

Charles Price  
Editor

Greeks  
in Australia

Immigrants in Australia series





The second largest migrant group in Australia is made up of some 300,000 people who regard themselves as Greek. Not all were born in Greece—some come from ancient Greek communities in Russia, Africa and the Middle East, some were born in Australia. What they have in common is their feeling of Greekness, their loyalty to their origins, their deep concern with family ties and values. They resist marriage with non-Greeks, adhere to the Greek Orthodox religion and stubbornly preserve the Greek language and culture.

This book provides an introduction to the nature and purpose of Greek societies and organisations, and explains how Greeks relate to other Greeks in Australia and to Australian people and institutions. In identifying areas where Greeks have succeeded or failed in Australia, it also shows where Australia has succeeded and failed in its dealings with them and with other migrant groups.

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# **Greeks in Australia**

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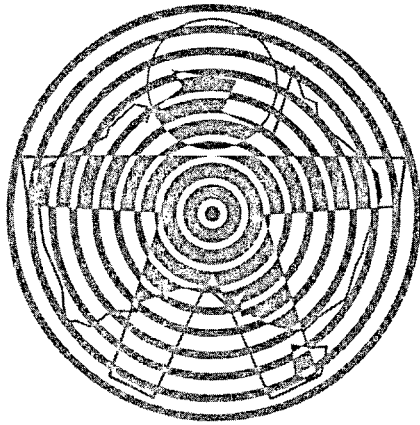
**Immigrants in Australia 5**

A Series sponsored by  
The Academy of the Social  
Sciences in Australia

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Charles Price  
Editor

# Greeks in Australia



Australian  
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Press  
Canberra  
1975

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## Note on the Series



The Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia is the national body representing the social sciences. One of its objectives is the sponsorship of major research projects in areas of national importance. Two previous projects, sponsored under its earlier name of the Social Science Research Council of Australia, were *The Role of Women in Public and Professional Life* and *Aborigines in Australian Society*. It was hardly surprising that in 1966 the Council, as it then was, decided to sponsor another project designed to examine the contribution of overseas immigrants in Australia's economic, social, and cultural life, for new settlers had not only supplied slightly more than half the nation's growth from 7,579,000 in 1947 to 11,550,000 in 1966, but had brought into our society a great diversity of national groups from the United Kingdom and many parts of Europe.

The major difference between the flow after World War II and all previous immigration was the high proportion of non-British, first from northern and western Europe, primed by the influx of some 200,000 refugees in the immediate post war years, and thereafter from southern Europe, particularly from Italy and Greece. The mosaic of post war immigration is seen in the following estimate by Dr C. A. Price of the ethnic origin of persons who came to this country between July 1947 and June 1970 with the intention of settling here.<sup>1</sup>

British Isles	1,086,500	Germany	121,300
Italy	337,700	Malta	68,400
Greece	200,000	Other East Europe	220,600
Netherlands	140,600	Others	334,100
Yugoslavia	136,800	Total	2,646,000

<sup>1</sup> Charles A. Price (ed.), *Australian Immigration, a Bibliography and Digest*, No. 2 (1970). Department of Demography, Australian National University, p. A15.

In the immediate post war years, marked by high levels of economic activity associated with rebuilding the nation's capital stock and re-opening the channels of overseas trade, immigrants were absorbed into the economy almost without notice and with few structural changes. These were also years when, because of the very low fertility in Australia in the great pre-war depression of the thirties, there was a marked lag in the natural increase of the non-immigrant workforce: immigrants were welcomed if only because they filled that gap. They manned great national projects like the Snowy Mountains Scheme; they provided a great part of the labour force for new mineral enterprises; they helped to build houses, offices, and industrial buildings; they made the nation's steel; and they became the workhorses of the burgeoning motor industry. But, above all, they settled in the major cities, often forming substantial ethnic groups, restructuring national customs in their adopted environment, keeping alive their native languages, yet rubbing shoulders with Australians, being influenced by Australian culture—often through the participation of their children in Australian schools—and at the same time influencing by their presence and activity a remarkably homogeneous and at times slightly suspicious Australian society.

By the sixties few Australians could be unaware of the impact of the immigrants, whose flow continues to the present. As their numbers have grown, as the ethnic origins of the new settlers have become even more diversified, as the size of some of the ethnic communities in major cities has increased, as some schools have emerged in which the majority of children are immigrants brought up in a non-British tongue, and as job competition has grown keener as the swelling Australian cohorts of the post-war 'baby boom' have reached maturity and seek employment in the nation's workforce, the presence of the immigrant has been increasingly apparent. Some call for a reduction of the inflow; many seek to know what the impact has been on the nation's culture, economy and society; none can ignore the immigrants' presence.

So the Academy sponsored a project to try to find at least some of the answers to the questions being asked, both by encouraging and helping workers already known to be engaged in immigrant research, and by organising new studies to fill some of the major gaps. In September 1967 two Honorary Directors were appointed:

Dr C. A. Price, Professorial Fellow in the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, to lead studies in the cultural, political, and social fields; and Professor R. T. Appleyard, Department of Economics, University of Western Australia, to lead work in economic and industrial studies. An Organising Committee with a wide geographical and disciplinary representation was also appointed and set about costing the enterprise, which proved to be beyond the financial capability of the Academy. It is with gratitude that the Academy acknowledges generous financial support from government, business, and foundation sources. The Academy also records its appreciation of the co-operation of the Department of Demography of the Australian National University, both for its contribution in research and for its assistance in many organisational aspects of the project.

Throughout the project every attempt has been made to keep the research workers in communication with the main objectives of the project and with one another. To this end a major seminar was held in Canberra in May 1970.

The project does not, and indeed could not aim to produce a single definitive volume, but rather to sponsor books and journal articles within areas felt to be significant with regard to the processes of settling the interaction of Australian and immigrant and the impact of immigrants upon the nation. Major areas in which studies are being sponsored are:

- The economic role of immigrants in specific industries.
- Patterns of immigrant consumption and expenditure.
- Mobility and career patterns of immigrants.
- Displaced persons and other refugees.
- Professional and highly skilled immigrants.
- Immigrant communities and problems of integration.
- Studies of selected ethnic groups.
- Immigrant concentrations in metropolitan areas.

In addition to articles in learned journals, it is expected that at least a dozen books will flow from the study. The sponsorship of new research ceased at approximately January 1971; the task now is to bring to publication work begun by that date. So far four books have been published and one is in preparation, and the flow is expected to continue.

The Academy hopes that the project will assist in an understanding of a great national enterprise and the

Note on the Series

growing complexity of a nation in which almost a quarter of the population is of post war immigrant stock; for, whatever the future of immigration, there can be no doubt that the introduction of the 2,646,000 new settlers from 1947 to 1970, of whom about 85 per cent have remained in Australia, has changed the character as well as the economic structure and the size of this young nation.

W. D. Borrie  
Chairman, Organising Committee

Canberra  
December 1971

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## Introduction

### Charles Price

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Persons of Greek origin now make up the second largest non-British population in Australia—some 300,000, including those born in Australia, compared with 450,000 or so of Italian descent. Comparatively little, however, has been written about them. Whereas for some years there have been available several full-length theses on Italian communities, and numerous articles, it is only recently that similar work has been undertaken for Greeks; and very little of this has yet been published. Yet Greeks often have more complex reactions than Italians when assimilating to Australian ways and institutions, especially on things involving their religion with all its ethnic and nationalistic ramifications.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the immigration research project of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia should early become interested in Australia's Greek population and should sponsor studies on it. One is by Eva Isaacs on the Greeks of Redfern and adjacent suburbs in Sydney where we find one of the major Greek concentrations of Australia. The organisation of the Australian-Greek family and home, and the way this affects the relations between Greek and other children in the local schools, are of great importance. Mrs Isaacs's work is being published separately.

Other studies sponsored by the Academy on Greek matters did not result in book-length reports. Yet they warranted publication at greater length than is possible in a learned journal. The Academy decided, therefore, to publish them as chapters in a single volume on Greeks in Australia; to complete the volume it asked a few scholars working on Greek immigrants, who had been associated

with the Academy's project by way of conference and discussion but not by way of subsidy, to write up some of their material also. This volume is the result.

It must be emphasised that the various chapters make no attempt to present a comprehensive picture of Greek life in Australia, or of all the problems confronting immigrant Greeks and their families. One volume cannot possibly cover all these except in a very general way, and there is not yet sufficient detailed information to make such a general work practicable. The present need is for more studies in depth—of particular groups or classes of Greeks or of particular localities where Greeks abound—and the studies published here are of that kind. But they do have a coherence in that they concentrate on two particular aspects of Greek settlement in Australia, aspects of especial interest to those working in the social sciences or involved in the social problems of Greek families and communities.

The first is historical and demographic; here this volume sets out some of the main features of Greek immigration in the last several decades, the principal forces engaged in migration and settlement, and the way these forces have resulted in the formation of Greek communities, social organisations and family groups around which Greek individuals cluster their friendships and social activities. This is the main theme of Mick Tsounis's chapter on the Greek communities, but he also explains why regional and pan-Hellenic organisations mean so much to many Greeks in Australia. Other historical and demographic matters are touched on in this introduction, including a note on intermarriage patterns and a section clarifying the exact meaning of 'Greek Orthodoxy'; this explains the difficulty many Greeks, especially those with official connections, have when living in a country where their church is not the established government-supported church it is in Greece.

The other chapters are more anthropological and sociological, spelling out in detail some of the themes mentioned in the Tsounis survey. Three of them (Mackie, Bottomley, Cox) examine the way some younger Greeks adapt on the one hand to the culture, institutions and personalities of their parents and older friends, and on the other hand to those of their non-Greek friends, neighbours or workmates. These three studies make considerable use of network analysis; that is, they take a number of 'starting persons' and trace

their network of friends and contacts, sometimes solely from the account given by the starting person and sometimes by separate interviews. In the end they can assess not only the relative importance of Greek, as distinct from non-Greek, friends and contacts but also the way these networks produce groups of persons who may help and reinforce each other in retaining Greek values and customs, or in adopting non-Greek attitudes and customs, or in evolving various compromises and middle paths between old and new.

Fiona Mackie's chapter spells out the general problem of network analysis—its aims, techniques and validity—and the results of applying such analysis to different types: single persons, married couples with no children, couples with young children and couples with adult children. The social relationships of such families, and their degree of assimilation, vary considerably with the stage they have reached in the family life cycle. Gil Bottomley's chapter also uses network technique, to show that differences in Greek behaviour are also related to the number of years the family has been settled in Australia, the size and coherence of family or social networks, and the temperament of the individual settler or child.

David Cox's chapter arises out of his years of experience in a welfare agency which has many dealings with young Greeks, and out of special surveys he and his colleagues have conducted amongst young Greek men grappling with life in a new country, often far removed from traditional constraints or family support. Again the general approach is through a migrant social network but Cox is reinforcing the results of special survey and analysis with many insights and assessments derived from his sojourn in a Greek village in Rhodes and from his many years of experience with Greek families and youths.

Jean Martin's chapter deals with the way certain Greek families come in contact with governmental and voluntary welfare agencies, and the way the two parties deal with each other; it also covers the way migrant parents relate to the schooling system. From her survey the author makes various suggestions for encouraging immigrant families to assume a more active and responsible role in making bureaucratic structures more responsive to their needs.

With this brief note of introduction we can now turn to some of the general points relevant to the whole volume.

### *Who is a 'Greek'?*

Traditionally a Greek is someone who, no matter where he is born, and no matter what is his nationality, is of Greek descent, identifies himself as a Greek, and understands and speaks Greek if not fluently at least to some extent. In this sense an ethnic Greek born in Galatz in Rumania, Odessa in Russia, Istanbul or Smyrna in Turkey, Beirut in the Lebanon, Alexandria or Cairo in Egypt, or Cyprus in the British Commonwealth—no matter what may be the law governing his nationality at birth—regards himself as being just as Greek as someone born and bred in Greece itself. Because Australian Censuses, however, do not ask a question on mother tongue, but concentrate on place of birth and current nationality, it is very difficult to discover how many ethnic Greeks there are in Australia. The situation was even worse in the past when large parts of modern Greece were still under Turkish rule, or when many Greek islands such as Rhodes were under Italian control.

Nevertheless, by using naturalisation and other records, which give exact village or town of birth, we can go some way towards estimating the number of ethnic Greeks in Australia at any particular time. These suggest that, excluding children born in Australia, there were a little under 700 Greeks in Australia in 1891, about 4600 in 1921, some 12,500 in 1947, maybe 91,000 in 1961 and 180,000 in 1971. These figures can be compared with the official birthplace statistics given by Dr Tsounis (Table 2.1 below); some of the difference comes from the fact that in 1921 nearly 20 per cent of the Greek population of Australia, coming from Rhodes, Kastellorizo and other Dodecanese islands, were given an Italian birthplace while another 5 per cent, coming from Cyprus, were given a British birthplace. (Conversely some persons born in Greece, but not ethnic Greeks, have been excluded—see Macedonian section below.)

Naturally these diverse origins, some going back thousands of years, as with Greeks from Smyrna, Cyprus or Alexandria, do produce some differences. Egyptian Greeks, with their background in commerce and the skilled trades, tend to be well educated and fluent in several languages. Likewise Cypriot Greeks are in some

ways different to those from mainland Greece, even if peasant farmers of similar background. These differences, however, are no greater than those between well educated Athenians and rural Greeks, or between people from places such as Sparta, Crete and Kassiolorizo. They certainly do not interfere much with that feeling of belonging to the Greek world, of being a 'Greek'.

### *The Macedonians*

The main group which, though sometimes considered to be Greek, can safely be removed from the ethnic Greek category are the Slav-speaking Macedonians from northwestern Greece. Macedonia is the name given to that part of the Balkans which runs roughly from Lake Ohrid south to Grevena, northeast through Salonika to Kavalla, northwest along the Rhodope mountains to Bansko, then back via Skopje to Lake Ohrid. Under Turkish rule for several centuries its people were very mixed: Albanians in the west, Bulgarians in the east, Greeks in the south and some of the larger cities, and Slav Macedonians (peoples speaking varieties of Slav transitional between Serbian and Bulgarian) in the rest of the country, these comprising the majority of the population.

After the Balkan wars of 1911-13 the country was divided between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, the last receiving not only the Greek areas in the south but some predominantly Slav Macedonian areas, especially those around Florina and Kastoria. Programs then began to turn these Slavs into Greeks (similar programs began in Serbia) and were successful with a number of families. But other families were very hostile at these Greek efforts to stamp out the local language, religion and culture and, when emigrating abroad, tended to repudiate any connection with Greece; rather they stood on their traditions and frequently founded their own organisations and communities. In other words, though born in Greece and bearing Greek nationality on arrival, they mostly deny that they are Greeks and are better left out of a survey of Greeks in Australia. There were about 1500 of them in Australia before the war but their numbers have increased greatly since then—they probably number at least 7000 at present.

### *Changes in occupation and settlement*

The second point worth stressing about post-war Greek migration

to Australia is that radical changes have occurred in the traditional patterns of settlement. Early Greeks arrived as seamen or unskilled labourers and often became porters or cleaners in city markets or agricultural labourers on sugar or vegetable farms. They very quickly, however, entered the world of small business—fish shops, cafés, groceries, fruit shops and so on; by 1947 over 70 per cent were so engaged, many in country towns. Though some post-war Greek settlers have also entered these catering trades, the much greater volume of migration has made it impossible for most new arrivals to do so; many therefore find themselves working as unskilled or semi-skilled hands with factories or construction firms.

This is reflected very clearly in the census statistics of occupational status. Whereas in 1947 some 58 per cent of Greek men were either employers or self-employed, in 1971 the figure was only 17 per cent; all the rest were employees.

It is noticeable that, in the following studies, some of the younger Greeks coming from well established families have a background in business, and some acquaintance with the affluent society; others, coming from families more recently arrived, have a labouring background and are far more dependent on community support. There is at times some bitterness on the part of the 'new' Greek labouring class against the older business population, especially as the latter control many of the Greek churches and organisations.

The change in occupations and status has been accompanied by a change in areas of settlement. The catering trades enable families to spread out into the country towns and townships; in 1947 about 43 per cent were living outside the metropolitan areas. The large inflow into manufacturing and construction since World War II has changed this; in 1971 only 7 per cent of Greeks were outside the metropolitan areas. This is one reason for the rapid growth of Greek organisations and churches in the suburbs of Sydney, Melbourne and other metropolitan towns.

### *Greek Orthodoxy*

The third point needing clarification is that of 'Orthodoxy'. The following chapters make plain how important, to some Greeks at least, is their association with the Greek church and its various organisations. Some, indeed, say that it is the most important factor involved in the continuation of Greek ethnic values. But

the general titles given this church, especially in census statistics, can be confusing.

The origins of Christian Orthodoxy lie in the first centuries of Christianity when the young churches were striving to work out their doctrine and organisation as well as their languages, liturgies and rites. Gradually there developed a system of five major bishoprics or Patriarchates, with greater or less authority over all other bishops, except for a few with independent powers. Rome controlled the predominantly Latin churches of central and western Europe; Constantinople had authority over the Greek churches of eastern Europe and most of Asia Minor; Alexandria was paramount in Egypt and nearby Africa; Antioch controlled Syria, the Lebanon and Cilicia; Jerusalem was given authority over Palestine. Beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire, independent churches grew up in Persia (the Church of the East) and in Armenia (the Armenian Apostolic Church, later under Russian influence sometimes called the Armenian Gregorian Church).

Though much of early Christian worship and writing was in Greek, several churches developed their own linguistic forms: Roman Christianity early adopted Latin, with a preference for the liturgy of St Peter; Alexandrine Christians used liturgies of St Basil or St Mark, either in Greek or Egyptian (Coptic); Constantinople used several Greek liturgies, commonly that of St Basil and its modification by St John Chrysostom, later known collectively as the Byzantine liturgy; Antiochan Christians used a liturgy of St James, sometimes in Greek but frequently in west Syriac; the Church of the East used a liturgy of St Addai and St Mari, usually in east Syriac; the Armenian church developed its own liturgy, somewhat similar to the Byzantine, using classical Armenian as its liturgical language.

The 'Greek' church in a sense begins with the division of the Roman Empire into a western half controlled from Rome and an eastern half controlled from Constantinople (Byzantium); about the same time Christianity was adopted as the official religion of the Empire and the Emperors felt free to intervene in doctrinal disputes between the bishops. In the eastern part Greek soon became the official language, the Greek Byzantine liturgy became the common form of worship, while the doctrines of those bishops supported by the Emperor usually became standard or orthodox.

Against the growing power of Constantinople, both political and religious, local reactions soon developed, eventually resulting after the Council of Chalcedon in the breakaway of most of the Egyptian (Coptic) church, and also of many Syrian speaking Christians in the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem; later these became organised in the Syrian-speaking 'Jacobite' church. Those favouring the cause of Constantinople became known as Melkites ('king's men') and managed to retain control of the Patriarchal organisation, not only in Constantinople, but in Antioch and Jerusalem also; they also established a small rump Patriarchal organisation in Egypt. Eventually the Greek Byzantine liturgy ousted the Syriac liturgies of Antioch, although the lower clergy kept their Syriac, later changing to the kindred language of Arabic after the Arab conquests and the establishment of Islam as the dominant religion of the area.

These Patriarchates—Greek, Byzantine, Melkite, Orthodox, whichever term one wishes to use—then proceeded to break with the Latin church of the west, partly on doctrinal questions but mainly on the claims of the Pope to be the Vice-Regent of Christ on earth and therefore supreme over all other bishops. The four Patriarchates, eventually adopting the title of the 'Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic Eastern Church', later added unto themselves additional Patriarchates and churches when their missionaries converted the eastern Slavic peoples to Christianity. But they all continued to use the Greek Byzantine liturgy, even if translated into Slavonic, and recognised the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople (Ecumenical Patriarch) as the senior Patriarch and convenor of all major Orthodox councils and meetings.

Largely because of this, the whole body was known for centuries as the 'Greek Church', as appears in the dictionaries and encyclopaedias of the late nineteenth century. More recently, partly because of nationalist moves in eastern Europe (especially when Serbs and Bulgarians were battling to throw off the religious control of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople) and partly because Arabic-speaking Christians in the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem began moves to replace their Greek language and bishops, the short title 'Greek' has dropped out in favour of 'Orthodox', 'Eastern Orthodox' or occasionally 'Holy Orthodox' or 'Orthodox Catholic'. Occasionally also some have used the title

'Greek Catholic' though this was more commonly used of Orthodox groups that had put themselves under the Pope of Rome.

This last occurred partly because, after the split between western and eastern Christianity, the Roman church encouraged missionary adventures to the east, and agreed that any well established group of eastern Christians willing to acknowledge Papal supremacy could become a Uniat church; that is, be part of the Roman communion but with the right to retain their own language and liturgy and to keep certain customs such as the married priesthood. A number of eastern Christians left their parent bodies to do this, forming the East Syrian (Chaldean), West Syrian, Armenian and Coptic Uniat Churches. So also did a number of those using the Byzantine liturgy, whether in Greek or Arabic (or Syriac), and these sometimes became known as Greek Catholics or Melkites.

Because of the complexity involved it is no wonder that in far distant Australia census officials sometimes got muddled in their terminology. In the mid-nineteenth century a Victorian census official, when he found the religious question on some census returns marked 'Greek', and others 'Greek Orthodox', and yet others 'Greek Catholic', decided to combine them all together under the one heading 'Greek Catholic'. This became standard practice, being followed by other colonies and also by the Commonwealth Statistician right down to 1947, though at times the broad division Greek Catholic was divided into absolute subtotals. So in 1911 the Statistician showed the subdivisions of Greek Catholic as follows: Greek Orthodox Church 1464, Greek Church 533, Greek Catholic 516, Greek Church of Russia 26, Greek 25, Russian Church 23, Greek Universal Catholic Church 16, Others 43, Total 2646. In this case, Greek Catholics (Uniates), though only one-fifth of the total grouping, gave their name to the whole category. But the confusion did not end there, because in the 'Other Christian' category were: Orthodox 194, Orthodox Christian 33, Orthodox Church 23.

Since 1947 the Commonwealth Statistician has put into the one category, 'Orthodox', all persons giving their religion as 'Orthodox', 'Greek' or 'Greek Orthodox', 'Russian' or 'Russian Orthodox', and so on. This removes the anomaly of lumping Uniat Catholics in with Orthodox but still leaves the task of separating out from the Greeks, the largest group involved, those who belong to the Slav

or Asiatic Orthodox churches. It also becomes confusing in that some Coptic or Jacobite churches use the word Orthodox in their title; some of these may be in the Orthodox category and others in with 'Other Christian'.

Whatever the censuses may do or have done it is simplest for purposes of ethnic studies to use the following terminology:

1. 'Lesser' or 'separated' Eastern churches, sometimes called 'Oriental Orthodox' churches, are those eastern churches that left the main stream of Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries (the Armenian, West Syrian (Jacobite) and Coptic churches and the so-called Nestorian or Assyrian Church of the East). These may or may not have the term Orthodox somewhere in their titles and usually claim to be the true inheritors of the ancient Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem or Alexandria.

2. 'Orthodox' includes those eastern churches, whether using Greek, Slav, Arabic or some other language, that are recognised to be part of the Holy Orthodox Apostolic Eastern Church, usually base their liturgy on the Byzantine and accept the Patriarch of Constantinople as senior Patriarch. They also claim to be the true successors of the ancient Patriarchates.

3. 'Uniat' is a term covering those off-shoots of the above two categories that recognise Papal supremacy but retain much of their ancient language, liturgy and customs. (The term 'Uniat' is much less confusing than 'Greek Catholic'.) The principal Uniat churches in Australia are the Ukrainian and the Maronite (Lebanese).

4. 'Greek Church', or 'Greek Orthodox Church', means any Orthodox church using Greek as its liturgical language. It usually consists of people of Greek ethnic descent, whether they come from families who have emigrated from Greece comparatively recently or have been, as have the Cypriots for instance, outside Greece for centuries.

5. 'Church of Greece' means the Greek Orthodox Church of Greece. It is the church established by law and is an autocephalous (independent) orthodox church headed by a Holy Synod of bishops presided over by the Archbishop (formerly Metropolitan) of Athens. Carved out of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1833-50, it stands on the same level as the Russian, Serbian and other autocephalous Orthodox churches and recognises the Patriarch of Constantinople as senior Patriarch.

6. 'Greek Orthodox Church' of Australia. This church has in practice existed since the late nineteenth century. Apparently because the two original churches in Sydney and Melbourne were jointly founded by Greek-speaking Greeks from the jurisdictions of the Metropolitan of Athens and Patriarch of Constantinople, and by Arabic-speaking Syrians and Lebanese from the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, the original priests were bilingual men (Greek and Arabic) drawn from the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In 1902, after a dispute between the priest and the directors of the Community in Melbourne, the Community dismissed the priest and, much to the wrath of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, successfully asked the Metropolitan of Athens to take the churches under his jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup> This situation was ratified in 1908 by the Patriarch of Constantinople who, under the agreement setting up the autocephalous church of Greece, retained technical control over all Greeks outside Greece and the ancient Patriarchates. In 1924, however, the Patriarch resumed control of Greeks abroad and since then the Greek churches in Australia, including their bishops and priests, are responsible to him and not to the Church of Greece.

Nevertheless the hand of Athens lies heavy on them. In Greece, as Orthodoxy is the established religion, the government has considerable powers in relation to the appointment of bishops, clerical stipends, education and so on. Moreover, various sections of church law have civil force, as instance the invalidity of many marriages, between Greeks, performed outside a Greek church. Though technically quite independent of the Church of Greece, the Greek churches in Australia can be much influenced by the Greek government and its diplomatic or consular officials in Australia. In 1960-1, for instance, the Resettlement Division of the Australian Council of Churches—which was assisting many Greek migrants to Australia and of which the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia is a member—did a survey and wrote a report on the settlement and integration in Australia of immigrants it had sponsored. Amongst other things the report quoted some unfavourable opinions by some Macedonians and by some radical Greeks about the Greek government during and after the war, and why they were glad to be out of Greece and in Australia.

<sup>1</sup> M. P. Tsounis, 'Greek Communities in Australia', Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide, 1971, p. 86.

In Athens the government department concerned with religious affairs took exception to these passages, and to passages suggesting that Slav-Macedonians were not true Greeks; so also did some members of the Greek church. A meeting was therefore arranged in Melbourne between representatives of the Australian Council of Churches (including myself) and the Greek Archbishop and Consul-General; here considerable pressure was brought to bear on the Resettlement Division to alter the Report. About the same time the Greek Ambassador in Canberra asked me, as one of the academics advising the Resettlement Division on the survey, to use my influence to have substantial sections of the Report either withdrawn or completely rewritten. In the end the Report was reissued, with some immigrant opinions removed but with the Macedonian sections strengthened, if anything, to bring out the considerable pressure exerted by the Greek government on the Slav-speaking inhabitants of Kastoria and Florina districts of north-western Greece. This was followed by another session at which the Greek Ambassador rebuked me for my refusal to be a party to any suppression of reliable and relevant information; at the end of this session I felt moved to tell him that the policy and tactics he and his government were pursuing were simply alienating many Australians hitherto friendly to Greek immigrants and doing their best to help them settle happily. The Ambassador thereupon asked the Australian Department of External Affairs to intervene but, as Australian governments interfere relatively little in church affairs, this came to nothing.

The close connection between Greek government and Greek church abroad was also visible in the split occurring in the late fifties between the Archbishop's party and the old Greek communities of Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, and Newcastle (see Tsounis's chapter). Though the Greek Orthodox church in Australia, being under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, is quite independent of church or state in Greece itself, the Greek Consuls in Australia pointed out to Greek settlers that the Greek government recognised the Archbishop's churches only and that marriages performed in the breakaway community churches, though legal under Australian marriage law, would be held invalid under Greek law. Hence, if the settlers concerned were still Greek nationals and wanted to visit Greece, they would have to travel under passports

showing husband and wife as unmarried and any children born in Australia as illegitimate. Additionally, under Greek law, such children could not inherit property in Greece. Nor could children born to persons of Greek descent but of Australian citizenship or birth, if they could have been married in one of the Archbishop's churches but had in fact been married in a church not recognised by the Archbishop. All this naturally acted in the Archbishop's favour, sending numbers of Greeks basically opposed to his policy to his churches for marriage.

With the recent healing of much of the split, fewer immigrants are now affected. The episode is recounted here, however, to illustrate the fact that, though the Greek Orthodox Church of Australasia is under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople and technically quite independent of the church and government of Greece, it nevertheless has numerous connections with both church and state in that country. It is truly difficult for church folk with such strong nationalistic background, and such strong traditions of church state co-operation and involvement, to realise that life in Australia, and their own lines of church jurisdiction, point to separation of religious and political matters.

### *Marriage*

This friction between Archbishop and Community churches has led some Greek settlers to become sick of the whole wrangle and of those conducting it. This, together with the tendency of hard-working immigrants in an affluent western-type society to become very involved with establishing themselves materially, and the absence of the old social pressures in favour of church attendance, has led many to drop church affiliation. They do not, however, so readily drop their 'Greekness', or their feeling that if they are to think about religion at all then it is Greek Orthodoxy they think about, or their old customs and friendships. Which all means that they do not lightly marry outside the Greek community.

The history of Greek intermarriage in Australia is here relevant and interesting. In the early days of settlement, when there were many male pioneers but few females, out-marriage was relatively high; the largest pre-war Greek grouping in Australia, for instance, that from the island of Kythera south of the Peloponnesos, showed an intermarriage ratio of 42 per cent for the years 1900-21; that is,

of every 100 Kytheran men marrying in New South Wales during these years, forty-two married a British-Australian or some other non-Greek girl. Then, with the arrival of more women and of families with teenage girls, the preference towards marrying within the Greek ethnic community was capable of easier fulfilment and the intermarriage ratio dropped during 1922-40 to less than 15 per cent. However, with the growing to maturity of those born in Greece and brought to Australia as young children (these are the IIa's and tend to behave very like second generation Greeks born in Australia—the IIb's—and mix much more with non-Greeks) the intermarriage ratio started to climb again, averaging 33 per cent for the years 1951-6.

Though less obvious, the same trend is visible for the post-war Greek population of Australia as a whole. In the early post-war years, 1947-55, when there were some newcomers but also a number of IIa's brought out before the war, the intermarriage ratio for Greek-born males was 34.1 per cent; with steadily increasing immigration of first generation Greeks, male and female, this fell to less than 10 per cent, only to rise again to 18 per cent during 1969-72 with the marriage of IIa's brought out as children in the fifties. Furthermore, with the recent decline in Greek immigration—from over 10,000 new settlers a year in 1968-70 to just over 4000 in 1972 and some 3000 in 1973—there are fewer recent arrivals getting married and relatively more marriages by those who have been longer in the country; and these also tend to intermarry somewhat more.

Greek females show the same trends, but with a more consistent level of in-marriage, as can be expected in a closely knit immigrant population with a surplus of young males. Female intermarriage was 21 per cent during 1947-55, then fell to 8 per cent and less until 1968 and then rose again a little to 11 per cent during 1969-72.

Figures for both males and females are set out below in Table 1.1, with the marriages of second generation Greeks born in Australia given for comparison. As one might expect, the Australian-born Greeks show a much higher rate of intermarriage than those born in Greece and arriving as adults. Nevertheless, a substantial number are still marrying back into the Greek community. Some of the strains and stresses involved in intermarriage, as well as the

Table 1.1 *Greek marriages in Australia (per cent)*

Year	Grooms born in Greece* Birthplace of Bride				Brides born in Greece* Birthplace of Groom			
	Greece*	Australia	Other	Nos.	Greece*	Australia	Other	Nos.
1947-55	65.9	27.8	6.3	2611	78.8	5.9	15.3	2183
1956-60	90.4	6.8	2.8	9987	92.0	1.3	6.7	9917
1961-64	91.0	5.3	2.9	12,505	91.9	1.6	6.5	12,500
1965-68	91.9	5.0	3.0	15,313	92.4	1.7	5.9	15,095
1969-72	82.4	11.4	6.2	10,178	89.1	3.8	7.1	9416
	Second generation, born in Australia							
1965-68	43.2	42.1	14.7		70.4	15.7	13.9	
1968-70	31.1	42.9	23.0		32.7	48.8	18.5	

\* Includes Cyprus. For the second generation the left-hand column headed 'Greece' means an Australian-born groom of Greek parentage marrying a bride born either in Greece or in Australia of Greek parentage, and vice versa for brides.

family and community support given with in-marriage, are mentioned in later chapters.

### *Emigration and remigration*

The final point worth making by way of introduction concerns the changing patterns of migration. This is best shown by means of Table 1.2. This shows the build-up of immigration to Australia

Table 1.2 *Greek settler migration and remigration: annual averages (includes Cypriots: time interval is mid-year to mid-year)*

(1) Year	(2) Settler Arrivals	(3) Settler Loss	(4) Net	(3/2) (per cent)
1947-51	2375	-25	2350	1.1
1951-61	7270	-210	7060	2.9
1961-66	14,520	-1300	13,220	9.0
1966-71	10,960	-5220	5740	47.6
1971-73	5400	-7650	-2250	141.7
Total average	8480	-1930	6550	22.8
(Numbers	220,400	-50,100	170,300	)

from the small number of the immediate post-war years to the relatively large intake of the sixties, and then the quite sharp fall of the seventies. It also shows how most settlers stayed until the mid-sixties; in fact, at that time the Greeks had the reputation of being amongst Australia's most dependable settlers, of being immigrants who came to make permanent homes and to rear their

children as young Australians. During the late sixties, however, and still more so during the seventies, numerous Greek settlers have been packing up and leaving, a few to go to other countries but most to return to Greece. In 1972-3, indeed, more Greeks were leaving than were arriving.

This loss of settlers has not involved earlier arrivals as much as later immigrants. Thus, calculations based on the period of residence tables of the 1971 census suggest that by mid-1971 some 14 per cent of those arriving in 1947-54 had left permanently, compared with 20 per cent of those arriving 1954-61, about 23 per cent of those arriving 1961-6, some 20 per cent of those arriving 1966-8, and approximately 24 per cent of those arriving 1968-9. (The loss of those arriving 1969-71 was lower but this does not represent a trend so much as the fact that there is usually a two to four year time lag between arrival and departure, representing the time needed by newcomers to make up their minds about staying and save the necessary return fares.)

It is abundantly clear that Greeks coming to Australia in recent years have not all been looking upon this country as a wonderful land of opportunity, as a heaven-sent way of escape from a poverty-stricken peasant country in the Balkans. They have come to join friends or relatives on an experimental basis, prepared to stay if things turn out well but to pack up and return to Greece if things did not suit. Desultory inquiries suggest that there are many reasons for this readiness to return, including: improvements in economic opportunity and social stability in Greece itself; rapidly increasing housing costs in Australia; anger if trade qualifications do not find easy recognition in Australia; nostalgia for Greek custom and life; dismay at the 'permissiveness' and 'looseness' of Australian family life. This last reason is given by many Greek families who see the teenage children of their friends starting to rebel against parental authority and the traditional values of Greek peasant society; they decide to return to Greece while their children are still of the primary-school age, before they become 'corrupted' by Australian 'laxity'.

Clearly, Greek settlers in Australia now have a relatively easy option to return to Greece, and do not hesitate to take it if displeased with Australian conditions. Ten years and more ago Greece was not so stable and prosperous, which is largely why the

arrivals of 1947-61 tended to stay on in Australia, even if things were hard, and eventually establish themselves in business and houses and other things encouraging permanent settlement. More recent arrivals, with easier conditions in Greece itself, have less incentive to endure the initial years of difficulty.

In the studies which follow there is not much mention of migrants returning to Greece, or of remigration as a real and lively alternative. Partly this is because many of those interviewed belonged to the older better established families with little incentive for thinking about a return to Greece. In addition the studies were started a few years ago when the return movement was less and remigration not so much discussed. Had the studies been started in the first few months of 1974, the opinions and balance might at some points come out a little differently.

This in no way detracts from the value of the studies. They are primarily concerned with the way certain families and individuals, with a particular kind of value system as background, reacted to the problems presented to them by Australian society. The types of individuals and families involved, the way their value system led them into certain kinds of reaction to Australian persons and institutions, or to Greek friends and organisations, and the sorts of tensions, compromises or solutions experienced: these are all of great importance to those interested in the study of minority groups and immigrant assimilation.

## Greek Communities in Australia

M. P. Tsounis

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The aim in this chapter is to survey the formation of the main Greek communities in Australia from the 1890s to the present, describe and account for their structure and assess their role in the life of Australian Greeks.\*

The terms 'Greek community' and 'Greek ethnic community', or what Greeks call *paroikia*, will be used interchangeably to denote both the Greek people and their ethnic institutions, whether these are situated in a metropolitan area, a provincial city or a country town. By 'Greek people' will be meant residents in Australia who were born in Greece and in countries outside Greece—principally Cyprus, Egypt and Turkey—as well as the descendants of these immigrants who in different and varying degrees are affected by, identify themselves with, and participate in the affairs of Greek ethnic communities and ethnic institutions. By 'ethnic institutions' will be meant such formally constituted organisations as Greek Orthodox Communities, the most important and basic Greek immigrant organisations; regional fraternities, which cater for people who can claim descent from particular regions, districts and islands of Greece and places outside the Greek nation; a variety of pan-Hellenic organisations which cater for such specific needs as recrea-

\* The main source material for this chapter is my Ph.D. thesis entitled 'Greek Communities in Australia', University of Adelaide, 1971, referred to as 'Greek Communities in Australia'. I shall also be referring to Appendix A of the same thesis, revised but condensed information which forms the appendixes for the chapter. It lists all known formally constituted Greek immigrant organisations, usually referred to in the text as ethnic institutions.

tion, sport, partisan political aspirations and for particular groups such as women and youth; and institutions such as Greek newspapers, churches, schools, consulates and coffeehouses. These institutions, the number and variety of which usually increase with the numerical size of each ethnic community, operate to satisfy important immigrant needs, often more effectively than do the family institution, kinship networks and informal associations. They influence and are part of the social, political and cultural life of Greeks and by their close interrelationship and constant interaction constitute the whole organised structure of each ethnic community. Greek ethnic communities, especially those in the mainland capitals where most Greeks have settled, have developed into complex social networks and viable subcultures. It is within the framework of ethnic communities that Greek immigrants and their descendants live much of their lives and where some phases of their assimilation occur and can be studied.

