It can't be done. The Greek needs his own man who knows his way about and can speak for him. There
is no need to teach Greeks anything about syndicalism any longer. What he has got to see is that his "brothers" are prepared to ask him what he wants. That is why it is so important to get men in there, who'll work as delegates, get on to shop committees. To show the Greek worker that he is represented, as a Greek, by Greeks, from the inside.

A few more statements serve to confirm the basic consensus within the ranks of the left in their assessments of the situation.

(The ethnic middle class as a pool of leadership in integrative structures)

There are plenty of professionals who could be drawn in. They are established, have got a little angry with things they see happening to Greeks and also want to get a bit into the limelight. A bit of feeling that they can do something, a bit that it is an easy way to become "someone" also to the Australians.

(Integrative ethnic structures as catalysts for a participant psychology)

The Greeks don't need any new ideas. It is no use telling and repeating what everyone knows. They need to see the thing work. In this way the things which they now vaguely accept will come to life, and one thing brings the others. Let the Greek see a properly housed welfare centre with Greek staff, where the telephone is ringing all the time and now it is a ministry and now it is a Greek club and then again it is an Australian teacher and I'll tell you how quickly he'll come to feel that he doesn't need to dismiss his problems simply by saying: it doesn't matter or I'll manage.

(Congruence with the politics of patronage and recognition)

To have your own people and feel that they are important people also in the eyes of Australians, to feel that you own people can make things work for you.

And even if he'll ask for the little extra he is not entitled to it doesn't matter. That kind of thing happens everywhere anyway. The main thing is that he starts to feel that he can use the system. He'll use it both this way and the other.
In some ways the radicals' picture of future possibilities, particularly the sense that the outlook of participation can almost flourish overnight, sounds overoptimistic. This is partly a matter of the talking style, which suggests that participant attitudes will spread like wild fire. This was not however what respondents believed. They believed only in a gradual transformation which would secure the tacit, but much needed, support of Greeks at large for demands articulated on their behalf. Optimism about the future was expressed by one respondent in the terms: "For such a long time the game went to the reactionaries. This is our era". There was not much indication that the conservative camp shared this view. Yet much of what radicals thought was confirmed by interviews of leaders within the Archdiocese institutional network.

The conservative camp

The conversations with the nine people chosen (four from the ecclesiastic hierarchy, four from the lay leadership and the editor of National Tribune) took a different course than those with radical leaders. The respondents were much less prone than the radicals to use their accounts of events or activities as starting points for analysis. Their ideas about group needs and about the implications of ethnicity for the Greeks' situation in the society, and their assessments of beliefs and attitudes in the communities were mostly revealed in side comments. This was symptomatic of their overall approach, which was much less tuned to the political facets of experience than that of the radicals.

My general impression, derived from such subjective and intangible criteria as gestures, tone of voice and the frequent use of unsympathetic terminology when talking about post-war immigrants, e.g. "they must learn to ...", "what do they expect", "they would do better to ...", was of lack of identification with post-war immigrants. None of the church leaders interviewed had come to Australia specifically because he was interested in Greeks abroad. Four of the lay leaders had come to Australia between 1948 and 1955. Three had had a spell in the factory, but all had a story of luck.
and ability to tell in explaining how they managed to get out within the first three or four years. The fourth, who was Australian-born, perhaps exemplifies best the "leader from the periphery" syndrome. From his office in Marrickville he looked down on the shopping street and said: "Look at them, sticking together. It ought not to be allowed. A few months perhaps in the beginning to get used to things. But the government is too tolerant about these communities staying together". After he made a few more remarks in this vein I asked him how he came to become involved in his parish Community. He answered: "I have always liked public life. They (the Greeks) asked me. I am a lawyer and they needed someone to put some order in their chaotic office". The Greeks had asked him. Evidently the Australians had not.

The interviews with the two Community presidents who were not holding office in the Mixed Council are best discussed separately. They serve mainly to show that, as radicals claimed, the institutional network built up by the Church functioned as a setting where the idea that needs are best met by internal resources could be acted out and thus be con­formed and perpetuated.

A. The setting for alternatives to participation

Lacking in the function of the parish Communities and in the role of the presidents, was the option of handling problems by recourse to the wider society. Because of the centralized authority structure in the Archdiocese camp "external" rela­tions (an area which was very important for the Church because of its concern to be recognized by Australian society as the sole representative of the minority) were deemed to lie beyond the province of the Communities. The respondents took this entirely for granted. Explaining why the halting English of his successor for the next term was no handicap, one respondent said: "Anyway whatever has to do with Australians is up to the priest". It seems that even such a fairly routine decision as the invitation list for Australian officials at major social functions was not handled by the Community Council.
Thus, for all the activities which lay in its province, the Community was given no choice but to deploy internal resources. At the same time the ideology which had always attached to the Communities, namely that they were there to handle all major common needs of the group (in this case the parish) was preserved. As a result the Community became the institutional expression of the self-sufficiency formula. This was paralleled in the thinking of the respondents. Their conception of the particular needs of Greeks covered only needs which least obviously admit of political solutions. Moreover there was no evidence that the leaders thought in terms of alternative ways by which needs could be handled. Altogether they were not inclined to see matters in the light of a division of responsibilities between the broader society and the ethnic community. They simply took for granted that what they were doing was useful and important and treated it as self-evidently good that the area of the Community's activities should be as encompassing as possible.

One respondent was president of a flourishing Community. The recently completed Church building, "All Saints", was at the time the most impressive Greek church in Sydney. The president, who had been involved in the project throughout his eight years in office was enthusiastic about the possibility for new activities offered by the Church hall and talked of:

making this into a Community which Sydney's Greeks can be proud of. A model which will show how in unison and cooperation we can tackle all the questions which preoccupy us.