Before dealing with ethnic community formations it is necessary to mention several formative factors accounting for their viability. The first of these is Greek culture, including the Greek language. Both are very different from those of British-Australians, much older and more diverse and of them Greeks are aware and proud. For the latter reasons alone, they consider them worth preserving. Second, Greeks are also aware that there were always Greeks abroad and that the survival of the *diaspora*<sup>1</sup> Greeks was accomplished by living in separate communities. This awareness has reinforced their belief that they are capable of surviving as a distinct people, preserving their culture and language in whatever society they settle. Third, modern Greek nationalism, a force fed continually since the war of independence in the 1820s by struggles to free

<sup>1</sup> There are several periods of the Greek dispersion caused by the large-scale colonisation of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.; the conquests of Alexander the Great; the rise of the Roman Empire and later the Byzantine Empire; the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by Arabs, crusaders and eventually Turks, in the fifteenth century, which forced many Greeks into Europe, especially Russia; and modern Greek immigration, particularly to the United States early this century. The Australian Greek communities are more comparable with those of the latter two periods ('Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 5-32). The main sources available and used for the more modern period of the Greek dispersion were: *The Great Greek Encyclopaedia (Megale Hellenike Enkyklopaedia)*, vol. 10, Athens, c. 1963, pp. 841-61 and *passim*; and *The Link (Krikos)*, Athens and London, 1950-70.

and incorporate in the national fold regions and islands held by foreign powers, has been a powerful stimulant to ethnic community unity and consciousness as Greeks abroad were called upon to assist Greece's national causes.<sup>2</sup> Fourth, as immigrants in a foreign country there was a need to communicate with their own folk, help one another in need and co-operate to found and maintain ethnic institutions and hence procure services not available or expected from the host society. The fulfilment of these needs inevitably brought Greeks together into close settlements. Fifth, such close communities were in any case unavoidable because of the entry of Greek immigrants into occupations available, for the most part, in Australia's urban centres. Sixth, ethnic communities have been revitalised by more or less continuous immigration since the 1890s. Seventh, the exclusion of Greeks from the different spheres and levels of the host society—because of the cultural gap, lack of the English language and other skills, low socio-economic position and even physical characteristics—has forced them to construct an alternative social and cultural environment.

World War II is an appropriate dividing line in the history of Greek communities. Before the war, Greek immigration to Australia was a small and slow movement emanating from certain places in Greece. By the outbreak of the war, Australia's Greek population numbered probably no more than 15,000.<sup>3</sup> As will be seen, Australia's Greek population at the present time is of the order of 300,000.<sup>4</sup>

Many more than 15,000 Greeks came to Australia before the war, lived here for different periods, but departed again. The main

<sup>2</sup> The Greek kingdom which eventually emerged in 1833 comprised Peloponnesos, the southern part of the mainland and several adjacent islands. Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, Crete and other islands were incorporated into the nation much later: most of them after the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. The Dodecanese islands were won from Italy in 1947. Cyprus has chosen to remain a separate republic (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 10, London, 1961, pp. 780-8).

<sup>3</sup> According to the 1947 Census there were 12,291 Greek-born residents in Australia. As few Greeks arrived before the 30 June 1947 Census (between the end of the war and the end of 1947 there were only 1279 Greek-born permanent arrivals), the Census figure is fairly close to the position of 1940. Even if the number of Greeks who were born outside Greece and the Australian-born were to be included, the total is unlikely to exceed 15,000.

<sup>4</sup> See Table 2.2.

reason for the failure of many pre-war immigrants to settle permanently was lack of employment. The types of employment available to Greeks, as immigrants with little or no capital and few skills, were in those areas in which the host population was not particularly interested and in the general labouring industries which were not unionised. As industries offering work to immigrants often operated for short or uncertain periods of time, permanent employment and therefore permanent settlement was ensured, for the most part, when Greeks managed to establish their own enterprises, such as restaurants, fish, fruit and vegetable shops and small farms. Several factors and features suggest that the volume and pattern of pre-war immigration was dependent on employment opportunities: the high departure rate (in the years 1919-20 and 1929-32 departures actually exceeded arrivals); the fact that Greeks did not, except in 1927, fulfil their annual immigration quota of 1200 set in 1924; the obligation imposed by immigration authorities on sponsors of immigrants to give a written guarantee lest their nominees become a public burden or alternatively requesting immigrants to show 'landing money' which in the years 1934-5 was as high as £500; the high mobility of Greeks throughout Australia in search of work and the high unemployment rate in the depression years;<sup>5</sup> and finally, the reluctance of many Greeks to bring their families to Australia, indicated by the fact that the male:female ratio among Greek-born immigrants was still as high as 3:1 in 1947.<sup>6</sup>

It is outside the scope of this chapter to describe how the early settlers succeeded in establishing themselves in the various catering trades, a factor which, as noted above, was crucial in paving the way for permanent settlement.<sup>7</sup> It is enough to say that the stable pre-war Greek communities were mainly the result of chain migration, a movement of relatives, friends and compatriots who came

<sup>5</sup> For these factors and features in Greek immigration and settlement before and after World War I see 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 49-64, 116-29, and 196-206.

<sup>6</sup> The number of Greek males and females at Census times were: 1891, 44:36; 1901, 815:63; 1911, 1714:106; 1921, 3147:507; 1933, 6541:1788; 1947, 9115:3176. Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Censuses of 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947.

<sup>7</sup> See especially 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 54-61, for the early rise of the Greek shopkeeper class in Australia.

to join their more successful sponsors; and that the settlements which eventually coalesced were essentially communities of shop-keepers in which one or more regional or district groups predominated. The most notable of these groupings derived from the three small islands of Kythera, Ithaca and Kastellorizo, 'which between them provided Australia with nearly half of its pre-war Greek population'.<sup>8</sup> Having established themselves in Sydney by the 1890s, Kytherans then began to move out into the country towns of New South Wales and Queensland to buy or open up more restaurants. In the same period, Ithacans became heavily concentrated in Melbourne and there most later Ithacan immigrants settled and remained. Later, particularly after 1912, the Kastellorizans established themselves in Perth. From there, small numbers moved into other mainland capitals as well as to Darwin, Port Pirie and Innisfail, to form the nuclei of subsequent chain settlements.<sup>9</sup>

Not all Greek settlements materialised from or were entirely dependent on the success in the catering trades of the early settlers. Among the comparatively large influx of the 1920s were immigrants without established relatives and friends. This influx, in which for the years 1921-8 arrivals exceeded departures by 5444,<sup>10</sup> was caused by employment opportunities here and by restrictions imposed in 1924 by immigration authorities in the United States (the country of major Greek settlement this century). Some of the new arrivals were Greeks from Turkey, uprooted with one and a half million others, by the Graeco-Turkish war of the early 1920s; others were from parts of Greece not previously involved in the migration movement to Australia but who could come as long as they had their fare, landing money and an acquaintance in Australia. Apart from swelling the numbers of existing communities of Sydney and Melbourne, and to a smaller extent of Perth and Brisbane, the newcomers helped create three fairly important settlements. These were the mixed community of Port Pirie, comprising Kastellorizans, Levisians (from Levisi in Turkey directly opposite Kastellorizo),

<sup>8</sup> C. A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1963, pp. 134-5. Price estimates that Kytherans, Ithacans and Kastellorizans made up 43 per cent of Australia's pre-war Greeks.

<sup>9</sup> For the early movement of the Kastellorizans see *ibid.*, pp. 176-8.

<sup>10</sup> Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletins*, 1920-9.

and Chiotés, among other smaller groupings—a community which increased rapidly to a total of 400-500 approximately by the mid-1920s, because of work at the Broken Hill smelters.<sup>11</sup> Secondly, the Adelaide Community which grew in the course of the same decade from about 100 to 400, substantially from the entry of Port Pirie Greeks who lost their jobs at the smelters and not because they were attracted by the handful of Greek caterers in Adelaide.<sup>12</sup> Finally, there was the settlement in the cotton growing towns of Biloela and Thangool, Queensland, which in the 1930s claimed 300 members (most of them probably staying there only during the cotton picking months), many of whom came from the island of Rhodes.<sup>13</sup> This settlement, too, became greatly diminished owing to a slump in the cotton industry within several years of its formation. Other major regional groups whose immigration and settlement did not result from the endeavours of pioneering caterers, at least not in the initial stages, were Greek and Slav Macedonians who became concentrated in Melbourne and Perth.

The influx of the 1920s was clearly too large to be absorbed by the economic structure of Greek ethnic communities. The economic depression and the diminishing opportunities in the catering trades forced Greeks either to return home or seek all manner of alternative employment. Some became itinerant seasonal workers, cane cutting, especially in and near Innisfail, Queensland, where many settled permanently, and fruit picking in the River Murray settlements;<sup>14</sup> others became fishermen as in Thevenard. Those who chose to stay in Australia and were unemployed lived on the dole. Yet these were the pioneers of an important wave of chain migration and settlement—a movement aided by the rise of fascism in Europe and the threat of world war and evident from the fact that in the years 1936-9 arrivals exceeded departures by 3312.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> According to J. E. Bromley, 'The Italians of Port Pirie', M.A. thesis, Australian National University 1955, p. 25, there were 362 Greeks working at the smelters during 1925.

<sup>12</sup> The figures indicating the growth of the Adelaide Community are only approximate, at best a guess, based on the fact that there were seventy-nine Greek-born residents in metropolitan Adelaide according to the 1921 Census and 290 according to the 1933 Census.

<sup>13</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', p. 121.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 120-3 and 199-200.

<sup>15</sup> Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletins*, 1935-40.

Some of the newcomers did enter the catering trades, helped by the rapidity with which shops changed hands, especially during difficult times, so that the mainstay of ethnic communities was still the catering or shopkeeper class. The newcomers, being generally more dispersed and mobile and less wealthy than the earlier pioneers, did not affect or challenge the position in communities of groups like the Kytherans, Ithacans and Kastellorizans. But they did add greatly to the numbers in each community, contributed to its social, political and cultural life and thus helped make ethnic communities more diverse.

Compared with post-war communities, those of the pre-war period grew slowly and were small. Their small size, as is shown in Table 2.1, was also due to considerable dispersion of Greeks in the countryside, especially in Queensland and New South Wales. The greater degree of urbanisation of Greeks, shown by the 1947 Census, was partly due to some movement from the countryside to metropolitan areas during the war in response to better economic opportunities and war time manpower regulations.

After the war, ethnic communities grew rapidly. The main reasons for large-scale Greek immigration in the post-war period were the high demand for labour in an expanding Australian economy and sustained unemployment and/or underemployment in Greece. Even so, the massive influx of Greeks did not begin until Commonwealth assistance was given in 1952. Greece herself was too pre-occupied with the Civil War (1945-9) to enter into any planned migration schemes<sup>16</sup> with Australia immediately after World War II.

During the 1946-52 period, only 8962 permanent settlers (the excess of arrivals over departures) came from Greece. Among them were many families of pre-war immigrants from whom they were separated by the war. This is shown by the fact that in the net intake of 1946, 1947 and 1948 Greek females were in the majority. The new Greek migration chains were Cypriot Greeks, of whom 4670 came to settle permanently in the 1947-52 period, and Egypto-Greeks, whose number by 1954 had risen to 5988.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Reference to an unsuccessful migration scheme because of the civil war is made by L. F. Fitzhardinge, 'Immigration Policy—a survey', *Australian Quarterly*, vol. 21, June 1949, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletins*,

Table 2.1 Numerical size (percentages in parentheses) of major or metropolitan ethnic communities (excluding Greeks born outside Greece)

Years of Census	Location	N.S.W.	Vic.	Q'ld	S.A.	W.A.	Total Other	Total for C'wealth
1911	Metropolitan	419 (51.0)	234 (78.9)	83 (31.7)	48 (63.2)	136 (40.6)	3	923 (51.3)
	Non-metropolitan	403	63	179	28	199	3	875
	Total	822	297	262	76	335	6	1798
1921	Metropolitan	950 (60.2)	498 (89.2)	205 (29.2)	79 (52.0)	355 (61.6)	7	2094 (57.3)
	Non-metropolitan	629	60	496	73	221	81	1560
	Total	1579	558	701	152	576	88	3654
1933	Metropolitan	1498 (51.0)	1196 (72.2)	403 (24.8)	290 (39.2)	693 (53.6)	27	4107 (49.3)
	Non-metropolitan	1442	460	1224	450	599	55	4230
	Total	2940	1656	1627	740	1292	82	8337
1947	Metropolitan	2562 (55.3)	1965 (71.5)	664 (36.4)	617 (60.3)	1145 (59.2)	29	6982 (56.8)
	Non-metropolitan	2073	773	1161	407	788	107	5309
	Total	4635	2738	1825	1024	1933	136	12,291

Source: Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Censuses of 1911, 1921, 1933 and 1947.

The picture changed dramatically when Commonwealth assistance came into operation. The overall effect of this scheme was to initiate new and larger migration chains. This was achieved by granting assisted passages to several thousand heads of Greek families and unmarried males from Greece's mainland regions and large islands and then allowing the forces endemic to chain migration to take their natural course. Immigration figures tell their own story. In the three years ending mid-1956, the total intake of Greeks was 29,344. Of these, 16,833 arrived on assisted passages, while the male:female ratio of this batch was 5:1. After 1956, the number of those arriving on assisted passages decreased, rarely going above the 2000-3000 range annually. The total annual intake also decreased compared with that of the 1953-6 period, but picked up again after 1959, reaching a peak in 1964 when the net intake was 16,766. In the 1957-63 period many more females than males arrived—mostly as privately sponsored immigrants—thus offsetting the great imbalance of the sexes in the previous period. Thereafter the number of males and females arriving was approximately equal.<sup>18</sup>

Table 2.2 shows the rapid growth of the major Greek ethnic communities in the post-war period and also the high degree of urbanisation of Australia's Greeks.

If one includes Greeks who arrived after 1971 and those who came from outside the main source of Greek immigration, especially from Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey and Rumania, as well as the descendants of these immigrants, Australia's Greek population could be now, in mid-1973, over 300,000.

By the mid-1950s, Greek migration to Australia had been freed completely from the rather restricted migration chains of former regions and small islands. Several of these, notably Kythera, Ithaca and Kastellorizo, had in any case practically ceased sending immigrants to Australia. Kastellorizo itself had become almost depopulated by the end of the war. The new migration chains had few limits, given the large size of the regions from which they derived,

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1952-68; C. A. Price (ed.), *Australian Immigration: a bibliography and digest*, no. 2, Canberra, 1970, p. A94.

<sup>18</sup> Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletins*, 1945-52.

Table 2.2 Numerical size of major ethnic communities (excluding Cypriot and Egypto-Greeks)

	Sydney	Melbourne	Brisbane	Adelaide	Perth	Hobart	Darwin	Canberra	Other	Total	Total for C <sup>1</sup> wealth Greek-born females in parentheses
1954											
Greek-born	5346	5597	1267	2073	1905	61	110	84	9419	25,862	(9068)
Australian-born (estimate)	812	788	194	317	307	5	9	12	1235	3679	
Total	6158	6385	1461	2390	2212	66	119	96	10,654	29,541	
Percentage	20.8	21.6	4.9	8.1	7.5	.2	.4	.3	36.2	100.0	
1961											
Greek-born	20,697	28,917	2098	7463	2636	347	549	368	14,281	77,356	(33,603)
Australian-born (estimate)	5508	8111	525	2059	745	69	95	75	3103	20,290	
Total	26,205	37,028	2623	9522	3318	416	644	443	17,384	97,646	
Percentage	26.8	37.9	2.7	9.8	3.5	.4	.7	.4	17.8	100.0	
1966											
Greek-born	41,824	60,793	2749	11,824	3424	526	1197	868	16,884	140,089	(66,153)
Australian-born (estimate)	14,660	21,946	909	4175	1176	160	292	253	5036	48,607	
Total	56,484	82,739	3658	15,999	4600	686	1489	1121	21,920	188,696	
Percentage	29.9	43.9	1.9	8.5	2.4	.4	.8	.6	11.6	100.0	
1971											
Greek-born	50,789	76,239	3009	11,989	4019	674	1452	1121	10,908	160,200	(76,717)
Australian-born (estimate)	28,230	43,234	1590	6751	2194	338	577	569	5347	88,830	
Total	79,019*	119,473†	4599	18,740	6213	1012	2029	1690	16,255	249,030	
Percentage	31.8	48.0	1.8	7.5	2.5	.4	.8	.7	6.5	100.0	

\* Includes Greeks in Newcastle and Wollongong.

† Includes Greeks in Geelong.

The figures in the Table are based on information from Census records, *Demography Bulletins* and information made available by the Bureau of Census and Statistics. The Australian-born comprise those who were born of Greek mothers whose birthplace was Greece. This group was chosen rather than the slightly larger group of Australian-born whose fathers were born in Greece because Greek males tended to marry non-Greeks more than did Greek females. The number of the Australian-born included those born from 1946 onwards. There were no figures available for the years 1941-5 in *Demography Bulletins*. During these years and earlier the Australian-born were in any case a small group. The distribution to ethnic communities of the Australian-born was made on the basis of the proportion of Greek females in each community. No allowance was made for deaths or for departures of the Australian-born. On the other hand excluded from these estimates of ethnic communities were Greeks born outside Greece. By 1970 there were among communities 16,437 Egypto-Greeks and 12,706 Cypriots (C. A. Price, ed.), *Australian Immigration: a bibliography and digest*, no.2, Canberra, 1970, pp. A94 and A79).

the fact that these regions were also those most affected by post-war economic, social and political changes and upheavals, and, above all, ample employment opportunities in Australia.

Jobs and economic opportunities also determined, by and large, the actual places of settlement in Australia. There were centres offering jobs to unskilled workers: the capital cities and industrial centres like Newcastle, Wollongong, Geelong and Whyalla, as well as the rapidly growing cities of Darwin and Canberra. The place of settlement of particular regional or chain groups, however, was influenced, as in the pre-war period, by the first or early settlers from each group. The crucial period to consider when ascertaining where and why the various regional or chain groups settled<sup>19</sup> was in the 1953-6 period, during which the 16,833 assisted immigrants dispersed from the migrant receiving camp in Bonegilla, Victoria, to different parts of Australia. The factors influencing this dispersion were complex, for whereas assisted immigrants were expected to honour a two year contract and work in whatever industries they were directed to by immigration and employment authorities, there is no evidence to show that the majority complied with this regulation. Immigrants generally, sought to settle in centres offering permanent and more profitable types of employment, which inevitably brought them into the major ethnic communities. With time, assisted immigrants, especially those who had acquaintances in Australia, by-passed Bonegilla altogether. Thereafter immigrants moved directly from their birth place to the regional or chain settlement and the ethnic community in Australia. Examples of such regional or chain settlements abound in different urban centres of Australia and even in particular suburbs of metropolitan areas. In Melbourne, large congregations of Spartans are to be found in Brunswick, Messenians in Prahran, Pontians in Yarraville and Macedonians in Fitzroy and Collingwood. In Sydney, there are congregations of Mytileneans in Surry Hills and Cretans and Peloponnesians in Redfern. Most of Adelaide's Cypriots hail from the two towns of Aradippou and Rizocarpasso.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Some indication of chain settlement can be judged by the rise of regional fraternities listed in Appendix 2.2, or, more fully, in 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 350-2 and Appendix A; and I. H. Burnley (ed.), *Urbanization in Australia: the post-war experience*, London, 1974, pp. 175-8.

<sup>20</sup> This ethnic concentration was particularly heavy in Melbourne. According

Massive immigration yielded ethnic communities that were vastly different from those of the pre-war period. Within each metropolitan area Greek immigrants became heavily concentrated in the city proper and in the inner and more industrial suburbs. These areas had the advantage of cheap accommodation, access to transport, and access to services offered by the ethnic community and the wider host community.

Most Greeks in the workforce entered and remained in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, becoming concentrated in manufacturing industries.<sup>21</sup> Otherwise they pursued jobs offering opportunities to work overtime and earn as much as possible, to satisfy their great needs as penniless settlers and as people burdened with obligations to the kinsmen they left behind and to those who accompanied or followed them. Greeks retained the strong tendency to become shopkeepers and thus earn more, usually by working longer hours than they would as workers. The shopkeeper and business classes within communities though increasing were, in relative terms, numerically smaller than they were in the pre-war period and the 1940s.<sup>22</sup> Greek ethnic communities, moreover, became more representative of the Greek people as a whole, thus becoming free from the influence of particular regional groups which in the past had often dominated them and controlled some of the ethnic institutions. Finally, as they had not in the pre-war period, the vast majority of Greeks came to stay. In the 1947-70 period the settler loss among Australia's 200,000 Greek-born immigrants was 26,600 or 13.3 per cent.<sup>23</sup>

The chief factor determining the structure of every Greek community in terms of institutions and organisations has been its numerical size. Other less important factors have been social, political and religious divisions which were related to the diverse

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to the 1966 Census, Richmond contained 5773 Greek-born immigrants, Prahran 5418, Collingwood 4730, Brunswick 4708, Fitzroy 4261 and Northcote 4205.

<sup>21</sup> For a brief analysis based on the 1954 and 1961 Census records see 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 355-60.

<sup>22</sup> According to the 1947 Census 54 per cent of Greek-born males in the workforce were in the two categories of 'employer' and 'self-employed'. The proportion in these two categories had dropped to 36 per cent by 1954 and continued to decline thereafter as communities grew in size from the increasing number of new immigrant workers.

<sup>23</sup> Price, *Australian Immigration*, p. A15.

background of immigrants and to conditions in Australia. Combination among Greek immigrants to found institutions more permanent and formal than coffeehouses has occurred at an advanced stage of chain migration and settlement, what Price calls the 'third stage',<sup>24</sup> which is when immigrants eventually settle down and begin to raise families. Such a stage presupposes that economic conditions are sufficiently favourable to ensure the community's stability and growth. For the Greek Orthodox Community to function properly—given its normal financial commitments to erect and maintain a church, pay the salaries of the priest and schoolteacher and its obligation to needy immigrants and often to Greece's national causes—an ethnic community needs upward of 300-400 members. Although Australia's first Greek Orthodox Communities—of Melbourne (1897) and Sydney (1898)—were founded by no more than 200-300 Greeks (most of whom were males), it is doubtful whether at that time they would have embarked on such ventures without the willing assistance of Orthodox Syrians. Not until more Greeks arrived were these institutions transformed into Greek ones—the Syrians being obliged to relinquish any claims they may have had on the two churches.<sup>25</sup> In Perth and Brisbane Greek Orthodox Communities were properly constituted after 1923, by which time both settlements had grown—possibly to 400 members in Brisbane and 600 in Perth—and were being assured of further growth through immigration. The Greek Orthodox Community in Adelaide began functioning in 1930, after it had attracted Greeks from Port Pirie who had abandoned the town and their Greek Orthodox Community and church, which they founded in 1924. By the end of 1926 the resident priest of Port Pirie had also left.<sup>26</sup>

Where Greek Orthodox Communities were not established, combination into formal organisations did none the less occur for several reasons, not least of which were the satisfaction of religious needs and the teaching of Greek to children.<sup>27</sup> These were also

<sup>24</sup> Price, *Southern Europeans*, pp. 179-80.

<sup>25</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 66-70 and 76-89.

<sup>26</sup> For the formation of Communities in Perth, Brisbane and Adelaide see *ibid.*, pp. 70-6, 140-1, 154-9, 168-74 and 180-2.

<sup>27</sup> One task of the countryside or non-metropolitan Greek immigrant societies formed in the 1930s was to organise Greek classes for children: another was to act as liaison between their members and Communities in the capitals, to

some of the roles of the Hellenic Club in Brisbane, the pan-Hellenic societies which formed and functioned in several small country town settlements in the 1930s, and even the Kastellorizan Brotherhoods in Perth and Adelaide.<sup>28</sup>

The normal course of ethnic community development, however, has been the founding of a Greek Orthodox Community, and once this institution became established the ethnic community embarked on a process of segmentation along regional and other sectional or group interest lines. Such segmentation occurred even in the comparatively small community of Innisfail, which had its own Greek Orthodox Community and school by 1932, a church by 1935, a Greek women's society in 1936 and a Kastellorizan fraternity in 1937.<sup>29</sup> Segmentation was always more intense in the ethnic communities of the capitals, where factors additional to population growth operated. By 1940 Sydney had two Greek Orthodox Communities, one having been formed at the height of the church dispute in 1926; six regional fraternities representing Kytherans, Kastellorizans, Peloponnesians, Asia-Minor Greeks, Cypriot Greeks, and Ithacans; and thirteen pan-Hellenic organisations. Melbourne had one Greek Orthodox Community and a rival body which functioned for a short period during 1925-6; eight regional fraternities representing Ithacans, Lemnians, Kastellorizans, Greek Macedonians, Samians, Cypriots, Asia-Minor Greeks, and Rhodians; and eleven pan-Hellenic organisations. Brisbane had one Greek Orthodox Community, Kytheran, Kastellorizan and Cypriot fraternities and ten pan-Hellenic organisations. Adelaide contained one Greek Orthodox Community, the Kastellorizan fraternity and only two pan-Hellenic organisations. Perth had one Greek Orthodox Community, Kastellorizan and Greek Macedonian fraternities and eight pan-Hellenic organisations.<sup>30</sup>

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arrange visits by priests or the bishop for the religious needs of country settlers (*ibid.*, pp. 272-3 and Appendix A).

<sup>28</sup> In Brisbane some Community revenue came directly from the income of Hellenic House, the Hellenic Club's rooms. In Perth the Kastellorizan Brotherhood, soon after it was founded in 1912, bought a block of land which it subsequently gave to the Community and on which the Sts Constantine and Helen Church was built. The Adelaide Community was formally constituted in response to a call in October 1930 by the Kastellorizan Brotherhood (*ibid.*, pp. 72, 74, 140-1, 155 and 182).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272 and Appendix A.

<sup>30</sup> For a complete list of pre-war immigrant organisations see *ibid.*, Appendix A.

The most important, viable and prestigious ethnic institution was the Greek Orthodox Community. Next were the regional fraternities, provided they were large and established; and thirdly came the pan-Hellenic organisations, which were closely associated with Greek Orthodox Communities. Among the latter were the Hellenic Clubs of Brisbane and Sydney, the Orpheus Club of Melbourne and the Hellenic Union of Perth. As long as he agreed with the aims and rules of a pan-Hellenic organisation, every Greek male adult was entitled to become a member. What attracted immigrants to these organisations was the fact that they offered recreational activities, considerable opportunities for social intercourse and sometimes charity to needy persons. Most clubs, furthermore, had acquired valuable assets, mostly in the form of club rooms. These club rooms were always available to Communities for their meetings and social gatherings, while the membership and leadership of pan-Hellenic organisations, often more so than that of the most influential regional fraternities, usually overlapped with Community membership and leadership.<sup>31</sup> There was also considerable overlapping in the membership and leadership of all these types of organisations, so that they interlinked considerably. Other pan-Hellenic organisations such as youth, sports, women's cultural and educational or school clubs, some of which functioned as Community auxiliaries, were for the most part short-lived—having been formed to serve specific needs and in some cases to serve the sectional and political interests of antagonistic groups of people.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the segmentation and diversity of ethnic communities, some measure of co-operation and unity was achieved for a great part of the time.<sup>33</sup> Such co-operation and unity stemmed from the general acceptance of the importance of Greek Orthodox Communities by the various organised groups whose members could

<sup>31</sup> For pan-Hellenic organisations and their relationship with Communities see *ibid.*, pp. 154-5, 165-6, 171-2, 232 and 264.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 233-5, 264-6 and 269-72.

<sup>33</sup> Throughout most of the 1930s, the Greek School in Melbourne was in charge of a joint educational committee comprising representatives of all *bona fide* Greek organisations including the Community and Greek vice-consul. In Perth, the Greek women's society paid all its surplus income to the Community while the Hellenic Union in accordance to its constitution was pledged to pay into the Community Treasury £100 annually—a pledge it always honoured (*ibid.*, pp. 253-4 and 263-55).

join Communities and influence their activities, policies and leadership; by the Church leaders to whom Communities were their organised parishes; by the Greek newspaper owners, who were looking for readers and business contacts; by the Greek consulates who had continuous dealing with Greek immigrants and who were always in need of organisations to support their government's policies; and by people who sought status and power in an organisation often construed to be not only the most prestigious ethnic institution but also the ethnic community itself. Greeks in the countryside also recognised the importance of Greek Orthodox Communities, if only because they were dependent on the services of priests who were hired by each Community.

By 1940, ethnic community development had achieved its classical structure. There was a fully developed and influential Greek Orthodox Community in each mainland capital and another in Innisfail, which also served the needs of Greeks in nearby towns.<sup>34</sup> Most organised groups and individuals recognised the authority of Communities, accepted and supported their aspirations, programs of activities and leadership and looked to these institutions in time of need.

Apart from satisfying several needs, Greek communities and institutions also provided a protection against a society which Greeks felt was frequently hostile, which rejected them and which reduced them to a low social status. The main reasons for this hostility and low status were the dislike and distrust of foreigners, particularly Asians, coloured people and southern Europeans; the low economic position of Greeks and the threat that unemployed immigrants constituted to trade unionists and working conditions; and the fact that the whole manner of Greek immigrant life—their chief occupations as shopkeepers, their habit of staying together for long hours in clubs and coffeehouses (and sometimes living in them) and their physical appearance, language, churches among other differences—made them a conspicuous social group.

Anti-Greek sentiments and prejudices, which rarely passed unnoticed by Greek newspapers in Australia, were expressed in ways

<sup>34</sup> Measures were already under way to effect a merger of Sydney's rival Communities while the Community of Port Pirie had been reduced to a mere annexe of the Adelaide-based Community (*ibid.*, pp. 241-51 and 267-70).

which indicate that they were shared by a wide section of Australian society. During World War I in Sydney, Australians in army uniform smashed Greek shops, allegedly because of the pro-German policy of the Greek King, Constantine I.<sup>35</sup> A Royal Commission, set up in 1924 by the Queensland Labor Government described the Greeks thus: 'socially and economically this type of immigrant is a menace to the community in which he settles, and it would be for the benefit of the State if his entrance was altogether prohibited'.<sup>36</sup> An Adelaide judge passing judgment in a stabbing case involving Britishers in 1927 had this to say: 'There was no justification, particularly for a Scotsman, to use a knife. It was very well for a Greek but British people are not accustomed to that sort of thing'. The Premier of Western Australia in a speech in Parliament is reported to have referred to the Greeks as 'that fish and chip crowd'.<sup>37</sup> During the 'anti-dago riots' in Kalgoorlie in January 1934, Greeks, among other southern Europeans, suffered considerable losses in property and were ejected from the town by a 'mob of British-Australian miners'.<sup>38</sup> Every pre-war Greek restaurateur has stories to tell of difficult customers who refused to pay for their meals and of frequent quarrels and scenes, the episodes usually occurring on busy Saturday evenings. Foremost in projecting much of the anti-southern European feelings was the newspaper *Truth* with such statements as 'the muddy stream flows to Australia from Greece, Malta and the Levant'.<sup>39</sup>

By way of defence against such hostility, Greek community leaders and Greek newspapers preached the cultivation of amicable relations between Greeks and Australians, frequent donations to charitable institutions and, after 1939, to the war effort, and strict obedience to the laws.<sup>40</sup> The marriage of the Duke of Kent to Princess Marina of Greece in 1934 was greatly applauded.<sup>41</sup> The written constitutions of most Greek immigrant organisations before

<sup>35</sup> *Hellenic Herald* (Sydney), 8 December 1971; and Price, *Southern Europeans*, pp. 208-9.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204-6.

<sup>37</sup> *Hellenic Herald*, 11 October 1927 and 10 May 1928.

<sup>38</sup> Price, *Southern Europeans*, pp. 209-10; 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 206-7.

<sup>39</sup> Reported in *Hellenic Herald*, 5 July 1927.

<sup>40</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 208-10.

<sup>41</sup> *Hellenic Herald*, 6 December 1934.

and after the last world war invariably spoke of the need to preserve the culture, ethics and customs of members, cultivate respect for Australian law and offer mutual aid and protection to members.

World War II had several important effects on Greek communities. Apart from attracting a greater number of Greeks into the capitals, the war made possible the entry of Greeks into factories and other unionised industries from which they were noticeably absent in the pre-war period. The war also stimulated the growth and profitability of their catering trades and businesses.<sup>42</sup> Even more important was the effect of Greece's entry into the war on the side of Great Britain. Greece's 'No' to the Italian ultimatum on 28th October, 1940, the repulse of the invaders and their pursuit into Albania by the Greek forces, liberated intense national pride and made Greeks the heroes of the moment. 'No' Day subsequently became an important national anniversary second only to Independence Day on 25th March. Equally important in enhancing the status of Greeks in Australian society was the bravery displayed by Greeks who fought alongside British and Anzac forces against the German invaders during the spring of 1941; and, later, in endeavours to harbour allied troops caught in Greece and help them escape to the Middle East.<sup>43</sup> Wartime unity and pride among Greek communities was soon replaced by division and discord in response to the fierce Greek Civil War that broke out even before the war ended, but this did not affect substantially the social position of Greeks in Australian society, nor the basic ethnic community structure.<sup>44</sup> The great changes came with mass immigration.

The great influx of immigrants in the post-war period not only intensified the process of segmentation of ethnic communities but also shattered their earlier structure so that the various segments

<sup>42</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 292-9.

<sup>43</sup> For the effects of Greece's 'no' to the Italian ultimatum see *Hellenic Herald*, 7 November 1940 onwards; for the exploits of the British and Anzac forces in Greece see Gavin Long, *Greece, Crete and Syria*, vol. 2 of *Australia in the War of 1939-45*, Canberra, 1953, pp. 315-18 and *passim*; and *Hellenic Herald*, 25 September 1941.

<sup>44</sup> Apart from the emergence of several new types of pan-Hellenic organisation, notably Greek-Australian youth clubs, Greek ex-servicemen's associations, and a more organised radical left, the organisational structures of ethnic communities retained their essential features. For details see 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 331-6.

did not, as in the pre-war period, converge towards and interlink with Greek Orthodox Communities. The final blow that broke the link between Communities and ethnic institutions was delivered by the 'American System' of church administration, which was introduced and successfully implemented by the newly arrived head of the Church in 1959.

The new church system limited the growth of existing Communities, in terms of churches, by instituting separate Communities each with its own church and schools, whenever faithful adherents and Church authorities wanted them in the suburbs of metropolitan areas. What in effect the head of the Church did, was to decentralise the religious and other functions and therefore the power of the old Communities, only to centralise this power in the pyramidal structure of the newly organised Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia.<sup>45</sup> Earlier, the head of the Church in Australia could exercise as much power as the Communities and their elected councils conceded, either independently or unitedly, especially after 1958 when Communities combined to form the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities of Australia.<sup>46</sup> Under the American System, the Archbishop enjoyed almost unlimited power. He held the veto power as permanent chairman of the national Mixed Clergy-Laity Council, he empowered the appointment of Community councillors and could dismiss undesirable elected councillors, and no Community property could be dispensed with and resident priest removed without his permission.<sup>47</sup> As head of the Church, he also enjoyed the unswerving support of Greek law, or as much as could be exercised through the Greek Embassy and Consulates.

Apart from directly encouraging the process of segmentation, the American System sparked off a fierce dispute over such questions

<sup>45</sup> A full account of the reasons for and measures used to bring about these changes, the church structure that emerged and the consequences of these changes is given in *ibid.*, pp. 367-82 and 407-88.

<sup>46</sup> The first conference of Greek Orthodox Communities in Australia was convened by the Community in Melbourne in 1947. The only other Communities represented were those in Sydney and Adelaide. This 'Pan-Community Conference' was prompted by fears (which were subsequently dispelled) that Church-Community relations were to be changed in favour of the Church (*ibid.*, pp. 306-12).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 367-72 and *passim*.

as the rights and prerogatives of Communities and Church, the canonicity or otherwise of the clergy employed by Communities which broke away from the Archdiocese and the validity of marriages and other sacraments performed by these clergymen. The dispute was related to and reflected the deep social and political divisions among Greek immigrants, indicated by the fact that the right wing (in terms of Greek and Australian politics) supported the official Greek Orthodox Church, while the left wing espoused the cause of the old or 'central' Communities and their own Independent (Autocephalic) Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia which these Communities founded.<sup>48</sup> The church dispute further intensified the process of segmentation as rival factions took a stand on the issues involved and caused splits in a number of otherwise united ethnic institutions.

The greatest proliferation of ethnic institutions occurred in the 1951-70 period, the segmentation being much more intense in the early 1960s, by which time the new migration chains initiated by Commonwealth assisted passages had coalesced and the struggle between the rival church systems to establish and consolidate their position was at its height. During these two decades approximately 100 new Greek Orthodox Communities, 200 regional fraternities and 130 pan-Hellenic organisations were instituted. By contrast, in the 1940s, the numbers of the three main categories of ethnic institutions were three, thirteen and twenty-seven respectively. All except about forty Communities, most of which were situated in the small and static country settlements, had developed fully with their own churches, schools, and resident priests. A number of Communities had also organised their own women's and youth auxiliaries. By 1973, the total number of active institutions was 600 approximately, which means that for roughly every 500 Greeks there was at least one formally constituted social organisation.

From the structural change in ethnic communities the strongest institution that emerged was the official Church, despite its conservatism, internal squabbles and undemocratic practices at Community or parish level. By 1972, the Church claimed eighty-two loyal priests and two auxiliary bishops (one of whom was posted in Melbourne), serving 107 Communities of which eighty-eight had

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 407-88.

their own churches.<sup>49</sup> Apart from being the official Church, it derived much of its strength from the policy of rapid expansion in Communities and churches after 1959, which offered badly needed services and simultaneously created numerous positions for the clergy, Greek schoolteachers and laymen. Once the official Church's Communities and/or churches were established and the Archdiocesan constitution and rules were accepted, it became almost impossible for them to break away. The failure of the Federation of Greek Orthodox Communities to institute a *bona fide* Church authority, its reliance (between 1962-70) on the Byelo-Russian Archbishop Sergi Ochotenko, and a vigorous propaganda campaign, stigmatising the 'schismatics' as traitors, sinners, atheists and communists, further strengthened the position of the official Church.<sup>50</sup>

By December 1970, the old Community and its seven churches in Melbourne had returned to the official Church after an absence of eight years. The return<sup>51</sup> was led by Demetrios Elephantis, the president of the Community, who was also president of the Federation from 1965. The Independent Church also suffered the loss of a Community (and church) in Geelong and that in Whyalla. The return to the official Church was facilitated by the decision of Archbishop Ezekiel to accept, without much fuss, the hitherto 'schismatic' priests and to validate their uncanonical sacraments. The old Community in Sydney, though a member of the Federation and a consistent critic of Archbishop Ezekiel, did not leave the official Church until Easter, 1974. By mid-1974, the Independent Church, at the head of which is Archbishop Spyridon, was ensured of the support of the old Community and its four churches in Adelaide; the Newcastle Community and church; the Greek-Cypriot 'Apostolos Andreas' church in Sunshine, Victoria; five churches from the old Community in Sydney; and moral support from the Federation

<sup>49</sup> See Archbishop Ezekiel's report to the Third Clergy-Laity Conference, *Nea Patris* (Sydney), February-March 1972. For the squabbles in and the undemocratic practices of the official Church see: 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 478-86; *Nea Patris*, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14 and 19 July 1973; *The Advertiser*, 20 December 1972; and *Hellenic Herald*, 23 March, 23 May and 1 June 1973 and *passim*.

<sup>50</sup> See 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 367-70 and 407-88, for details.

<sup>51</sup> *Neos Kosmos* (Melbourne), 3, 10 and 13 December 1970 and *passim*.

(within which remained the old Community in Melbourne under a more sympathetic leadership than that of Demetrios Elephantis).<sup>52</sup>

Just as the pressure of population was the main factor in the formation of Greek Orthodox Communities, so it was in the emergence of the more numerous regional fraternities. In the process of regional segmentation,<sup>53</sup> the tendency was to form fraternities to represent the large mainland regions such as Macedonia, Peloponnesos and Epirus and the large islands—Rhodes, Lesbos and Crete—and then to form fraternities for smaller territorial units within these large regions: the prefectures, *nomoi*; smaller districts within prefectures usually known as *eparchies*; and, finally, towns and villages. The most fragmented of the large regional settlements was that of Greek Macedonians in Melbourne, who by 1970, had founded thirty-six fraternities, three for the whole of Macedonia, two of which were defunct by 1968, and thirty-three for smaller regions. One of Macedonia's thirteen prefectures, Kozani, was represented by eight fraternities, one for the whole prefecture and the remainder for smaller districts within it. The most segmented group were the Achaeans in Sydney who had nine fraternities representing different districts but none to represent the prefecture Achaea. In a number of instances, fraternities representing smaller regions were founded before those of larger regions, while several small fraternities either dissolved or were absorbed by the larger

<sup>52</sup> Information on the present state of the Independent Church was supplied to the writer by officials of the Federation. For the campaign against and defeat of the Elephantis party at the Community elections in Melbourne see *Neos Kosmos* and *Nea Patris*, September-October 1972. The new Community leadership was not elected on a policy of withdrawing the Community from the official Church and joining Archbishop Spyridon's Independent Church. The new Community council is not anti-Spyridon as was that under Elephantis but it is not willing to embroil the Community in any further disputes over uncanonical priests and invalid marriages and other sacraments. Archbishop Spyridon arrived in Australia early in 1970 from the United States where he was consecrated a bishop by non-Greek episcopates of Orthodoxy in 1969. Like his predecessor Archbishop Photios, head of the Independent Church in Australia 1964-5, Spyridon was pronounced uncanonical by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the official Church in Australia (see 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 467-71 and 486-7). For details of the decision (and its consequences) by the old Sydney Community to finally break away from the official Church and join the Independent Church (see *Nea Patris*, *Hellenic Herald* and *Neos Kosmos*, 8-20 April 1974 and *The Australian*, 9 April 1974).

<sup>53</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', Appendix A.

regional organisations.<sup>54</sup> There was also segmentation resulting from the religious schism.<sup>55</sup> But these were caused by exceptional circumstances, so that the general process of segmentation of larger into smaller territorial units was maintained throughout the period.

What was also significant was that the smaller regional fraternities were the more viable as social organisations. Apart from the dissolution of Melbourne's two Macedonian fraternities, the Peloponnesian Brotherhoods of Melbourne and Adelaide founded in the mid-1950s were almost defunct ten years later. Sydney Peloponnesians did not even bother to combine into one fraternity in the post-war period. The regional fraternities which have not segmented into smaller units were those which were numerically small even though members derived from large regions; those representing the smaller islands of Greece again because of their small numerical size; and the comparatively large fraternities of Greek Cypriots, Egypto-Greeks and Pontian Greeks or their descendants (from Pontos, the region of north and east Turkey from where they were resettled in Greece in the early 1920s). Cypriots in particular have exhibited remarkable unity<sup>56</sup> (owing to such factors as prolonged foreign rule of Cyprus and its recent struggle for independence) despite the involvement of Cypriots in Greek ethnic community politics and the church dispute. The Cypriots, moreover, have advanced to the higher stage of regional development in that they founded an Australia-wide federation of their organisations. One reason, at least, for the absence of segmentation among Egypto-Greeks and Pontians is that they no longer have regions or 'special fatherlands' served by regional fraternities.

The third main category of ethnic institutions, the pan-Hellenic organisations and the subclasses within this broad category, arose in response to both the increasing size of ethnic communities and their growing diversity in terms of socio-cultural and interest groups. World War I brought into activity Greek ex-servicemen's

<sup>54</sup> In the case of the three Mytilenean fraternities which decided to form one for the whole island of Mytilene (Lesbos) it was not a question of the larger absorbing the small units but of all three agreeing to amalgamate into one organisation.

<sup>55</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 387-8.

<sup>56</sup> There was a split among Melbourne's Cypriots after 1949 but it was overcome by 1960 (*ibid.*, p. 387 and Appendix A).

associations.<sup>57</sup> A branch of the Greek seamen's union was formed by seamen on Greek ships, which were caught here by the war and subsequently chartered by the Australian government.<sup>58</sup>

The war, the Greek Civil War which followed it and the entry of Greeks into factories, stimulated the formation of radical left workers' clubs where they did not operate before, in Adelaide and Brisbane in the 1940s and in Newcastle and Wollongong in the 1960s.<sup>59</sup> The 1940s also witnessed the emergence of youth clubs in every capital city, composed for the most part of the Australian-born youth of pre-war immigrants. The AHEPA movement (Australian Hellenic Educational Progressive Association), which before the war was restricted to shopkeepers in the country areas of New South Wales and Queensland and Brisbane,<sup>60</sup> began to initiate members and form lodges in Melbourne in the mid-1940s, in Sydney and Perth later and eventually (in 1973) in Adelaide. Few of these organisations, except those of the radical left, managed to adapt to the conditions of mass immigration, absorb the new settlers and grow into large and viable institutions. There were several reasons for this, such as the gap in the economic and social position between old and new immigrant; differences in the roles and aims of organisations and also in the way they were administered; and differences in culture and language, particularly between immigrants and the second-generation Greek-Australians. New immigrants wanted organisations that were sensitive to their special needs and aspirations and understood and sought a solution to their immediate problems. As the other institutions, especially Communities and their auxiliary bodies and *ad hoc* committees, undertook much of the social welfare work, segmentation and the formation of new organisations took place in the spheres of sport, recreation, purely cultural activities and partisan politics.

Although youth clubs did sponsor sport favoured by immigrants,

<sup>57</sup> The first of these, the Greek Ex-Servicemen's Legion of Australia, was founded in 1936 in Melbourne. Its founder was John Panayotopoulos, owner of the *Phos* newspaper of Melbourne and a staunch supporter of Greece's dictator John Metaxas.

<sup>58</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', p. 292.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix A. For more details on workers' clubs see also M. P. Tsounis, 'The Greek Left in Australia', *Australian Left Review*, no. 29, March 1971.

<sup>60</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', Appendix A. For the origin of the AHEPA movement see pp. 274-6.

these measures proved to be inadequate, particularly for soccer football, 'the king of sport' which immigrants knew, took to readily and simultaneously transformed into an important medium for the development of ethnic consciousness. Youth club subcommittees in charge of soccer teams soon gave way to separate and properly organised soccer clubs that met the demands of soccer associations with which they were affiliated and increasing professional soccer competition among other ethnic and district teams. In this transformation such former names as 'Olympic' by which youth club soccer teams were generally known were discarded in preference to the more ethnic names of 'Hellenic' or 'Hellas'. A host of other soccer teams were organised, especially in the 1960s, by new clubs (some bearing the names of first division teams in Greece), by the larger regional fraternities in the capital cities and by non-metropolitan ethnic communities. The main first division Greek soccer teams, however, dwarfed all such endeavours. The Confederation of Greek Youth Organisations (1953-6) and its successor, the Pan-Hellenic Athletic Federation of Australia (PASA), which coordinated, at annual Pan-Hellenic Games, the activities of all ethnic institutions with sports teams of all types, had dissolved by 1963 for reasons related to the church dispute but also because of the immense interest in the ethnic soccer teams.<sup>61</sup>

Less important than soccer clubs in terms of maturing into viable and permanent institutions, yet essential in that they served needs and demanded considerable interest, were the various purely political, cultural and recreational societies. These included the two winebibbers clubs (*krasopateres*), 'The Barrel' and 'Bacchus'; the left-oriented Lambrakis youth clubs; other more numerous and non-political youth groups given to social and recreational activities and more recently, the trendy 'younger sets' of the more established regional and pan-Hellenic organisations; Greek student associations; Boy Scout groups; the Community National Rally (PES) that emerged in the early 1960s to fight for the cause of the official Church, and its opponent the Committee to Defend Community Rights; and the Committee for Democracy in Greece, intermittently active since 1947.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 399-401.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 401-2, 460-4 and *passim*.

A very important ethnic institution, in that it offers opportunities for considerable social intercourse to Greek male adults, is the coffeehouse, *cafeneion*. Coffeehouses have been as numerous as formal organisations, particularly in times and places of a high male:female ratio among Greek immigrants. Some of them, usually known as *lesches* and considered to be a better class coffeehouse, have been owned and managed by formal organisations—by the more successful regional fraternities and pan-Hellenic organisations but not by Greek Orthodox Communities—and were consequently patronised by their members and friends. Most coffeehouses, however, have been private concerns, the clientele of which was attracted by the services offered; because of the close association customers formed with one another and with the coffeehouse proprietor; because of membership or association to a regional, political, sports or any interest group which patronised coffeehouses; or because a coffeehouse was situated in the neighbourhood where immigrants lived.

The importance and role of coffeehouses can be gauged by seeing what takes place within them. The first thing that happens when a regular customer enters a coffeehouse at busy time—which is usually during early evenings, weekends and public holidays—is that he is invited to sit with an acquaintance who 'shouts' him a black coffee. This is accompanied by mutual exchanges in personal news. More importantly, in coffeehouses Greeks sit at length discussing ethnic community, Greek, and world events and politics or anything else one cares to mention and pose for discussion. It is here that immigrants meet and learn about others and, for the newcomers especially, the coffeehouse is the place where they learn much about the new community and society in which they have settled. Many coffeehouses, particularly in the large post-war communities, were also transformed into centres where Greek newspapers were sold and read; where posters advertising business and community social events were displayed and leaflets, related to ethnic community affairs, were distributed; where ethnic politicians and leaders campaigned for their causes and sought followers and financial assistance; where employment was sought and found and business deals transacted; and where a host of practical assistance was sought by those unable to read, write and speak English and given by older immigrants, sometimes

for a small fee. Some large coffeehouses also have facilities for a barber, billiards tables and a kitchen. Most have been well stocked with packs of cards used for gambling, often for large sums of money. This has caused them to be raided frequently by police. A popular game played in coffeehouses though not usually for purposes of gambling, is *tavli*, backgammon.

Greek language newspapers published in Australia were, like other institutions, an integral part of ethnic communities. So far, approximately fifty Greek newspapers and magazines have been published since 1914, of which now eight newspapers and two magazines can be considered viable. Generally speaking, newspapers have been initiated to express the views and promote the interests of particular groups, parties and institutions and the financial interests of their owners. Consequently there has always been a war between the Greek newspapers. *Ethnikon Vema* (1914) and *Hellenic Herald* (1926) have consistently opposed each other on most issues, including the Church-Community disputes over which they even switched sides in the 1930s.<sup>63</sup> Several newspapers have supported unswervingly the policies of Greek governments from which they probably received badly needed financial assistance. Newspapers published by particular organisations, by businessmen in search of cheap and ample advertising media and a higher social status, or newspapers committed to promoting partisan and sectional interests, were on the whole short-lived ventures. The successful newspapers have been the two Sydney-based tri-weeklies, *Hellenic Herald* and *Nea Patris* (1967) and the Melbourne-based bi-weekly, *Neos Kosmos* (1957).

There are several reasons for the success of these three newspapers in terms of circulation, services to readers and no doubt profits. All three operate in Australia's two largest ethnic communities from where the bulk of readers and revenue (mostly through advertisements) come. *Hellenic Herald* and *Nea Patris* agreed (in 1971) to publish on alternate days and eventually to merge into one company. *Neos Kosmos* moderated its former radical-left policies and became more acceptable in Australia's large ethnic community, including Melbourne's large and rising Greek business classes. The latter generally preferred *Neos Kosmos*, owing to its large circula-

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186-92, 237-9 and *passim*.

tion, as a more appropriate advertising medium than this newspaper's small right-wing local rivals *Phos* (1936) and *Pyrsos* (1958) or *Hellenic Herald* and *Nea Patris*. *Nea Patris* and *Hellenic Herald* similarly moderated their policies on causes they espoused earlier: the former had, even before the change of government in 1974, moderated its support of Greece's military junta; the latter, like *Neos Kosmos*, ceased to expound unqualified support for the Independent Church and opposition to the official Church. These three newspapers now reflect the wider interests, aspirations, social values and, certainly, social and cultural activities and events of ethnic communities. Divisive topics relating to the Church-Community disputes, regional differences, partisan politics and personal quarrels have been relegated to the letters-to-the-editor columns of newspapers.

Although Greek Consulates were not institutions founded and controlled by immigrants, they too were part of ethnic communities. This was especially so in the earlier history of communities, when it was the practice to appoint Consuls from among prominent community leaders.<sup>64</sup> The Consul-General himself—until the position went to a Greek career diplomat and the office became based in Sydney—was usually a community leader from Melbourne. The links between Consulates and ethnic communities—not substantially affected by the setting up of a Greek Embassy in Canberra in 1953—were based on more than personal contacts and ties with community members. From Greek consulates came information, laws and regulations from the Greek government which concerned individual immigrants and Greeks as a whole; requests for financial and moral support for different national causes; free books for Greek schools. As representatives of the Greek government, Consuls were asked and expected to officiate, or at least be present, at functions organised to observe important national and religious days. The position and roles of Consuls inevitably brought them close to ethnic community life and often embroiled them in its politics, particularly since one of their tasks was to enforce canon law which Greek Orthodox Communities often opposed.

<sup>64</sup> There were six Australians or non-Greeks who served as Greek Consuls in the different communities before 1923, but these were appointed at the early stages of ethnic community formations, before prominent Greeks rose to the fore (see *ibid.*, pp. 109-10 for details).

Finally, Greek ethnic concentrations yield numerous Greek businesses which produce and distribute a variety of goods and services to Greek immigrants. A good example<sup>65</sup> of such an ethnic quasi-economic base is lower Hindley Street, Adelaide, which by 1970 contained half a dozen coffeehouses; several Greek travel and real estate agents; chemists, doctors, a dentist, a lawyer and a tax consultant; several barbers, tailors, photographers, restaurateurs and opal dealers; a jeweller and watchmaker, a butcher, a grocer, a dry-cleaner, a newspaper and printery, a dance studio, a car service station, a bank manager and several bank clerks and several barmen. In addition, there was a large retail store dealing in a variety of household appliances and furniture and imported Greek goods such as ornaments, music records, books and newspapers. Some of these goods and services were also available in Greek establishments outside Hindley Street yet near the city proper. There were also other and different goods and services offered to Greeks by Greek architects, builders, icon painters, candlestick makers, orchestras, night-clubs and cinemas; by a baker and pastrycooks; by several manufacturers, importers and numerous retailers of continental foods; and by fishermen and seafood merchants, gardeners and greengrocers.

The ethnic economic activity of Adelaide seems to be more concentrated than that of other ethnic communities, leaving very little to the ethnic concentrations in the inner suburbs, but it does illustrate another feature of ethnic communities. This feature is that as the ethnic community grows it also tends to become self-sufficient, or at least partially self-sufficient, in certain aspects of its economic life. Otherwise, Greeks have become absorbed by the economic system in Australia. The vast majority of Greeks work for Australian employers or for establishments not owned by Greeks, and their economic interests and well-being are closely identified with those of the host population and the Australian nation.

Economic absorption did not usually bring the corresponding social, political and cultural absorption or assimilation, measured by such things as active participation in the institutions of the host society and the acquisition of positions of influence, privilege and power within them. There are two main interrelated reasons for this: the disadvantaged position in which Greeks, like most non-

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 514-15.

British immigrants, found themselves in Australia's highly competitive social system; and the ability of ethnic communities to attract Greeks and offer them opportunities to gain social and political positions and to express themselves. The steps and stages of assimilation Greeks attained were those necessary for their livelihood and general interests in a new society and nation: the adoption of new social behaviour modes and life styles and new working, food and drinking habits; learning new skills, learning English and forgetting some of their own language; accepting and obeying their new nation's laws and acquiring citizenship rights; recognising and accepting the function of the various institutions; even marrying into British-Australian families, particularly in the pre-war period when there was shortage of marriageable Greek females; and Anglicising their names. But these rather outward forms of behaviour and in some ways enforced changes, were not reliable signs or true indications of assimilation. Apart from varying with individuals, time and place, the adoption of Australian ways of life did not mean that Greeks were also abandoning much of their essential 'Greekness', their Hellenicity. The tendency, given the dual social and cultural situations in which they lived and had to contend with, was to adopt and often practice dual social behaviour patterns and cultural mores.

Be this as it may, the important thing about Greek immigrant assimilation is that it is a very slow and complicated process, rarely attainable in the life times of immigrants who settled in Australia as adults. The reasons for this are to be found in the nature of the host society no less than in the background of Greeks and in the nature of ethnic communities. Apart from being highly competitive, Australian society also discriminated against Greek immigrants, relegating them to an inferior social position. It was sometimes a hostile society intolerant and xenophobic, not philoxenic (hospitable) as Greeks would have it: and it was found wanting in several important human qualities and values including the close family and kinship ties and the reputedly typical Greek quality, *philotimo*. Although Australian attitudes varied considerably, Greeks did not on the whole experience and enjoy the reputed Australian qualities of mateship and egalitarianism, nor were Greeks always treated generously by the Australian economic system. The few Greeks who have done well and about whom much

has been published in the Greek press,<sup>66</sup> have done well by hard work, frugal living and luck—especially if they happened to be here and take advantage of the favourable economic conditions of the war and post-war period. Those who won public office, which in some respects does indicate assimilation, were few and these did not reflect an upward movement of Greeks in the political and social strata. Most Greek trade unionists have held the minor posts of shop stewards and union fees collectors. Most Greek councillors have been Australian-born and have held office in municipalities which had no high concentrations of Greeks. Senator George Georges owes his position to his work in the Labor Party, not to the Greeks in Queensland, the least Greek-populated State of the mainland. The same can be said of Peter Morris, a Federal parliamentarian from Newcastle.<sup>67</sup> As most Greek children attended schools which were inadequately equipped to cope with their special problems in learning, comparatively few of them matriculated to study at tertiary level. Only in organisations associated with the catering trades, some of which Greeks themselves helped found, did Greek immigrants play a leading part.

Social mobility and the drive for status, privilege and power took place within ethnic communities, particularly because of the way they were structured. The segmentation of communities into separate institutions did not mean that they disintegrated and that their members were being absorbed into the Australian social structure. If anything, the rise of the numerous ethnic institutions suggests an anti-assimilationist stance. It certainly suggests a strong desire to maximise the means and measures by which Greeks hoped to preserve, foster and perpetuate their culture and identity. Furthermore, despite the apparent fragmentation, division and diversity of ethnic communities, there was also considerable unity, cohesiveness and purpose. In structuring their communities and institutions Greeks were not only fulfilling needs that arose from their transplantation into a new society but they were also acting consciously and deliberately, the purpose being to create institu-

<sup>66</sup> For a recent series of articles on successful Greeks see *Nea Patris*, May-July 1973.

<sup>67</sup> See 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 361-6 for Greeks holding trade union and other public positions; on Morris see *Democratic Voice (Democratike Phone)* (Sydney), 15 December 1972.

tions adequate to ensure their survival. This was in accord with the conditions they confronted and, more importantly, with their nationalism, their conception of their position and role in history and, above all, the whole *diaspora* ethos of Greeks. All told, the effect was to create ethnic communities which have become self-sufficient in important spheres of social and cultural life and simultaneously give Greeks ample opportunities for social and political positions which have generally been denied to them by their host society.

The number of positions increased continuously, given the segmentation of communities, the hierarchy of every formally constituted institution and the increase in the size of the hierarchy—in the number of councillors or committeemen and subcommitteemen—of growing institutions, especially Greek Orthodox Communities and the Greek Orthodox Church. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the 600 formal ethnic institutions now present Greeks with upward of 10,000 important positions or offices.<sup>68</sup>

The most important office in an immigrant organisation, open to all of its members and ardently sought for by some, has always been that of president. The many opportunities for and the frequent struggles to win such an office have been commonplace among ethnic communities. Hence the saying: 'if you are in a *cafeneion* and call out "Mr President" all will turn to see you'. To gain and hold the presidency was never a mean task, for the president had to command the support and respect of the councillors who elected him<sup>69</sup> and, therefore, the support of the ruling party or faction of the organisation. This was especially true in the case of Greek Orthodox Communities which were situated in the large ethnic communities. The way to the Community presidency, at least before the present religious schism, was long and arduous, often involving becoming a successful businessman, joining the Community, attending church services regularly, and donating generously to the Community; helping found or joining a regional fraternity and/or a pan-Hellenic organisation and gaining office in such organisations, preferably the presidency; striving to have

<sup>68</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', p. 510.

<sup>69</sup> The only known cases where presidents were elected directly by members were the Pan-Hellenic Society of S.A. and the Community in Perth.

such organisations identify with and assist in the Community's aims and work and recruit adherents to the Community and thus enhancing one's chances of becoming elected to the Community council. The chances of such an election would be enhanced further if the candidate managed to procure support from and enter into an alliance (usually by promising to exchange votes) with other candidates seeking a similar office. Further, he should serve for a long period on the Community council and on important subcommittees before making a bid to gain what is sometimes considered to be a preceding position or stage to the Community presidency, namely, the office of treasurer, secretary or closer still, vice-president. The religious schism and the rise of other Communities have decreased the prestige of a Community president in any one ethnic community, but not the opportunities and the drive for such offices. Indeed, many of the splits and divisions in organisations can be traced to this drive and/or the inability of existing organisations to satisfy all the contenders for office.<sup>70</sup>

Apart from the presidency of the large and established Communities, other important ethnic positions were those created by the Greek Orthodox Church, especially its national Mixed Clergy-Laity Council; the presidency of ethnic soccer clubs, from which two Greeks have also been elevated to the important position of chairmanship of the Australian Soccer Federation;<sup>71</sup> and the presidency of federations. The qualifications for leadership other than wealth, organisational ability and service to ethnic institutions, have been political and religious affiliations and educational achievements. Those who have found it comparatively easy to acquire ethnic positions have been lawyers, doctors and accountants, or people with knowledge in commerce.

Ethnic, social and political mobility was both a unifying force and a manifestation of two other related features of ethnic communities. First, in the process of living and interacting as individuals and as groups within communities, Greeks were continuously intermixing, getting to know one another and eventually

<sup>70</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 511-12.

<sup>71</sup> They are Theo Marmaras M.B.E. of Melbourne and Sir Arthur George of Sydney. Both also served as presidents of Greek Orthodox Communities in their cities before the religious schism, after which they served the official church, including as members of the national Mixed Clergy-Laity Council.

marrying. Inevitably many of the social, political, cultural and religious differences and divisions, whether imported by immigrants or acquired in Australia were being eliminated. Other factors operating towards similar changes, were the forces of assimilation or Australianisation cited earlier and the need to secure respect from the host society or at least avoid disapproval or becoming a disgrace. Open ethnic disputes and the often futile factional and personal quarrels which sometimes ended in costly and unresolved litigations were undoubtedly felt to lower the status of the whole community. But in eliminating much of ethnic conflict and the numerous tensions, including those caused by structural changes, the most important factor was the close family kinship and *koumbaros* (godfather) ties and networks forged by Greek immigrants themselves. The end result, as Greeks mixed, married amongst themselves and learned about one another often much more than they did in Greece, was the emergence of a distinctly Greek-Australian identity and culture. Second, ethnic mobility, no less than the whole ethnic life, meant that there was active participation of considerable dimensions at institutional level. Such participation was active not only in terms of attendance at the various dances and social functions, church services, particularly during Easter, Greek school enrolments, soccer matches and at the celebrations organised to mark important national days such as 25 March and 28 October and the regional anniversaries. Participation was active and important in terms of membership of institutions, particularly the more formal organisations. The size of active or financial membership naturally varied considerably. It has been generally large in the early period of every organisation; at election time especially if rival factions or parties contended for control; and when officers of an organisation were active and keen to recruit new members or collect the membership fees of old ones. At the height of the church disputes in the 1960s both sides practised a policy of excluding opponents, thus restricting the size of membership in their organisation.<sup>72</sup> In the case of several Archdiocesan Communities, there was no formal membership. Every Greek organisation has in its books long lists of former members, many of whom—probably the majority in Pan-Hellenic organisations—

<sup>72</sup> 'Greek Communities in Australia', pp. 425-8, 460-4 and 474.

have been lost through loss of interest, change of loyalty to another organisation or change of residence to another community, and withdrawal because of disgust at the internal squabbling of the organisation. Owing to such factors, and ethnic social mobility and the need by office seekers to become identified with and influence the policies of as many organisations as possible, there was also much overlapping of memberships. It was never considered inconsistent or unethical for a person to be simultaneously a member of a Community, one or more regional fraternities, a soccer club, a social or recreational club, a political organisation and, if young, a youth club. The 'schismatic' Community in Adelaide has even tolerated as members the leaders of Archdiocesan Communities, their arch enemies. All told, participation in ethnic institutions, though varying and changing, has been generally active and considerable, a phenomenon showing that Greeks have been a very organised group of people, or at least, that they have been organisationally minded, probably much more so than any other immigrant group.

The features of ethnic communities outlined so far, have shown that they have developed into decidedly institutionalised subcultures. This, and their permanence and viability, were the result of several factors, one of which was that ethnic institutions were important and necessary in the everyday life of Greeks. This role of institutions will now be considered in more detail, because it will also reveal some aspects of ethnic politics which constitute an integral part of the whole subculture. The most important ethnic institution has been the Greek Orthodox Community. To Greek immigrants, the Greek Orthodox Community has been both the commune, *koinotis*, within which most Greeks lived in Greece and the microcosmos of the Greek nation-state. Every Greek adult, especially every head of family, was entitled and expected to be a member of his Community, participate in its affairs and elect its administrative council. It was in the framework of Communities that Greeks married, baptised their children and, in a more formal way, brought them up as Orthodox Christians and were eventually buried. Here they worshipped, frequently entertained themselves; made friends and sometimes enemies; gave and received charity, and expressed their loyalty to their former nation and their atti-

tudes to their new nation; asserted themselves and sought social position and an identity.<sup>73</sup>

Communities, like other formally constituted ethnic institutions, have been essentially democratic bodies. Democratic practice has come in the form of periodical council elections that usually command the interest of the entire ethnic community, regular general meetings and the delegation of responsibility to subcommittees charged with such specific tasks as the managing of churches, schools, Community property, social welfare and social functions. In a situation of comparative freedom from Greek and Australian social, legal, political and religious controls and restrictions, democracy, again as in other institutions, has been utilised by those interested, flourishing and contributing to the strength and authority of the Community. Other factors that have strengthened Communities have been their national-religious aims and aspirations, and activities concerned with immigrant life in Australia: building and maintaining churches and schools where children were taught Greek and something of national history and culture; and initiating and being in the forefront of campaigns and activities associated with charity, from which needy Greeks and Australian institutions such as hospitals benefited. Provided there were no conflicting political interests (as there was in World War I between Australia and the pro-German Greek King) Communities have also been in the forefront of campaigns considered of common interest to both the Greek and Australian nations.

Such roles and activities have brought Communities into close contact with a host of authorities, institutions and individuals but none more close than with the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek clergymen, with whom Communities have also been in frequent conflict. The close Church-Community relationship has risen from the inter-dependence of the two institutions: Communities owning the churches and being suitably organised parishes and the Church owning the priests. The Church-Community conflict arose from the very nature of these two bodies. The Community was a democratic organisation, the Church hierarchical and authoritarian. Another factor that sharpened this conflict was the practice in the early years—before the instituting of the Church diocese, the Holy

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 501.

Metropolis of Australia and New Zealand, in 1924<sup>74</sup>—whereby Communities not only owned churches and appropriated their revenue, but they also 'hired and fired' priests, psalters and sextons at will; and often decided the Orthodox Church authority to which they were to owe spiritual or ecclesiastical allegiance. For example, between 1898-1924 the Community in Melbourne was, with impunity, able to dispense with the services of no fewer than five priests, mainly because they opposed or questioned the authority of the Community. The Community also dispensed with the services of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem to which it owed allegiance through its first priest, preferring thereafter to place its church under the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece. Australia, being part of the New World belonged to Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople before 1908 and after 1922 and to the Church of Greece in the interim, but no Orthodox Church authority laid serious claims to Australia's small Orthodox flock.<sup>75</sup> The absence of a firm Orthodox Church authority merely strengthened the hand of Communities including, it came to be widely believed, in matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

When the Ecumenical Patriarchate eventually, in mid-1924, sent Australia's first Orthodox dignitary, Metropolitan Christophoros Knetes, to exercise the Church's authority and rights, it was confronted by an open revolt. At first the revolt, led by the two dominant groups (the Ithacans and Kytherans who were prominent in founding and leading Australia's major Communities in Melbourne and Sydney respectively), rested on the grounds that important Community rights were flouted. One bone of contention was that Communities were not consulted in instituting a diocese, the maintenance of which, they correctly argued, fell heavily on the meagre resources of Communities. Later, when it was made clear that the Greek Government stood behind the Church, the opposition turned against the Metropolitan himself, where it was more effective owing

<sup>74</sup> For details on the founding of the Greek Orthodox diocese see *ibid.*, chapter 3.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-89. An account of the changing ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Greek churches in the New World, which included Australia, and the reasons why this jurisdiction reverted back to the Ecumenical Patriarchate after 1922, is given by Metropolitan Christopher Knetes in 'The Greek Orthodox Church in Australia', *International Directory of 1927*, Adelaide, 1927.

to his alleged homosexuality. Only after the Metropolitan's recall in 1928 and the appointment of a hard-working and more acceptable head of the Church, Metropolitan Timotheos Evangelinidis (1932-47), did Communities accept the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In return, the head of the Church accepted the fundamental rights of Communities, worked closely with them, and even succeeded in uniting Sydney's rival Communities and churches.<sup>76</sup> As was seen, the opposition to the American system introduced in 1959 rested on the grounds that it too, invaded several important Community rights and practices.

Open Church-Community conflict inevitably involved ethnic communities, often splitting them into bitterly antagonistic factions. The involvement of ethnic communities resulted from the close interrelationship of their institutions: the bitterness came from the issues at stake. The issues were the rights, prerogatives and authority of the Community and those of the Church, and also the implications of canon law. According to canon law, which has been upheld by the Greek civil code and Greek governments, the religious sacraments and rites of marriage, baptism and burial cannot be canonical or valid unless performed by authorised clergymen. This meant that marriages contracted in independent or 'schismatic' churches, the clergymen of which did not recognise the head of the official Church (as was the case in the 1920s and after 1959), were not legal in Greek law. The children born of such wedlock were accordingly illegitimate and could not be inheritors. Because few Greeks returned to Greece, a way was usually found to legalise these invalid sacraments, such as obliging the sinners to undergo simpler ceremonies than normal ones and pay the dues to the Church, or ignoring the whole problem. Yet for ethnic communities, the question of invalid sacraments was an important issue heatedly debated and kept alive because it was related to other issues.

After 1959, when the question of invalid marriages features prominently, the Church-Community dispute became prolonged and sharp because of the deep social and political divisions among Greek immigrants. These divisions arose from the Civil War, the problems and inequalities of mass immigration and the rise to power in April, 1967 of the Greek military junta. As part of the

<sup>76</sup> For details see 'Greek Communities in Australia', chapters 3 and 4.

Greek government of the day, the official Church was committed to the junta. Unlike the factions or parties of the 1920s those of the post-1959 schism have a fairly clear political orientation. This can be seen from their composition.<sup>77</sup> The opponents of the American System, popularly known as the *koinotikoi*, were the upholders of the democratic features of Communities; some old and well-to-do immigrants who could not think in terms of ethnic communities with more than one Community; and the radical Greek left which consciously strove to secularise and politicise further the role of Communities, so that they would be involved in the more serious political and social problems of immigrants. The official Church party, pejoratively termed the *papadikoi*, relied increasingly on the more nationally minded Greeks, the *ethnikophrones*, who feared and hated anything that smacked of communism and Slavism which they alleged were Greece's greatest evils and also behind Australia's schismatics. The Church party also relied on the more religious minded and on people who feared being involved with Greek authorities over the question of illegal marriages; on ordinary people who were glad to have a Greek church in their neighbourhood; and, above all, on Australia's wealthy Greeks, many of whom lost Community office to their opponents and newcomers during the struggles to control the major Communities in the 1950s. It was from this latter class that the Archbishop drew many of the leaders for his new Communities and his Mixed Clergy-Laity Councils.<sup>78</sup>

Despite these divisions and disputes and the measures often adopted to restrict democratic practice, Communities retained many of their essential features. What has on the whole determined the strength and viability of Communities has been the size of the settlement in which they operated and the quality of the Community leadership and its priests. Being within the official Church has been a decided advantage, though this does not seem to have affected the Adelaide-based Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia, which initiated and still leads the rebellion against the Archdiocese. By mid-1970 this Community owned four churches (as

<sup>77</sup> The composition of the main parties and their differences are dealt with in *ibid.*, chapter 7; those of the 1920s in chapter 3.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 472-3.

against five Archdiocesan churches in metropolitan Adelaide); administered twenty-four schools where 1300 pupils attended (as against about the same number of schools and pupils belonging to the Archdiocese); owned property valued at half a million dollars, most of which was paid off; engaged a staff of thirty-eight (six of whom were full-time); organised frequent and successful social gatherings—one of these, the annual Grecian Ball, still being the main social attraction of the entire ethnic community; and has, moreover, unlike its sister bodies in the Federation, attracted Archbishop Spyridon, the head of the Independent Greek Orthodox Church. Unlike its sister bodies and many of its opponents in the Archdiocese, the Adelaide Community traditionally pursued a policy of unrestricted membership. This policy has not yielded an annual financial membership greater than the 600-700 range (in a settlement probably ten times this number of people who could be said to qualify for membership) but such a policy has placed the Community on a firm basis. The Community's great asset was also its spacious Olympic Hall which has served the whole ethnic community since 1957.

Yet like other Communities, the Adelaide Community's source of strength must also be explained in terms of its ability to involve a large section of the ethnic community in what have become established forms of activities. The Archdiocesan Community in Richmond, Victoria, which had no formal membership or elected officers, managed to procure a church by the early 1960s, and an adjacent building later on which it used as a school. By 1970, it had founded four other schools in different parts of the suburb which were attended by over 700 pupils. Among these were fifty who were receiving lessons equivalent to first year Greek secondary level.<sup>79</sup>

The institutions which more than others have involved Greeks, commanded their constant care, and influenced their lives, have been Greek churches and schools. Without these, Greek Orthodox Communities would have been almost meaningless. Most of the Community revenue came from its church or churches, in the form of church collections from collection trays, *discoi*, sales of candles, fees for performing sacraments, donations in money or for icons

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., pp. 498-501.

and pews. The greatest Community expenditure has gone into the building and maintaining of churches, paying the priests and psalters and also schoolteachers. The salaries of the latter were ensured largely from school fees. It was not merely the involvement of Greeks in the numerous tasks, to plan, raise the money for and maintain and manage churches and schools, that have made these institutions important and permanent. One reason why the Church has become an integral part of Communities in Australia, was because the Orthodox religion has been closely intertwined with the national, social and cultural life of the Greek people. Although Greek schools in Australia have been less successful than churches in preserving and perpetuating the national culture of Greeks, there is no question about their importance as ethnic institutions.

Compare with other ethnic institutions, Greek churches have been the least affected by conditions in Australia. The only notable changes concerned their more outward appearances. Attempts were made to retain basic church architectural styles and to have churches facing the west. Such practices, however, were often discarded particularly during the great church building era of the 1960s. In the rush to found churches—a rush stimulated by the two opposing Church authorities to get in first in strategic centres of Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide—any land site or building was considered good enough. Some churches formerly belonged to Protestant denominations who were willing to dispose of their church buildings as their congregations dwindled from inner suburbs, being replaced by immigrants. The internal arrangement of every Greek church, the archaic language used and all the ceremonial aspects of services, liturgy and ritual were preserved meticulously.

The reasons for attending church, the habits of church goers and the size and patterns of church attendances have also remained the same as in the past. The greatest church attraction has always been Easter Services, particularly the Resurrection service which most Greeks attend, if only for a short time. The following occasions commanded smaller attendances than those during Easter: Christmas and New Year services; special services coinciding with the celebration of national anniversaries in which Greek schoolchildren, Greek organisations and Consuls participated, especially during the more secular part of the celebrations after church services; services and festivities associated with the patron saint of

each church; and the 'blessing of the waters' ceremony observed annually early in January. Attendances at normal Sunday morning services were probably no greater or smaller than those in most Protestant churches. The more regular attenders have been the older people, especially women and Community and church councillors. Irregular church attenders have generally been drawn from those requesting requiem services for deceased relatives, and from those preferring to start their 'name-day' celebration by first attending church. (Greeks generally celebrate their name-days instead of their birthdays: almost every Greek bears the name of a saint and a few attend church on the day the saints' anniversaries are celebrated).

The aim of Greek schools is to teach children Greek, in the hope of helping communication between parents and children; helping children understand their origin, religion and culture; and to help inculcate into children the values of Greek civilisation. Three to four hours of formal instruction every week have been considered adequate to achieve these aims. Instruction has always been in the Greek language, given by teachers few of whom were certificated teachers from Greece or having any teaching experience in the Australian educational system. In the absence of teachers, Greek priests have performed the duties of instructors. In addition to instruction in the Greek language, children have also been taught something of the history of Greece (some of which was included in the 'readers' imported from Greece and, a few, from the United States) and singing and folk dances.

Greek schools have been organised in churches, Community halls, small school buildings which were bought or built for this purpose, hired premises and, more frequently, in Australian public school premises. Lessons have been conducted after normal school hours—usually for two hours at a time between four and seven in the afternoon of week days—and on Saturday mornings. In small schools, teachers have had to cope with several of six grades simultaneously. More important problems and difficulties have slowed down the learning of Greek considerably: apart from teaching experience, teachers have also lacked basic knowledge in the methodology of teaching and have insisted in instructing exclusively in Greek to pupils whose mother tongue has often been English rather than Greek. Just as frustrating, especially to pupils,

have been the difficulty and perplexity of the Greek grammar taught; the unfavourable conditions of learning, measured by standards they were accustomed to in Australian schools; the fact that they were at school when their Australian counterparts were at play. Although a majority of Greek children in the 5-13 year age group were very likely enrolled in Greek schools it is not certain that most of them completed the sixth form. Few, if any, could be said to have attained a standard in modern Greek comparable to that of children in the primary schools of Greece.

Even so, Greek schools have served several important purposes and needs. First, they have helped children become aware of and acquainted with the language and culture of their parents, the ethnic community and Greece. The school concerts usually organised to coincide with the celebrations of 25 March and 28 October and also at the end of the school year, are memorable events for all participants. Amidst much applause from large gatherings of parents and community leaders, children recite Greek poetry, act short plays, wear colourful national costumes, sing songs and dance folk dances. During adolescence, especially if they were studying in secondary schools, Greek children were also able to acquire aspects of the more ancient Greek culture which stimulated more ethnic awareness and confirmed something of what they learned at Greek schools. The Greek schools also enabled children to become aware of and understand more their distinctness and special position in society and hence gain a sense of belonging to a larger social group. Third, Greek schools have helped bind the ethnic community together, especially because of the co-operation necessary to finance and manage them. Such co-operation and financial assistance sometimes come from ethnic institutions not directly associated with Communities, school committees and parents.