In another context he said:

We can do everything. We still have many weaknesses. We could do much more in the charity field and for the youth. Because we must admit that however well Greeks are doing here there will always be some who come into difficulties. They must not feel abandoned. Our ladies' committee is very enthusiastic. They go to hospitals also and we are trying to get more members who speak English because there are also patients who don't have close family here and then language is a problem. But the most important thing, the thing I really want is our youth club. We could learn a lot from the English churches here. Here in
Australia our Church must move with the times. We have much support from the priest. He is a modern man. That is what preoccupies our people here. The family. The unity of the family. We must admit that this is a problem. We will help a lot if the young can come here in a Greek environment. You see what a good atmosphere we have here. We must make this Community a centre for the area. It is not easy for Greeks when they leave our country. There are many anxieties, many psychological problems. Here people can get together and work for the common good and it all seems easier. That is how it is. The Greek needs the Greek.

The themes referred to earlier (the concentration on the private facet of ethnicity-linked needs, the assumption that the full answer lies within the community itself as well as a general tendency to belittle material problems) are evident in this passage.

To interpret this as political diffidence or a sense of inefficacy in the polity would be to force analytical categories on to meaning. It seems rather that commitment to the vitality of the institution gave the impetus to translate the idea of self-sufficiency into multiple activities and thus to reinforce and perpetuate it.

It was not that the leaders simply failed to mention needs which they knew to be beyond the scope of the Community's competence. When, for example, I asked what they thought about the suggestion that the society ought to be providing facilities so that immigrants are not handicapped by the language problem, I was told that "it was a good idea" but that in fact most people could find a friend to help them. It seemed that a political approach was not part of the respondents' way of thinking.

Notable, finally, was absence of defensiveness. Far from talking as people trying to defend a formula that was losing credibility, the leaders assumed that Greeks in the parish would readily respond to any new activity of the institution as an answer to needs hitherto left unattended.

In the case of the two Communities approached it seems that the radicals had good reason to "fear" that the Church was
providing a network of local structures which functioned to perpetuate inward orientations, to give corporate activity non-political content and to crystallize a pattern of delegating the group's contact with the outside world to remote leaders.

B. The ideology of self-sufficiency and pressures for change

The leaders on the higher ranks of the hierarchy seemed to have given much less thought than the radicals to matching the needs and attitudes of immigrants with the activities of their institutions. This was possibly because they were confident that they had won the central battle with the radicals and had established the control of the Church over the basic activities relating to the preservation of ethnic identity.

Their was also the confidence of people who believed that what they stood for corresponded to deeply rooted attitudes and that their task in counteracting the influence of the radicals was to contain or halt changes - a task less challenging to the imagination than that of eradicating ingrained habits of thought.

The radicals' assessment of the Conservatives' position and of the attitudes to which they were appealing was substantially correct. More doubtful was the contention that the Archdiocese camp were cynically doing all they could "to keep the blinkers on" and were deliberately providing substitutes for basic solutions to needs in order to perpetuate the political attitudes which enabled the Greek establishment to keep its control over the diaspora. There was no evidence that respondents did not themselves share the ideology which they expressed. The lay leaders were precisely the kind of self-made men to whom such an ideology comes naturally.

One might wonder how, at a time when general migrant problems were being widely discussed in the society, the conservatives could still be talking of "temporary adjustment problems" and so completely failing to adopt the perspective of equality of opportunity as to make statements such as:

Nobody stops a clever and hardworking Greek child to go to University. You can see that every
university has a Greek student club.

Or:

It can't get them anywhere all their talk about hardship. What the Greek knows is that at home he was lucky to keep down a steady job and here he can have two if he is prepared to work hard.

Long habit of dismissing documentation on collective grievances as "communist lies" and the genuine difficulty of perceiving hardships and problems when there is absolute improvement, lends to such statements the ring of genuinely held beliefs - all the more reason why one can also expect that these were echoed in widespread attitudes and assumptions.

The main themes in the thinking of conservative leaders deviated little from those identified in the newspapers in the 1950's and fit the description of the "Greek psychology" given by the radicals. Respondents expressed these ideas as a personal philosophy, that is beliefs and orientations which have guided their own lives and as ideology, that is an interpretation of the situation and related maxims of behaviour which were deemed appropriate for Greeks as a whole. Lay respondents tended to talk of their own life. Those in the ecclesiastical hierarchy presented the same basic ideas as the distillation of their experience in "working with and advising Greeks".

The familiar maxims of the 1950's, the ideas which put a premium on personal effort and personal responsibility and defined the use of political means for solution to needs by individuals as irrelevant and dysfunctional, appeared in the conversations in much the same terms as they had been expressed by the conservative newspapers a decade before. There was general confidence that "the psychology of the Greek family man" was congruent with this view of the situation:

The Greek comes here to make a future for himself and his children. Of course it is not easy. But here he has all the opportunities he needs.

I am the first to say that migrants have problems. Was my career easy? But my dream was to succeed and it is the same for every Greek who comes here. There is always a way in this country. We are a
dynamic race, a clever race. It is in our blood to find a way.

The communists will never understand the Greek mentality. There are always people who will listen to them but the majority, the Greek family man is not influenced. They cannot get into his way of thinking because they don't believe in the family. They talk of "problems" and "exploitation". No one says that there are no problems. And there are many things which could be done to help Greeks in the beginning. The Church provides all the help it can but our means are limited and the government could be more active here. But most of the things which the Greek wants he can get by his own efforts. The big problem, the problem which really matters to him is the family. In this "free country" it is very difficult with the children. That is where we give guidance and help.

Our newspaper is the first to point to the difficulties. For example the reception facilities are quite poor. There is need for Greek nurseries because mothers leave their children with neighbours and that is often unsatisfactory. The pensions question must be settled. The government could do more. But there is no discrimination. Second-class citizenship is in the head. When you can't speak English you won't get an office job. Is that discrimination? As soon as the immigrant sets his foot here he has the same rights to social benefits as the Australians. There may be some misunderstandings, a feeling that immigrants are not popular but nothing you can put your finger on. The Greeks have their communities, they don't have to spend their time with Australians if they feel they are not wanted. That is not what the immigrant thinks about. It is the family, the personal problems.