Regional fraternities in some ways have been closer to the life of immigrants than have Communities, especially large Communities which to immigrants often tended to be impersonal organisations. Unless regional fraternities were experiencing internal disputes or were undergoing subdivisions, there was no reason why their activities could not enjoy the support of all members. These activities consisted of dances and social gatherings; picnics; sponsoring sports teams and managing or patronising coffeehouses; raising money to help finance amenities and projects in the home region

or island, such as churches, hospitals, schools and roads, which were often completely neglected by government authorities; and raising money for needy co-regionals here and in Greece. Apart from a sense of duty to the aims and ideals of regional fraternities, the various social gatherings and activities provided opportunities for considerable social intercourse and the fostering of regional culture such as dances, songs, customs and dialects. The annual balls of fraternities, to which other Greeks and a few Australians were also invited, were important occasions for the exhibition of regional culture. Apart from bearing the names of the regions from which members derived, regional fraternities also bore important names associated with the regions, such as historical figures, ancient philosophers, legendary or real war heroes, saints and churches, mountains and rivers.

Regional fraternities inevitably enhanced regional group cohesion, especially through marriage within each regional group. The forces of integration in the ethnic community and of assimilation to the host society were naturally eroding regional group cohesion and solidarity. Yet the ability of regional fraternities to survive in the face of these eroding forces has been remarkable. Apart from the factors contributing to the permanence of regional fraternities mentioned so far, another factor is the tendency of fraternities to order their activities more in accord with the social and cultural needs of their members and descendants in Australia; these included sponsoring of 'Younger Sets', women's auxiliaries, and sports teams.

Regionalism, or what Greeks call *topikismos* (localism), has always been a powerful and strongly felt force in ethnic communities. This has been demonstrated in several ways. The movement which eventually forced the recall of Metropolitan Christophoros, was initiated, organised and led largely by the Ithacans of Melbourne and the Kytherans of Sydney. In framing the constitution of the Apostolos Andreas Community in Sunshine, Victoria, Greek Cypriots took care to be in a position of exercising complete control, in a settlement which by the late 1950s became inhabited predominantly by immigrants from Greece. A priest from Cyprus managed to attract a large section of Adelaide's Cypriots to the St Spyridon Community in Unley, away from the old Community. Similarly Greek Macedonians (of Pontian origin) insisted on having their own

priest in the St Nicholas church of Yarraville, Victoria. During the power struggles in Greek Orthodox Communities of the late 1950s, parties contesting elections were careful to recruit on to their tickets important leaders of regional fraternities. In the 1958 elections for the council of the Community in Melbourne, one party claimed that everyone of its fifteen candidates was a leader or a representative of a regional fraternity or group.<sup>80</sup>

Pan-Hellenic organisations have, by and large, enjoyed a shorter duration than have Communities and regional fraternities, few of which became defunct or were dissolved. Reasons for the short duration of some Pan-Hellenic organisations have been the continually changing needs and interest groups served; because they had served the purpose or mission for which they were set up; because similar needs were served by other, better organisations operating in the same ethnic communities. The more stable and permanent pan-Hellenic organisations have been the pre-war Hellenic Clubs based on the more successful and permanent settlers. These clubs have acquired valuable property, particularly the Hellenic Club in Sydney, and their activities as well as their membership have traditionally been linked with Communities and the Church. The AHEPA movement also appealed to the more established immigrants and their descendants. AHEPA's stability stemmed from other things also: its organisational structure, which was conducive to considerable mobility through its numerous branches in different parts of Australia; the system of rotating officials at all levels of its hierarchy; its social and philanthropic activities; its gradual though recent orientation towards the official Church; its interest in education, including the study of modern Greek in the Australian universities.<sup>81</sup> Finally, there are the main soccer teams in the larger ethnic communities; and the leftist or workers' clubs, before the major split in the Greek left in 1968. The most stable

<sup>80</sup> For these and other manifestations of regionalism see 'Greek Communities in Australia', chapter 3, pp. 283, 381-93 and 502-8.

<sup>81</sup> The interest to introduce modern Greek studies was greatly stimulated from a donation of \$100,000 to Sydney University in 1968 by an AHEPA member, Nicolaos Laurantos. Greek organisations and individuals in Melbourne responded by collecting about \$70,000 for similar studies in the University of Melbourne (*The Australian*, 11 September 1968; *Nea Patris*, 13 February 1970; and *Neos Kosmos*, 1971-2 for the collection campaign in Melbourne).

of the latter is the Atlas Club in Sydney, which now owns a valuable three-storey building in Paddington.

The aims and activities of several pan-Hellenic organisations necessarily brought them in closer contact with Australian organisations and people than did those of Communities and regional fraternities. This was especially true in the case of sports and workers' clubs: the former, because they were affiliated with Australian institutions with which they shared common ideals and undertook common sporting activities; the latter, because of the expressed aims of the Greek left to unite and integrate its forces with those of the Australian movement to achieve common aims and serve common interests. While these organisations did contribute to assimilation more than other ethnic bodies, there were limits to their effectiveness as assimilation agents. Such clubs could be said to have been effective agents of assimilation only if they dissolved and provided that their members did not simultaneously join other ethnic organisations. This clearly was not occurring.

As long as ethnic sports clubs satisfied Greek athletes and supporters there was no compelling reason to join similar clubs in the wider society. Those who left ethnic communities went to sports for which there were no ethnic clubs and teams. The Hellenic Youth Association in Perth, which has sponsored numerous sports, seems to have retained within the ethnic community most of the Australian-born Greeks.<sup>82</sup> Although workers' clubs have been helpful in familiarising immigrants with Australian trade union practices and politics and have also yielded several radical-left political activists, these clubs were not media for the direct assimilation of Greek immigrants. They lost most of their members—anything between 50 and 75 per cent—not to Australian organisations and society but to other ethnic organisations and to ethnic community. Like other ethnic institutions, much of the activity of Greek workers' clubs was recreational, social and cultural. Their political activity has been chiefly concerned with ethnic and Greek politics. The split in the workers' clubs after 1968 was primarily caused by the split in the Greek left, particularly the division of the Greek Communist Party.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> This is the conclusion drawn from a study of the Association's journal *H.Y.A. News*, 1968 onwards.

<sup>83</sup> Tsounis, 'The Greek Left in Australia'.

As in other ethnic institutions, the activities of pan-Hellenic organisations were circumscribed by ethnic communities. The number and variety of these organisations indicated clearly the process by which communities tended to become self-sufficient and also the power of communities to draw inward Greeks who were otherwise well on the road to assimilation. This phenomenon is exemplified by the interest shown recently in community and immigrant questions by AHEPA and also by the Greek students. In the last three annual conventions of Greek students, drawn mainly from universities and teachers' colleges, important immigrant, social, educational and political problems were discussed and some action undertaken.<sup>84</sup>

In conclusion, Greek ethnic communities have formed and functioned for a number of reasons, but chiefly because of the linguistic and cultural barrier separating Greeks from the rest of the Australian population. Provided that ethnic communities reached a certain population density and continued to grow through immigration, they became self-sufficient in ways which ensured their existence as a permanent and viable subculture in the host society. The chief feature in the development of ethnic community structure was the formation of separate yet interlinking institutions, in response to the common yet also diverse background of Greek immigrants and to their needs in Australia. The number and variety of ethnic institutions always increased with the numerical growth of each community. The permanence and viability of the subculture was also due to the useful function of ethnic institutions in the process of settlement and immigrant life. It was through ethnic institutions that immigrants expressed themselves socially, politically and culturally in an organised way, and from which they learned something about their new society. In this way the assimilation of Greeks was more natural and less painful.

<sup>84</sup> The writer was present at the Greek student conventions held in Adelaide, May 1971 and in Melbourne two years later. See also *Greek Australian Left Review*, no. 5, July 1971, for a report from the student convention held in May 1971.

## Appendixes

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This condensed form of Appendix A of my thesis was revised and brought up to date (to July 1973) as much as possible. A total of 657 formally constituted ethnic organisations are thus known to have formed and functioned in the 1897-1973 period: 133 Greek Orthodox Communities, 278 regional fraternities and 246 pan-Hellenic organisations. Not included as separate organisations were several lodges of AHEPA, numerous *ad hoc* committees and the women's (Philoptochos) and youth (GOYA) auxiliaries of Archdiocesan Greek Orthodox Communities and/or churches. Most of the Archdiocesan eighty or so fully developed Communities probably have had, at one time or another, a Philoptochos and GOYA auxiliary but it is not certain how separate, formal and permanent these organisations were. A formal and permanent ethnic organisation is one which has its own charter or constitution and rules, fees-paying members, a management committee and a bank account.

The bulk of the information for ethnic institutions was procured from Greek language newspapers which have been published in Australia. As newspapers described the activities and sometimes the foundation date of institutions, it was possible to establish the active life or duration of institutions but not the date at which they became defunct. Not one ethnic institution is known to have publicly proclaimed its dissolution. Even so, it is fairly certain that at least ten Greek Orthodox Communities, twenty-two regional fraternities and seventy pan-Hellenic organisations have ceased to be active.

## APPENDIX 2.1: GREEK ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES

Name of church follows in brackets. \* means the Community was at times opposed to the official Church. \*\* later joined the Community of N.S.W. A dash after the year indicates that Community is still functioning.

### *New South Wales*

**Metropolitan.** \*New South Wales (Holy Trinity, Surry Hills 1898; St. Sophia, Paddington, 1927; Koimisis, Redfern, 1957; Sts. Peter and Paul, Stanmore, 1973) 1898- ; Rose Bay (St. George) 1957- ; Kingsford (St. Spyridon) 1960- ; Parramatta (St. John) 1960- ; Marrickville (St. Nicholas) 1961-; Leichhardt (St. Gerasimos) 1961-; Bankstown (St. Euphemia) 1963-; North Sydney (Archangel Michael) 1963- ; Belmore (All Saints) 1964- ; \*\*Camberton (Apostolos Andreas) 1964- ; \*Bankstown (St. Charalambos) 1964-5; \*North Sydney (Panagia of Kykkou) 1964-5; Kogarah (Resurrection of Christ) 1966- ; Glebe 1967- ; Newtown (Sts. Constantine and Helen) 1968- ; Liverpool (Sts. Raphael, Nicholas and Irene) 1968- ; Strathfield 1968- ; Redfern (Evangelismos) 1969- ; Burwood (St. Nektarios) 1970- ; St. Mary's (St. Demetrios) 1971- ; Holroyd, Merrylands 1971- ; Blacktown 1972- ; Bexley North, Kingsgrove 1972-;

**Non-metropolitan.** \*Newcastle (St. Demetrios) 1949- ; Wagga Wagga (Koimisis) 1949- ; Tamworth 1952- ; Tweed and Murwillumbah 1954-60; Wollongong (Holy Cross) 1955- ; Lismore 1955- ; Orange 1955- ; Albury (Taxiarchai) 1957- ; Goulburn 1958- ; Broken Hill c.1960- ; Murwillumbah 1960- ; Mullumbimby 1960-71; Newcastle (Holy Apostles) 1960- ; Grafton 1962-71; Dubbo (Panagia Myrtidiotissa) 1960- ; Cooma 1966- ; Golden Coast 1966-71; Gosford 1967- ; \*Illawara (St. Nektarios) 1971- ; Parkes (Sts. Constantine and Helen) 1971- ; Alexandria 1971- ; Gunnedah 1971- .

### *Victoria*

**Metropolitan.** \*Melbourne and Victoria (Evangelismos, East Melbourne 1900; St. George, Thornbury 1957; Zoodochos Pege, South

Melbourne 1958; Holy Trinity, Footscray 1962; St. Demetrios, Prahran 1964; Koimisis, Kew 1968; St. Eleutherios, Brunswick 1969) 1897- ; \*Sunshine (Apostolos Andreas) 1955- ; North Carlton (St. John the Baptist) 1958- ; Brunswick (St. Basil) 1959- ; Dandenong (St. Pandeileimon) 1969- ; Frankston Theopronia 1959- ; Mentone (Taxiarchai) 1960- ; Richmond (Holy Trinity) 1961- ; South Yarra (Sts. Constantine and Helen) 1961- ; St. Albans (St. Barbara) 1962- ; Yaraville (St. Nicholas) 1962- ; Ascot Vale (St. Demetrios) 1968- ; Oakleigh (Sts. Anargyroi) 1967- ; Sunshine (St. Anthony) 1964- ; Carlton (St. Irene) 1964-71; Preston (Sts. Kyrilios and Methodios) 1965- ; South Melbourne (St. Eustathios) 1967- ; Fawkner (St. Nektarios) 1968- ; Box Hill 1968- ; North Altona (Koimisis 1968- ; Kensington 1969- ; Brighton 1969- ; Moorabbin and Highett 1970- ; Springvale 1969- ; Coburg 1970- ; East Malvern (St. Ekaterine) 1970- ; Hawthorn (Apostle Paul) 1970- ; Collingwood, Clifton Hall (St. Nektarios) 1971- ; Clayton 1972; \*Reservoir (St. Neophytos) 1972- ;

*Non-metropolitan.* Gippsland (Koimisis) 1956- ; \*Geelong (Evangelismos) 1959-69; Geelong (Metamorphosis of the Saviour) 1960- ; Mildura (Evangelismos) 1960- ; Shepparton (St. George) 1960- ; Ballarat 1960- ; Bendigo 1961- ; \*Mildura 1962- ; Wangaratta 1963- .

### *South Australia*

*Metropolitan.* \*South Australia (Archangels Michael and Gabriel, Adelaide 1937; Koimisis, Bowden 1963; Sts. Constantine and Helen, Goodwood 1969; St. Nicholas, Thebarton 1970) 1930- ; \*Thebarton (St. Nicholas) 1956-70; Norwood (Prophet Elias) 1959- ; Unley (St. Spyridon) 1959- ; Thebarton (St. George) 1959- ; Port Adelaide (St. Nektarios) 1960- ; Elizabeth 1967- ; Prospect (St. Anthony) 1968- .

*Non-metropolitan.* Port Pirie (St. George) 1924- ; Thevenard 1945- ; Mt. Gambier 1959- ; \*Whyalla (Koimisis) 1959-71; Whyalla (Sts. Constantine and Helen) 1971- ; \*Renmark 1959-?; Berri (St. Demetrios) 1960- ; Renmark (Sts. Constantine and Helen) 1960- ; Port Lincoln c.1961- ; \*Port Lincoln 1964-?; Berri (Koimisis) 1965- ; Pt. Augusta (St. John) 1970- ; Alice Springs 1971- ; Tennant Creek 1971-.

### *Queensland*

**Metropolitan.** Brisbane and Queensland, (St. George) 1924; South Side, (Koimisis) 1971:

**Non-metropolitan.** Innisfail, Koimisis 1934- ; Townsville, (Sts. Theodores) 1945- ; Home Hill, St. Stephen 1963- ; Rockhampton c.1960- ; Toowoomba c.1960- ; Cairns c.1960- ; Bundaberg c.1960- ; Biloela c.1960- ; Mackay c.1960- ; Mt. Isa c.1960- ; Gladstone c.1960- ; Ipswich 1961- ; Tully 1962- ; Surfers Paradise (St. Anne) 1967- .

### *Western Australia*

**Metropolitan.** Western Australia (Sts. Constantine and Helen, Perth) 1923- ; Perth (Evangelistria) 1957- .

**Non-metropolitan.** Bunbury (St. Nicholas) 1952- ; Geraldton (Archangels Michael and Gabriel) 1960- ; Manjimup c.1960- ; Kalgoorlie c.1960- ; Albany c.1960- ; Meridien c.1960- .

### *Tasmania*

Hobart (St. George) 1957- ; Launceston 1968- .

### *Northern Territory*

Darwin (St. Nicholas) 1955- .

### *Australian Capital Territory*

Canberra (St. Nicholas) 1950- .

## APPENDIX 2.2: REGIONAL FRATERNITIES

For the names and active years of Regional Fraternities see Appendix A.

### *New South Wales*

**Metropolitan.** Macedonia (6): general 2, Chalkidike 1, Kavala 1,

Kilkis 1, Kozani 1. *Epiros* (1). *Thessaly* (2): general 1, Trikkala 1. *Mainland Greece* (3): Aitolo-Akarnania 1, Athens 1, Euboea 1. *Peloponnesos* (28): Achaea 10, Arcadia 5, Argolis 1, Korinthos 1, Eleia 2, Laconia 8, Messinia 1. *Krete* (2). *Ionian Islands* (5): Ithaca 1, Kefallonia 1, Kythera 1, Lefkas 1, Zakynthos 1. *Aegean Islands* (9):: Chios 2, Lemnos 1, Mytilene 5, Samos 1. *Dodecanese Islands* (9):: Kalymnos 1, Kastellorizo 1, Kos 2, Patmos 1, Rhodes 3, Syme 1. *Cyclades Islands* (1): Andros 1. *Cyprus* (1). *Turkey* (6). *Egypt and Middle East* (1). *Rumania* (1). Unclassified (4).

*Non-metropolitan.* (5).

### Victoria

*Metropolitan.* *Macedonia* (45): general 4, Chalkidike 2, Drama 1, Edessa 1, Ematheia 2, Florina 5, Kastoria 4, Kilkis 2, Kozani 13, Pellis 2, Pieria 3, Serrai 1, Thessalonike 5. *Thrace* (2). *Epiros* (8): general 4, Jannina 1, Preveza 1, other 2. *Thessaly* (5): general 1, Larrissa 2, Trikkala 2. *Mainland Greece* (9): Aitolo-Akarnania 3, Attiike and Boetia 1, Athens 2, Boetia 1, Euboea 1, Roueneli 1. *Peloponnesos* (23): general 2, Achaea 5, Arcadia 2, Eleia 4, Korinthos 2, Laconia 4, Messinia 4. *Krete* (6): general 2, Lasethio 1, Retthymne 1, other 2. *Ionian Islands* (6): Ithaca 1, Kefallonia 2, Kerrkyra 1, Lefkas 1, Zakynthos 1. *Aegean Islands* (6): Chios 1, Lemnos 2, Mytilene 2, Samos 1. *Dodecanese Islands* (9): Kalymnos 1, Kastellorizo 1, Kos 1, Leros 1, Nisyros 1, Rhodes 4. *Cyprus* (5). *Turkey* (7). *Egypt and Middle East* (2). Unclassified 2.

*Non-metropolitan.* (2).

### South Australia

*Metropolitan.* *Macedonia* (9): general 1, Chalkidike 1, Florina 3, Kozani 2, West Macedonia 1. *Epiros* (1). *Peloponnesos* (9): general 1, Arcadia 3, Argolis 1, Eleia 1, Korinthos 1, Laconia 1, Messinia 1. *Ionian Islands* (2): Ithaca 1, Zakynthos 1. *Aegean Islands* (5): Chios 1, Ilkaria 1, Lemnos 1, Mytilene 19, Samos 1. *Dodecanese Islands* (6):: Kastellorizo 1, Kos 1, Rhodes 4. *Cyprus* (1). *Turkey* (4). *Egypt and Middle East* (1).

### *Queensland*

*Metropolitan.* *Peloponnesos* (1). *Ionian Islands* (2): Kythera 2. *Aegean Islands* (1): Chios 1. *Dodecanese Islands* (3): Kastellorizo 1, Rhodes 2, *Cyprus* (1). *Turkey* (1). *Egypt and Middle East* (1).

*Non-metropolitan.* (2).

### *Western Australia*

*Metropolitan.* *Macedonia* (2): general 1, Florina 1. *Aegean Sea* (1): Mytilene 1. *Dodecanese* (1): Kastellorizo 1.

### *Northern Territory*

Darwin: *Dodecanese* (1): Kalymnos 1. *Cyprus* (1).

### *Australian Capital Territory*

Canberra: *Dodecanese* (1): Karpathos 1.

## APPENDIX 2.3: PAN-HELLENIC ORGANISATIONS

For the names and active years of Pan-Hellenic Organisations see Appendix A.

### *New South Wales*

*Metropolitan.* Sport 22, Youth 8, Women 5, Philanthropic 5, Political 8, Cultural 6, Educational 3, Boy Scouts 4, Other 10.

*Non-metropolitan* 7.

### *Victoria*

*Metropolitan.* Sport 19, Youth 8, Women 3, Philanthropic 6, Political 3, Cultural 3, Educational 4, Other 11.

*Non-metropolitan* 2.

*South Australia*

*Metropolitan.* Sport 6, Youth 6, Women 2, Philanthropic 5, Political 3, Cultural 3, Educational 2, Other 4.

*Non-metropolitan* 5.

*Queensland*

*Metropolitan.* Sport 1, Youth 2, Women 2, Philanthropic 4, Political 3, Cultural 3, Other 4.

*Non-metropolitan* 13.

*Western Australia*

*Metropolitan.* Sport 1, Youth 2, Women 2, Philanthropic 2, Cultural 4, Other 1.

*Non-metropolitan* 7.

*Tasmania*

Hobart: Sport 1, Youth 2.

*Northern Territory*

Darwin: Sport 6, Other 2.

*Australian Capital Territory*

Canberra: Sport 1, Youth 1, Philanthropic 2.

## Networks, Values and Cultural Change

Fiona Mackie

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### *Introduction*

*The research.* This chapter reports research carried out between February and March 1969 among Greek immigrants living in the Melbourne suburb of Preston.<sup>1</sup> This is an area of second settlement for Greeks and therefore seems more appropriate for a study in cultural change than a more inner suburb where a larger proportion of Greeks are recent arrivals.

The aim of the study was to examine two important problems in the field of immigrant culture, both associated with understanding cultural changes that occur even when contacts with the social networks of the host society are slight and indirect. These may be expressed in question form. First, for those immigrants who undergo cultural change in the absence of informal relationships with Australians, is there anything characteristic in their pattern of social relationships that differentiates them from others who do not undergo such cultural change? Second, is it helpful to think of such cultural change as being a change away from Greek values and towards Australian values?

In posing these questions I envisaged each person's informal contacts as forming a 'network' rather than a group;<sup>2</sup> that is I did not

<sup>1</sup> The research was sponsored by the Academy of Social Sciences and the Australian National University, and I thank the Sociology Department of La Trobe University for releasing me from teaching duties during first term of 1969 to make the research possible.

<sup>2</sup> The term 'group' implies that some kind of integrated structure can be assumed to interconnect all the individuals covered by the term, and that

assume, as is often implicit in the word 'group', that frequent and intimate contact between people necessarily indicates a sense of belonging and a sharing of values. Instead I assumed that people may have no definable group to which they feel they belong, and that a person's most frequent contacts are not always his most intimate; a real sense of 'belonging' and of sharing values, may lie with people he seldom sees.<sup>3</sup> I expected that an immigrant who had no informal contacts with Australians, but was nevertheless undergoing cultural change, would be one whose sense of belonging and of sharing values lay outside the span of his most frequent interaction. With this assumption in mind, I aimed to look at such value change and the pattern of social relationships that accompanied it.

A list of suitable persons for interview was compiled by taking all Greek names for the whole of Preston from Gregory's Street Directory. If a Greek on this list had moved but another Greek was living at the same address, the second was accepted as a substitute. Each person contacted was asked for the name of any Greek he knew living in Preston, and these referrals were followed up where possible.

Of a total of 194 names on the list there were forty-eight I was unable to contact in the time available. Of the remaining 146

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they are aware of belonging to that structure. By contrast, a 'network' is the diagrammatic representation of all the separate ties that one individual has with other individuals. The individuals who know the central individual from whom the network is traced may not also know one another, so they will not necessarily have a sense of belonging to a group. I am using 'network' in this chapter to trace Greek immigrants' informal patterns of relationship. For further material on the use of network analysis in sociology see, for example, E. Bott, *Family and Social Network: roles, norms and external relationships in ordinary urban families*, 2nd ed, London, 1971; A. L. Epstein, 'The Network and Urban Social Organization', in J. C. Mitchell (ed.), *Social Networks in Urban Situations: analyses of personal relationships in Central African towns*, Manchester, 1969, pp. 77-113; J. A. Barnes, *Social Networks*, Reading, Mass., 1972.

<sup>3</sup> More detailed consideration of the possible disjunction between an individual's most frequent contacts and his sense of belonging and of shared values can be found in sociological material on 'reference groups', particularly in the distinction made between a 'reference group' and a 'membership group'. See, for example, R. K. Merton, 'Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behaviour' and 'Continuities in the Theory of Reference Groups and Social Structure', in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York, 1966, pp. 279-440.

and eight referrals (154 all told) sixty were discarded because they were never found at home, thirty-three had moved and the new occupant of the house was not a Greek, thirteen had to be discarded through broken appointments or sickness, and three declined to be interviewed.<sup>4</sup> This left forty-five persons I was able to interview.

Had I been aiming for a random sample, from which I could make generalisations about the total Greek population of Preston or Melbourne, a record of only forty-five successful interviews in more than 200 persons listed would have been disastrous. But such was not my aim. My primary purpose was to discover the various patterns of social relationship and cultural change and to discover how such patterns relate to stages in the family life cycle. The forty-five persons or families studied in detail give enough information to establish such relationships. It requires quite another type of inquiry to assess how many Greeks in Preston or Melbourne fall into each category and how common are the various relationships in the Greek population as a whole.

For interviewing I used a detailed questionnaire designed to measure an individual's informal social network; his sense of belonging; his attitudes and the extent to which he felt these attitudes to be shared by other members of his network; some indication of his more impersonal social contacts; general background information such as club membership, leisure activities, exact place of origin and length of time in Australia.

The most rewarding interviews were those in which the schedule was not carefully followed through question by question, but where the person himself took the initiative and gave information in 'free flow' discussion. The advantage of such interviews is that information is provided within the person's own perspective rather than that of the interviewer's pre-defined questions.

*Network patterns.* As one aim was to isolate differences in the network patterns of those undergoing and those not undergoing cultural change, it was important to consider in advance what other factors might influence such patterns. An obvious factor is stage

<sup>4</sup> Of these, two said they were happy here and therefore had nothing to say: one agreed initially but declined later because his wife didn't like the idea.

of the family life cycle. Here it seemed likely that differences might be expected between single and married people, between married people with and without children, and between married people with older and younger children. Age of children may also influence parents' networks, in two ways. First, as children grow older they might increasingly be influenced by friends of their own age, or other persons outside the family, thus increasing the opportunity for new values to be imported into the family, or for new individuals to be incorporated in the family network. Second, parents' opportunity for mixing outside the family circle, and maybe the kind of people they mix with, is likely to be influenced by the age and dependency of their children.

Following these assumptions, different categories were used to distinguish between single people, married people with no children and married people with children. Those with children were further divided into two categories based on the ages of children, one reflecting the extent to which the children might be a source of contact for the parents outside the home,<sup>5</sup> the other reflecting the parents' opportunity to form contacts outside the home.<sup>6</sup> In practice the first differentiated the more clearly and is therefore used in what follows.

Three other factors that may influence network patterns are the age of the immigrant, the place of origin, and the length of time in Australia. These were all examined, but none showed a significant relationship to network pattern, though this may be because the sample was too small to show such a relationship.<sup>7</sup>

*The sample.* Six of those interviewed were single, the remaining thirty-nine were married. In most cases a married couple were interviewed together, though in twelve cases the wife was interviewed

<sup>5</sup> Here the following subcategories were used: couples with at least one child beyond the end of secondary school; couples with some children at secondary school but none beyond secondary school; couples with some children at primary school or kindergarten, but none beyond; couples with babies, but no children yet entered school system.

<sup>6</sup> Here the following subcategories were used: all children able to be left alone (above age eleven); some children over age eleven to look after those under age eleven; no children over age eleven to look after those under age eleven, but all over age five; no children over age eleven and all or some below age five.

<sup>7</sup> The relevant tables are included as Appendix 3.1

separately. The average age of the interviewed was thirty-seven with an average of fifteen years spent in Australia, of which about half had been spent in Preston. Of the forty-five people or couples interviewed, nineteen came from Macedonia (twelve of these being from Florina), six from Cyprus, twelve from the Greek islands, and eight from other parts of Greece or from Egypt.

The six Cypriots were unlike the rest of the sample in that they had been in Australia longer than average (mean: eighteen years) and in Preston considerably longer (mean: eleven years); they were also older on average (mean age: forty-five). The twelve Florinians also appeared to be somewhat different from the other Macedonians and from the rest of the sample. Like the Cypriots their average length of stay in Australia was eighteen years, but they had been in Preston a considerably shorter time.

The Cypriots, and the Macedonians from places other than Florina, seemed to be fairly settled, most intending to stay in Preston (five out of six, and six out of seven). The Florinians were less settled: over half intended to move from Preston, and of these half had made definite plans to move. Eleven of the nineteen Macedonians had come to Preston from Fitzroy. There seemed some indication that the wave of movement stopped in Preston for Macedonians other than those from Florina, while Florinians seemed to be moving out to Reservoir, Lalor and Keon Park, a pattern which some claimed was becoming typical for Florinians.

Many Greek islanders also did not see Preston as a place of permanent settlement; almost half wanted to return to Greece, apparently because their long stay in Australia (a mean of fifteen years) was not enough to stifle their nostalgia for island life. Those intending to stay in Australia, however, did expect to stay in Preston.

In general the sample individuals seem a fairly stable part of Preston. Over half definitely intend to stay there and of the rest only six had made definite plans to move.

### *Networks and values*

*The assumptions.* Material to indicate cultural change came from a wide range of questions covering several things: the individual's evaluation of life in Australia compared with life in Greece; the extent to which his behaviour patterns and attitudes had changed

since coming to Australia; his reasons for accepting or resisting changes which he perceived in Australia. Previous research had indicated that many highly successful Greeks have Australian values and behaviour in many contexts but retain a deeply Greek character in others.<sup>8</sup> This need not cause a painful ambivalence. Cultural change may be more complex than a simple either/or choice between Greek and Australian values. Instead, many migrants from Greece seem gradually to have chosen from among both Greek and Australian values and constructed what for them is a meaningful combination.

To arrive at an indication of the value orientation of people in the sample several methods were combined. I first examined all value statements to see whether they were positive or negative, on the assumption that value statements give some indication of a person's value orientation and the source of his sense of belonging. I further assumed that the balance between positive and negative evaluations indicated the extent to which an individual had found a meaningful value pattern by which to live, and also the ways in which that value pattern had been built. Finally I was interested in whether the 'positive-negative' distinction would represent a simple 'Greek' versus 'Australian' differentiation—for example, whether a person was consistent in evaluating 'Greek' values either positively or negatively, rather than evaluating some positively and others negatively. This allowed me to test whether a Greek versus Australian measure of cultural change was the most applicable one, and also allowed for the possibility that value orientations might emerge which were not best described in terms of a Greek/Australian comparison. For example, it might emerge that a person had a stronger sense of belonging to a certain class or life style than to a particular nationality.

In considering the relationship between network and values I expected to find a difference in the degree of cultural change experienced by those who were part of a close-knit network and

<sup>8</sup> Personal experiences while conducting research for my unpublished M.A. thesis, 'A Sociological Study of the Influence of the Greek Church Split on the Assimilation of Greeks in an Inner-City Suburb of Melbourne', Monash University, 1967. See also Judith Nagata's article 'Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working Class Immigrants in the City of Toronto, Canada: a situational approach', in *International Migration Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, Fall 1969, pp. 44-70, and especially page 53.

those who were part of a loose-knit network.<sup>9</sup> I expected that an individual's most frequent and intimate contacts are likely to be with status equals<sup>10</sup> and that the interlocking ties of a close-knit network lead to shared values; that is, I imagined that it would be hard for someone in a close-knit network to change his values away from those shared by other network members. Since they all know one another, he would probably have to face their concerted pressure against any change away from the values on which their mutual relationship was based. This would be less likely to happen in a loose-knit network, since the separate individuals making up such a network do not know everyone else in the network; all know the individual from whom the network is being traced, but he is the only person who knows everyone concerned. I assumed that he would be open to more alternative values than someone who was part of a close-knit network, and that he would also be free of the kind of concerted pressure that a close-knit network might exert against his attempts to change his values.

For the Greeks being studied I expected that the most frequent and intimate contacts would be with people who were not only equal in status but also fellow Greeks, often people from the same town or village. Any control exercised by a close-knit network was therefore likely to be in terms of Greek values, and I presumed that it would limit the opportunity of people in this type of network to adopt new values. Similarly, it seemed likely that parents who were part of a close-knit network would exert more pressure on their children to retain Greek values.

It quickly emerged that some of these premises were not applicable. I had taken the individual as the central unit for tracing a network, but for most of those interviewed the central unit of a network was better understood as a whole nuclear family. While this conclusion may be influenced by the fact that interviews often focused on one member of the nuclear family who may have projected his or her bias, it seems likely in the light of other

<sup>9</sup> Following Bott (*Family and Social Network*, pp. 59 and 250) I use 'close-knit network' to indicate one where many of the individuals comprising the network know and meet one another independently of the central individual from whom the network is traced; and 'loose-knit network' to indicate one where few of those who know and meet the central individual also know and meet each other independently of him.

<sup>10</sup> See Epstein, 'The Network and Urban Social Organization', pp. 77-113.

material on Greek culture that this indicates a real difference from my assumptions based on previous network studies.

Most previous work on networks has been carried out in white Protestant western industrialised societies<sup>11</sup> or among black workers living temporarily on African reserves;<sup>12</sup> in these studies, the individual proved to be a helpful unit of analysis. But it is a characteristic of Greek culture that the conception of 'self' is not as isolated from the family as in western industrialised societies.<sup>13</sup> The concept of 'honour', so central to Greek culture, expresses the shared identity of the family and, to a lesser extent, the wider kin group.<sup>14</sup> Any action by one member of the family reflects equally upon all others and it is the responsibility of all to keep the honour intact. Family honour is the basis of each member's identity, as it is evaluated by himself and by others around him. (It does not seem an exaggeration to say that the 'I' of western cultures is replaced by the 'we' of the nuclear family: it is then not my individual conscience to which I am most responsible but the honour of my family.)

This being so, it does not seem surprising that the nuclear family rather than the individual emerges as the best unit for understanding networks. However, this has considerable implications. My earlier assumption of a close-knit network with a fairly stable value system controlling its members no longer seems applicable when the network consists of both children and adults. Once the children enter the school system they increasingly bring new values from the Australian environment into the close-knit network, challenging Greek values held by the adults. This does not mean that the adults will necessarily oppose Australian values, or that adult control will win out if they do, but it does suggest that it takes vigilant control by adults to oppose the importing of new values through their children.

<sup>11</sup> For example J. A. Barnes, 'Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish', *Human Relations*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1954, pp. 39-58 and Bott, *Family and Social Network*.

<sup>12</sup> For example Mitchell, *Social Networks in Urban Situations*, pp. 77-113.

<sup>13</sup> See A. Pollis, 'Political Implications of the Modern Greek Concept of Self', *British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 16, no. 1, March 1965.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: a study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community*, Oxford, 1962 and E. Friedl, *Vasilika: a village in modern Greece*, New York, 1964.

In other words, this kind of close-knit network may well be a place of lively debate and competition among varied values imported from outside the network rather than a simple bulwark against the outside world.

Another difference from expectations based on the individual as the unit of analysis is that as the network comes to include older children no longer dependent on their parents then it will less and less consist of status equals. If all children got jobs which gave them the same status as their parents then status consistency would remain. This may sometimes be the case, but with the strong aspirations for improvement which so many Greeks hold for their children it is often untrue. If the children change their status while still remaining a part of the network they will introduce another source of new values.

It may be because of this tendency to base networks on the nuclear family rather than on individuals that loose-knit networks were so little in evidence in the study. Instead of a distinction between close-knit and loose-knit networks, the major distinction that emerged was between close-knit networks based on the nuclear family and couples who were either completely isolated from other intimate and frequent social relationships, or couples who each had a separate network.<sup>15</sup>

There is one more striking difference between my expectations based on previous network studies and my conclusions from this research. In previous studies friends are usually an important part of an individual's network. In this study the network almost always means kin. Friends are much less likely to be important and when they are included it is usually only as adjuncts to a kinship network. For the Greeks in this study cultural change more often takes place among kin rather than leading away from them.

### *The findings*

**A. Couples with at least one child beyond the end of secondary school.** There were nine such couples. My assumptions here were that the children might provide a source of new relationships and

<sup>15</sup> Diagrammatic examples measured by frequency and intimacy of contact are given in Appendix 3.1 for the two most contrasting patterns, the close-knit nuclear family network and the isolated couple.

new values for the parents, and that children would not limit the parents' opportunity to make extra-family contacts because most were beyond the stage of dependency. The opportunity for wide social relationships and cultural change seems much greater for such parents than for those whose children are all young.

The couples fell clearly into two types: those who were either isolated, or else each had a separate network, and those who were part of a close-knit network shared by the whole nuclear family (henceforth referred to as a close-knit nuclear family network). Three couples were isolated (that is, they appeared to have no network of ties as measured by frequency and intimacy of contact) and one couple each had separate networks. The other five couples were part of close-knit nuclear family networks, though in one case this was a very small one.

There was also a discernible difference in values related to the different types of network. Values expressed by isolated couples seemed to be predominantly negative, suggesting a picture of disillusionment with the present and a longing for things rooted inaccessibly in the past. One isolated couple (case Aa)<sup>16</sup> had come from an affluent Cypriot background which they had irrevocably left because of a family quarrel; their orientation towards a higher past status cut them off both from the Australians and the Cypriots or Greeks with whom they came into contact; they considered themselves above all these. Another isolated couple (case Ab) came from Athens. They looked down on most other Greek immigrants as being 'rubbish from the country' and, like the previous couple, their only positive sense of belonging lay in an irretrievable Greek past. Neither of the husbands had an occupation which measured up to their expectations from the past, and this was a further source of negative evaluation of the present. One was a fitter and turner and the other was a house painter.

The other isolated couple (case Ac) also expressed negative evaluations, except for a positive identification with their past in Greece. They had sunk their savings into a fish shop through which they had hoped to make their fortune, but the long hours of work cut them off from contact with kin and friends and the opening of

<sup>16</sup> For additional information on this case and all subsequent cases cited in this section see Appendix 3.1A.

Northland shopping centre had reduced their trade and the resale value of the shop.

This pattern of negative evaluations is less evident in case Ad, the couple with separate networks. The husband's network was unusual in being loose-knit, made up of friends he had made through his fish shop. Some of these were Australians. His wife's network was a close-knit one centred on her family of orientation (the family she was born into rather than the one formed by her marriage), and friends from her village in Greece. The husband's orientation was an Australian one. He valued the chance for hard work and a wider choice of friends in Australia, and expressed a negative attitude towards migrants who stick with their families and will not learn English. He saw a close family as preventing assimilation.

Those couples in close-knit nuclear family networks had much more positive values. They also had a very different attitude towards cultural change in their children. Two of the isolated wives expressed grave concern over their sons' interest in Australian forms of entertainment and Australian friends outside the home. One feared their son's increasing independence. The other vainly tried to persuade her elder son not to marry his Australian wife and told me with disgust that her fifteen year old son gets telephone calls from 'girlfriends' at school; she intercepts these and refuses to let him out in the evening, instead pressuring him to study by reading the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* she has bought him.

A striking contrast is the daughter of the couple, case Ae, who are part of a close-knit nuclear family network. This is large, containing a second generation 'segment' made up of the children of the adults, all of whom are either kin or friends from the same village. The parents identify strongly with their network and express positive values, all oriented towards Greek customs. The daughter is very close to her parents, but her values are different from theirs. She identifies strongly with her second generation network, seeing second generation Greeks as different from either first generation Greeks or Australians. If forced to choose between the two she would see herself more as Australian than Greek, but she sees her position as one of a combination of the two cultures rather than either one of them. She understands the less Australian attitudes of her parents and respects their position, as they do

hers: they have not exerted the strong pressures on her to retain Greek values that the isolated wives expressed.

Before looking at the implications of this comparison, it is important to note that the five couples in close-knit nuclear family networks expressed mainly positive evaluations. In all five cases there was a positive fit between the values they expressed and the social relationships that comprised their networks; in other words their networks were in each case a source of identification, of belonging, and of shared values. In case Ae the identification and value orientation were exclusively Greek but the other four cases all exhibited cultural change. Two (Af and Ag) saw themselves more as Greek than Australian but expressed some positive attitudes towards Australian values and had adopted some Australian customs. One (Ah) identified more as Australian than Greek but expressed some positive attitudes towards Greek values and had retained some Greek customs. The last man (Ai) did not identify with a nationality. His major orientation was toward an educated professional life style and he chose from Australian values and values he brought from Egypt those best suited to this life style. He expressed only negative attitudes towards his past situation and was firmly oriented towards the present. He had a very close relationship with his son for whom he had just bought some expensive drums. He enjoyed listening when his son's friends came round to play with him.

It certainly seems to be the case that their children provide new relationships and values for these couples. However, the way parents respond to this situation, and the use they make of the opportunity their children's independence affords far wider social relationships beyond the family, is not the same for all couples. Reactions to cultural change in children and to their relationships beyond the family seem to be more negative and threatened in the case of isolated couples, more positive and receptive in the case of couples who are part of a close-knit nuclear family network. The distinction between isolates and close-knit nuclear family networks may of course be simply a distinction between those with no network at all and those with a network, rather than indicating something specific about close-knit nuclear family networks. But regardless of this, the evidence of cultural change among those who are members of a close-knit nuclear family network, and the evi-

dence of receptiveness to cultural change in their children, is a significantly different finding from the expectation that membership in a close-knit network would make cultural change more difficult.

Nine couples is a very small number to provide any firm conclusions, but there seems to be a strong suggestion that cultural change may in fact be facilitated by a close-knit nuclear family network. Because the network includes the children, their more rapid cultural change is communicated to their parents in a cultural setting and a set of social relationships that are familiar to the parents. It seems that while this situation may not necessarily lead the parents to follow their children's cultural change, they are much less likely to be threatened and confused by it. By contrast, any change in the children of isolates must automatically lead them away from the parents and into friendships which exclude the parents and are unacceptable to them. It is possible that cultural change for the children of isolates is presented as a more clear-cut choice between Greek values, for which their parents may be their only sources, and Australian values represented through their school and peer contacts. For children who are part of close-knit nuclear family networks it seems likely that a wider set of Greek sources may be available, including the opportunity to realise what is recognised here as a uniquely 'second generation' identity, neither quite Greek nor quite Australian.

It is a matter of speculation whether the opposition of the isolated parents, or the gentler control exerted by parents whose children remain in a close-knit nuclear family network, is a stronger brake on the children's cultural change. But it seems clear that cultural change on the part of the parents is much more likely to take place when they are part of a close-knit network which includes their own and other children. It also seems, at least when compared with isolated couples, that those who are members of a close-knit nuclear family network are more likely to have a positive value orientation. Isolated couples do not have a set of social relationships that can offer an alternative to the past: their orientations remain fixed there.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For table indicating no obvious difference in age, time in Australia, or proportion of life spent in Australia between isolated couples and couples with close-knit nuclear family networks see Appendix 3.1A.

**B. Single people.** The six single persons—two females and four males—were not enough definitively to test the suggestion of the previous section that children from close-knit nuclear family networks might face less parental opposition to cultural change than the children of isolated couples. Nevertheless they shed more light on the matter and also give a glimpse of the wide variety of networks possible. Thus the networks of the four single persons in close-knit kin relationships are markedly different. A seventeen year old schoolboy from Messenia, Peloponnesus (case Ba)<sup>18</sup> is very much a part of the nuclear family's close kinship network. Although he has three Italian schoolmates with whom he spends a lot of time and shares some ideas, he evaluates these contacts as vastly less important than his kin ties. He explained this by saying that kin come before anyone else: after kin, friends may be divided into two categories, 'first class friends and second class friends'. He considers that he has no 'first class friends', but only 'second class' ones, which he classes as 'acquaintances'. They do not mix with his kin.

This boy identifies strongly with his network and shares the values of its members, seeing himself as a Greek. He has to adopt some Australian values at school, but he does not seem to feel any ambivalence between these and the Greek values he holds at home. This may be because the family sees him as a spokesman in things Australian, and maybe a source of higher status for the family. Despite his position as youngest son and his relatively short time in Australia (three years), neither the older brothers nor the father made any attempt to speak on his behalf during the interview, though this has often happened in similar situations in the past. They sat in proud and smiling silence during the whole interview, speaking only when he asked them something.

Case Bb, an eighteen year old girl from Florina who is a secretary to a group of civil engineers, is also very much a part of the nuclear family's close-knit network, but has her own 'segment' within it, consisting of second generation girls like herself.<sup>19</sup> They share a desire for more cultural change than their parents are able to adopt, but do not identify as Australians rather seeing a second

<sup>18</sup> For additional information on this case and all subsequent cases cited in this section see Appendix 3.1B.

<sup>19</sup> She is the daughter of the couple discussed in case Ae.

generation situation as creating a unique identification based on a combination of values from two cultural influences. Their 'segment' expresses this second generation 'subculture'. The parental network is a large one, consisting of both kin and fellow Florinians. The network as a whole is the source of a sense of belonging and shared values to both the parents and the daughter, although the way in which they feel they belong, and the people within the network with whom they feel they share values, are often different. Clearly the network does not share a homogeneously Greek-Macedonian orientation. It is a field in which the exchange of values takes place. Though the daughter feels held back by parental pressure in some of her desires for cultural change, this is not a major factor in understanding her retention of many Greek-Macedonian values. These are retained both because they are a part of her felt identity, and because of experiences of difference from and rejection by some Australians. It is impossible to understand this girl's conception of her identity and her values in terms of a 'Greek or Australian' dichotomy.

A thirty-two year old bank officer from the island of Lesbos (case Bc) has moved further away from the close-knit nuclear family network than the two just mentioned; he retains only that part of the close kinship network which is most important to his mother and retains it 'for her sake'. More distant kin are seldom seen and the relationship he has with them is simply 'one of obligation'. While he is a strong believer in Greek family values, he applies these only to the nuclear family and not the wider realm of extended kinship ties. Friends are more important to him than his wider kin. He has his own separate friendship network which seems to be loose-knit.

This man sees himself firmly as a Greek and also identifies strongly with Greek middle class values. He also feels that only the 'good' prosper and is therefore proud of his own education. He has a strong belief in what he sees as the essential 'morality' and 'strength' of the Greek family, where parents spare no trouble for a child's future and children in return have an obligation to support their parents in old age. He is highly critical of Australia's 'permissive' family structure, which he supposes to be a result of the low basic wage which forces parents to 'throw' children out to get a job and be independent as early as sixteen years of age. He feels

that unless Australia improves morally it will never be economically a rich country. He chooses his friends according to similarity of age and interests and therefore shares many values with them, but his ideal is to return to Greece.

Case Bd, the last of the single people to have come from a close-knit nuclear family network, considers himself an Australian, a fact which has moved him away from the parental network into isolation. He sees the Greek alternatives open to him as constricting, and dislikes his parents and their friends for their insistence on tradition, their attempt to dominate his life along Greek lines, and their uneducated and irrational approach to life. He still meets the kin once a fortnight, but mainly because of love for his mother and the dominance of his father.

His situation suggests that the existence of a close-knit nuclear family network does not always lead to harmonious cultural change, but can make changes harder by presenting opposition. He has no alternative personal network. The only person he feels close to is a 'teacher' with whom he discusses mysticism, spiritualism, parapsychology and Eastern religions. These are his major interests. It seems possible that the loneliness and isolation he feels are personality factors not solely related to his uniquely Greek situation, but this is a hard area in which to speculate.

He completed part of a chemistry diploma but had to abandon study because of an eye complaint. He worked for a while as a technical assistant and with his sister now runs a milk bar his mother helped him to buy.

It seems clear from these four very different cases that 'close-knit parental network' does not help much in making predictions about the type of network or the value orientation of adult children. The picture is summarised in Table 3.1.

It is interesting that when we look at the individual's own network the same suggestion is there as in the previous section, that a close-knit network seems to be associated with positive attitudes and isolation with negative attitudes. Though the cases are few, and the differences in sex and age render their comparison even more unreliable, they continue the suggested relationship between present network and type of attitude adjustment.

The other two persons come from more isolated nuclear families, though in both cases the families have some contacts and these are

Table 3.1 *Four cases of close-knit parental networks*

Case	Own Network	Value statements (positive/negative)	Orientation
Ba	parental close-knit network + separate friends	positive	Greek but some Australian customs
Bb	own second generation 'segment' within parental network	positive	second generation
Bc	retains small part of parental network out of 'obligation' + own separate loose-knit friendship network	positive to Greek values; negative to Australian values	Greek + middle class
Bd	retains contact with parental network against his will, other- wise isolated	mostly negative	Australian

shared by the children. In each case the person also has his or her own separate friends. The fact that there does not seem to be a marked difference between these two and the four from larger close-knit nuclear family networks reinforces the suggestion that parents' network is not a good basis for forecasting their children's network and value orientation, though clearly the question needs wider investigation in a larger sample.

Case Be, a Florinian male aged twenty-one who works as a labourer at General Motors Holden has retained the nuclear family network and also has two separate Florinian friends. He is negative towards Australia and identifies as a Greek-Macedonian. He is very deferential towards his father. He intends returning to Florina to find a bride and would remain there if work were available.

A fifteen year old girl from Macedonia studying at Preston Technical College (case Bf) is largely limited to the parental network by her parents. But the people with whom she identifies most strongly are two Greek girl friends in the same street and others whom she has met at the college and who visit her. She also strongly identifies with an uncle who is younger and 'more Australian' than her parents and who tries to persuade them to allow her more freedom for cultural change.

She sees herself as Australian and measures her friends according to their degree of 'freedom' as against their 'Greekness'. She feels pressured by her parents' educational aspirations for her and does not know if she is capable of realising their ambition that she go to university. She feels that their demands are not based on a realistic assessment of her abilities, but rather on the fact that they

only came to Australia so as to better their children's education. She is jealous of the greater freedom allowed to her brother, but ultimately ambivalent about her own value orientation. She hates not being allowed out with boys, but would not let any daughter of her own go out with boys either because she thinks that this brings disgrace on the family.

It is hard to draw any conclusions from such a small number of diverse cases. However, it does seem that close-knit parental networks are rarely associated in any regular way with opposition to children's cultural change. Present network usually comprises a combination of the parental network, or part of it, and the individual's own separate ties. The isolated person's negative value orientation furthers the previous suggestion of a connection between isolation and negative values.<sup>20</sup>

**C. Married couples with no children.** There were only two such cases. Case Ca<sup>21</sup> is a foundry worker from Cyprus. He and his wife have separate networks, his own consisting of drinking friends, mostly Cypriot, and his wife's consisting of her relatives. There is a link between the two networks via a cousin of the wife who is one of the husband's drinking mates.

His value orientation was expressed largely through negative evaluations. He is disillusioned about many things: his marriage; his lack of children and of kin in Australia; his treatment by the Housing Commission, which had demolished his home causing him financial loss; Australians, whom he sees as mostly hostile; Australian families which he sees as less close than Cypriot families; the British in Cyprus. In fact, there was little about which he expressed positive values, except education and the more outdoor life possible in Cyprus. He sees himself as a Cypriot.

Case Cb is a motor mechanic from Ithaca. He and his wife are part of a close-knit network of his kin, but never see the wife's kin, owing to a family quarrel. He has a positive orientation and is extremely proud of his own independence. He has made his own

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 3.1B for table indicating that differences in age, time in Australia and proportion of life spent in Australia do not seem to be related to degree of separation from parental network.

<sup>21</sup> For additional information on this case and all subsequent cases cited in this section see Appendix 3.1C.

way since arriving in Australia alone at the age of thirteen and, as well as training as a motor mechanic at a technical college, has sponsored the whole of his family who are now all in Australia. He supports the Australian Labor Party and favours socialism.

This man seems to have a very meaningful combination of 'Greek' and 'Australian' values. He has adopted some Australian customs and is relaxed in situations which require him to operate in an Australian context, but in other areas he is thoroughly Greek and, in fact, identifies as a Greek. The significant thing is that his Greek identification is a matter of choice and not a necessity arising from ignorance or inability to fit in. His situation would not be properly understood if cultural change were measured by a simple distinction between Greek and Australian, since his orientation comprises a combination of the two cultural influences.

Little can be said on the basis of two cases, but it will be worth noting whether there is further evidence of an association between separate networks and a negative value orientation.<sup>22</sup>

*D. Couples with some children at secondary school but none beyond.* There were seven couples here with networks showing some differences from those in previous categories. Separate networks were more in evidence (there were two) and only two of the cases with a close-knit nuclear family network had a network as large as those in previous categories. The other three close-knit nuclear family networks in this category were either small (one case) or had different levels as measured by frequency and intimacy of contact. These differences are likely to be related to the greater dependence of children at this stage of the life-cycle, causing adjustment in the parents' pattern of social relationships.

In both cases Da<sup>23</sup> and Db, where each spouse had a separate network, the wife showed evidence of nervous disorders which seemed to be related to the separate networks. In both cases, too, the husband made his disdain for his wife's activities and friendships very obvious. The husband of case Da was a waiter from the same village in Chios as his wife, and had married her after cor-

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix 3.1C for age, time in Australia and proportion of life spent in Australia for these two cases.

<sup>23</sup> For additional information on this case and all subsequent cases cited in this section see Appendix 3.1D.

respondence between their families and an exchange of photographs. He was clearly disappointed in the outcome of his marital transaction and made no attempt to hide the fact, despite his wife's presence during the interview.

He saw himself as belonging to a middle class life style, measured by education, intelligence and success. He also saw himself as Australian, but feels that he has retained many Greek customs. He finds his wife less intelligent than he had hoped and dislikes some of the 'stupid' Greeks she mixes with. He is generally critical of most Greeks moving into the area, since he sees them as having lower status than himself yet they expect him to be friendly simply because they are Greeks. In discussion he finds Greeks 'emotional and stupid'. However he is not totally uncritical of Australia, seeing it as culturally backward.

Apart from a few kin, one set of neighbours chosen by the husband and one set of friends from their home village, this couple see their friends separately. For the husband this means mainly his kin, whom he sees more often than his wife does: the wife seems to be limited to one sister and a neighbour with whom her husband refuses to speak but whom she sees daily. The wife is obviously very nervous and has had treatment for nervous illness.

The other couple with separate networks (case Db) both come from Alexandria in Egypt. The wife has also had nervous illness and spent three months in a mental hospital. Her husband, who works as a driver for General Motors Holden, has a leisure pattern more frequently found among single than among married Greek men; all his leisure time is spent outside the home and it is also from outside the home that he derives his identification and value orientations. While his wife and her mother were both present he explained to me that he was not the least interested in either his wife's mother or the children, whom he considered his wife's concern. Otherwise the values he expressed were all positive ones. He identified as Greek, working class, and a supporter of the Australian Labor Party. His most important friends are Greeks who belong to the same Greek Club and with whom he spends all his weekend, either at the club or going to the races.

His wife's contacts and source of identity are centred on the home. She is rather isolated because she has few kin in Australia, but her Greek neighbours are very important to her. She cares a lot

about their opinions. For example, she offered me a home-made biscuit and explained that although everyone in her family hates them she always has some in the tin because otherwise the neighbours would think her lazy. Apart from these neighbours, she feels very cut off and sees this as the result of the language problem, which makes outings such as she made in Alexandria difficult.

These two wives suggest some of the pain that can await migrant wives who find cultural change more difficult than their husbands. At a time when in a Greek context their power and womanly fulfilment would be assured among a growing family, their status in fact diminishes. This isolation is accentuated once the children start talking English: the wife, unable to understand, is left on a cultural island in the middle of her family. In many families the husband and children may change more readily than the wife and mother who is confined to the home, but if the change takes place within a shared nuclear family network then the wife and mother, while she may be ridiculed, is not isolated. Where separate networks develop, as in these two cases, her situation is likely to be much more painful.

The remaining couples in this category all have close-knit nuclear family networks. In case Dc the network is very large. The husband of this couple is Florinian and his wife is the Australian-born daughter of parents who came from a village very close to her husband's.

Their network is solely kin and their social gatherings are family festivals. The wife, whom I interviewed, identifies mainly with her kin, with whom she shares a strong emphasis on the importance of education and with some of whom she also shares a strong second generation orientation. She sees this second generation identity as different from either a first generation Greek or an Australian one. She has an overpowering respect and love for her parents for the hardships, sacrifices and difficulties they overcame in Australia. But because of her second generation experience she feels she will be able to prepare her own children for some of the problems her parents were not able to perceive. For example, she encourages her children to play sport because she feels it builds friendships with schoolmates outside the schoolroom, thereby avoiding the 'terrible duality between being Australian at school

and Greek at home'. It also makes them feel and seem less different and therefore makes them less open to discrimination.

Though the network consists solely of fellow Macedonians, many of the kin in the network are second generation, such as the cousins she grew up with. With these people she shares many values, some of them opposed to those of the older kin in the network. For example, she is critical of the fact that, following Florinian custom, her husband's younger brother has only just moved out of the parental home though he has been married a long time. She feels this puts a great strain on a couple, since it means that they cannot follow their own inclination even in such a simple matter as what they eat.

The second generation 'segment' of a larger kinship network of which this wife is a part is reminiscent of the Florian network of cases Ae and Bb. I shall refer to such networks as 'layered' networks.<sup>24</sup> Case Dd is another example of a 'layered' close-knit nuclear family network. In this case, however, the 'layering' is distinguished more by frequency of contact than in the case above, and the basis of the distinction is different. Here the distinction is not according to first or second generation but according to kinship or friendship ties. The network seems to comprise a core of kin who are seen more frequently than the friends who are also part of the close-knit network.

This couple come from nearby villages in Florina. The husband is a railway labourer and the wife works in a factory. The outer 'layer' to the network consists of fellow Florinians with whom the family and kin share visits, picnics, weekly and fortnightly dances, and mutual child-care arrangements. The husband works with some

<sup>24</sup> Like Epstein's distinction between 'effective' and 'extended' network (see pp. 110-11 of 'The Network and Urban Social Organization') the term 'layered' is used to distinguish different parts of a single network. However, it differs from Epstein's distinction in that 'effective' and 'extended' refer to different degrees of connectedness within a network; that is, differences in the extent to which individuals in the different parts of the network know and meet one another independently of the central individual. I am using the term 'layer' in a close-knit network where all members know each other. 'Layers' are distinguished by differences in frequency of contact and degree of shared values in different parts of the network. That is, 'layers' denote differences in the *content* of parts of the network, not differences in its connectedness.

of these friends and he and his wife were helping to look after the children of another friend who was on a trip back to Florina.

This husband had a predominantly positive value orientation. His strongest identification was with his kin ('kin come first'), but he also identified strongly with his Florinian friends, with whom he shares many values. His kin and friends discuss together their problems, such as how to raise their children, and he sees all the members of his network as having a great influence on his thought and behaviour and on his adjustment to Australia. He sees himself as a Greek-Macedonian, but feels he is adopting many Australian customs. He has strong middle class aspirations and feels he is achieving them and that he has changed 'one hundred per cent' from his farming background where everything belonged to his father. 'Here you have your own spending money and have to learn to save and think about the future.' He has strong educational aspirations for his children.

He finds that he has changed so much that he has little in common with Greeks now moving into Preston and he hopes to move further out to escape them. The only advantage he feels Florina had over his situation and prospects in Australia is that there was more time and less hurry in the life he knew there. He feels that the faster pace of life is often misinterpreted by Greeks. They feel that Australians are unfriendly, but it is simply that there is less time for friendships than there was in Greece.

The three remaining couples in this category all have small close-knit nuclear family networks and all express predominantly positive value orientations. The man in case De is a pastrycook. Both he and his wife come from Athens and identify strongly with the kin who comprise their network. They see themselves as Greek and live according to Greek values, which they share with their kin. The couple in case Df are both from Limassol in Cyprus. The husband is a hotel chef. They, too, are kin-oriented but their network includes some of the children's godparents who, in accordance with Greek custom are seen as quasi-kin. All members of the network identify as Cypriot Greeks and are raising their children exactly as they would have done in Cyprus. This man views the Australian way of life negatively and feels it is sad that 70 per cent of Cypriot Greeks raise their children the Australian way.

The network of the couple in case Dg is atypical. The husband

is a printing worker from Cyprus. His wife was born in Australia of Australian parents. The core of the family's network is close-knit and comprises the wife's parents and uncle and some Cypriot neighbours whose children also play with the couple's children. This husband (Dg) has no kin in Australia.

Apart from the central core, the couple's network is loose-knit, consisting of a few friends whom they see less frequently. The husband appears very Australian and sees himself as such. He identifies as middle class and hopes that his children will be smart enough for a good education, since he feels that Australians who are educated and have travelled are more tolerant and friendly to people who speak a different language. He remembers little about Cyprus. His children are being raised as Australians: they go to a Roman Catholic school and do not learn Greek.

It is interesting that the case of a loose-knit network, unusual in this study, occurs where the wife is Australian and the husband has been in Australia for twenty of his forty-one years, and has no kin in Australia. All these factors make a network based on the individual couple rather than the whole nuclear family more likely than in the other cases in the study. This is possibly closer to the predominant Australian pattern.

The cases in this category continue the association between close-knit nuclear family network and positive value adjustment. Kin are the main source of positive identification in three cases, all ones where the nuclear family is part of a close-knit kinship network. They are also an important source of identification for the wife with a separate network in case Db. There does not seem to be a clear difference between those with close-knit nuclear family networks and those with separate networks on the question of their positive identification with some aspect of the relevant Australian environment.<sup>25</sup>

*E. Couples with some children at primary school or kindergarten, but none beyond.* There were fourteen couples in this category, but few separate networks. Perhaps the fact that the children in this section are younger means that the mother's position in their

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix 3.1D for table showing no distinction between the cases on the basis of time in Australia, proportion of life in Australia and age.

esteem is more assured and that both parents are more caught up in the money raising and home making tasks associated with younger children.

There is one case (Ea)<sup>26</sup> of a couple with separate networks. The husband is a bootmender and his wife works in a factory. Both come from the same village in Thessalonika. The husband's leisure pattern when single was rather like that of the husband of the couple in case Db. Here again the wife and children seem rather isolated and neither the husband nor the wife has any kin in Australia. The husband has a loose-knit network of friends whom he originally met at *cafeneion* (coffeehouses), but the fact that he no longer keeps up these relationships has left him rather isolated too. He goes to soccer alone at weekends.

This husband is more involved in family activities than he would like, owing to demands created by his wife working. He hates helping his wife; he sees it as a long way from the ideal of Greek family life but forced upon him for financial reasons. He sees himself as more Greek than Australian but is critical of some Greek customs. He also sees himself as belonging to the working class and is politically left, but his strongest positive identification is with an educated professional life style. He is a frustrated scholar who loves reading history and keeps a diary of historical dates such as the birth dates of famous historical figures. He has also written the manuscript for a book. He hopes his children will be literate and would like them to be doctors or solicitors.

There are four other cases in this category where one or both partners have some separate ties, but in each case these ties are in addition to and secondary to the more intimate and frequent close-knit ties shared by the nuclear family as a whole. These examples are similar to the 'layered' close-knit nuclear family networks noted in the previous section, but differ in that the outer ties are separate from the close-knit core. However, the 'layered' close-knit nuclear family networks also occur in this category. There are five such cases.

First are the four cases where both partners have some separate ties in addition to a close-knit core shared by the nuclear family.

<sup>26</sup> For additional information on this case and all subsequent cases cited in this section see Appendix 3.1E.

In case Eb the couple come from the island of Kefallonia. They have an extended family household and a close-knit nuclear family network that comprises this household and fellow Kefallonians with whom they share visits and club activities such as dances. In addition the husband has a small loose-knit network of Italian and Australian friends with whom he drinks at the pub and exchanges visits. His main identification is with the working class and he and 'all the family' are Labor supporters. At the same time he has strong educational aspirations for his children, wanting them to go to high school, but feels that the choice after that is theirs and dependent on their brains. He will be happy as long as they are not labourers. This respondent is very resentful of the discrimination he finds against New Australians. He feels that they have lesser jobs and lower wages and that they are exploited because of their lack of knowledge of the language and laws of the country. He feels that they should be told *before* they come how important it is to be able to speak English but that many arrive not fully aware of this.

Another couple (case Ec) come from a village near Florina. The husband has his own furniture making business and the wife works for a sewing factory. The nuclear family shares a large close-knit network of kin, all living in Preston, and in addition to this the husband has his own separate loose-knit friendship network comprising Greeks and some Australians met through his committee work.

His main identification is with the upper middle class, which he sees as his own position. He is very proud of his achievement of what he sees as the ideal of a good and successful Greek family man. He began what has become a 'large village chain'<sup>27</sup> of migration to Melbourne and brought all his kin here, despite the fact that there was no-one here to help him when he first came. He sees himself as a leader of the ethnic community and is active on the local Greek church committee, which has brought him into

<sup>27</sup> C. A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1963, p. 135. Price has expanded the term 'chain migration' (first used by R. A. Lochore in *From Europe to New Zealand: an account of our continental European settlers*, Wellington, 1951) to distinguish different outcomes of the process whereby original pioneering migrants influence others to join them from their home district; settlements growing in the new country like links in a chain from one original individual or a series of individuals.

contact with Australian businessmen, councillors and hospital managers. He clearly identifies with these people and feels that his own independent employment status makes him their equal. He feels that it is these ties in the Australian community that place him in the upper middle rather than the middle class.

He identifies strongly with his kin and sees the ideal family as based on joint funds rather than children seeking independence, which he feels is what happens in Australian families. He realises, however, that the children of Greeks change their parents in the direction of Australian customs.

He feels that in Australia there is a 'good way' and a 'bad way'. He is lucky to have found the 'good way', which is to save money and make a family, rather than the 'bad way' of races, cards and nightclubs. He sees himself as a good upper middle class Greek, helping other Greeks to find the right way in Australia, which depends on retaining the ideals of Greek family life.

Another case of a close-knit nuclear family network with some additional separate ties is case Ed, a man from Lemnos whose wife comes from the Peloponnesos. He works in a factory and his wife does part-time factory work in the afternoons. As well as the large close-knit nuclear family network of kin, the husband has ties with two friends with whom he works and whom he also sees outside work, and his wife has a Greek neighbour, a fellow villager and a *koumbara*<sup>28</sup> with whom she maintains ties. These friends are not part of the close-knit nuclear family network.

The kin of the network are an important source of identification for this couple. They share ideas on most things, except politics, a subject which this couple avoids discussing with anyone because they see this as a source of dissension. Some of their kin are interested in politics. Though all contacts are with Greeks, the wife particularly sees herself as Australian. She came here as a young girl and remembers little about Greece. The couple has strong educational aspirations for their children.

The final case combining close-knit nuclear family network with some separate ties (case Ee) is one where, in addition to a large

<sup>28</sup> The feminine form of *koumbaros* (plural: *koumbaroi*). *Koumbara* is the title of someone who has been a maid of honour at a couple's wedding, or a godmother to their child. One person often fills both roles and the relationship is one that is usually considered almost as close as a kinship tie.

close-knit kin network shared by the nuclear family, the wife also has a small separate close-knit network of Greek neighbours. This small neighbour network centres on child-minding. The couple come from nearby villages in Florina and the husband owns and runs a taxi-truck. They see life in Australia as little different from their life in Greece, since they mix only with Greeks. However, the children are clearly having an influence on the parents towards cultural change. The eldest daughter is strongly Australian and was embarrassed, and refused, when asked by her mother to translate for her during the interview. With encouragement from her daughter the mother coped perfectly. The couple have strong educational aspirations for this daughter and hope that she will be a solicitor.

These four couples, who combine a close-knit nuclear family network with some ties separate from that network, all show a predominantly positive value orientation. Unlike the first case of separate networks, these couples tend to identify most strongly with the core network, seeing the separate ties as of lesser importance.

There are five cases of 'layered' close-knit nuclear family networks. In case Ef, the couple come from Kastoria, in Greek Macedonia. The husband is a foreman in a plastics factory and his wife is a press operator. The nuclear family shares a large close-knit network with kin at the core, seen a little more frequently than an 'outer layer' of fellow Kastorian families.

This man has a positive value orientation. His main identification is with a middle class life style. He is proud of his supervisory job and has strong educational aspirations for his children. He also identifies strongly with his network. His kin and friends agree in an Australian orientation and see Australia as their home. Their only regret about Australia is that they feel people here trust one another less than is the case in Greece, where word of mouth is enough to constitute a contract without the addition of a legal document.

In another case of a 'layered' network (Eg), the husband comes from Kefallonia and his wife from another Greek island. Both are factory workers. The nuclear family shares a close-knit network with kin at the core and an 'outer layer' of fellow villagers of each partner, who mix within the kinship core less frequently. The couple has a positive value orientation shared by their kin. They identify as Greeks, keeping all the Greek customs, and neither

feels that they have changed at all. They are raising their children exactly as they were raised.

The couple in case Eh who also identify as Greeks come from a village on the island of Chios. Their network is an unusual one because they have no kin in Australia. The core of the network consists of fellow Chiotese living in the same street, and this core group shares less frequent contacts with other fellow Chiotese. These contacts centre on the activities of the Chios club.

Although the couple see themselves as unquestionably Greek (the wife speaks almost no English and knows very little about Australian customs), they also have a positive orientation towards their situation in Australia. They are overjoyed at owning a home, which they could never have done in Greece, and the wife spends all her spare time on the home while the husband spends his tending the vegetable garden. The wife is fascinated by Australia as if it were a strange and amusingly incomprehensible toy, but not something that is likely to affect her very much. She sees herself as firmly Greek and working class. She is unlike most of the parents in this category who have strong educational aspirations for their children. She stood in her kitchen shaking with merry but scoffing laughter at her daughter's desire to be a teacher.

By contrast, another couple with a 'layered' network consider their daughter's desire to be a teacher as disappointingly short of their aspirations for her. They would like her to be a doctor. The nuclear family of case Ei shares a network core consisting of those cousins who also live in Preston, and an outer layer of less frequent contacts with those kin living outside Preston and fellow villagers. The couple come from Macedonia.

Kin and fellow-villagers are the strongest source of identification for this couple. The members of their network share many of the same ideas and have been in Australia approximately the same length of time. However, the network is clearly not homogeneous in terms of cultural change. For example, while the husband does not feel that he has changed at all himself, he is aware that as children grow up they cause cultural changes in their parents because he has noticed this with his cousins. Already his daughter's attitude to Greece is very negative and her attitude to Australia very positive and, while he himself identifies as a Greek-Macedonian, he is aware that her attitudes will cause changes in him.

Case Ej, the final respondent with a 'layered' close-knit nuclear family network comes from the Peloponnesos and his wife from Macedonia. The nuclear family shares a network core of close relatives of both parents and an 'outer layer' of friends of their own and their relatives. Beyond this and seen less frequently are the wife's uncles, who are 'more Australian'. It is with this most distant part of the network that the wife identifies most strongly. She shares fewer values with the people she sees more frequently and seems isolated and lonely.

She is disillusioned about the past, the present and the future. She was brought up by a strict grandmother who stopped her from being as Australian as she felt herself to be. Her grandmother hated Australia and kept all the Greek-Macedonian customs, including arranging her granddaughter's marriage. The girl blushed as she told me this. Also following 'Greek custom', she had to leave school at fourteen although she wanted to continue her education.

Since her grandmother chose her a 'good Greek husband', her life is still one that fails to realise her perception of herself. She feels that normally children change their parents towards Australian customs, but that this was not allowed to happen in her case. It happened with her uncle's children: one daughter is a lawyer and another a teacher. While she believes education is important, she is resigned to her husband's decision that they will not bother with the daughters' education, 'because they will only get married'. The only way she seems to be able to express her Australian orientation is through her home decoration and the 'mod' clothes worn by her small daughters.

The final four cases in this category also have close-knit nuclear family networks, but these are not 'layered'. Two are rather small. One such (case Ek) consists only of one couple who are kin of the husband, *koumbaroi* (godfathers) and one Greek neighbour. The husband is a railway worker and both he and his wife come from Lefkas. He has a very positive value orientation and sees himself as Australian. He is very proud of being naturalised. It means something more than a formality to him: after being naturalised he went to a Church of England church 'to see what it's like because I'm an Australian now'.

By contrast, the Cypriot man in case El whose wife is from the Peloponnesos has a small close-knit nuclear family network and a negative value orientation. The nuclear family network consists only of his two brothers, one sister of his wife and one great friend of his wife's. The couple feel isolated by their lack of kin and friends in Australia. The husband feels that the children have added to his isolation, since he cannot frequent the Greek clubs as he used to and so has fewer contacts outside the family. However, the children are their only reason for being in Australia. They hope that they will go to high school and get a good education. The couple speak little English and know little about Australia, but they say that those of their kin and friends who speak more English than themselves tell them that Australians do not like New Australians.

Another case where a small close-knit network seems to be a result of an undesired sense of isolation is that of a Macedonian woman married to a Bulgarian (case Em). Their small network core of the wife's kin is augmented by a wider loose-knit network of friends, but they are seen only infrequently. This woman sees herself as working class, but her only other positive orientations were towards her Macedonian past. In her village people all knew each other and mixed together more. She feels isolated here by contrast and finds her neighbours less friendly.

The final case in this category (case En) is an interesting one, a twenty-seven year old woman who, like her husband, comes from Florina and has been in Australia seventeen years. She is a machinist and her husband is a furrier. She sees herself as Australian and middle class. The couple has a strong identification with its close-knit network which they have constructed on the basis of shared values.

From a vast collection of available kin they have included only those who are of similar age and share a similar Australian outlook. The kin excluded are older, less Australian and usually more distant (except the husband's parents who are very traditional and with whom the couple has quarrelled). They are a strong source of negative identification, representing those aspects of Greek-Macedonian culture which the couple rejects such as male dominance and old-fashioned traditionalism. By contrast, this woman feels her own parents have 'changed marvellously'.

Also a part of the network are friends recruited either because they come from the same place in Greece or because they were schoolfriends or neighbours. But the main criterion is that they share the same ideas, being people from Greek backgrounds who combine aspects of the two cultures but see themselves more as Australians.

There is a suggestion from the cases in this category that network patterns may be in a transition stage, combining the networks of the two partners into the close-knit nuclear family network more characteristic of later stages of the family life cycle, but with separate ties as well; this indicates a distinction between kin in the close-knit network and friends retained through separate ties. At later stages of the life cycle it seems that the separate ties are either dropped or become incorporated more into the close-knit network.

The same distinction between kin and friends seems evident in the 'layered' close-knit nuclear family networks, where the basis of the 'layering' is usually a kinship-friendship distinction, kin usually comprising the core of more frequent ties. This core is usually the main source of identification and shared values.

When comparing the cases of negative and positive value orientation in this category it appears that a negative value orientation occurs more where an individual's network (that is his most frequent ties) is not a source of identification and shared values, that is, a source neither of intimacy nor of sense of belonging. It may be this lack of fit between network and values that distinguishes the cases of negative value orientation more clearly than any distinct network pattern. This is suggested by several cases: the woman in case Ej, whose main source of identification is her least frequent ties; the Cypriot in case E1, isolated by lack of kin and with a close-knit network which he finds inadequate; the Macedonian woman, Em, isolated by a small close-knit network.

The predominant network pattern in this category is again the close-knit nuclear family network, and again positive value orientations prevail. The general picture is of parents who are absorbed in their family environment, some putting more emphasis on Greek values, some on Australian. Hopes are very much centred on the

children and in almost all cases strong educational aspirations are held for the children.<sup>29</sup>

**F. Couples with babies but no children in the school system.** There were seven couples in this category, each couple sharing a close-knit network, three also having some separate ties. Though these are clearly very like the close-knit nuclear family network already noted they differ in that the couples only have young children who cannot be considered as a functioning part of a network.

One case of a shared close-knit network with some separate ties is case Fa<sup>30</sup>, a man from Chios married to a woman from Crete. The husband is a mail sorter. The couple share a small close-knit network of two households comprising a semi-extended family. In addition to this the husband has a separate network of fellow Chiotese and workmates: the wife has a separate network of Greek friends and an Australian neighbour.

The couple's main value orientation is towards Greek family life with its frequent mixing between kin and its family festivals. They and their kin and friends (with the exception of the Australian neighbour) dislike Australian family customs and intend to raise their children according to Greek customs. The couple and their kin would like to return to Greece to prevent their children from adopting the disrespectful attitudes which they see in most Australian children. They hold only negative attitudes to Australia and identify as Greeks.

A similar case is Fb, a factory worker from Florina whose wife is from the Peloponnesos. They too have a semi-extended family household and a sister of the wife lives with her family in the same street. The couple also has a small close-knit network of Greek friends and the husband has further ties through the Florinian club. The couple's identification is with Greece, where they intend to return. The wife and her sister raise their children together and follow all the Greek customs. They express only negative attitudes towards Australia.

<sup>29</sup> See Appendix 3.1E for table showing no significant difference between the cases on the basis of time in Australia, proportion of life in Australia and age.

<sup>30</sup> For additional information on this case and all subsequent cases cited in this section see Appendix 3.1F.

A slightly less negative attitude to Australia is expressed by a labourer from Thessalonika whose wife is from Kastoria (case Fc). The couple share a close-knit network consisting of the husband's sister, the wife's brothers and eight Greek families living in the same street, some of whom also belong to the Salonika club. In addition, each partner has some separate loose-knit ties with Greek friends. The couple identify as Greeks and their main value orientation is towards 'a Greek home'. However, they intend to remain in Australia and have strong educational aspirations for their toddler daughter who, they told me, would like to be a doctor.

The remaining four cases have close-knit networks with no separate ties. A tailor and his wife from Samos (case Fd) run a business together from a shed in their garden. They share a small close-knit network of kin and three *koumbaroi* whom they include among their kin. They identify strongly with this network, feeling that kin are the 'people you know' and that, apart from these and others they know from Samos, all other people are 'strangers'. For this reason they miss Greece and do not feel they can mix with Australians.

A similar preference for Greece is expressed by a couple from a Larissan village who run a milk bar (case Fe). Their main value orientation is towards Greek customs and they are disillusioned with Australia. The husband has been unable to use his shoe-making skills here because of lack of experience with machines. The couple shares a small close-knit network of fellow Larissans and the husband's brother, his only kin in Australia.

Greek identification and customs are also retained by a machine operator from Thessalonika and his Corinthian wife (case Ff). They share a close-knit network of kin and friends of the husband.

Case Fg is the only atypical case in this category, a fitter from Lefkas whose wife is from Lesbos; he identifies partly as Australian and partly as Greek. The couple shares a close-knit network of kin and Greek friends and the husband identifies strongly with his kin, though he often disagrees with them in his value orientation. He is impatient of those who refuse to change and who over-emphasise Greek traditions of child raising. He feels that the influence of Australian customs on children is inevitable. Most of his kin agree with this, but the older ones are more fussy. This man

also has a strong middle class orientation, having been deprived of the education which would have secured him that status by an alcoholic father who squandered the capital he had tied up in a large *cafeneion* in Greece that seaten seven hundred people waited on by twenty-one employees.