Respondents were generally confident that the conservative ideology had deeply rooted parallels in the outlook and motivations of most Greeks. They believed that the conservative formula for answering needs was basically sound and one to which Greeks were themselves inclined. The resources of the conservative camp had to be channelled to developing the parish Communities and expanding their facilities. When they talked of the need to "move with the times", "to find the way to answer the real problems of Greeks", the leaders referred mainly to giving more "contemporary", more "social" content to internal services and facilities. For example it was generally admitted that there was urgent need for priests who were "better educated",
had "more modern ideas", and could advise on problems "which were very different from the problems in the village". The emphasis was throughout on the private, the personal, the family difficulties, questions which admitted of internal ethnic rather than of political solutions.

This was not, it must be stressed, indicative of a belief that the area of competence of the Archdiocese institutional structure is limited to a certain category of immigrant concerns. The conservative camp aspired to total leadership. The formula was conceived as a comprehensive alternative, not a complement to the solution of other needs by political means. The confidence which leaders expressed in the facilities which the Archdiocese structure was providing and building up was based on their view of how immigrants perceived the totality of their needs: material problems were the inevitable and necessarily temporary by-product of the process of settlement. They had a predictable place in the immigrant life plan and were most efficiently and quickly met by personal effort. The enduring needs, those that required outside help and institutional solutions, were the preservation of ethnic identity and of Greek cultural values and designs for living. An ethnic institutional structure geared to answering these needs guaranteed the permanent ascendancy of the conservative forces in the Communities and their enduring ability to stem other influences.

Yet, in the passages quoted and throughout the conversations there was evidence that the conservative leadership was adjusting its position to a new level of expectations about rights and to definitions of needs which lead towards political solutions. Though leaders tended to talk as though the sources of these ideas were the communists, there was a defensive note in such references which suggested awareness that such ideas were generally "in the air" and could not be ignored by the conservative leadership. In a very attenuated and minimal way the conservative leaders were acknowledging the radicals' picture of a culture at the crossroads. Despite assurances that "Greeks have not come here to get mixed up in politics but to make a better future on the great opportunities offered in this country"
the possibility that Greeks might be drawn into the political process, appearing as a collectivity which articulates demands on an ethnic basis, was taken seriously.

We are accused to trying to keep Greeks away from the Australian environment. This is not true. We have always been for the participation of our community in the life of the society. As long as they are law-abiding Greeks can behave as citizens of this country. Naturalization is a good thing. It gives them the opportunity to express their preferences in the normal way. That is one thing. Agitation is quite another. The demands which are reasonable will always be heard. Mostly they can be settled between our governments. The leaders of Hellenism have all the authority to draw the attention of the Australian government to reasonable requests.

There was some feeling that the conservative camp must appear publicly in the role of promoting requests about immigrant needs which were generally debated in the society, that "we must not neglect this area because we must not appear as a leadership which is not interested in the questions which are discussed in general". There was no evidence that this was accorded high priority. It was nonetheless significant because it was an approach which the conservatives were incorporating into their thinking with obvious reluctance. Possibly they felt that the institutional structure at their disposal would have to make major readjustments if it were to be oriented to such functions. The assumption of a political role was at any rate not congruent with the general conservative approach. That they felt compelled to adopt at least the rhetoric of a political approach to questions affecting immigrants, may be taken as a sign that ideas on the society's responsibility and on the immigrants' right to positive help were acquiring a taken-for-granted quality in the communities at large.

Part II - Office holders in Australian structures

The conversations with trade unionists and aldermen were conducted partly in order to throw light on how mediating facilities were being perceived and used and partly as another source of information about politically relevant beliefs and attitudes. (Ch. II, pp. 83-5) In what way, if at all, did the accessibility
of a mediator, who had privileged access to an Australian power structure, act as catalyst for demand activity? What evidence was there for the radicals' contention that by the 1970's the basic belief structure of the participant outlook had taken root, that in a general way Greeks were neither diffident about rights nor despairing about possibilities and could acquire the habits of using the political process once the access points were made available to them?

The trade unionists

All five respondents were delegates. Two belonged to the Vehicle Builders Federation and were working at G.M.H. Holden and the others to the Federated Ironworkers and were working at Bradford Kendell's. Both firms had been relying heavily on migrant labour since the beginning of mass immigration. All respondents were working as unskilled workers in sections where migrants were in the majority and all but one, who had got his position through the support of the area organizer, had relied on the support of the Greeks in their section.

The conversation with the delegate who had been supported by the area organizer proved difficult to interpret. This respondent had strong negative feelings towards Greek workers in particular. He described them as "illiterate and cunning" and repeatedly stressed that he would not allow Greeks to get him into trouble just because he was a Greek. He was particularly secretive about his relationship to Greek workers and the Greek community. From his hints I gathered that he had been involved in Community politics in the early 1960's and had decided since then "to keep away from Greeks". It was clear that he felt under some pressure from Greeks in his section to act on their behalf with the management. But since he was reluctant to clarify such statements as "they always ask me to do things which could get me into trouble", "Greeks don't understand anything and are always unreasonable", it was not possible to form a picture about the nature of the demands made on him. Although very vocal on the subject of the beneficial effects of the military junta in Greece, this respondent was secretive and conspiratorial about his work. He constantly referred to "traps", "dangers" and
"corruption" but stopped short of explaining fully what he meant or giving concrete examples. Although much of what he said raised interesting possibilities, particularly on the general question of the pressure experienced by reluctant mediators, the material proved too unclear to be used.

Of the other four, the Atlas member, a middle aged Cypriot who had come to Australia in 1947 and had been active in trade unions since then, had always defined his own role with reference to the general objectives of the Greek left:

I am a communist and would have worked in trade unions anyway. Of course as a Greek I had a special task. The Greeks have been coming here and been exploited. There had to be education above all. Greeks knew nothing about their rights, nothing about syndicalism. There was great danger that they would form a separate cast in this society. They had to understand the labour movement and become part of it. What we have been doing particularly in the beginning was to educate the Greek worker.