The striking thing about these cases is that, with one exception, everyone has a solely Greek identification and the majority hold only negative attitudes towards Australia. Most persons in this category have been here a shorter time than those in other categories, but the difference does not seem large enough to explain so strong a negative orientation to Australia. Of the two who have been here longest (fifteen and sixteen years respectively) case Fg is the only one with a positive orientation while the other (case Fa) holds a very negative attitude towards Australia and intends to return to Greece.

Perhaps a more likely interpretation of predominantly negative attitudes to Australia is to see them as related to place in the family life cycle. The children of these couples are babies. They have not yet confronted their parents with the Australian values and contacts that can initiate value change and dialogue. If the suggestions arising from other sections of this study are representative, it seems that major cultural changes for Greek immigrants take place within nuclear family networks through the dialogue of values occasioned by the presence in these networks of people who are adopting some Australian customs, notably the children.<sup>31</sup>

### *Conclusions*

What emerges from this study is the overwhelming importance of kin in all network patterns and the rarity of loose-knit networks. The predominant pattern is the close-knit nuclear family network, commonly associated with a positive value orientation. This value orientation usually comprises a combination of two cultural influences, sometimes simply emphasising Australian or Greek customs but sometimes making an exclusive identification with one or other. However, the fact that exclusive identification is not predominant substantiates my original opinion that cultural change

<sup>31</sup> See Appendix 3.1F for table showing time in Australia, proportion of life in Australia and age of each person.

is not measured by a simple distinction between Australian or Greek values.

My main purpose was to see, in situations where immigrants had few or no primary ties with Australians, whether a particular pattern of social relationships distinguished those undergoing and those not undergoing cultural change. Cultural change was seen to be taking place either where an immigrant had adopted Australian customs and an Australian identification, or where he was constructing a pattern of values which combined the two cultural influences (Australian and Greek) in a way that was meaningful to him. A positive value orientation was seen as evidence of the latter: a negative value orientation as failure to do this. However, not all positive value orientations necessarily indicated obvious cultural change, since some (mainly those with babies reported under category F) were oriented solely towards a Greek cultural model with no perception of change on their part.

There seem then, to be two types where no obvious cultural change is taking place: those with negative value orientations and those who identify exclusively with Greek culture.

At first it seemed that the major association between values and network patterns was a distinction between close-knit nuclear family networks, which tended to be associated with positive value orientations, and isolated couples associated with negative value orientations. However, evidence from later categories suggests that the association between negative value orientation and type of network pattern is less simple than this. Rather does it seem that negative value orientations occur for immigrants whose network pattern is unsatisfactory to them; they are dissatisfied because their pattern of most frequent social relationships does not express what they desire for themselves. These are usually people who have either little network at all or separate networks. Most people desire the norm, and since the norm seems to be a close-knit nuclear family network, it is not surprising that dissatisfied people are usually ones without such a network. But not all people desire the norm. The point that distinguishes those with negative value orientations is therefore not a network pattern other than a close-knit nuclear family network, but a network other than the one the individual identifies with. Cases that illustrate this point are cases Bd, Ca, Da and Db, Ei and El and Em. In other words these

are people whose pattern of most frequent interaction does not coincide with their perception of themselves. The isolated couples are included here. They share with others who express negative value orientations a situation where the lack of a pattern of relationships within which they feel familiar and relaxed makes cultural change very difficult for them.<sup>32</sup>

The second type revealing little cultural change is in category F, where an exclusively Greek identification is common, often with only negative attitudes towards Australia. This raises the whole matter of the way network patterns vary during the normal family life cycle. The single people in category B commonly combine all or much of the close-knit nuclear family network of their parents with some separate ties of their own. After marriage, early in the new family life cycle (category F), two single networks begin to combine into a shared network, part kinship and part separate. In categories E and D, families with children at school, separate ties became less common and by the time the children reach adolescence the close-knit nuclear family network has usually incorporated or superseded any former separate ties. Here, however, the process of separation may begin again as the young adult children, as well as commonly remaining part of the close-knit nuclear family network, also form separate ties of their own. By this stage the nuclear family network is commonly larger than in earlier stages of the family life cycle.

The exclusively Greek value orientations of most people in category F, and their negative attitudes to Australia, when compared with more positive attitudes amongst families with older children, suggest that a progression of cultural change is associated with the changing network patterns of the family life cycle. If so, it indicates that children are an even more important factor in the cultural change of their parents than I had earlier imagined and that for many Greeks cultural change takes place very largely within the family itself. Those with infants only have not yet been confronted by the new values and relationships which children

<sup>32</sup> It is possible that some kind of psychological measure would need to be incorporated in any further sociological research into the situation of these couples. See J. I. Martin, *Refugee Settlers: a study of displaced persons in Australia*, Canberra, 1965, for possible parallels with her 'status conscious' and 'markedly isolated' immigrant types.

increasingly import into the family network as they grow older, and which change some parental attitudes and relationships.

It seems, then, that cultural change away from exclusively Greek values often accompanies the growth of children within the family, and leads to meaningful personal perspectives for parents who can cope with changes if these take place in a familiar context of social relationships. This seems most often to be a close-knit nuclear family network, in which the presence of growing children and kin who are at various stages of cultural change creates a dialogue of values through which a personally meaningful combination of cultural influences can be built. Those furthest from this situation are the isolates. They are the ones who most bitterly oppose their children's cultural change.

## Appendix

### APPENDIX 3.1: TABLES SHOWING NETWORK PATTERN UNRELATED TO AGE AND LENGTH OF TIME IN AUSTRALIA

#### A.

##### *Isolated or separate networks*

<i>Case</i>	<i>Time in Australia (years)</i>	<i>Proportion of life in Australia</i>	<i>Age</i>
Aa	14.5	.25	56
Ab	12	.27	44
Ac	18	.37	48
Ad	41	.67	61
<i>Close nuclear family networks</i>			
Ae	14	.26	52
Af	17	.32	52
Ag	19	.41	46
Ah	32	.68	47
Ai	11	.22	50

#### B.

<i>Case</i>	<i>Time in Australia (years)</i>	<i>Proportion of life in Australia</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Greatest correspondence with parental network</i>			
Ba	3	.17	17
Bb	14	.77	18
Bc	20	.62	32
<i>Least correspondence with parental network</i>			
Be	5	.23	21
Bf	10	.66	15
Bd	15	.65	23

#### C.

<i>Case</i>	<i>Time in Australia (years)</i>	<i>Proportion of life in Australia</i>	<i>Age</i>
Ca	18	.51	35
Cb	15	.51	29

## D.

Case	Time in Australia (years)	Proportion of life in Australia	Age
<i>Close-knit nuclear family network (descending size)</i>			
Dc	20	.52	38
Dd	15	.37	40
Df	19	.39	48
De	15	.30	49
<i>Close core and loose-knit</i>			
Dg	20	.48	41
<i>Separate</i>			
Db	11	.31	35
Da	20	.52	38

## E.

Case	Time in Australia (years)	Proportion of life in Australia	Age
<i>Close-knit nuclear family network; some separate ties</i>			
Ea	4.5	.15	30
Eb	14	.30	46
Ec	15	.44	34
Ed	14.5	.41	35
Ee	15	.40	37
<i>Layered close-knit nuclear family network</i>			
Ef	15	.41	36
Eg	14	.33	42
Eh	10	.34	29
Ei	15	.41	36
Ej	11	.33	33
<i>Non-layered close-knit nuclear family network</i>			
Ek	14	.32	43
El	19	.48	39
Em	19	.52	36
En	17	.62	27

*Note:* the tendency for those with non-layered close-knit nuclear family networks to have been in Australia longer than the other cases is interesting in the light of suggestions from this study that close-knit nuclear family networks may for some purposes be seen as a norm.

## F.

Case	Time in Australia (years)	Proportion of life in Australia	Age
Fa	15	.38	39
Fd	7	.22	31
Fc	6	.20	30
Fg	16	.42	38
Ff	13	.35	37
Fb	11	.36	30
Fe	8	.25	32

## Community and Network in a City

Gil Bottomley

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This chapter focuses on twenty-three adult second generation Greeks—persons over twenty years of age who were either born in Australia or came to Australia before they were eleven. My interest in this research lies in the subjects' conception of and relationship to their ethnic backgrounds, including their participation in the public institutions of the Greek population of Sydney (clubs, social and religious activities). Having made a large-scale study of the historical and social background to Greek settlement in Sydney,<sup>1</sup> my intention in this paper is to discover the significance of that background to a small number of individuals.

One way to do this is to ask people. As Brigitte Berger has said:

. . . people not only live in institutional structures, they also perceive these structures, reflect about them, evaluate them, and try to understand their own location in them. Their definitions of the situation become a social reality that has, in turn, its own effects on the institutions concerned.<sup>2</sup>

Another complementary approach is to study interaction patterns, to see what kind of groupings emerge when one 'maps' an individual's social field. If one agrees with Simmel that such groupings represent 'collectivities of subjective affiliation'<sup>3</sup> then it should be possible to work out patterns of affiliation that help to explain the connections between the institution and individuals. Furthermore, it should be possible to discover informal groupings (of friends,

<sup>1</sup> In a doctoral dissertation, Macquarie University, 1973.

<sup>2</sup> B. Berger, *Societies in Change*, New York, 1971, pp. 215-16.

<sup>3</sup> G. Simmel, 'The Web of Group-Affiliations', in *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, Glencoe, 1960, p. 128.

for example) that may be extremely important to an individual, but are not necessarily associated with any institution.

In order to minimise pre-suppositions about the social environment, I have concentrated on tracing individual-centred interaction systems. My aim was to map each individual's social field so that I could understand its effect on him. This meant appreciating the relationships between other people in his field as well as their relationships with him. This method is generally known as 'network analysis'. Network analysis has been used with some success since the mid-1950s, particularly by urban anthropologists.<sup>4</sup>

In the research that forms the basis for this chapter I have assessed each individual's network in terms of two sets of criteria. Firstly, the *form* of the network, according to:

- (a) knit or density (relationships among component units)
- (b) range—heterogeneity of contacts (education, status, life style)
- (c) size—number of component units.

Secondly, the *content* of the network, that is:

- (a) nature of relationships (kin, friend, business, organisational)
- (b) intensity of relationships.
- (c) frequency of contact.
- (d) role summation or differentiation (whether or not a friend is also a kinsman, a neighbour, a work associate).

### *The material and the informants*

This chapter is based on loosely structured and unstructured interviews with twenty-three individuals over a period of some two and a half years, from June 1969 to December 1971. I also interviewed other members of each individual's network, and so gathered information about and from each informant. Cumbersome as this method was, it did allow some observation of interrelationships within the network, and it offered different perspectives on each informant.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For overviews of the history and usefulness of network analysis, see J. A. Barnes, *Social Networks*, Reading, Mass., 1972; E. Bott, 'Reconsiderations', in *Family and Social Network*, 2nd ed., London, 1971; and J. C. Mitchell, *Social Networks in Urban Situations: Analyses of personal relationships in central African towns*, Manchester, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> In *Family and Social Network*, Bott suggests such an independent check on network density, but doubts if the effort, in an urban situation 'would be worth the immense trouble involved' (p. 293). I believe it has been.

In most cases, interviewing was supplemented by participant observation. Over the two and a half years of fieldwork, I attended meetings, parties, dances, baptisms, weddings and funerals in which my informants were involved. Inevitably, I have seen more of some than of others, but the average interview time spent with each person was about ten hours. For comparative purposes, I used a question schedule and also collected genealogies.

The informants themselves are not a representative sample of second generation Greeks in Sydney. My emphasis is on detail rather than spread, so numbers had to be small. Moreover, I had to rely on the goodwill of people who were prepared to give up hours of their time to someone asking personal questions. One of my informants was a woman I had met during the initial exploratory phase of my research in the Greek community. Another was a man I had known for several years. These two referred me to their own friends and kin, thus initiating me into two sets of networks. Two other informants, whom I had contacted as official representatives of organisations, introduced me to their kin and friends. So the information in this paper covers four reference chains, some representing closely interrelated networks, others quite loosely linked. Table 4.1 is a profile of informants, showing the differences between reference chains.

Reference chain A consists mainly of the offspring of wealthy, predominantly Kytheran settlers. The parents of seven of these were the owners of businesses, usually in country areas of New South Wales and Queensland. Most of them have invested in real estate and retired to the eastern suburbs of Sydney. Eight of the nine persons in this reference chain have tertiary educations, and Penelope, the one with a secondary education, has married a wealthy professional of Kytheran parentage.

Two of the people in reference chain A are peripherally related to it. They are friends of some of the Kytherans, but not kin. One of these, Aglaia, is the daughter of a skilled worker from Egypt. She and her parents were post-war migrants, but their educational level and skills placed them on a par with the wealthier pre-war settlers. She has established friendships in this group mainly by participating in organisations, particularly the Greek Students Association, Sigma. The other peripheral member, Stephen, is the son of pre-war migrants from Chios and Athens. His father has re-

mained an unskilled labourer and, although he has accumulated property, his income is far below that of the wealthy Kytherans and Akratans of the eastern suburbs. Until recently, the family lived quite frugally in a crowded inner suburb. However, Stephen attended Greek school and Younger Set functions with the children of wealthy Greeks, and joined the Greek Students Association when he enrolled at university. He attends Sigma functions and visits the houses of friends who are co-members, but his mother is 'ashamed' to ask his friends home, so a reciprocal pattern of hospitality has not been established.

Reference chain B is much smaller (only four people) and more loosely linked. The parents of three of them were pre-war settlers from Asia Minor and the islands. They were not parts of large chains, and had small and dispersed family groups. Their businesses were never highly successful, nor did they invest in real estate. Constantina and Stella went to Greek school and church with children of wealthier Greeks, and both joined the Olympic Club, an organisation founded in the forties to provide sporting, cultural and social activities for the second generation. Stella met there her husband, whose father was Constantina's father's brother. But Constantina alienated many of her kin and friends by marrying an Englishman in an Anglican church. Dorothea, on the other hand, married a Cypriot migrant whose family had known her mother's family in Cyprus. Dorothea's husband is now a wealthy businessman, Constantina's husband is a tradesman, and Stella and her husband, like their parents, run a small mixed business in the suburbs. Both Stella and Constantina think the wealthy eastern suburbs Greeks are 'snobbish' and 'overconcerned with how much money one has'.

The fourth member of this chain, Philip, was born in Greece, and belongs to an extremely isolated family. He is included in this chain because he is the son of Stella's father's brother's daughter.

Four of the five persons in reference chain D form part of a second generation segment of one large kindred, predominantly Kastellorizan and Kasiot. Some members of the kindred are prosperous, but many are unskilled workers and the owners of small businesses. Of the second generation members, only Theo has a university education, and his degree was completed part-time while he worked in an office. Persons in this reference chain own their

own homes, but have no other investments. The non-kin member of this reference chain is associated with the others by participation in an organisation established by members of the kindred.

Informants ranged in age from twenty-one to forty. Twelve were women, eleven men. Fourteen were married with children, nine unmarried. Eight were born outside Australia, in Greece or Egypt, but came here before they were ten years old.<sup>6</sup> One girl, Anna, is the daughter of Australian-born parents of Kytheran descent, but her father was sent back to Greece for part of his education. Another, Evangelia, has an Australian-born mother.

They are not, and are not intended as, a homogeneous collection of people. Their common characteristic is that they were reared by Greek parents in an Australian environment. However, one should resist the attempt to generalise to all second generation Greeks from the information recorded here. The individuals described all come from the families of pre-war or immediately post-war migrants, so their parents' arrival pre-dates the large influx of Greeks into Sydney. Only two families were government-assisted; most were personally sponsored by relatives and friends. This meant that they already knew somebody when they arrived and, in many cases, had a home or a job to come to. Personal sponsorship of this kind has accounted for the bulk of Greek migration to Australia and has resulted in the formation of what Price has described as migration chains.<sup>7</sup> Those who were themselves sponsored by a relative or fellow villager become sponsors in their turn. Thus, some migrants have built up sizeable communities of people linked by ties of kinship and shared origin in Greece. A new arrival who comes to such a community has a ready-made network of kin and friends who can offer emotional warmth, material assistance and advice about the new country.

On the other hand, individuals or families who are not part of

<sup>6</sup> In Table 4.1, I have followed C. A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1963, p. 256 in categorising these as 'generation IIa'.

<sup>7</sup> C. A. Price (ed.), *Australian Immigration: a bibliography and digest*, no. 2, Canberra, 1970, p. A15, says that during the years 1947-70 less than 33 per cent of Greeks were assisted by the government, compared with 86 per cent of persons from the British Isles and 78 per cent of those from Germany and eastern Europe. Price also discusses chain migration in more detail in *Southern Europeans*, pp. 108-39, 159-99 and 'The Study of Assimilation', in J. A. Jackson (ed.), *Migration*, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 210-12.

such a chain are likely to experience more strains in adjustment to the new country. As government assistance has increased, since the mid-1950s, the proportion of isolated migrants has increased accordingly. By contrast, the well established pre-war chains have often consolidated themselves and added a second generation 'layer'. In other words there are considerable differences between well established families and more recent arrivals, both in terms of networks and in terms of economic strength.

Most of the parents of these twenty-three people had their own businesses; only seven fathers were unskilled workers. Of the twenty-three themselves, fourteen have had tertiary level educations, and none was an unskilled worker. This pattern differs considerably from that of the children of many of Sydney's Greeks. Australia is now heavily industrialised, and the possibilities for small-scale entrepreneurship are no longer plentiful. Accordingly, most of the post-war Greek migrants have become industrial workers, dependent on wages rather than business profits and unable to control their own labour and exercise their own initiative as Greeks have done in business.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, lack of educational opportunity and disintegrative pressures on the family must affect the achievement of the children of Greek migrants, despite their parents' most valiant efforts. In my experience, Greek parents consider education to be extremely important. Research in Sydney schools by Rogers, comparing Australian, British, Italian and Greek educational aspirations, showed Greeks with the highest percentage of second generation subjects planning to leave at sixth form; however, only 3.13 per cent of the subjects were actually in sixth form at the time. Taking such factors as parental education into account, Rogers concluded that 'of all nationalities—the Greeks seemed to be making the best fist of combatting cultural disadvantage'.<sup>9</sup> When one considers structural disadvantages, as well as cultural, it is difficult to deny the recent prediction by two educationists of 'the growth of a deprived and self-perpetuating class of people at the

<sup>8</sup> Over the years the proportion of Greeks working as labourers and operatives has changed markedly: 1947, 17 per cent; 1961, 43 per cent; 1971, about 60 per cent (sources are Price, *Southern Europeans*; J. Zubrzycki, 'Immigration Twenty Years After', *Current Affairs Bulletin*, vol. 43, no. 1, 1968); 1971 Census, Birthplace and Occupation.

<sup>9</sup> R. Rogers, paper, presented to the education section of ANZAAS, August, 1972.

bottom of our social system, who will be further differentiated on account of their ethnic origin'.<sup>10</sup> The picture of success presented by the subjects of my own research in no way contradicts this prediction. These twenty-three individuals must be viewed in relation to the older established Greek settlers in Sydney, rather than to the more recently arrived, predominantly working class Greek population.

### *The patterns that emerged*

In assessing patterns of interaction in terms of networks, I have found that the distinction made by Bott and others between 'close-knit' and 'loose-knit' networks is somewhat inadequate, particularly if one wishes to pay some attention to the content, as well as the form of the network. The networks of my own informants tended to be lumpy or tangled, with some areas densely interconnected and others not at all. All networks had some close-knit clusters, always including their immediate families, and usually incorporating other intimate kin as well. But these clusters were separate in some networks and interrelated in others. I have categorised them into two types, according to the extent of connectedness of the clusters within each network. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 represent typical examples of the two types of network. These are simplified versions of the patterns of interaction of Stavros and Stephen. Stavros's network has been much simplified; otherwise it would have been very difficult to present it all.

Most of the component units in Stavros's network are interconnected. Many have multiple ties with one another and there are dense clusters of interaction within the larger clusters. Only one cluster, a group of workmates, lies outside this pattern of interconnectedness. The work cluster also represents his main source of frequent interaction with non-Greeks, but none of his work relationships is intimate. The rest of his life space is crisscrossed with interlocking ties that enmesh him quite firmly. Furthermore he is, by virtue of his relationship with the members of his own network, connected with similar networks that extend throughout much of the Greek community.

<sup>10</sup> J. J. Smolicz and R. Wiseman, 'European Migrants and their Children: interaction, assimilation, education', *Quarterly Review of Australian Education*, part 2, vol. 4, no. 3, September 1971, p. 21.

FIGURE 4.1 STEPHENS NETWORK

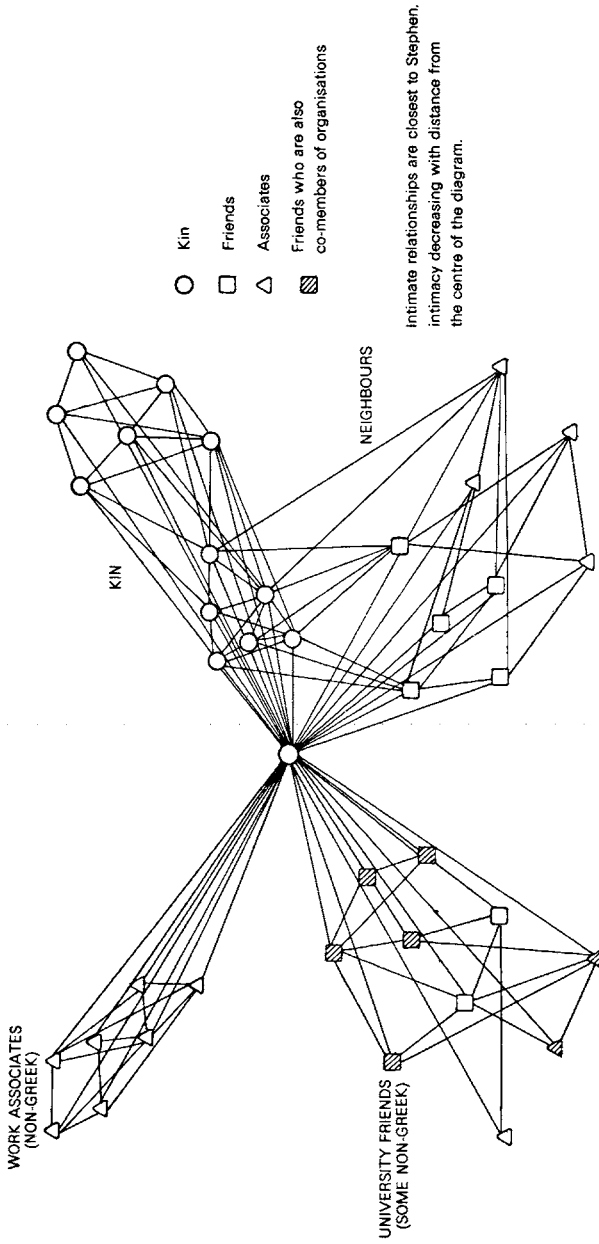
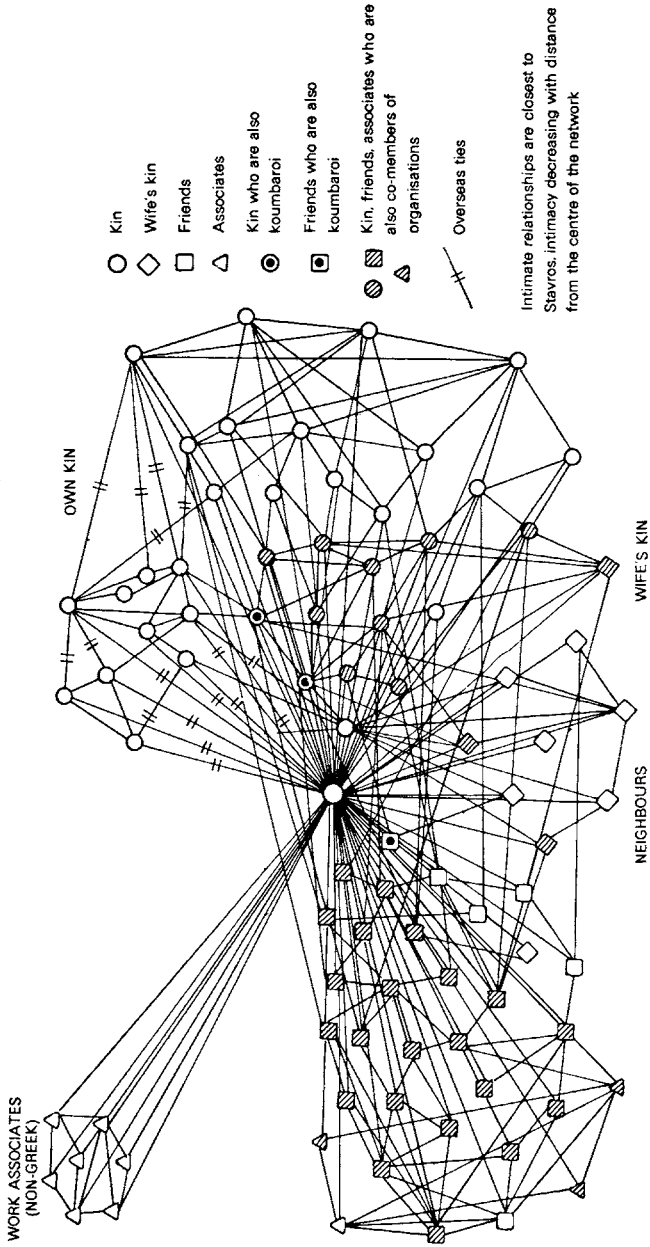


FIGURE 4.2 STAVROS'S NETWORK



For these reasons, I have followed Martin in describing Stavros's network as a 'community type'.<sup>11</sup> Of my twenty-three informants, fourteen had networks of this type. Only one was completely embedded in the community, to the extent where all her contacts knew one another. Like Stavros, the other thirteen had some 'outside' contacts, usually in separate clusters (that is not interacting with the community contracts) of non-Greek associates from work and university.

The other nine informants, including Stephen, belong to what Martin has called 'clustered' networks.<sup>12</sup> Even the most isolated of them was a member of at least one definable group. But, in these networks, clusters of interaction may be completely separate, or related to each other only through the subject.

The significance of these two network types will be considered in more detail. As a guide to further analysis, I have summarised the main characteristics of the twenty-three patterns of interaction (see Table 4.1).

*Community-type networks.* Patterns of association showed multiple connections between kin and other associates—ties of friendship, co-membership of organisations, mutual assistance, and neighbourhood. These ties often included a *koumbaros* relationship, where friends or kin have been chief attendants at each other's weddings and/or baptised each other's children.

All fourteen of these individuals had networks classified as predominantly Greek, though six had intimate friends who were not Greek. Some of these intimate friends were British-Australians, some were the offspring of other European immigrants, especially Jews. These six informants all had tertiary level educations, and had met most of their non-Greek friends at school or university. Five of the six are unmarried, and the one married informant in this category now has limited contact with the non-Greek women she considered close friends at University. Two small children and the demands of her own and her husband's close-knit kin groups take most of her time.

<sup>11</sup> Jean Martin, 'Suburbia: community and network', in A. F. Davies and S. Encel (eds.), *Australian Society: a sociological introduction*, Melbourne, 1970, p. 337.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

Table 4.1 Profile of Informants

Ref. Chain	Name	Age	Marital status	Occupational status*	Parents' Occupational status	Parents' origin	Other	
A	Aglaiia	27	S	1	2	Egypt (Rhodes)	IIa	
	Anna	21	S	1	1	Australia (Kytheran parents)		
	Athens	32	M	1	1	Akrata		
	Christopher	23	S	1	1	Kythera		
	Dimitri	37	S	1	1	Kythera		
	Michael	25	S	1	2	Kythera		
	Penelope	32	M	2 (1)	2	Kythera		
	Stavros	40	M	1	2	Kythera		
	Stephen	23	S	1	3	M Athens, F Chios		
	B	Constantina	36	M	2	2		F Kassos, M Ithaca (H English)
Dorothea		38	M	2 (1)	2	F Samos, M Cyprus (H 1st gen.)		
Philip		24	M	2	1 (2)†	Asia Minor (and Piraeus)		
Stella		40	M	2	2	Asia Minor		
Anthony		31	M	1	2 (1)†	Corinth		
Evangelia		23	S	1	2	F Kastellorizo, M Australia (of Kastell. parents)		
C	John	22	S	1	3	Kastellorizo	IIa	
	Katerina	21	M	2 (1)	1	M Kastellorizo, F Cyprus		
	Peter	25	S	1	3	Peloponnesos		
	Alexandra	24	M	2	3	Salonika		
D	Basil	31	M	2	3	Egypt (M's from Kassos, F's from Kastellorizo)	IIa	
	Irine	25	M	2 (1)	2	Salonika		
	Marika	27	M	2 (1)	3	Limnos		
	Theo	29	M	1	3	Egypt (from Kastellorizo)		

Note: 1. Occupational status: 1 = Professional, executive, owner/partner of large business (assets \$1m or more).  
 2 = Owner/partner of small business, tradesman, skilled worker (e.g. secretary).  
 3 = Unskilled worker.

2. All informants are Australian born, except those marked IIa who were born in Greece or Egypt and came to Australia before they were eleven.

3. \* Husband's status in parentheses.

† M has secondary education, F a trade, but they have built a prosperous business in Australia.

‡ Parents have secondary education, but F is a high status church official.

All fourteen informants had large close-knit kin networks. In most cases, their parents had a number of brothers and sisters, perhaps totalling five or six for each parent. Where these are in Australia, married and with children of their own, the size of the kindred is considerable, even if one draws arbitrary limits at the range of first cousins (as some of my informants have done when compiling invitations to weddings, for example). Where contact is maintained with members of the grandparent generation, their children and their children's children, the field of possible interaction with kin is a vast one.

Thirteen of these fourteen community-type networks included relationships selected from a large kindred of this kind. In the other one, Dorothea's network, interaction is dominated by the relatives of Dorothea's husband, Spiro, rather than her parents' fairly small network. Spiro, a first generation immigrant, has seven brothers and sisters, all living in close proximity to his household. A successful businessman, he has sponsored them all from Cyprus where his parents still live, and as the oldest brother he acts as family head in Australia. The whole family belongs to the same local church community, and Spiro is a member of the church council. The brothers are also members of the Cypriot Brotherhood. The family shares constant interaction, talking to each other in person or by telephone several times a week. Furthermore, organisational ties and ties of neighbourhood link them with many of the same individuals outside their family group. Though they form the core of a smaller network than those of the other thirteen people, the difference appears to be primarily one of time spent in Australia. In other words, I predict that this particular group will, in the next generation, closely resemble the communities formed by the prosperous pre-war settlers from Kythera, Akrata and Kastellorizo.

Nine of the individuals with community-type networks are affiliated with these high-status, long-established settlers. The first generation members of the network own businesses and real estate; the nine second generation informants all have tertiary level educations. The networks of these informants are, to use Mackie's term, 'layered', mainly along generational lines.<sup>13</sup> Thus, close friendships between kin are usually formed horizontally, within

<sup>13</sup> Fiona Mackie in this volume.

one's own generation, and each generational layer shows considerable homogeneity in occupational and educational status and in life style. Furthermore, these layers are formalised in organisational membership. Members of regional Brotherhoods are predominantly first generation immigrants, but the Younger Sets of Brotherhoods and churches are designed for the second generation, and so is the Young Ahepans' organisation.<sup>14</sup> Other second generation clubs, such as Sigma and the Young Matrons, were founded by the offspring of long-established settlers.

In general it seems that the public ethnic institutions provide for a kind of age grading. Two of those interviewed, Anthony and Katerina, serve as examples of this principle. Now married to each other, they attended the same afternoon school and joined related youth groups, Anthony a soccer club, Katerina a Girls' Fellowship. In their late teens, they took part in the activities of the local church Younger Set and Katerina attended functions organised by the Younger Set of her father's and mother's brothers' Brotherhoods. Anthony became a member of Sigma, and was also actively associated with two Greek soccer teams. Now that they are married, both partners are still members of the church Younger Set and participate in activities of the two Brotherhood Younger Sets. Their intimate friends are also involved in these organisations and are often common friends who shared their childhood and early adult experiences. Other organisations are available to them. Anthony is already affiliated with the Hellenic Club, through membership of the Pan-Hellenic Sports Association, Katerina may join the Young Matrons, as she put it 'when I'm a little older'.

Two points should be made about this age grading within the Greek community. Firstly, it obviously creates circles of people who know each other in some depth. Not only have they shared experiences and a common situation, but they also know each other's kin and associates. Most important, they have seen the development of the other persons in the circle.

The second point about age grading is that it appears to be more important for women than for men. The three unmarried female informants feel out of place in the age graded organisations.

<sup>14</sup> The Young Ahepans from the Younger Set of the Australian Hellenic Educational Progressive Association.

By definition, those women are over twenty and therefore in what is for Greeks an anomalous situation.<sup>15</sup> Not only are they not married, they are not even betrothed. So they find themselves the recipients of helpful advice, the subjects of planned introductions, and the irritated butts of comments such as 'isn't it time you were married?' One of these informants, Aglaia, is not implicated in a community-type network, and has limited involvement with any organisation. Nevertheless, she had a strict father who refused to allow her out except under his supervision, so that she is apprehensive about contact with men. She would prefer to meet a potential husband in a Greek-defined context, perhaps among her own Greek friends.

Another of these three women, Anna, has much more freedom than most Greek girls. She does have a community-type network, but mainly because she shares part of her parents' large networks of kin and friends. She is minimally involved in the local church community, but rejects the organisations. In her words, the Younger Sets are 'unhealthy'. 'They live in each other's pockets. Imagine marrying someone you'd known all your life like that. It'd be like marrying your brother!' But Anna would like to marry someone who knows and appreciates her family and background. She is proud of her family's achievements and, like Aglaia, wants her husband to share her own interest in things Greek.

The third of these women, Evangelia, is the victim of almost intolerable family pressure. Her Kastellorizan parents feel that it is 'high time' she married, but they will only approve a spouse whose 'pedigree' is known to them—specifically, someone from a 'good Kastellorizan family'. They are suspicious of any contacts she has with men outside their own network of associations, and the resulting tension is so great that she has withdrawn from most social activities. She has no wish to, or perhaps cannot, dissociate herself from her parents and their world. She would prefer a compromise. So she is caught in the ambivalent situation where, although she refuses to accept her parents' definition of the situation to the extent where she will agree to marrying 'the man they want as a

<sup>15</sup> The criteria for selection of informants were that they be (a) born of Greek parents, (b) Australian-born or arrived before they were eleven years and (c) over twenty years of age.

son-in-law', she is still affected by that definition to a considerable degree. When I asked if she had thought of moving out of her parents' household, she exclaimed, 'That would really brand me as a scarlet woman! Besides, they'd still know what I'm doing. I can't go anywhere without bumping into someone they know.' It is obviously very important to Evangelia to have the approval of her parents and other kin. Because of them, she is implicated in a community-type network with narrow definitions of appropriate behaviour. Her parents, in their turn, are pleased that she has always been a dutiful Kastellorizan daughter, a good student and, overall, a superior product. Pretty and well groomed, with a pleasing personality, she should, in her own ironic evaluation 'score a doctor at least'. But she has developed inconvenient ideas about freedom of choice, along with associated objections to dowries and parental snobbishness. Despite all this, she would probably prefer to marry a Greek. She is religious, and by no means rejects her Greek background. Her only intimate friendship with a man was with a first generation Greek.

The common element in these three stories is the fact that the women view themselves, and are viewed by others in their network, as anomalies. The three women differ in their attitudes towards their own situation, and, in fact, their situations differ: Aglaia is quite an isolated individual, with few intimate ties; Anna is securely ensconced in a large and affectionate kindred where she has a good deal of freedom; Evangelia is virtually trapped in a very firmly traditional network. But all three would prefer to marry men with a Greek background, and none has rejected the public ethnic institutions entirely. All these women attend church regularly, Aglaia taking part in a religious study group based on her local church. Nevertheless, they feel uncomfortable in what I have described as age grade organisations. In Evangelia's words, 'all the girls my age (in a church Younger Set) are married or engaged'. Anna and Aglaia both objected to the fact that, because of their age, people commented on their dancing partners as potential husbands whenever they attended parties and dances given by the organisations. Yet it is within these organisations that one usually meets, or courts, a spouse. Because they are part of the Greek community, they are marriage markets acceptable to most Greek parents. For girls who are not allowed out

elsewhere, they may be the only marriage markets. The fact that most Greek girls seem to be married, or betrothed, in their late teens or early twenties, together with the convention of males marrying women younger than themselves means that unmarried women past their early twenties are out of place in the organisations designed for young people. They would be equally out of place in the Young Matrons Association, of course. Much more than men, women are confined narrowly in the organisational age grading process.

Seen in this light, the organisations formalise intergenerational differences within the community, but incorporate those differences into patterns of behaviour acceptable to the first generation of settlers. The chain migration of early settlers led to the development of communities based on kinship, friendship and region of origin in Greece. These communities have now developed layers within which subsequent generations can be accommodated. In most cases, layering creates flexibility within the community. What Mackie has called 'a dialogue of values' takes place. Where younger members of a network are at variance with their elders, they can usually find either support or example within their own age grades. In short, there are role models available whose attributes can be evaluated by all members of the community. Competition takes place on this basis, too. One of my informants has virtually duplicated the career of a successful cousin and been rewarded accordingly by his parents. Another, by outstripping a cousin's achievement, innocently caused a family split. Among the established and wealthy settlers of the eastern and southeastern suburbs of Sydney, the success ethic is firmly entrenched and competition is intense. One's children should have a university education, the males a professional practice, the females a good marriage. The communities described provide an area of social interaction within which these achievements can be recognised and evaluated.

Table 4.2 shows what I have called 'extensive role summation' in all fourteen of these networks. This means that each individual had a number of different kinds of ties with the same people. For example, all fourteen had close friends who were also kin. In all cases, these friends were members of the same church community or organisation as the informant. Sometimes they also had a *koumbaros* relationship. The typical pattern was a combination

Table 4.2 Main characteristics of patterns of social interaction—twenty-three case studies

Name of informant	Well established chain	Layered network	Large close-knit kin group*	Ext. role summation	Member of two or more Greek orgns	Network predom. Greek	Intimate zone entirely Greek	Self-placement predom. Greek†
Alexandra	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Anna	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Anthony	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Athens	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Basil	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Christopher	+	+	+	+	(6)	+	+	+
Dimitri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dorothea	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Evangelia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Irine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
John	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Katrina	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Stravros	+	+	+	+	(8)	+	+	+
Theo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Aglaiia	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
Constantina	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Marika	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Michael	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
Penelope	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
Peter	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Philip	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Stella	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Stephen	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

\* 'Layered' networks are differentiated into generational segments (cf. Mackie in this volume) and further discussion in the text.

† Informants were asked to place themselves on a Greek-Australian continuum.

of three or four of these roles: kin/friends/*koumbaroi*/organisation members/church members/neighbours. Thirteen of these fourteen people live quite close to intimate friends and kin, perhaps within fifteen minutes by car. There is frequent contact within the intimate zone of these networks—people telephone or see each other weekly, several times a week, and even daily. The five unmarried informants live with their parents, and two married informants have their mother and husband's mother, respectively living in the same household. Two other married informants live next door and two more live round the corner from (in each case) the woman's parents. Seven of the fourteen have kin-dominated interaction patterns, visiting and entertaining kin several times a week. Four of these form the core of a cultural group whose activities are now woven into the pattern of social interaction between kin.