The other three delegates were in their thirties and had come to Australia in the 1960's from villages on mainland Greece. They had worked in factories since they arrived. One had been in the present job for two years, the others for just less than five. All had taken the decision to stand for delegate on the spur of the moment, not impelled by any broad commitment to perform a particular function in relation to the labour movement or to Greeks in general, but for what they called "personal reasons". As was seen, (Ch. II, p. 85) it was a response to an experience which had some reference to ethnicity. The account of the man whose decision seemed the most personal serves to illustrate the political dimensions of such an act.

I had some trouble with my leg. I got a certificate from the family doctor and went to the foreman to ask for a lighter job. He said "That is a Greek doctor's certificate. We know what they are worth. You'll all start coming up with stories ... Someone has got to do the dirty jobs. Go to our doctor and we'll see." He also talked badly, used bad language. I didn't say anything to him. That is always the danger. There is a quarrel and you put yourself in the wrong. But I decided to strike back. I'd strike back by becoming a delegate. I went to the fellows and said that I have got accounts to settle. We all
have got accounts to settle. The way to do it is not personal. It is through the system. So the first chance, they voted me delegate and we'll see then who is there to do the dirty jobs.

Thus a personal experience was linked to similar experiences of others and this common ground served as basis for a political solution: the system could be used to redress a personal wrong by redressing similar wrongs experienced by peers.

This as well as the other respondents who were not politically committed (in fact none of them was naturalized and two saw little point in it unless they decided to "stay for ever") tended to describe their activities as a series of incidents arising out of particular circumstances in a concrete situation involving concrete individuals. Unlike the communist delegate, they rarely linked what they were doing to a general view of the position of Greeks in relation to employers, unions or the society in general. Nonetheless, their activities were shaped by such a general view, which was in essence not much different from the articulated scheme of the radical. The motivations of the uncommitted delegates, the definitions of their role, their priorities and the significance which they attached to their activities were different from those of the radical. While he related every act to a general purpose of integrating Greeks into the labour movement, promoting overall working class solidarity and ultimately undermining the power of capital, they did not go much further than talk about "helping Greeks here". Yet their implicit definitions of the situation, the content of their activities and the devices which they used in their communication with Greeks and with Australian structures differed little from those of the radical.

All respondents operated primarily within an ethnic frame of reference. All saw their role as one of mediating between Greek workers and Australian structures. For all, this activity consisted in promoting the participation of Greeks in common working class activities and channelling particular ethnic needs to unions and employers. As they engaged in these activities, the delegates were continuously performing an educational function: they were encouraging attitudes and habits of participation
in the light of the possibilities which the situation afforded for effective corporate action and with reference to the norms of the broader system.

Broadly speaking their shared definition of the situation was that Greeks were operating in a hostile environment. While this imposed constraints and limited possibilities, it did not seriously curtail the potential of Greeks to act effectively on their own behalf. The worker status guaranteed accessibility to the means for corporate expression available to all workers. Finally, respondents also made very similar assessments of the beliefs and attitudes of the Greek workers with whom they were dealing.

i. The ethnic frame of reference

The uncommitted respondents saw themselves as Greeks acting for Greeks, with reference to Greek concerns and to the Greeks' position in the work situation. It was as Greeks that they had taken the role of delegate and as Greeks that they acted throughout. Perhaps their identifications would have been different if they had been drawn into the union power structure. At the time none expressed such ambition. They explained this partly on the grounds that they had no intention of spending their life as workers and partly on the grounds that the unions were generally corrupt and that "once you got in there you will find yourself forced to sell out the Greek worker". This tied in with their overall definition of the situation and will be discussed later. It is mentioned here in order to make the point that the failure to enter the union power structure was symptomatic of the strength of their ethnic identification.

The following extracts illustrate the ethnic frame of reference:

Of course if there were no Greeks here I would not have become a delegate. I would not even have thought of it. I would have found another way to get my own back with the foreman. In any case what do I care what Australians are doing? I am not going to stay a worker anyway all my life. But since we are here it gets on my nerves to see all sorts of injustice against the migrants and the Greeks. I gets on my nerves too when I see the just taking it. Say it is a question of philotimo. Anyway we are workers like all the rest and have the same rights.
The job is nothing really. Nothing important. You really just go round collecting the fees. That is all I do, with the others anyway. But with the Greeks it is different, I feel that I can help them. They talk about their complaints and we can think of what to do about it. It is one thing that Greeks just complain and say to one another that they have the same right, but when it comes to it, each one gets frightened. And another thing to show that you can get to the office or to the organizer and do something about it. I can do that job and I like it.

Although the uncommitted respondents often placed the experiences of Greeks within the general framework of the employer-worker or the worker-union relationship, the satisfactions and meaning of their own activities were derived from the way Greeks could handle their position. The delegates defined the situation in a manner which automatically cast them into the role of mediator.

The attitude of the ideologue was fundamentally different in that he integrated his activities in relation to Greeks with the overall class struggle. Nonetheless in practice he, too, derived his main satisfaction from the ethnic content of what he was doing:

I get very great satisfaction from my work here with Greeks. It is a real sense of achievement when Greeks get annoyed that there is a meeting and no interpreters. I can tell you that when we call a stop work I care as much about whether Greeks will stand solid as about what will happen.

A situation which afforded this man the opportunity to perform a specialized function oriented him towards the ethnic content of his activities and confirmed his ethnic identifications and solidarity.

ii. The mediating function

The mediating function involved delegates in three related activities all of which were facets of promoting political solutions to needs. From their different perspectives and priorities respondents took for granted that the situation called for concerted action to handle common needs. For the radical this was a matter of principle, which he expressed in the predictable
manner of leftists. Although they occasionally referred to expediency, the other delegates, too, attached political acti-
vity to a concept of a dignified and fitting existence of Greeks in Australia.

I am not saying that a few beers with the foreman don't help. But one has got to be careful. It turns against you in the end. The Australians resent it from us though they do it themselves. It is different with them. They do it by the way. When we do it it shows we are still afraid.