Overlapping roles of this kind, combined with intensive patterns of social interaction, create the kind of face-to-face communities, marked by many stranded ties, that we are told do not exist in urban societies.<sup>16</sup> In fact, these communities do differ from those described by Frankenburg as typical of small-scale rural societies. Firstly, they are not geographically distinct. But they are affected by geographical propinquity. I mentioned earlier that thirteen of the fourteen lived close to most of the intimate members of their network. Ten of these are involved in activities of their local church, again interacting regularly with many of the other members of their networks. Three of these informants have lived away from their communities and were glad to move back to the eastern suburbs and closer contact.

Nevertheless, the necessity of geographical propinquity should not be exaggerated, especially where a population is highly mobile and the technology of communication advanced. Seventeen of my twenty-three informants maintain regular contact with friends and kin in Greece, the United States and in other parts of Australia. In some cases, contact is frequent and relationships intense, particularly where letters and telephone calls are occasionally re-

<sup>16</sup> cf. L. Wirth, 'Urbanisation as a way of life', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, no. 1, July 1938; R. Frankenburg, *Communities in Britain: social life in town and country*, Harmondsworth, 1967.

inforced by face-to-face contact. Within Sydney, the use of cars and telephone reduces the tyranny of distance. The significant point is that the conversation that delineates community is maintained. It allows for the continual sharing and affirmation of in-group experiences. The part played in this process by geographical proximity is best summed up in Berger and Luckmann's contention that 'the longer these techniques (of affirmation) are isolated from face-to-face confirmations, the less likely they will be to retain the accent of reality.'<sup>17</sup>

The second main difference between these and the rural communities typified by Frankenberg lies in the separation of the occupational sphere from other spheres of activity. In many cases, however, even this distinction does not entirely hold. For example professionals often have a large Greek clientele, perhaps built up by community references and organisation membership. Secondly, kin are often involved in each other's business activities, particularly in the catering trade.<sup>18</sup> Finally, wealthy parents often establish their offspring in professional practices or as property owners. The Australian taxation structure also encourages the formation of family companies, so that the distinction between kin and economic activities becomes somewhat blurred.

Certainly, the differences between what Frankenberg would call 'communities' and the groupings described here are ones of degree rather than kind. The question of community will be discussed in more detail later, but the closely interrelated clusters of relationships of these fourteen informants seem correctly categorised as community-type networks. Multi-stranded ties and frequent interaction maximise the possibility of the mutual understanding that forms the basis of communal relationships. The overlapping of kinship, friendship and, in most cases, geographical proximity creates a social area of shared activities and values. These community-type networks approximate Simmel's 'concentric patterns of group affiliation' where participation in one group enjoins participation in another.<sup>19</sup> In fact, there is a good deal of flexibility,

<sup>17</sup> P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, Harmondsworth, 1969, pp. 174-5.

<sup>18</sup> See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, especially pp. 166-8, for the involvement of kin and friends in businesses established by pre-war settlers.

<sup>19</sup> Simmel, 'The Web of Group Affiliations', p. 163.

introduced by the layering of generations and by the (at least partial) separation of the economic and political sphere from the predominantly private world of the communities.

At least two spheres of the lives of these individuals are dominated by interaction with Greek kin, friends and neighbours; those of the intimate and the social. The further interlocking of networks such as these results in the formation of a collection of communities, defining a field of action against which individuals can act out their own roles. But the more homogeneous areas marked by clusters are the most significant in establishing and maintaining social 'oughts'—earlier called 'valuations'. People involved in such communities can visualise their social world in concrete terms. In these cases, the frequent question 'what will people (the world) think?' (*ti tha pei o cosmos?*) has real significance.

Several of these people were quite explicit about the strength of such a community. As Stavros described it, 'it provides social support, a secure feeling of being known. It helps one's ego'. Another man, Christopher, noted the 'strong empathy' between himself and his Greek friends 'because of similar backgrounds and ties that go a number of different ways'.

Evangelia, by contrast, feels imprisoned by the same sense of embeddedness that appears to be so satisfying to Stavros and Christopher. Her problems are aggravated by the feeling of being known, and by comparison with those who have always been her peers. In her case, an important source of pressure is within her own household, especially from her mother, father and mother's mother. These most significant others define her role obligations very narrowly indeed.

The question of subjective identification and conflict will have to be omitted from this chapter. The discussion of community-type networks has been brief, but it is clear that they do incorporate what Berger and Kellner have called '*nomos*-building instrumentalities'.<sup>20</sup> In other words, they create for the individual the sort of order (*nomos*) in which he can experience his life as making sense. This order is biographically cumulative, affirmed over time in the age grades within the networks and in areas of conversation created

<sup>20</sup> P. Berger and H. Kellner, 'Marriage and the Construction of Reality', *Diogenes*, no. 46, 1964, pp. 1-25.

by frequent social interaction. These community type networks can offer their members criteria that define a 'tolerable range of differences'.

In the fourteen networks described here, the tolerable range of differences is quite adequate for most members. However, five felt constrained by the narrowness of role obligations, and it may be worth investigating the extent of constraint. One of the dissatisfied, John, seems to be rebelling mainly against a dominating mother, who disapproves of his frequenting wine bars and going out with non-Greek girls. She has also threatened to cut his Afro-style hair while he is asleep. John resents his mother's concern with what the *cosmos* thinks, but his rebellion is somewhat half-hearted. He intends to marry 'a rich Kassie girl', and has no doubts about his eligibility—he has not been alienated from the *nomos*-building instrumentalities of his community.

The other four informants who have found role obligations irksome have had far more serious problems than John's. One woman, Athena, was prevented from continuing part-time university study because of family disapproval. Although she managed her children, her household and her university course very competently, she discontinued rather than face the constant disapproval of those significant others who had pre-defined her role as wife and mother. Another woman, Irene, has come to terms with an arranged marriage that she obviously resented. Forbidden to associate with the man of her choice, she was betrothed to a man considered by her parents to be a suitable son-in-law. She is now fully involved with his large close-knit kin group, and makes a co-operative, if somewhat passive wife. The other two women who resent the narrowness of role obligations are Evangelia and Anna, already discussed.

It is important to note that male members of these communities are allowed more flexibility than females. The point is worth making here to highlight some of the limits of these 'tolerable ranges of differences'.

**Clustered networks.** The nine informants with clustered networks are less easily grouped than those with community-type networks. All nine have some contact with some of the subcommunities that make up the Greek community, either through membership of organisations, long-standing acquaintances or kinship. But they are

not themselves enmeshed in the web of affiliations that distinguishes a subcommunity. In their patterns of interaction, the links with denser networks represent only one of a number of clusters—the diagram of Stephen's network is an example. The significant characteristic these nine networks have in common is that clusters of kin, friends and associates are usually quite separate.

In the interaction patterns of Marika, Penelope, Peter, Philip and Stephen, intimate zones are dominated by close kin. Marika is married to a migrant from Egypt, whose seven brothers and sisters are also in Sydney. They are orphans, all firm friends, who see each other at least weekly and provide mutual assistance. For example, Marika's husband's sister minds the children of two of her sisters-in-law while they work. This sibling group may develop into the kind of community-type network described for Dorothea, but at present ties of kinship and friendship are not reinforced by co-membership of organisations or by neighbourhood. Marika's own parents are rather isolated. They were assisted migrants who have never lived in areas of dense Greek settlement. Both mother and father are factory workers, often working shift work and able to spare little time for social activities. Marika's father belongs to the Lemnian Brotherhood, but is only now beginning to find the leisure, and spare money, to enjoy the company of his compatriots: his three daughters are married, and his son is teaching. Each parent has one sibling in Sydney, whom they see regularly, but Marika and her husband have infrequent contact with any of her kin other than her parents. Her two sisters are not close friends or neighbours. Both have married Italians and become absorbed into their husbands' networks. Penelope has also been surrounded by her husband's close kin. Her husband's mother lived in their household for five years, and now lives within five minutes by car. Her husband's brother lived next door for eight years, and now lives three doors away, both families having moved. From another kinsman, I heard that both wives pleaded for 'different suburbs, at least'. But, in his words, 'brotherly love won out'. The two brothers are partners in a professional practice and share real estate investments. Penelope and her husband are both of Kytheran parentage, but they are not really part of the Kytheran community in Sydney. They live on the far North Shore, are not members of any Greek organisation, and their social activities are dominated by

their own families of procreation and their close kin. They are also enthusiastic members of the local Anglican congregation, an activity that absorbs a great deal of Penelope's time and energy. Penelope attends church on Sundays, prayer meetings three times a week every week, and Bible study groups three times a month. Penelope grew up in Queensland, so she has no long-term friends in Sydney established through membership of the Younger Sets, attendance at Greek school, or parental friendships. She is not part of a second generation layer of a subcommunity. Her closest friends now are non-Greek, neighbours and church members.

Peter, who is married, lives with his mother, father, brother, mother's sister's daughter and mother's sister, who is widowed. The family is a very close one. The mother's sister's two married sons visit at least weekly, and Peter regards them and his brother as his closest friends. His father has no siblings in Australia, his mother has only one, and the daughter of a dead brother, who also lived with Peter's parents for several years. They have a middle class background—Peter's father being a tailor and his mothers' family civil servants. But in Australia, like Marika's parents, Peter's father and mother are both factory workers, with very little time to spare for activities outside work and home. They were also assisted migrants. By working long hours, they have managed to send both sons to university and recently spent several months in Greece. As one of the first migrants from Elis, Peter's father founded a regional association, but this takes little of his time. The family is not involved in a subcommunity; their middle class background distances them from many Greek migrants, and their lack of money distances them from others. Nevertheless, Peter and his brother are professionals and interact with the offspring of wealthier Greeks, particularly through university. They are not members of Sigma, however, and their university friends and work associates are kept separate from the tightly knit cluster of kin.

Stephen's network is very similar to Peter's. His kin group is also small and close-knit. His mother's mother lived with the family for many years and he regards his two brothers as his closest friends. His father has quarrelled with most of his own friends, so that the family is something of a fortress retreat. I have already commented on the fact that Stephen's university friends are not invited to his

home. As the diagram of his interaction pattern shows, his friends, work associates, neighbours and close kin form separate clusters.

Philip is quite an extreme case of involvement in kin-based activities. With his wife and son, he lives in the same house as his mother, father and two brothers. His father has no kin in Australia, his mother has only the two daughters of a dead uncle (one of these daughters is Stella). Philip's parents and brothers are partners in a prosperous business, which they literally created by long hours of work. As a child, Philip came straight home from school to help his parents. The whole family works for the business seven days a week. Only Sunday mornings are free. Social interaction with anyone outside the household is minimal, except for customers and occasional visits of neighbours who were also school friends or perhaps co-members of the local church. This family deserves, and receives closer attention in the later discussion of kinship. It is an isolated and defensive bastion against the outside world; a self-made family.

The other four informants in this category—Aglaiia, Constantina, Michael and Stella—do not have particularly dominating kinship clusters. Aglaiia's family was close-knit and isolated; neither her father nor her mother has close kin in Australia, and Aglaiia is an only child. The family was sponsored to Australia by distant cousins of her father, but contact with these cousins is now infrequent—perhaps two or three times a year. Aglaiia's father is now dead, and she lives with her mother. She is linked to some of the established subcommunities by her activities in a local church organisation and by members of Sigma. However, as pointed out earlier, these represent separate clusters in her network. Other clusters of friends and associates are quite separate.

Constantina also has few kin in Sydney. Her mother and mother's mother are still living, together, and her mother has one brother, virtually estranged since Constantina's marriage and conversion to Anglicanism. Her father's three brothers are dead: one was unmarried, another's offspring are dispersed throughout Sydney and come together for weddings and funerals. The other brother had one son, who married Stella. Constantina maintains regular contact with this man, whom she regards as a brother. Her other intimate friends are neighbours, Greek and non-Greek, and co-members

of the local Parents and Citizens Association and the local Anglican Church.

Michael is the only one of these nine informants who could be represented as part of a second generation layer of a subcommunity. His parents are Kytheran and established cafes in country towns in New South Wales. His father's brothers and sister and their children dominated his social activities as a child, but as the second generation grew up they dispersed. Michael's parents have moved back to Sydney and have infrequent contact with kin remaining in the country. Michael himself has friends in the Kytheran groups in Sydney, but is only peripherally involved in organisations and activities, and has not grown up with any of the Sydney core members. After training as a teacher at Armidale Teachers College, he taught in western New South Wales, where he participated in local activities with great enthusiasm. Back in Sydney, he is studying for a degree part-time and has little time for social activities. His intention is to return to the country on graduation.

Stella is minimally involved with kin. Apart from her own family of procreation, she feels some obligation towards her father's brother's daughter (Philip's mother) and telephones or visits her monthly or more frequently. She also maintains contact with her husband's father's brother's daughter, Constantina, who has been a friend for many years, and her husband's mother's brother's son, who has married an Australian and has 'no contact with Greeks'.<sup>21</sup> Stella's own contact with Greeks is mainly through her mother's sister and family, who live and work in a densely Greek area, her friend Dorothea, who married a Cypriot, and her own business acquaintances at the fruit and vegetable markets. Otherwise, social interaction is with non-Greeks—customers, neighbours, members of the local Parents and Citizens and Mothers Clubs, members of the local branch of the ALP, and fellow students in adult education classes. Some of these clusters of association overlap, particularly those concerned with local issues. Like Constantina, she had little contact with the Greeks she knew as a child; in general, they have moved out of Stella's income bracket. In her words, she 'can't compete with those cliques they've formed'. She has maintained several

<sup>21</sup> These are his own words. Born in Egypt, this man migrated to Australia in his mid-twenties. He had a job on the afternoon of his arrival, was naturalised in minimum time, and is determinedly 'forward looking'.

long-standing friendships, however, with women who are now very wealthy. Stella's network of associations is heterogeneous as well as large.

### *Summary and conclusions*

The patterns of intersection that emerge from this study of individual-centred networks indicate that urban man is not necessarily either isolated or alone. The fourteen community-type networks show that it is possible for city dwellers to sustain a social environment based on kinship, friendship, shared experience and mutual understanding. Within such a cosmos, long-standing primary ties are reinforced by common association in organisations, church and social activities. Most intimate relationships in these networks are with fellow ethnics.

Furthermore, these individual-centred patterns overlap with similar patterns to form a wider community that covers a large section of the established Greek population of New South Wales. For example, Stavros's network could be extended to incorporate several hundred first-order contacts, that is people he knows personally. If one were to include second-order contacts—people he knows about or who know about him—one would reach into thousands of contacts throughout and outside Australia. Within Sydney itself, the community-type networks described in this paper can be seen to interlock with similar networks so that one can discern a kind of core community that fits very accurately Martin's criteria for a community:

From the point of view of the network model, communities are to be identified by three factors: the number of units in the field is large enough for them to be linked together in a variety of ways—kin, occupational, religious and political ties criss-cross one another; relationships between members are dense, either over the whole portion or in multi-linked clusters; and links exist—not necessarily directly but not so circuitously as to be irrelevant—between each member and all other members.<sup>22</sup>

The dense clusters of interaction described in this paper mark areas of homogeneity within the broader Greek community—areas based mainly on similarities of class and status.

<sup>22</sup> Martin, 'Suburbia: community and network', pp. 336-7.

Although the ideology of Hellenism broadens historical identification beyond the range of participation, it is within the area of primary relationships that Hellenism is redefined according to the requirements of particular strata. For example, the established wealthier Sydney Greeks place a stress on archaeology and the ancients, whereas the newly arrived factory workers are doubtless more concerned with the maintenance of the deference patterns within the family. Either group is likely to develop protective procedures to defend their view of reality. Where the protective procedures involve the establishment of organisations and close-knit webs of relationships, one seems justified in talking about moral communities.

The material cited in this chapter provides evidence of the importance of reputation within a network. Continual interaction provides what Berger and Kellner<sup>23</sup> have called 'areas of conversation' within which reputation is established and maintained. The shared definitions of reality informing these conversations are by no means static. New elements are continually introduced, adjusted and reinterpreted, particularly in the dialogue between first and second generation members. Where the dialogue breaks down, as in the case of Evangelia and her family, it is because the 'significant others' involved in the conversation have defined their norms very narrowly in certain directions. The tolerable range of differences seems narrower for girls, particularly for Kastellorizan girls. No one could suggest, however, that Evangelia's problem is '*anomie*'. Unfortunately for her, she is confronted by a very clearly defined '*nomos*'.

The nine clustered networks more closely approximate the model of isolated urban man. But all of these individuals reaffirm the existence of a (composite) Greek community by consciously rejecting it. Constantina and Stella feel unable and unwilling to compete in the prestige flaunting of some of their former contemporaries. Penelope and Philip are engrossed in other activities, hers religious, his economic and family-based. Stephen and Peter are somewhat marginal, largely because of what they interpret as social inadequacies in their own families of orientation. Aglaia is also conscious of marginality and of what she describes as 'cliqueiness' among

<sup>23</sup> Berger and Kellner, 'Marriage and the Construction of Reality'.

Sydney's established Greeks. Michael has deliberately opted for a rural Australian life style, and has no interest in embedding himself within Sydney networks.

Marika is also cautious about too great involvement in organisations and primary relationships beyond her own range of intimates. Her occupation as a Greek advisor in a migrant service organisation requires that she remain as impartial as possible. She is unwilling to be identified as belonging to a particular group. Nevertheless, as we have seen, her intimate relationships are all with fellow ethnics, most of whom are also kin.

Of these nine, only three lack a commitment to any clearly defined social milieu. Aglaia, Peter and Stephen cannot readily locate themselves within a particular social environment. Constantina and Stella concentrate on activities within their local areas, with Stella the more politically and intellectually wide-ranging of the two. Michael also wants to emphasise locality, the locality of his choice being rural New South Wales. Marika is professionally involved with the problems of Greek migrants in Sydney, and consequently with the formal ethnic institutions—Brotherhoods and other organisations, the Church and the Greek Orthodox Community of New South Wales. Her occupational reputation is dependent on what one could loosely term 'the Greek community of Sydney'; her private life is partly separate, but she is always conscious of the opinions of significant members of the community.

Penelope participates in a group whose ties are mainly moral, but also local. Other than a small number of kin, shared religious beliefs define most of her intimate relationships. Philip has something like a religious adherence to his families of orientation and procreation, and to the businesses they own. In his case, the really important world is the world of his own work and home, although the family's moral system is guided by strict adherence to the Orthodox faith.

These six people express very little sense of a lack of direction or even of isolation. Stella is aware of the complexities of problem solving and is currently coping with conflict within her own family of procreation. But she has thoughtful and coherent concepts of a social order, and of her own place in such an order. She recognises that her parents were 'more sure of themselves' because their traditions were unquestioned. But she is still prepared to spend a

great deal of time in activities based on particular assumptions about society.

Peter and Stephen, on the other hand, suffer from conflicting values. Aglaia does participate in Greek organisations and is concerned with the activities of the Greek Orthodox Church: her behaviour is largely governed by the Church's notions of morality. But Peter and Stephen are somewhat confused, each holding at times quite contradictory views on essentially the same topic. For example, both men encountered libertarian ideas about sexual morality while they were university undergraduates. Both of them express support for these ideas, at the same time holding narrowly traditional views about the contractual basis of marriage and chastity in women. Both men would like to leave home, but they cannot risk breaking the close ties with their families of orientation, even though they realise that, those ties sometimes involve what Peter calls 'emotional blackmail'. For example, Peter's father has used his own ill-health as a weapon, quite explicitly holding Peter responsible for a mild heart attack, and taking the opportunity to urge his son to cut his hair and smarten his appearance. They cope with the emotional conflict by regarding it as temporary: like John, they look forward to the independence of establishing their own household—after marriage. Peter and Stephen also identify with the subjects of R. D. Laing's writing, thus distancing themselves to some degree by explaining and intellectualising their problems.

As indicated earlier, the question of subjective identification cannot be discussed at length here. The point is that, although these nine informants were not involved in community-type networks, one cannot assume that they were either isolated or anomic. Even Peter and Stephen find themselves bound by the norms of a membership group, despite the fact that they would like to dissociate themselves from many of these norms. The distinct clusters of their networks are concrete evidence of the separation of their various spheres of activity, but examination of the *content* of those clusters shows conflict of norms, not normlessness.

The content of these networks of relationship must be explored elsewhere. But the evidence offered by the patterns of interaction described here does give us some clue to the way these twenty-three informants order their social environments. All of them, to varying degrees, cope with the separation of several spheres of activity.

Their 'small life worlds'<sup>24</sup> tend to be partial worlds; they do not claim the total individual. But, in many cases, membership of these partial worlds overlaps—for example, in the kinship, friendship, recreational, religious and organisational groups of the fourteen informants with community-type networks, and in Stella's activities focused on locality, occupation and political affiliation. Where the overlapping covers a large part of each individual's life space, and incorporates *nomos*-building processes shared by the other members of the network, one is justified in talking about communities, despite the urban setting.

One cannot, naturally, generalise from such a small number of cases to other inhabitants of modern cities. Greeks have a durable ethnic identity and long practice in maintaining community ties. But I suggest that further exploration of what Berger and Kellner have called the 'private sphere of existence' could counteract emphasis on the ever increasing division of labour in modern societies.<sup>25</sup> If it is true, as they suggest, that 'large numbers of people in our society are quite content with a situation in which their public involvements have little subjective importance, regarding work as a not too bad necessity and politics as at best a spectator sport',<sup>26</sup> then the private sphere should yield valuable information about the articulation of those interstitial structures that relate the individual to the major overarching institutions of the society.

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<sup>24</sup> The phrase is Benita Luckmann's: 'The Small Life-Worlds of Modern Man', *Social Research*, vol. 37, no. 4, 1970, p. 580.

<sup>25</sup> A. Kondos has suggested that closer attention be paid to leisure activities. He believes 'that it is in leisure time that the social values, which are most precious to the individual, and perhaps the society itself, will find their most individualistic and most general expression' (*One Among Many: living in urban Australia*, Melbourne, 1971, p. 119).

<sup>26</sup> Berger and Kellner, 'Marriage and the Construction of Reality', p. 7.

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## Greek Boys in Melbourne

David Cox

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### *Introduction*

What happens to the Greek boy<sup>1</sup> who arrives in Melbourne? Does he quickly adopt Australian ways of behaviour and thinking or does he remain embedded in his Greek heritage? Does he adapt easily to life in Melbourne or does he experience difficulties in some areas? Does he clash with his parents and relatives? Does he become involved in delinquency and crime? Is he satisfied with the opportunities that he has in this country?

These are the kinds of question that this chapter sets out to answer. They are vital because they concern the well-being of perhaps 10,000 Greek-born boys in Melbourne's Greek-born population of 40,000 males.<sup>2</sup> Nor are the answers completely irrelevant to the situation of an equal number of Greek-born girls and of young people arriving in Australia from other countries such as Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

The comments made here are based on the experiences of the author and his Greek colleagues at the Ecumenical Migration Centre in Melbourne. For thirteen years the EMC has been involved with various facets of the life of Greek young people, including casework services to many with personal difficulties, the organisation of club, sporting and social activities and involvement in the

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper the term 'boys' is used in its Greek sense to refer to males even well into their thirties.

<sup>2</sup> These figures are based on the 1971 Census figures of Greek-born males in Melbourne. The total Greek-born population in Melbourne in 1971 was 76,239 persons and the Greek population, including Australian-born, is placed at around 120,000.

general life of Melbourne's Greek population. For eight years the EMC operated its own espresso bar which served as a centre for some hundreds of Greek boys. For the same period it carried out a streetwork program that was based on Greek espresso bars. A Greek soccer team that it formed now plays in the second division of Melbourne's soccer league. All in all EMC staff have known personally well over 1000 Greek boys and observed many others, and much of the detail of this involvement has been recorded.

In recent years we have felt a need to test more carefully our experiences as a possible basis for the development of new policies and programs in the areas of education, youth work, work with delinquents and so on. To this end some research work was initiated to complement our general experiences. First, a six months' participant-observation study in a Greek espresso bar was carried out by myself and one of my Greek colleagues in 1970.<sup>3</sup> Second, between 1970 and 1972, either myself or one of my two Greek colleagues<sup>4</sup> interviewed forty-two boys from Greece's Dodecanese islands who had arrived in Melbourne as single boys aged between ten and twenty years inclusive. Third, a careful study was made of thirty-seven Greek boys who had arrived in Australia, also aged between ten and twenty inclusive, and who had subsequently been convicted of various offences. The following material draws considerably on these three pieces of study, as well as on our general experience, but no attempt is made here to present the detailed findings of any of them.<sup>5</sup>

There is a general tendency among many who talk or write about migrant youth to generalise. From the comments of such people it does not seem to matter particularly where the migrant came from, the age at which he came to Australia, whether he came alone or in the company of a family group, whether he came with good education or no education, and so on. Our experience in the EMC strongly suggested that these details are extremely important and a prominent part of our studies was to see whether this was in fact so. My major task in this paper will be to consider these questions of background, age of arrival, relatives in Aus-

<sup>3</sup> John Kalisperis.

<sup>4</sup> John Kalisperis and Savvas Augoustakis.

<sup>5</sup> The detailed findings can be found in the author's Ph.D. thesis to be submitted at La Trobe University, Melbourne, in 1975.

tralia and education levels in relation to some of the important areas in which the migrant's adaptation occurs. But first of all let us look at the setting in Melbourne into which the Greek boy comes.

### *Melbourne for the Greek boy*

Melbourne's Greek population is at present the second largest non-English speaking ethnic group in the city. But in 1961, when the EMC's work with Greek youth began, the Greek population was only the sixth largest non-English speaking ethnic group. In the following ten years it grew at an extremely rapid rate, far outpacing the facilities for Greeks both within and beyond the ethnic group. In 1961 there were a few Greek Orthodox Churches in the inner suburbs, few Greek-run clubs and espresso bars, a few Greek cinemas and very few Greek professional services of any kind. By 1971 the numbers of churches, clubs, espresso bars and cinemas had grown enormously. Regional associations representing people from particular parts of Greece were very active in organising dances and picnics. The number of Greek soccer clubs had increased and they also organised dances and picnics as fund raising but still popular functions. By 1971 a few of the younger early arrivals and even second generation Greeks had emerged as doctors, solicitors and businessmen, thus increasing the ability of the Greek migrant to conduct his affairs within the ethnic group.

The Greek population had not only grown to become one of the largest of Melbourne's ethnic groups but it was also one of the best developed. The Greek boy arriving in the late 1960s could attend all-night Greek clubs and espresso bars, see a Greek cinema show in some suburbs every evening of the week, go to a Greek dance at least every weekend and watch a Greek soccer team in action during the season every Saturday and Sunday (and if he was gifted and lucky even play in a team). If he was a member of a family group he was expected to attend every engagement, wedding, baptismal and name-day celebration, many of which were turned into Greek-style dinner dances in a hired hall or in the home. He was free to join his regional association and to attend its functions as well as the major functions arranged by other regional associations.

In addition, he could fairly easily find work in those branches of industry that employed many Greeks. Even if the boy was young

enough to attend school he might, depending on the suburb, be confronted with a school population that was up to one-third Greek.

It is important that we recognise both the high degree of ethnic development within the Greek population and the reasons for this. As part of the Orthodox Christian world with its network of national churches the Greeks did not, because of their religion, relate closely to any established religious groups. Their language was also a barrier. Very few Greeks arrived in Australia with a knowledge of English and still fewer Australians possessed a knowledge of modern Greek. The different alphabet and the typically low educational standards of the Greek migrants, together with the demands of the industries in which many worked, ensured that only a small proportion of post-school age arrivals ever really mastered English. Finally, the Greek migrants brought with them to Australia a strong and fairly traditional culture that was closely related to the village life from which most had come. Patterns of family life and moral values, for example, were strongly entrenched.<sup>6</sup>

Australian attitudes towards their Greek neighbours were not characterised by acceptance, friendliness or understanding. Many Australians resented the Greek tendency to congregate in certain suburbs<sup>7</sup> and to develop strong ethnic structures. They frequently criticised Greeks for failing to speak English or adapt to Australian ways. Most of the critics had little or no understanding of the village background and the values by which the Greeks lived. For their part few Greeks initially saw Australia as their new homeland and Australians as their future partners. Many thought in terms of eventually returning to Greece.<sup>8</sup> But perhaps most im-

<sup>6</sup> For presentations of the Greek cultural background see: E. Friedl, *Vasilika: a village in modern Greece*, New York, 1962; I. T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: the people of rural Greece*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962; J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: a study of institutions and moral values in a Greek mountain community*, Oxford, 1967; M. Mead (ed.), *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change*, Paris, 1955.

<sup>7</sup> For figures based on the 1966 census see I. H. Burnley, 'Immigrants in Australian Cities', *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1971.

<sup>8</sup> For the figures on the return rate of Greeks see Charles Price 'Australian Migration: settler gain and loss', Appendix C of the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council's Final Report. *The Departure of Settlers from Australia*, Canberra, July 1973, Table 3.

portantly the Greeks were apprehensive about Australians and their life style, particularly in the areas of relationships between the sexes, family life generally and adolescence. Here it must be remembered that most of the Greeks derived their impressions from the streets of the inner suburbs and the mass media, not the most representative of situations.

In this discussion of the adaptation of Greek boys in Melbourne I shall focus primarily on those boys who arrived in Australia aged between ten and twenty. I do so partly because much more is known and has been written about migrant young people in the school situation and partly because the greater part of my experience is with this older age group. I shall look at what happens to the Greek boys in the family context, the ethnic group, the friendship group, the education system, the work situation and the legal system. The separation of these areas is, of course, an artificial one and a degree of overlap is inevitable. I shall be particularly concerned with the effect of arriving at different ages, of being with or without relatives in Melbourne, of different levels of education and of length of residence in Australia. From time to time I shall also refer to the significance of the boys' backgrounds.

### *Adaptation in the family context*

There is considerable variation in the family situations of the boys. The under fifteen year old arrival is usually here as a member of the nuclear family which has emigrated as a unit. In many Greek families the father has preceded his wife and children to Australia, but the family is usually united after two or three years. Many of the boys who came here over the age of fifteen were sponsored by an older sibling, usually married, or less frequently by an uncle or other relative. Among the 19-25 year old arrivals many have emigrated alone, but these tend to be better qualified boys.<sup>9</sup>

The size of the circle of relatives in Melbourne also varies and bears some relationship to the area of origin in Greece. In the case of migration from the Dodecanese islands, for example, chain

<sup>9</sup> This relates to the Commonwealth Immigration Department's policy of family reunions from Greece except in the case of qualified single men.

migration,<sup>10</sup> involving a procession of relatives and friends, has predominated. The result has been the formation in Melbourne of a number of large family groups to which many of the boys belong. This means more family celebrations and larger ones. It also means that there are more individuals who are interested in the boy and, directly or indirectly, exerting some pressure on him. By contrast, movement from some areas on the Greek mainland is commonly of isolated families. Their situation in Melbourne makes for a limited number of family activities and creates a situation where the family itself may more quickly undergo change.

Among the forty-two Dodecanese boys we interviewed only three were comparatively alone in Australia. One had deserted his ship in Melbourne as a nineteen year old; one had come alone to Australia when his father had been killed in an accident out here; and one was sponsored by an older married sister. In fact two of these boys did have some relatives in Melbourne but the other thirty-nine all had large circles of relatives as well as their immediate family. Thirty-five of the boys had, up to the time of the interview, always lived with relatives and this despite the fact that thirteen of them were now married and the average age was just on twenty-five. Half of the boys were involved in a family celebration on average once a month and a further ten twice a month. This represents a very high degree of involvement in family life and activities. It is significant that the boys who were not so regularly involved were mainly ten and eleven year old arrivals and a few boys who had been in Australia for over ten years and developed an independent single life style.

This high degree of involvement in family activities affected the boys' attitudes to many things. For example, they were very critical of Australian young people and very ready to accept the family's goals for the future as their goals. They were reasonably willing to allow their parents to influence their choice of a bride, of place of residence and of general life style. On the other hand the younger arrivals, who went further in disengaging themselves from family activities, developed more positive attitudes towards the behaviour of Australian young people and were less willing to allow their

<sup>10</sup> For a definition and discussion of chain migration see C. A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1963.

parents to influence, and even less willing to let them control most of the important aspects of their lives.

The degree of involvement of the Dodecanese boys in family activities, and their willingness to accept many of the traditional Greek attitudes about youth, related fairly closely to the age at which the young person came to Australia. To a much lesser degree it also related to the length of time that the boy had been in Australia (but only where he remained single). Despite the variation most of the Dodecanese boys remained an integral part of a large and active family circle. There can be little doubt that this type of family group played a very influential part in the way in which they adapted to life in Australia.

Our experience also suggests that Greek boys who are a part of strong, and inevitably traditional, family groups are at an advantage in their personal development. The only Dodecanese boy known to us who had severe difficulties in his personality development was part of a family with fewer relatives here and one that tended to isolate itself. The parents were from a very poor background, were inadequate in themselves and failed to provide their boy with clear models with which to identify. In our study of, and experience with, boys from other Greek backgrounds these two conclusions recurred constantly. First, the boy from a restricted family group situation was less inclined to hold to the traditional Greek values, presumably because he was less exposed to such values. Second, the isolated family tended to provide either a weaker cultural model or a less consistent one, and the boys in such families seemed to be far more prone to develop conflict over their sense of identity.

For example, our sample of thirty-seven boys who had clashed with the law represented a complete coverage of those in the 10-20 year old arrival age group with whom we had had reasonable contact. It is therefore significant that three had no close relatives in Australia, six did not have their parents in Melbourne, seven were from very isolated family units and the majority of the others belonged to very restricted and fairly inactive family groups. The typical situation of the majority of these boys was very different from the situation of the Dodecanese boys where there was a virtual absence of both crime and personality development difficulties.

Yet both groups comprised both younger and older arrivals and the average period of residence in Australia was similar.

It is well known that some migrant young people rebel against the values and attitudes of their parents in favour of those that are more common and acceptable in the new environment.<sup>11</sup> Signs of rebellion were visible only with some of the younger arrivals among the Dodecanese boys, in the delinquent sample and from our observations in the espresso bar study and elsewhere. But amongst these younger arrivals the outcome of the rebellion corresponded very closely to the nature of the family group. Let me describe and contrast two quite typical situations.

John arrived in Australia at the age of ten and settled with his family in a predominantly Greek neighbourhood. He attended the local schools and, being above average intelligence, found little difficulty in learning English and coping with his studies. By the age of thirteen John identified closely with a very mixed circle of friends whose values and life style were strongly disapproved of by his parents. Violent clashes ensued and John used petty crime to ensure placement in youth detention centres where he felt more at home and was a model boy. Throughout this time the parents displayed strong and consistent opposition to John's friends, behaviour and attitudes. Despite a strong sense of shame they maintained relationships with a large family circle and were regularly involved in family activities. By the age of nineteen despite the existence of a de facto relationship with an Australian girl and a child, John began to move closer to his parents and to understand their attitudes. It was impossible that he could ever again be a part of the family but the closer relationship he developed was important for his future.

Evan also arrived in Australia at the age of ten and settled in a similar neighbourhood. He found it difficult to cope with studies but developed a fluency in English and an ability to mix in certain circles whose values conflicted with traditional Greek and Australian ones. The family was an isolated one and, under the influence of their children, teachers and others, the parents became more and

<sup>11</sup> See papers by Stoller, Kern, Banchevska, Zubrzycki, and Krupinski and Stoller in A. Stoller (ed.), *New Faces: immigration and family life in Australia*, Melbourne, 1966; also E. B. Brody (ed.), *Minority Group Adolescents in the United States*, Baltimore, 1968.

more confused about what they believed in. Evan lacked consistent models in every circle in which he moved and became more and more confused as to who he was and where he belonged. His confusion was manifested in recurring acts of delinquency, increasing difficulties in relationships and immature attitudes in most areas of his life.

The main difference in these two situations lay in the family groups to which the boys belonged. While John's higher level of intelligence was significant it was the existence of strong and consistent cultural models exemplified in the parents, older brother and other adult relatives that was important in John's ultimate stability. Lacking such models Evan was at a serious disadvantage.

Amongst our older arrivals a similar difference exists although development is along different lines. Tony arrived here at the age of seventeen as part of a family and settled in an inner suburb. The family was part of a wider group of relatives and also had many friends from the same part of the Dodecanese. As a result there were many family celebrations and other ethnic activities in which the family participated as a group. Although Tony was very active outside the family group these activities were largely with fellow Dodecanese and in ethnic situations. As a result Tony took a long time to learn English, maintained traditional Greek values and went on to marry a traditional Greek girl and establish a traditional Greek family. His close identification with the family group precluded any significant contact with Australians, any possibility of conflict with the law and any doubts about his own sense of identity or status in Australian society.

George was also seventeen on arrival and part of a family that settled in the inner suburbs. His family was from Macedonia with very few relatives in Melbourne. They did not mix very actively as a family in ethnic activities. George was obliged to find his social outlets beyond the family group. This he did in the Greek-Macedonian complex of clubs and espresso bars. Very soon George preferred this kind of life to regular work and, whereas Tony went on to become a factory foreman, George went for long periods without regular work. He was frequently away from home for days and nights at a time and his values and life style reflected the circles within which he moved. It was inevitable that George incurred convictions for gambling and driving offences and for receiving:

it was inevitable that he should grow frustrated and ambivalent about some aspects of both Greek and Australian life; and it was also inevitable that he should hesitate at the thought of marriage to a Greek girl and the establishment of a Greek-style family life.

In this contrast George is not an extreme because he had his family in Melbourne. Some of the boys who were without a nuclear family or parents here were far more extreme in their life styles. The contrast is, however, clear and the difference appears to result from the absence, in George's case, of an extended family life in which he could involve himself. It is also true to say that the Greek-Macedonian values reflected in a family such as George's are both weaker and less comprehensive than the value systems of most Dodecanese families.

What happens when a boy is without any close relatives in Australia? In such situations the boys have far more freedom of choice and the path that they choose seems to depend on their reasons for coming to Australia and this in turn usually reflects the level of education and/or trade training. The majority of the boys who were without close relatives in Australia fell into one of two categories. Some were ship deserters who decided to try their luck in Australia. Most had a low level of education and their expectations of Australia were limited. Some of the older boys married fairly quickly, partly in the belief that this would secure their right to stay should they be apprehended. The younger ones moved usually into circles of the kind in which George moved. They were free of family pressures but lacked the point of entry into social situations other than the Greek clubs and espresso-bars.

The second category consisted of the better educated or qualified boys who were the only unmarried Greeks readily able to obtain visas. These boys arrived with high expectations and with the qualifications to achieve their goals. Their choice of further education or of job brought them into contact with Australians and Australian values. More importantly, their complete lack of family ties left them free to explore whatever areas of Australian social life appealed to them. These boys did not reflect the traditional Greek values and showed a strong tendency to mix with Australians and to marry either an Australian or a better educated Australian-born Greek.

Two of the Dodecanese boys, for example, were free of family

ties. One had no relatives at all in Melbourne, the other had a married sister who eventually moved to the United States. These were the only two Dodecanese boys in this situation and both married Australian girls. Even so there was in the married life styles of the two a marked contrast that seemed to reflect the presence here of the one boy's sister and family for some years. Through her he had access to a wide circle of fellow villagers and these relationships reinforced his Greek values even beyond marriage. The other boy had no ready-made point of access and developed a completely independent and Australian-oriented life style even before marriage.