Again and again the Saturday overtime goes to Australians first and second choice for us. It is not just, we take enough injustice in this country. Here we can do something. Why should we take everything as though we were frightened? Say it is a question of philotimo, but I don't like it. When they come to me and tell me to put a word in for them I say no. I'll speak for all of us. We'll note it and then we'll do it the proper way. It has got to stop this sort of thing.

These respondents expressed themselves in terms of personal and national pride. Yet they were referring to something not so unlike the radicals' concern with undermining the habits of subordination and thus eventually the Greeks' collective subordinate status in the society.

Here it may be noted that the idea which appeared in the leftist press in the 1950's, namely that the appropriate model for activity entailed in the working class status is the corporate model, is applied to the solution of specific ethnic needs in the working situation.

Evident in the last passage quoted is also that the direct pressure from below on the delegates was to act as spokesmen. This was mainly for particular needs arising from discriminatory treatment. There were very few references to demands for information about the system or for the facilities which would enable Greeks to participate in trade union activity. There was no evidence of a felt need for participation. Delegates themselves were convinced that they had filled a spokesman vacuum.

I am a Greek, one of their own. They would not have gone to anyone else. Since I knew English and was ready to speak up the idea came up. You can say that we all decided it together.
For the uncommitted respondents, who defined their function primarily in relation to the immediate context, the spokesman role had primary importance. Nevertheless they were also led to promoting the participation of Greeks in general demand activity. They believed that the ability of Greeks to get a hearing for their problems was conditional upon the group earning a reputation for loyalty and identification with general working class concerns. "I tell them. Put yourselves in their position. Why should they help you if you show that you are not interested in what matters to everyone?"

For the radical, on the other hand, whose main objective was to promote Greek participation in general, the spokesman function was secondary. Nevertheless he saw it as crucial since it was the essential prerequisite for overall participation. In other words he believed that Greeks had to see the system work for them before they developed the identifications required for an active interest in general activities. Thus he talked of "a migrant worker consciousness", meaning the belief that the labour movement can be alerted to special migrant needs. This led him to undertake spokesman functions with reference to needs which he defined as such on the basis of his own theoretical approach. He was, for example, pressing for an organized interpreter service on the grounds that it would do much to demonstrate to Greeks that the labour movement recognizes them as an integral part of the working class entitled to voice views on general issues.

Thus the logic of the situation, the subordinate status which meant on the one hand that specific ethnic needs were not handled by Australian structures as a matter of course and on the other hand explained the tendency on the part of the Greeks to see broad common issues as matters on which they take the lead from others, meant that the mediator role inevitably acquired both spokesman and general integrative aspects.

Integral, finally, to the mediation function was education. The radical did this in accordance with an overall plan, the others unselfconsciously in the course of everyday interaction. Explicitly or by implication the respondents defined the
educational role more in terms of instilling participant habits and attitudes than in terms of imparting information.

It was not suggested that the Greeks had a false view of their situation, or that they did not understand the process of demand activity as it operated in the industrial context. If Greeks had a cynical view of the unions, so did the delegates, although the radical reserved his cynicisms for the rightist unions. The combination of cynicism towards unions and belief in syndicalism was expressed in much the same way as the respondents in Georgiou's study. (1973, pp. 40-5)

The interviews with the delegates revealed an additional aspect possibly highlighted here because of the delegates' orientation towards ethnic problems. The cynical view of unions derived partly from the perception of the difference between the ideology of working class solidarity and the unions' failure to define particular needs of migrants as needs concerning the labour movement as a whole.

One expression of this was the delegates' conviction that the ethnic mediator role found little support from the Australian side. Although they believed that they could use general ideology to compel attention to discriminatory treatment, delegates were aware that their activities as ethnic spokesmen were conducted in a context of overall reluctance and irritation by the unions.

Often I let things pass because you can't always talk to them about Greeks. I know very well that in the sections where more Australians are working certain things don't happen. The timing of the belt for example. It has been agreed that it should slow down by 4%. On our section the foreman just takes off a couple of men. They don't do that where Australians are working. I went to the organizer about that. I didn't mention anything about our section and the others. I just said that they have slowed down by 4% and then reduced the men by 25%.

Secondly delegates emphasized that in some ways the Greeks' general tendency to be passive and to seek individual solutions or simply put up with things as they were was rational given their basic concerns and motivations and their knowledge of general anti-migrant feeling. For example many of the things
which mattered to Greeks most immediately, particularly the chance for overtime was within the discretion of the foreman. It was not worth putting oneself in his bad books. Furthermore, fundamental solutions were not important to people who were determined to step out of the factory and the worker status.

Even the radical admitted fundamental incompatibilities of interest between the concerns of the Greek workers and the collective aspirations of the working class. He referred particularly to the Greeks' preference for the bonus system, a preference which was rational in view of their own concerns with getting established and making a future, but which was incompatible with worker solidarity. Moreover he emphasized that "the immigrant's dream" of getting out of the factory and back home constituted one of the most important stumbling blocks to class consciousness and class identification.

It is largely because they felt that they "understood" Greeks, and could base their communications with them on recognition of these realistic concerns, that the delegates had confidence in their ability to instil the habits of participation.

What can you say? The unions want to help you? Don't they have eyes to see? The point is, no they don't want to help but they have got to. That is also the spice of the thing for us.

There was confidence that traditional Greek values and attitudes, values to which the delegates themselves fully adhered, could be used in moulding a participant mentality in a situation which afforded Greeks real possibilities for collective efficacy.

He feels that he is equal to everyone. He feels it deeply to accept humiliations. I always talk of philotimo. What has that got to do with whether we stay or get out? Why should we take injustice even for one time?

They find excuses. They say, it does not matter, we won't be here for ever. In any case they swear about it and it passes. But really it is that they feel that no one will do anything about it, no one cares. That is what I can do here. When there is a Greek to speak up it is different. We have got the rights. That is the main thing.
I am not at all afraid that I'll take up something and then I'll be left standing. We stick together here. They wouldn't let me down. It is personal.

Thus traditional Greek norms were automatically harnessed by the delegates to a new political purpose. In the context of a situation where corporate action was feasible the values which traditionally served to perpetuate individualistic solutions to problems could be used to promote a political approach.

Perhaps these assessments were overoptimistic. The general impression from the talks was that delegates had an exaggerated picture of the potential for effective action which their position afforded them. This was possibly because they adjusted their aims to their possibilities and talked only of righting small wrongs. Their confidence was based mainly on belief in ethnic solidarity and on the conviction that the general position of migrants in the society and in the labour movement precluded obvious injustice. The ethnic spokesmen could place the Australian structures in the awkward position of having to adhere to their formal ideology.

That this sense of efficacy was not transferred to larger contexts was evident from the delegates' belief that if they joined the power hierarchy of the trade unions, where presumably larger policies were dealt with, they would be placed in situations which jeopardized their ethnic loyalties. However that may be it seems that the radicals were substantially correct in their assessment that ethnic integrative mechanisms could serve as catalysts for participant patterns, whether these would be transferable from one context to another, from the industrial situation where many forces operated to favour corporate demand activity to contexts where such activity entailed more initiative and was directed to larger issues, was not possible to establish on the basis of this evidence.

The aldermen

The interviews with the aldermen yielded much less relevant information than those with the delegates. The mutually reinforcing interplay between the individual's ethnic identification and pressures from a Greek public was in evidence only in the
case of one respondent, the independent who had lost his seat. Even then it was less marked than among the delegates. In the case of the latter, ethnic identification had been symptomatic of a self-selection process. A position which carried little promise of reward by the Australians was likely to be sought by individuals who found their reward in the ethnic bond. Entry into Australian politics on the other hand has intrinsic interest. The process of self-selection was not given in the situation. As it happened, none of the respondents had chosen to enter Australian politics from a sense of identification with Greeks in general or in their area. The independent did not so much identify with Greeks as seek the ethnic vote. Secondly the Labor party did not encourage the ethnic members to use their ethnicity as a link with the Greek electorate. Finally the party men attached marginal significance to the ethnic vote as a factor in their own election.

i. Identifications

The second generation alderman had an English-sounding name. It had been adopted by his father for "convenience". Apart from ritual expressions of "feeling proud of his Greek origin" he had a detached and distant view of Greek migrants in general. Married to a girl of Greek origin, he belonged to that affluent section of the second generation "set", classically most prone to emphasize social distance from the newcomers. He talked vaguely of assimilation and of exaggerated publicity to minor and natural problems, but had obviously given little thought to the subject of Greeks. He wanted to make an Australian political career and had ambitions for federal parliament. He was not certain that many Greeks knew of his identity and did not go out of his way to point it out when Greeks happened to come to him.

The other ALP alderman was a first generation migrant in his early forties. He told me repeatedly, possibly with somewhat unnecessary emphasis, that he was and felt Greek and would never deny it. But though less detached than the previous respondent he felt that he had not much in common with the Greeks in the area. He had come to Australia in his late teenage, had
been "treated very well in this country" and felt closer to it as a "motherland" than to Greece, which he simply hoped to visit sometime. His general attitude to Greeks and migrant problems was close to what conservatives and radicals had referred to as the family man's psychology. He felt that problems are overemphasized, that the opportunities are great and that in general "it does not do to winge". Other than the general question of ethnic concentration "which creates resentments" he did not spontaneously mention any facet of Greek life or common Greek problems. His single reference to a project for Greeks revealed his outsider perspective on ethnic life. He was thinking of opening a hall where Greeks and Australians could meet and socialize. He thought of this as a community project which would "help assimilation". Wherever else he might have got such an idea, it was certainly not from the Greeks.

By contrast the independent candidate made many references to Greeks in the area. He too had come in the early post-war period. He had decided to go into local politics because his job as estate agent in the area put him in contact with many Greeks and he thought that he had a solid base for support. Occasionally he referred to a general desire to "help Greeks", but failed to attach this to any particular issue. There was considerable hostility in his generalizations about Greeks in the area, probably because of bitterness over the loss of his seat in the 1971 elections. "They come to you only when they need you", "I have never been able to get their support for any community project. They just don't care", "All they care about is their property", were typical remarks. Nevertheless this respondent gave largely ethnic content to his role. His talk gives some indication of how this mediator facility was used by Greeks in the area, as well as how an ethnic in local government could act as a politicking agent.

ii. Ethnicity in relation to the Australian structure

The two men on the ALP ticket could not think of any instance when their ethnicity was deemed by the party to be an asset or was used for contact with Greeks. Like the delegates, the aldermen were inclined to believe that if they appeared as
ethnic spokesmen they would cause Australian resentment. Furthermore, they did not believe that their own election depended on ethnic support. Greeks would vote ALP anyway and the extra votes which they personally might get as Greeks were not worth the effort involved. Altogether, these respondents associated the use of their ethnicity in this context with "risks". Despite their insistence that they had never felt their ethnicity to be a political handicap, these respondents evidently thought that it might turn to be so if emphasized. Thus in the aldermen's situation, at any rate in the early 1970's, many forces operated against their assuming a mediator role. This does not however reveal anything about the attitudes of Greeks in the area. The reasons why the aldermen were not experiencing a pressure from below was that they had taken care not to publicize their identity.

iii. The aldermen as patron

The experience of the independent was different from that of the others. In his election campaigns and throughout his periods in office he had been active in maintaining Greek contacts. He talked, with some resentment, of countless weddings and time-consuming chats. He attributed his defeat in the last election mainly to "politics" in the Greek community. He felt that his support for the junta was mainly responsible for his defeat. According to the editor of the Hellenic Herald the reason was that in the last election this candidate overdid the ethnic appeal and alienated Australians. People in the area simply told me that he was not likeable and only pretended to like Greeks. The latter, at any rate, was a fairly realistic assessment.

The explanation of local Greeks revealed the view that a coethnic who, as an independent, had no real power was worth supporting only if he could be relied on to help them in their dealings with the council. This was also the approach which the respondent had to his job. He felt that his main appeal was that he "could fix things":

Nothing illegal. Just helping over misunderstandings and difficulties with the building inspectors, the police, that sort of thing. You don't need to go
completely by the book. They can ask me to put a word in. That is what they are used to. Between ourselves it happens everywhere. When I am there I can make it happen for the Greeks.

Partly because this respondent, like the others, had not entered politics with a general purpose or commitment relating to the Greeks in the area and thus did not initiate projects which would have called for collective activity by Greeks, and partly because the questions which are decided at local government level do not usually touch upon major migrant interests, the overall negative evidence on corporate demand activity could not be taken as evidence of non-participant propensities.

Nevertheless there was some evidence that the willingness of the alderman to play something like patronage politics promoted a sense of efficacy which could be expressed also in demand activity. The respondent at least interpreted the two approaches made to him (one to ask for better cooperation by the local school in providing facilities for the afternoon ethnic school, and one to protest against a proposal for housing commission flats in the area) on these lines. He believed that if he had not shown himself generally able to handle things on behalf of individuals, the idea of collective action of this kind would not have occurred. "They say to themselves, now we have one of our own. Maybe he can do something". His own account of the incident about the flats confirms his interpretation. He claimed that much of the informal exchanges of opinion through which individual complaints eventually turned into the formulation of a common interest and ultimately of a demand took place in his office. As people came to him in his capacity as estate agent for advice on what they should do about their property, the idea that it might be possible to do something about the project itself crystallized. "Most people said that if the project has been decided you can't do anything. But then with one thing and another, since I was in the council, they thought something could be done".

Whether this sense of competence is eventually transferred to situations where there is no ethnic spokesman could not be established from the evidence on the industrial or residential
situations. But it seems that a coethnic within an Australian structure can operate as a politicizing catalyst, first and foremost by making the broader system seem accessible. If there were no substructure of beliefs that the situation affords immigrants the right and possibility to seek political solutions to needs, the presence of a coethnic mediator would not perhaps have mattered. But it seems that by the 1970's the stage had been reached where ethnic mediators could be instrumental in integrating such general beliefs with traditional notions of meaningful politics. The former could be infused with psychological credibility and the latter become attached to the idea that needs can be satisfied through the political institutions and by the norms of the broader system.

The ethnic belief systems had developed over the years from patterns which not only negated political efficacy but also denied that access to any good may be claimed from the society as of right, to the point where the right to substantial equality was taken for granted and where consensus about political solutions to needs was wide enough to be heeded by even the most conservative leaders. Yet it seems that in the early 1970's the participant approach had not as yet become so integrated into the outlook of individuals that one can think of Greeks in general as people who included political means of access to the good amongst their personal options. Between the view of political activity as legitimate and feasible and the embodiment of these ideas into the individuals' activities or at least into their picture of personal options, lay a vacuum of structural contexts within which such a picture could become psychologically "real". Lacking, or at least not widespread within the spheres of everyday activity were ethnic environments structured for ongoing communication with the broader system while allowing individuals to conduct the communications which are the building blocks for demand activity, within a framework of shared understandings and affectively meaningful relationships.

By the 1970's such environments were being generated fairly easily and informally from ethnic enclaves within industrial
structures. In other areas of ethnic concentration, the neigh­
bourhood, forces to structure ethnic linkages did not as yet,
operate in a systematic way but there were also no major ob­
stacles for individuals who were motivated to create situations
of this kind.

On the other hand the organizations of the ethnic society
had not assumed these characteristics and there was no evidence
that leaders were experiencing pressures from below to move in
this direction. The radical leaders, the only ones thinking
along these lines, were impelled by their own insights, while
the conservative leaders were confident that a formula which
kept the parish structures inward looking and left contacts
cutowards to the discretion of the leadership at the top had a
good future.

In one way this is remarkable. From the earliest years
the ethnic culture contained the basic ingredients for a formula
of pluralistic integration. One of the enduring themes has been
the association of cultural difference with socio-cultural
estrangement from the broader society. Over the years, ethnic
distinctiveness has been divested from its connotations of out­
sider status, isolation from Australian collectivities and
inaccessibility of broad institutions and processes. But the
ideas and symbols of bonds and identifications have always
remained devoid of a sense of affinity. In view of the Greek
propensity to merge solidary and instrumental relations, the
idea of participation through interpersonal contact with Aus­
tralians did not strike roots in the ethnic culture. The instru­
ment for contact and integration has not been the interethnec
social network but ethnic organizations and the links which they
could forge with areas of the broader social system. Integral
to this idea of institutionalized access is the self-image of
the group as a distinct unit in the society. Even radical
thinking, which came closest to defining belonging as a state
where Greeks will no longer be perceived and act as a distinct
group except culturally, always left room for activities which
confirm the distinctive collective presence of the group in the
society.
The idea of a Greek collective presence in the political process was rooted also in recognition that ethnicity generates distinctive common interests in addition to that of preserving ethnic identity. Radicals thought of these as variants of general class interests. In other strands of thinking the emphasis has been on the distinctiveness in ethnic needs. This could have separatist implications, particularly when it appeared in the guise of the notion that the needs of Greeks are qualitatively different from those of others in the society. This idea, which in the 1940's was linked with particular emphasis on identification with Greece and the Greek national religious ethos, was integral to conservative thinking throughout the post-war period; it was expressed in the emphasis on the immigrant life plan and was linked not so much with looking homewards as with looking inwards to the resources of the self and concentrating on the sources of help most immediately and quickly accessible within the ethnic community. On the other hand, the idea of distinctive ethnic needs, particularly when it occurs as recognition of differential opportunities for access to general goods, naturally leads to thinking about channelling these needs outwards, through ethnic organizations or ethnic mediating mechanisms within larger Australian institutions.

The notion that the group must communicate with the broader system, through ethnic corporate structures, as a distinct entity about distinctive ethnic needs appeared even before mass immigration. To begin with it did not entail much more than intermittently drawing the attention of the polity to discriminatory practices or to the general contribution of the group. But as mass immigration and the industrial experience drew Greeks into the central areas of the socio-political process, the basic notions of earlier years could have developed into emphasis on the need for contact with a wide area of the Australian institutional network and the need for ethnic mediating mechanisms within Australian structures. Yet it seems that even in the early 1970's such ideas were only beginning to take shape.

Of course such ideas did not accord with the society's
"ideology of settlement". But one still should ask why this ideology was not seriously challenged and why Greeks waited to take their cue from the society before they drew the logical consequence of elements in their own thinking. The question is not so much why integrative mechanisms were not forged but why they have not been defined as appropriate by the Greeks themselves. The social force of a felt grievance, when a group has little power to compel attention to its demand, is always difficult to foretell. In any case a perceived gap between what ought to be done and what can be done sharpens sensitivity to emerging opportunities. Why Greeks should have adjusted their own thinking to dominant attitudes requires explanation. A combination of historical and cultural factors seem to account for it.

In the 1950's the conservative forces in the communities acquired an ideological interest in a philosophy which oriented thinking away from social and political participation. If these groups from whom the leadership of the major organizations was largely drawn and to whom most of the older settlers belonged had been inclined to build on the foundations which they themselves had laid in the previous era, they might have articulated an approach which would probably have had greater credibility to the newcomers than that of the radicals. There was nothing incompatible between the integration formula of the 1940's and the idea that ethnic organizations should make use of the greater possibilities for contact with the society which the post-war situation afforded. Neither was it inconceivable that, recognizing as they did the central importance of social distance, the conservatives might have sought formulas for mediating mechanisms. The cautiousness which they were bound to build into their approach and the fact that their model would have been founded on what all Greeks felt to be true, would have assured credibility and might have fostered thinking on the lines of pluralistic integration. As it is the conservatives took their stand in opposition to whatever the radicals were saying and put the weight of their authority behind the separatist implications of traditional thinking.
The contribution of the radicals to participant thinking need not be pointed to again here. Worth repeating is that their own concerns as an organized force and their ideological position inhibited them from casting their message of participation in forms which recognized the dissociative force of ethnicity on the interpersonal level, and which fully acknowledged distinctive ethnic interests. They tended to concentrate on how Greeks could be persuaded to change their attitudes rather than on how the ethnic society and the broader system could build up structures for integration which would have been effective precisely because they heeded these attitudes.

It is not only because of political polarization within the communities that the pluralistic formula took so long to emerge. Such a formula would have required greater confidence in ethnic organization than Greeks have ever had. One of the enduring paradoxes in the ethnic culture has been that the main foundation for the notion of common interest, which made development towards participant patterns possible, was also an abiding source of internal conflict, undermining confidence in the viability of ethnic corporate organizations and therefore also in political efficacy.

The association of the ethnic bond with community of interest and corporate organizations was partly a defensive response to the particular qualities which subordinate status assumes when associated with alien origin. The positive source of belief in community of interest and in the need for corporate solutions was the tradition of the diaspora culture. Yet the very commitment which served to break the inner coherence of the threat syndrome, also indirectly created the abiding impass of the ethnic culture. Because corporate organization was attached to the main imperatives of the collective existence abroad, the conflicts which arose from the struggle for control over the Community organizations became major and pervasive factional disputes. Control of the Communities has always meant the power to exercise wide-ranging influence over Greeks as a whole. In the light of the threat culture's propensity to see conflict between peers as a given of existence (translated in the idea
that divisiveness is a national character trait), the experience of conflict has been interpreted as an ingrained inability to generate viable corporate structures. Corollary to the view of conflict as the governing principle of social life is the fear that conflict is unmanageable once allowed to break out. People who believe that only when there is unity they can work together curtail their possibility to handle the normal conflicts which occur in the course of cooperation and thus are continuously confirming to themselves their own unfitness for corporate action.

The impass of the ethnic culture and a major obstacle to the sense of political efficacy has been that, while they could conceive of no other way to act than through their own corporate structures, and while the idea of organization generated by the group has been central to their thinking, Greeks have never had faith in their organizations. Perhaps one way out of this impass is greater interest by the broader society in ethnic organizations. Once ethnic structures begin to operate in a recognized relationship with the broader system, their viability is no longer exclusively a function of how internal conflict can be managed since the system at large acts as both supportive and controlling force.

The course which the ethnic culture took over the years was not imposed by external circumstances. The emergence of participant cultural patterns as well as the obstacles to the full development of the civic culture can be traced as much to specifically Greek traditions and to a communal history which Greeks have largely shaped themselves, as to the facilities and limitations generated by the society.
Appendix I - Naturalization

The crudest way of getting some idea of naturalization is to compare the census tabulations by birthplace to those of nationality. This makes no allowance for eligibility but provides the kind of picture which Australian politicians probably operated on to the extent that they asked themselves whether it is worth soliciting the ethnic vote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males of Greek nationality</th>
<th>British or other nationality</th>
<th>Total Greek-born males</th>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
<td>(59.2)</td>
<td>99,115</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>67.9%</td>
<td>(32.1)</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>74.4%</td>
<td>(25.1)</td>
<td>16,794</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>68.35%</td>
<td>31.63%</td>
<td>43,593</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>73,936</td>
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</table>

Sources: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics.

For 1947, 1954 and 1961 the British and other nationality is bracketed because the census does not cross-tabulate birthplace by nationality.

The impression given by such figures is reflected in the overall Australian view of Southern Europeans as people reluctant to naturalize. The following are a few instances illustrating this impression.

In reply to question on what is done to encourage naturalization the Minister of Immigration Mr. Downer promised research to establish why immigrants do not naturalize.

The question of naturalization was debated at length in the Federal Parliament in October 1965 again on the premise that migrants don't take up opportunities to naturalize.

The 1965 Citizenship Convention was entirely devoted to the question of naturalization, "Every Settler a Citizen".
In the 1957 Convention the Minister, Mr. Townley, admitted that only 35% of the eligible had naturalized and admits that this is a problem.

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