Only one other Dodecanese boy married an Australian girl. He was aged fourteen when he arrived and completed an apprenticeship here. His family was a traditional Greek family and the boy himself retained a strong Greek identity and dependence on Greek values. His relationship with the Australian girl and eventual marriage was concealed from the parents for more than a year at great cost to the couple. The news came as a complete shock and it took the parents a further year before they could bring themselves to accept their son's wife. The situation was finally resolved by the ability of both the boy and his wife to maintain a footing in two very different worlds.

To return to the main point, it is important to note that there were other Dodecanese boys who had a good educational background, but for whom the existence in Melbourne of a strong family group seemed considerably to restrict their ability to move far into Australian society. In time these boys obtained good work situations where they met Australians and were exposed to Australian influences, but in no case did this lead to any significant changes in their Greek life style.

It seems clear, then, that the existence of any close relatives in Melbourne with whom a boy is in contact will have an important influence on his adaptation to Australian life. It appears that in this situation the boy maintains his Greek relationships and values, reinforced by a pattern of participation in family activities and the pressures exerted by his relatives. The exceptions, and the difference is only a matter of degree, are: first, where the boy is younger on arrival and is provided, through school, with a point of entry into Australian society; second, where the family's cultural

orientation is eroded by their isolation or other pressures, although then the tendency is not for the boy to adapt to Australian society but to be left in a fair degree of confusion.

### *Adaptation in the ethnic group*

Many of the wide range of social activities that the Greek ethnic group provides in Melbourne—soccer, dances and cinema shows and so on—are very popular back in Greece and so here they provide a range of familiar activities. We would, therefore, expect them to be popular and to contribute to the boys' identification with a Greek life style.

The majority of the Dodecanese boys showed a high level of involvement in various ethnic activities. Most of them belonged to their regional association and were regular attenders at its functions. All except three were enthusiastic about soccer and attended regularly. One third of the boys either played with or actively supported a Greek team and the others were more interested in Greek teams than in any other. Greek dances were also very popular. The single boys attended at least once a fortnight and eight said that they were at one every week. The Greek espresso bars served as the social centres for the majority of the boys and most spent many hours at such places playing snooker and generally enjoying the company of fellow Greeks. The Greek cinema was visited on average once a month by half of the boys and less frequently by the others. And finally the Greek Orthodox Church was another purely ethnic centre. Nearly one third of the boys attended on average once a month and nearly another one third once every six months.

It is clear that ethnic activities were popular amongst these Dodecanese boys and that, taken together, participation in such functions occupied much of their time. Behind these figures there is, in fact, considerable variation. There were boys whose lives were fully occupied in these ethnic activities. These tended to be the above fourteen year old arrivals who were still single. Sarandis is typical of them.

Sarandis, who was fourteen when he came to Australia, was closely involved with both his immediate family and the wider family group. He attended all family group celebrations with great enjoyment but he also had plenty of time for other ethnic activities.

Sarandis had selected the EMC espresso bar and a few other centres as his regular places of social life. It was not uncommon for him to arrive at the espresso bar direct from work and remain for several hours if he had nothing better on. However, he played in a Greek soccer team and so, for much of the year, was involved in training two evenings a week. Following training he usually returned to the espresso bar for a while. On Saturdays he played in the soccer team, went off with some of the boys to the beach, attended a picnic outing organised by a regional association or soccer club or remained at the espresso bar. In any case he often called in at the espresso bar before or after other activities. On Saturday evenings he was usually at a Greek dance but might very occasionally go off with the boys to an Australian dance or to a nightclub. On Sundays soccer matches, ethnic picnics or a drive with the boys were the common alternatives to family weddings, baptismal parties and other celebrations. If there was nothing on he might remain at the espresso bar for the afternoon and go off with some of the boys to a Greek cinema show in the evening.

Sarandis led a life which was full, which he enjoyed thoroughly, but which ensured that his ultimate adaptation would be as a Greek to a Greek life style with only a few modifications.

The younger arrivals developed a different relationship with ethnic activities. Mike, who arrived at the age of thirteen, attended school for only a short period but it was sufficient to influence his life style. Mike also attended the espresso bar but he went less frequently and stayed for shorter periods. Moreover, he was far more interested in the particular activities that the espresso bar offered than he was in spending long hours in discussion. It was not that he did not enjoy the company of other Greek boys but that he had a number of other interests. Mike was interested in soccer but he did not play or go to watch every week. He also followed one of the Australian Rules football teams and sometimes attended its matches. He enjoyed Greek dances and regional association activities but attended less regularly than did Sarandis. So it was throughout. Mike spoke good English and had found that he could obtain some pleasure from an Australian dance, perhaps even striking up an acquaintance with an Australian girl. He did not entirely approve of the way that the Greeks did things and he was determined to give at least some facets of Australian society a try.

In reality he was quite limited in this and, particularly as he grew older, found himself increasingly falling back on Greek functions. Then he married a Greek girl and took only a peripheral interest in both Greek and Australian organised social activities.

In contrast again, and typical of the youngest of the Dodecanese arrivals was Mark. He was only ten when he arrived and was still at school when interviewed. Mark said that he was not a member of his regional association and seldom attended its functions. He attended a Greek dance only about once a year and the Greek cinema less frequently. He enjoyed dropping by at an espresso bar but it could be any bar and he and his friends only went there for a game. On the other hand, Mark went to the Australian cinema on average every two weeks and to an Australian dance about once a month. School activities and study took up some of his time and, when free, he and his friends tended to roam fairly widely. He was not interested in football of any kind but took some interest in athletics.

The contrast between these three boys is quite striking and is indicative of the part played in adaptation to the ethnic group by the age at which the boy arrives in Australia. Each was a member of a very traditional Greek family which was very much involved in ethnic group activities. However, as the age of arrival decreased the boys were less involved in the wider range of family activities so that the family provided less of a point of contact with the ethnic group. At the same time involvement in Australian society was greater owing to the influence of the school situation and the cosmopolitan nature of the peer group, together with the greater fluency in English. Yet, despite this variation based on arrival age, the majority of the Dodecanese boys participated extensively and frequently in ethnic group functions.

Length of residence did not affect the situation as much as did marriage and increasing age. Sarandis, for example, twelve years after my first contact with him was still single and much more involved in ethnic activities than in Australian ones. This was common. Once the boys were beyond twenty-five the only Australian activities to which they had ready access had lost their appeal and they were effectively forced back into the ethnic group. When these Dodecanese boys married, regardless of their arrival age, they took up a Greek life style and confined their social activities to the

family and ethnic group functions, with the possible exception of the drive-in theatres. Many considerably reduced their involvement in all ethnic functions, except the Greek Church, and family activities dominated. Only when I explored various values was it clear that the younger arrivals had developed new or at least modified values as a result of their venturing beyond the ethnic group in their earlier years. Clearly their children would, in many cases, be permitted and encouraged to become involved in a broader sweep of Australian life.

Turning to the boys in the deviant sample and in the espresso bar study the situation is not essentially different; the significance of a strong family group is very apparent. Here we came across boys who were both young arrivals and members of small, isolated and sometimes broken family groups. The same tendency to move beyond the ethnic group was apparent but it was not counter-balanced by family pressures or influences encouraging involvement in ethnic group activities. In some cases the lack of family supports left the boys to drift into a subcultural situation that revolved around certain espresso bars and clubs and incorporated selected activities.

The arrival age was clearly significant in influencing the cosmopolitan nature of the setting. Younger arrivals chose places where English was at least an important means of communication, where the boys involved were of different ethnic origins and, as a result, Greek ethnic activities and functions played a negligible role in the emerging life style. Older arrivals chose places that were ethnic in character, that utilised Greek as often the only means of communication and that incorporated an interest in some of the ethnic activities. The only difference with these older arrivals compared with the Dodecanese boys was the amount of time that was devoted to this area of life. For some it replaced the family and even work life for a period of time and had a much stronger influence on the long-term adaptation patterns.

Some clear indications of ethnic identification can be found in the boys' attitudes towards naturalisation and permanent residence in Australia. Among the Dodecanese boys only eight of the thirty-nine eligible had become naturalised and, if the attitudes at the time of interview were any indication, only half of them would ever be naturalised. Just under half of these boys intended to live

permanently in Australia but more than half were clearly uncertain about their future. Some of the boys did return to Greece for visits during the period covered by the study and one of the Dodecanese boys stayed there and opened a shop in the town of Rhodes. The others all came back to Australia, even those who went with the intention of staying. One of the latter came back saying that Greece was a more dangerous place to bring up children than was Melbourne. Another, who went only for a holiday, came back disgusted by the moral standards that prevailed among Greek youth—as a result, he thought, of the influence of tourism.

What is very clear is that whether these boys become naturalised or not, whether they remain in Australia or not, they relate not to the Australian society as such but to the Greek ethnic group in Australia and the degree to which it, at various levels, relates to the Australian society. In other words, it is the opportunities that they, as Greeks, have in Australia that concern the boys and it is the life that is open to them, as members of the Greek ethnic group, that they find satisfying or frustrating or whatever.

For the majority of Greek boys who arrive in Australia above the age of fourteen, or who arrive in Australia aged 10-14 as members of strong family groups, there is little chance of their becoming a part of society beyond the ethnic group. The young arrivals without a strong family group, and the older arrivals who are well educated and without a family group, are able to move beyond the ethnic group provided that they possess secure personalities. Among the Greek boys those who fit into either of these two categories constitute a small minority. The majority of Greek boys in this arrival age group 10-20 become strongly entrenched in their very active ethnic group with far-reaching and long-term repercussions on their adaptation to life in Australia.

### *Adaptation in the friendship group*

It is common for teenage boys to spend a lot of time with a circle of friends and to be strongly influenced by them in their behaviour values and attitudes. It is, therefore, important to see who the Greek boys choose as friends and the nature and activities of the friendship group.

By the age of ten most boys have already formed a number of friendships and, for these boys, these friendships were formed back

in Greece and were invariably with Greeks. Moreover, because a very large majority of our boys come from villages their circle of friends, including usually a number of relatives, were all well known to parents. The degree to which this circle of friends emigrated depended on the degree of chain migration from that village and, in the case of the Dodecanese villages, chain migration was very common.

In the case of one Rhodian village sixteen families arrived in Melbourne and settled in close proximity to each other. This meant that many of the friendship ties among the younger members could be and were continued. This pattern was common. As a result the friendship groups of the Dodecanese boys contained many relationships that predated arrival in Melbourne. In our own espresso bar I identified a number of close-knit groups of usually three to six boys—brothers, cousins and friends—who were practically inseparable and had been since they were back in Greece. The nature of Greek society leads to close relationships between young people of the same sex<sup>12</sup> which sometimes continue on to become the *koumbaros*<sup>13</sup> (best man or god-father) relationships of adult life. These smaller groups cohered into a large group of at least thirty boys who were all from the Dodecanese, all frequented the same places such as the EMC espresso bar, all played in or supported the same Greek soccer team and so on. Needless to say these tended to be older arrivals although arrivals under fourteen were sometimes fringe members. It has been interesting to follow this group through and see the way in which, with time, the larger group has dissolved while the small friendship cliques remain as strong as ever, independent of whether the boys are married or still single.

When we explored the friendship patterns among these Dodecanese boys we discovered that the above pattern prevailed among older arrivals. With by far the great majority the boys' best friends were all Greeks and, with over half the boys, all from the Dodecanese; and the greater part of their leisure time was spent either exclusively with Greeks or mostly with Greeks. As older arrivals many of the boys had a poor command of English and it was

<sup>12</sup> See Friedl, *Vasilika*, p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the *koumbaros* relationship see *ibid.*, p. 72.

inevitable that their friends should be Greek. Most of the boys belonged to small friendship groups of fellow Greeks, usually including some friendships dating back to Greece, and it was in the company of these groups that they attended the various ethnic activities.

The exceptions are of interest here. One was a boy with personality difficulties. He had never found it easy to form friendships and, although he played table tennis and attended ethnic activities for a period, he grew more isolated as he grew older. Another small group of exceptions were the boys whose education or trade training led them into jobs where they mixed with non-Greeks. The majority of these boys included non-Greeks among their friends and even among their best friends, most of them forming these friendships in or through work. The degree to which these friendships influenced social life depended on the boy's family situation.

Stelios, for example, was a well qualified builder who worked as a foreman for an Australian company. Through his work he possessed a number of non-Greek friends but he still spent all his leisure time with Greeks. This was obviously because he was part of a large and close-knit family group into which it was difficult to introduce non-Greek friends.

Michael, on the other hand, was a well educated arrival who moved eventually into clerical work. He had no family in Australia and was free to mix in Greek or Australian circles as he desired. He then married an Australian and was able to fuse his two circles of friends to a considerable degree. In other words, a higher education enabled an older arrival to form non-Greek friendships but the degree to which such developed depended on the nature of the family group. A third type of exception was boys who had been in Australia for a long time and who had remained single and found an independence. Two of the seventeen year old arrivals had been in Australia for twelve and fifteen years. For reasons that were not clear Peter and Kyriakos drifted away from their Greek circles and began to mix with a fairly cosmopolitan group. This may have been for personality reasons or it may have reflected an unwillingness to be circumscribed by the ethnic group. In any event, marriage brought both back into the ethnic fold.

The younger arrivals did not display as strong a tendency towards Greek friendship groups nor were the bonds that they established as lasting. The Greeks among their best friends and circle of friends were usually not from the Dodecanese but boys of the same age from all parts of Greece. With these friends they moved in cosmopolitan circles with the result that their circle of friends came to include a number of non-Greeks as well. Yet it was clear that this second development only occurred to the point where non-Greeks might number half of the friends when the boy spent a few years at school. If the boy did not attend school, or attended for less than a year, or if, as in Tony's case, a boy was too insecure at school to develop friendships, then the younger age on arrival was of less significance. What it then did in effect was to reduce the likelihood of a strong circle of Greek friends while not adding to this circle many meaningful non-Greek friendships.

In other words, a number of these younger arrivals had left Greece before they had been able to develop mature adolescent relationships and were, socially if not developmentally, in a position in Australia where it was also difficult for them to do this. So they possessed fewer friends in what were weaker and more shortlived relationships. They moved in wider circles but were much less anchored in these circles and appeared to carry very little from them into later life, at least in terms of relationships. As they grew older many developed stronger links with Greek friends, as if maturity and marriage made it clear to them that they had never really belonged outside the Greek ethnic group.

The boys who did benefit from education in Australia followed a different path. They were at school longer and came to feel more a part of Australian society. This made it easier for them to form friendships. It is also likely that these boys possessed families who were either more open or who became such because of the influence of the boy and/or other children. For the attitude of parents towards non-Greek friendships, and the degree to which the boy can merge family and friends, is important. Some of the Greek parents were very apprehensive about Australian friends and expected the boy to attend school without forming non-Greek friendships. Almost inevitably this attitude led to lack of success at school and some difficulty in forming secure friendships with other young people. Others were more understanding although

very few Greek parents were sufficiently attuned to Australian ways to prevent their boy from feeling that he belonged to two different worlds.

Activities beyond school are also important. George, for example, arrived here at thirteen and attended school. But at the same time he joined a Greek soccer team and it was the team and its activities that became the source of most of his friendships. He mixed with many non-Greeks at school but the influence of family and of soccer in his spare time minimised the possible influence of school. Other young arrivals in the deviant group (where family influences tended to be weak) participated in the friendship circles and social activities of older brothers who never attended school; for them, this negated any influence of school on the choice of friends.

Very few of the younger arrivals carried many earlier non-Greek friendships into later life. Either they never formed such, or they held them in conjunction with a close involvement in the family and ethnic group and, with time, these became limited to those few who could also bridge the two worlds. Many have remarked on the ability of migrant young people to hold two worlds apart.<sup>14</sup> While this is true for a period the experiences of these Dodecanese boys suggest that, where the family group is strong, active involvement in the non-Greek world beyond work declines as the boy grows older. Looking further ahead it is likely that those boys who move into practising trades and professions in an Australian setting (many prefer a Greek one) will have no difficulty in developing again a large and close circle of non-Greek friends. Much will depend on the choice of marriage partner and all the indications among the Dodecanese boys are that they will marry Greek girls and so become a part of two Greek family groups.

So far I have talked in terms of the ethnicity of friends but some mention must also be made of the sex of friends and of values that apply to relationships with friends. The Greek background ensures that the older arrival at least is accustomed to spending most of his

<sup>14</sup> See Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, p. 269; R. L. Derbyshire, 'Adolescent Identity Crisis in Urban Mexican Americans in East Los Angeles', and J. Yamamoto, 'Japanese American Identity Crisis', in Brody, *Minority Group Adolescents*; I. L. Child, *Italian or American? the second generation in conflict*, New York, 1943; and W. L. Warner and L. Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, New Haven, 1965.

time with other boys. He can dance with girls at the dances and converse with them in various situations but the development of closer personal relationships and the Western system of dating and pre-marital intercourse are taboo. The boys accept the Greek view as the norm but they are, of course, always on the lookout for the girl who does not live by the norms.

In Melbourne the older arrival follows a similar pattern. He meets many Greek girls at ethnic functions. If he becomes particularly interested in one he will find some way for clandestine meetings of short duration. In the espresso bars and other places to which he resorts there is usually the opportunity to find a non-Greek girl with different moral standards but the boys vary in their interest in such relationships. As they develop some knowledge of English some prefer to try an Australian dance or the beach or bowling alley and can occasionally find a girl to talk to, or take out. One of the Dodecanese boys married a Dutch girl whom he met in this way, and another an Australian girl.

The Dodecanese boys varied in the degree to which they were satisfied with their opportunities to form relationships with girls. Half of them thought that Australian girls were not friendly towards Greek boys and about one-third felt that they had not had sufficient opportunities to meet Australian girls. A few thought that Melbourne should have licensed brothels. However, my general impression is that the older arrivals at least were not really very concerned about this area of their social life. Close and regular relationships with girls before marriage were not really expected. If there were opportunities to mix with girls so much the better; if not they were not really disappointed.

More striking were the attitudes of these older arrivals towards the behaviour of Australian young people. Over two-thirds were not attracted to the styles of life of Australian young people. They criticised them for lacking both respect towards their elders and moderation in their public behaviour. They criticised the boys for lacking in chivalry, being too rough and impersonal in their relationships, being too inclined to drink and lacking refinement in dress and musical tastes. They thought that a girl under eighteen should not be permitted to go out with a boy and that, when a young couple did go out, kissing and necking and so on should be restricted to the confines of the bedroom. A few of the boys were

attracted by the freedom of Australian young people but even these boys felt that this freedom was too often abused.

There can be no doubt that one of the reasons why the older arrivals excluded Australians from their circle of friends was that they disapproved of them and particularly of their behaviour. This marked difference in values is undoubtedly a major reason why the typical Greek older arrival prefers to make his life among a circle of fellow Greeks.

But what of the younger arrival? These boys had not internalised the prevailing Greek values before leaving Greece and were more exposed to the Australian values at a more impressionable age. Few of them objected to Australian youth styles or values in general terms and they particularly admired the element of freedom. This was a clear reaction to their parents' attitudes which were, in turn, often an overreaction to the impression that they had formed of Australian young people. As they matured these younger arrivals did express some criticisms of specific aspects of the life styles of Australian young people, and often did not exemplify such life styles themselves, but still they admired the basic trends. It seemed likely that this exposure would influence their attitudes throughout their lives but have minimal effect on their own life styles because these values were not internalised so much as admired from a distance.

The younger arrivals had more opportunities to mix with girls and only one or two voiced dissatisfaction at this level. They met both more Greek and more non-Greek girls and, through school, shared a wider range of activities. These boys also frequented social centres where girls were more likely to be found and their fluency in English presented no communication problems. On the other hand, they could not invite these girls home or to an ethnic function and, where the boy did assert his independence and develop an open relationship with an Australian girl, a degree of exclusion from the family circle was inevitable.

The comparison between the Dodecanese boys and those in the deviant group is of interest here, primarily because it highlights again the significance of the family group in value formation. The deviant boys were mostly from weak family groups so that any values that had been internalised in Greece before migration were not strongly reinforced in Australia. In regard to both Greek and

Australian values in an area such as relations between the sexes they seldom displayed any strong attitudes or sense of conflict. They were freer to mix at will and girls were more commonly a part of their environment. While they did not always imitate the standards of Australian young people they seldom criticised any but the most extreme. These boys were promiscuous in their sexual lives in a very open way. At any point of time they usually possessed a few close male and female relationships but there was considerably more mobility in their life style and friends often changed with a change of setting. Some of these boys went on to marry or develop de facto relationships with the girls whom they met, but such relationships seldom lasted for very long.

The main difficulty for these boys was that all their relationships were limited by their environment. They met more girls, and usually more non-Greeks, but the situations in which they met them were a serious limitation on the type of person with whom they became friends. Few however, were conscious of this pattern of adaptation to a subculture of a cosmopolitan kind and fewer voiced a concern. It did, however, have a profound influence on the type of friendships formed and on the values that were subsequently adopted. If these boys had been part of a strong family group, in Greece or in Australia, it is unlikely that their adaptation would have varied from that of the Dodecanese boys, for they did not differ in any other sense.

### *Adaptation and the education system*

The majority of the Greek boys in all sections of this study had received little more than primary education in Greece. Some, for age and other reasons, came before completing primary school and a few had progressed to secondary school. The different education systems in Greece and Victoria and the language barrier made the transition to the education system in Melbourne difficult.

We discussed with the Dodecanese boys their ambitions in coming here. Some had come at an age, of course, when they possessed no individual ambitions but shared to some degree the ambitions of the family. And in many of the Greek families the parents had high ambitions for the children in Australia, including education and good work positions. Their cultural expectation was that any

benefit derived by the children from education would directly benefit the family group.

One half of the boys said that they had come to Australia with a desire to further their education. Once in Australia the boys faced three major problems. Firstly, there were many barriers to entering school, including lack of English, inadequate educational background and the rejection of older arrivals by some school principals. Secondly, the families of the boys faced difficult financial situations in their early years and were, often reluctantly, obliged to send the boys to work.<sup>15</sup> Thirdly, the boys themselves were tempted by the ease of finding work with an income that seemed like a fortune after Greece. Many of the boys mentioned the first two reasons as reasons for not continuing their education, and the third was obviously there in many cases.

Among the Dodecanese boys there were fourteen who arrived aged under fifteen and were legally obliged to attend school. What happened in reality is a reflection of the very real problems faced by these boys in moving into the Victorian education system.<sup>16</sup> Four of them never started school. Two went for less than six months and gave up in frustration. Two others went for one full year and left with still only a poor grasp of English. One boy attended for four years and left at age fourteen accredited with a sixth grade level of education. The remaining five gained something from the education system. Two completed apprenticeships and three went on to finish either five or six grades of secondary school. The majority of these boys spoke with considerable bitterness about their school experiences. For example, one, who managed to reach a level acceptable to the Apprenticeship Commission, talked of days of frustration in a class of younger boys listening to a teacher whom he could not understand—a common experience.

The other Dodecanese boys interviewed, who came here aged fifteen or more, did not enter full-time schools. Three attempted

<sup>15</sup> See figures of poverty among Greeks in Melbourne in R. F. Henderson, A. Harcourt and R. J. A. Harper, *People in Poverty: a Melbourne survey*, Melbourne, 1970.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Zubrzycki, *The Questing Years*, Canberra, 1968, pp. 21-2; and J. I. Martin, 'Migrants: equality and ideology', Meredith Memorial Lecture, Latrobe University, Melbourne, 1972.

night classes but quickly gave up. There are many difficulties facing a sixteen or seventeen year old Greek boy who wants to attend evening classes. Lack of English and of educational prerequisites, the quota system and the strain of work and school combined all contribute. Twenty-one of the twenty-eight started attending the free English classes provided in all suburbs but the average time for which they attended was just under four months. While there were many criticisms of the English class system the main problem was the difficulty in fitting the classes into a work pattern. Many were tired after a full day's work, many were reluctant to reject overtime, some were on shift work and many were tempted away by friends. Over one-third thought that the opportunities to learn English had not been adequate.

If the education system had not presented so many difficulties and if the economic situation faced by many of the boys and their families had been better, I am convinced that more than five of these forty-two boys would have derived some educational benefit from coming to Australia. But it is also true that many of them particularly among the older arrivals, did not want education so much as trade training.

Two-thirds of the boys said that they had wanted to learn a trade in Australia and four-fifths of those had failed to achieve this ambition. This situation reflects the lack of vocational training facilities available to migrant young people in the 1960s. It was certainly not that the boys were aiming too high. Even most of the boys with prior trade training and/or experience found it impossible to either move into their trade or gain further training. Fifteen boys were in this position with experience in the jewellery, footwear, building, clothing manufacture and hairdressing trades. Of these only four managed to enter their trades in Melbourne, despite the fact that almost all had wished to.

Until now it has been the exceptional young migrant who has managed to achieve education or trade training in Australia. There are various reasons why they succeed. Jack completed a plastering apprenticeship here and he attributes his success to the generosity and interest of his first employer. Theo possessed parents with understanding and an ability to sacrifice in order that he might complete high school. George, who was not from the Dodecanese and had no family in Australia, was determined to attend univer-

sity and was above average intelligence. Despite a complete lack of English on arrival he reached university in three years because of his intelligence and his ability to work. But the average Greek arrival in our age group has been effectively excluded from the education system.

The repercussions of this situation on adaptation are mainly of two kinds. First, the school does not play a significant role in influencing the average boy's development of friendships or of new attitudes and values. The majority do not attend and a majority of those who do are frustrated by communication and other problems. It is only a few highly motivated and unencumbered older arrivals and some of the very youngest (10-11 year olds) from understanding and supporting families who are successful, and who therefore go on to use the school situation with benefit in their general adaptation. Second, the fact that many of the boys fail to achieve their ambitions in this whole area is significant. One result is that many are relegated to unskilled or semi-skilled work positions that contain little satisfaction. This leads to a high degree of work mobility and a strong tendency to view work solely in terms of the income to be derived from it. A second result is that some become bitter and disillusioned and the already strong sense of being here as aliens or strangers is reinforced. And a third result is that the bonds within the ethnic group of which I have already spoken are strengthened.

#### *Adaptation and the work situation*

It follows on from what has already been said that the majority of the Greek boys arriving at this age work in industry as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. Moreover, most of the industries which they choose employ a large proportion of migrants and frequently of Greeks. Examples are the car, clothing, glass, rubber and food manufacturing industries. In the early years after arrival the lack of English and of skill effectively bars the boys from many employment areas. It should also be pointed out that the majority of the boys find their positions through their ethnic contacts and this increases the tendency towards concentration. Most find the procedures of the Commonwealth Employment Service too impersonal, too slow and too difficult to use because of the absence of interpreters or bilingual staff. It is easier for them to ask around at the

espresso bar or among relatives and for these contacts to then talk to their foremen.

Most of the boys change jobs a number of times. Peter was an extreme case. Left with no father in Greece Peter had no stable employment back on the island. As one of five children he went to work part-time at the age of ten and full-time at the age of twelve. In the next four years his jobs included work in a bakery, on a fishing boat, in a cinema, on a poultry farm and selling newspapers. In Australia, in a period of eight years his recorded jobs numbered in excess of thirty. They included work in a factory, the building trade and the fishing industry. Another of the boys, Alex, worked in various factory jobs in Greece for six years. In Melbourne his record reads: factory labourer, twelve months; labourer, thirty months; car-park attendant and driver, nine months; wool-store labourer, eight months; machine operator, nine months; factory labourer, three months. In Alex's case there was no movement towards a goal in his work history and little satisfaction with any of his jobs. Mike has more initiative than the average, attending English classes for a longer period and was determined to eventually become self-employed. His record reads: factory packer, three years; tram conductor, three and a half years; storeman, one year; clerical assistant, one year; self-employed as a shoe machinist. One better educated and more stable boy became a presser with a clothing firm and remained with that firm for nine years, eventually becoming a foreman. He later transferred to a better paid position with another clothing firm.

One of the reasons for this work mobility was the boys' inability to obtain the types of job they sought. Sixteen of the forty-two Dodecanese boys said that they came here with fixed work ambitions which had not been achieved. Another reason often stated was lack of satisfaction with the particular positions obtained. The most obvious reason, however, was that there was usually nothing to be gained by staying put for a long time. On the other hand mobility enabled a boy to chase the overtime, follow the seasonal jobs or move to join friends in another factory. Very few of the boys had difficulty in securing work when they wanted it and most regretted only the monotonous nature of many jobs. Even the fact that an ambition had been frustrated did not seem to be too dis-

appointing, perhaps because the boys' backgrounds suggested to them that they had no right to be too ambitious.

To what extent did involvement in work influence the attitudes or values or friendship patterns of the boys? The situation of course varies but seems comparatively insignificant for the majority of boys, many of whom worked with fellow Greeks and some with their friends. For example, there was one group of Dodecanese boys in one glass manufacturing plant and another group in a clothing firm. It certainly was not uncommon for up to four or five to be working in the one firm. This tendency to work with fellow Greeks reduced the degree of contact with Australians other than those at managerial level where contact was minimal anyway. Language and different interests were further barriers. Often the Greek boys discussed soccer in Greek while the Australian boys talked about Australian Rules football in English, and segregation during meal breaks was common.

A third and important reason lay in the boys' attitudes towards their Australian workmates. More than one-third of the boys had very mixed feelings towards the Australians whom they had met through work. One boy said that the Australians in the factory were mostly okay but 'they wouldn't want to know you once you were outside'. One thought that Australians only appreciated you 'if you were able to throw yourself around'. A few were sure that Australians took advantage of their lack of English. One who was a foreman was sure that Australians resented a Greek being promoted. And the majority of the boys felt that they were treated as outsiders. Some went on to suggest that they would be the first to be dismissed by the boss and the last to be consulted by the union.

It was interesting that many of the boys made free use of notions of class. A number felt that factory workers and inner suburban residents were working class and, as one said, 'not good people'. Clearly these boys had a very stereotyped image of working class Australians that included the characteristics of being frequently drunk, interested only in one sort of football and in horses, and wife beaters or otherwise poor family men. A number compared them with the bosses at work and often spoke highly of management personnel. In reality most of these boys had little direct experience of either Australian workmates or managers and the

stereotyped images that they developed did not lend to friendships, imitation of values or a willingness to sympathise with the goals of industry or trade unions. Some very clearly clung to the Greek ideal of the independent self-employed man, free of bosses and unions alike.

It follows that very few of the boys formed non-Greek friendships at work and, if they did, it was more commonly with Italians, Maltese or Yugoslavs than with Australians. On the other hand, most did rub shoulders with at least some Australians at work and, in time, they began to adopt some of the prevailing work values. Their notions of a fair day's work, of a fair pace of work, of the degree to which the worker is responsible and of the use of sick leave derived, for the most part, from their observation of Australian values at work. It must be remembered that, unlike their fathers, most of these boys had little work experience in Greece and many had their first real work experiences in Melbourne. They were, therefore, very open to local influences. In general terms, however, the boys' relationships at work did little to develop positive and open attitudes towards Australians; if anything they reinforced the tendency to adapt to the Greek environment in Melbourne.

### *Adaptation and the legal system*

I include this section for several reasons. First, it is often said that migrant young people are more involved in delinquent behaviour,<sup>17</sup> and some Australians still think that southern Europeans are, as a population, prone to certain forms of deviant behaviour. Both of these notions are incorrect in the Australian situation at least. The evidence strongly suggests that immigrants are less prone to crime and delinquency<sup>18</sup> and most of the popular ideas about southern Europeans are totally inaccurate. Second, though Greeks generally have a good record here, it is true that their life style inevitably

<sup>17</sup> J. Krupinski and A. Stoller in Stoller, *New Faces*, p. 145; United Nations Congress Report quoted in W. S. Matsdorf, 'Work With Migrants in Prison After-Care', *Australian Prison After-Care Journal*, no. 4, 1965.

<sup>18</sup> See A. G. Doczy, 'Life Problems of Young Adolescent Immigrant Boys in Australia', *International Migration*, vol. 6, no. 1/2, 1968; 1966 Survey of Juveniles before the Children's Court, Melbourne University Department of Criminology; and R. Johnston, *Future Australians: immigrant children in Perth, Western Australia*, Canberra, 1972.

brings some Greek boys into contact with the law and leads to the formation of attitudes which can not be ignored. Third, when a boy does become involved in the legal system the operation of that system has immediate and long-term repercussions on the boys' futures in Australia, and this question I shall also explore.

How far are the Greek boys involved in delinquency and what types of delinquency occur and in what circumstances? Our experience strongly suggests that delinquency is not common among the Greek boys. The Dodecanese sample of forty-two boys included only one who had been convicted and this rate of two per hundred was probably about the rate to be found in those sections of the Greek population comprising strong, cohesive family groups. The espresso bar study that included over 100 boys found six or seven with convictions but these were all younger arrivals and mostly from weak or broken family groups.

In another section of the study we extracted from our files all those boys who had arrived in Australia aged between ten and twenty and who had been convicted in the courts. The total number of boys was thirty-seven. Most had been known to us for periods of two to three years and some for as long as ten years. We were, therefore, in a good position to try to discover why the offences had been committed and what happened subsequently. Basically, three types of situations were involved so I shall discuss these boys in three categories.<sup>19</sup>

**Young arrivals.** The first type was represented by eighteen of the thirty-seven boys. These were younger arrivals whose ages ranged from ten to sixteen and averaged 11·5 years. Fifteen of them committed their offences before the age of fifteen and the others between fifteen and seventeen. In fourteen of the cases the offences were breaking and entry with petty larceny; in three it was illegal use of a motor car, and in one case legal action followed a period of excessive truancy. The type of situation is best conveyed by two of the boys' histories.

Tony arrived in Australia at the age of ten accompanied by his parents and a younger brother and sister. Both parents were poorly

<sup>19</sup> Two of the thirty-seven boys I have treated as exceptions; hence only thirty-five of them are discussed under these three categories.

educated, uninterested in education and unable to support or guide their children in their involvement at school. They developed a very narrow circle of friends that included a few distant relatives, some fellow islanders and a few neighbours. They did not participate as a family in any formal ethnic activities. They also showed no interest in learning English or developing Australian contacts. Rather they were apprehensive about Australian society, particularly its youth, and attempted to keep their children within their own narrow circles.

Tony was large for his age. At the age of thirteen when he moved into secondary school he was usually taken to be 15-16 although in terms of maturity he was then closer to a 10-11 year old. He learnt nothing at school and was embarrassed by contact with teachers and fellow students. In the playground he was frequently the object of taunts being perceived as 'big, fat and ugly': he responded by bullying smaller boys, which made him more unpopular. Move to a special school helped a little but the parents resented the additional fares and reacted negatively to the move and to the new school because they felt that it stigmatised the family.

By the age of thirteen Tony spoke poor Greek and poorer English, and tended to be the butt of jokes everywhere. He had no close personal friends and spent most of his time with his brother, who was four years his junior, and some young Greek neighbours. Physically he was awkward and very self-conscious. It was in this situation that the first act of larceny occurred, to be followed by several others over a period of two years. His court appearances antagonised his father who reacted with excessive violence and hostility towards his son, reinforcing in Tony a frightened, immature and insecure personality. The situation was immediately eased when the father was killed in a car accident. Tony was then fifteen and was trying to find his feet in the workforce.

Fotios was also aged ten when he arrived with his parents and a younger brother and sister. The father had been a policeman in Greece and never forgot the status and authority pertaining to that position. In Australia he became an unskilled worker and bitterly resented the drop in status. He did his best to maintain his former dignity by dress and life style and undoubtedly exerted additional pressures on his two boys for this reason. The situation was aggravated by the mother's constant complaining of what was diagnosed

as a psychosomatic condition, and by the economic pressures that followed a moderately serious accident to the father.

Four years after arrival Fotios was reported for truancy and the teachers added that his involvement in school had been minimal for some time. He moved with a group of boys who were all migrants of various backgrounds, and his role there was clearly important to him. However, his father had arranged work in a milk-bar for evenings and Saturdays and refused him permission to go out on Sundays unless with the family group. This was done partly to develop in Fotios a sense of responsibility towards his family but it was also designed to keep him away from what the father regarded as bad company.

Fotios rebelled, began to use bad language to his father and disobey him and threatened to leave home. He became uninterested in school and work and, whenever possible, disappeared to his group of friends. On several occasions the father pursued and shamed Fotios in front of his friends causing violent reactions. Fotios would accuse all Greeks of being 'primitive wogs' and would refuse to speak Greek to his parents who understood virtually no English. He eventually launched into a spate of house breakings. The father blamed the teachers, the police and the loose Australian values. He arranged for the entire family to move interstate and Fotios was transferred on probation to join them.

The difficulties faced by these boys were of three kinds. First, they had arrived in Australia at a very difficult age and the demands made on them by their adolescent development were intensified by the difficulties in mastering the new environment. Second, the attendance of most of them at school meant that they learnt English and formed friendships with Australians. It became important for them to participate in the activities of these boys who were their only friends and to act in such a way that they felt accepted. At the same time they belonged to families who spoke only Greek and who had their own ideas about what behaviour and what activities were appropriate for a boy. Inevitably these two worlds in which the boys moved clashed and the emotional reactions of parents, of the boys, of teachers and of others were often intense and destructive. Thirdly, these boys belonged to families where the parents, for one reason or another, found it difficult either to change their attitudes or to accept change on the part of

their children. Some were too illiterate and too inexperienced to accept change; some were too apprehensive about what they found in Australia; and some were too rigid as personalities to tolerate change in the roles of any members of the family.

Early arrival age coinciding with adolescence is undoubtedly a difficult situation and results in some tension in a majority of families. The outcome of this tension seems to depend a lot on the family situation and particularly the pressures that the family exerts on the boy. However, it is almost certain that the school and the type of neighbourhood in which the family settles are also important, and undoubtedly more could be done at these levels to ease the problems of these boys.

*Older arrivals with inadequate family and friendship support.* The second type was exemplified in only four boys. The number is not significant in itself because it is less likely that this type of situation is referred by the boy or anyone else to a centre such as the EMC. These boys are a little older, averaging fifteen at the time they arrived, but the real difference between them and the boys in the first category lay in the family situation. One of the four was a ship deserter with no family here and the other three had left their families, which in any case were inadequate in one sense or another. As older arrivals these boys did not attend school and, because of the family situation, lacked ready access to many areas of ethnic life. Inevitably they drifted into the only environment that was readily available, that of the Greek clubs and espresso bars. There any incentives to live a normal life, incorporating family activities and work, were weakened and the chances of becoming involved with the law were greatly increased. Of course the personalities of these boys were a contributing factor and they in turn reflected an inadequate family situation back in Greece. Let me illustrate the situation with one example.

Jim came to Australia at the age of sixteen with his parents and several other children all older than himself. He had completed an apprenticeship as a shoemaker in Greece and moved into this trade in Australia. The family had no financial difficulties with so many working members and indeed had never known such prosperity. In their efforts to get as large a share of this affluence as possible they neglected family and social life although it is doubt-

ful that they had ever been a close-knit family. Their regional association was inactive and with few relatives out here there was no ready-made social life.

Jim found his way very quickly into a type of sub-culture. He had complete freedom and was treated by his family as an adult. As a result they neither knew what he was doing nor seemed to be interested until the police became involved, and then their interest and concern was too late. Jim developed a strong love for cards and gambling of all kinds and most of his income was used in this way. In the places he frequented he met many prostitutes and developed a close relationship with a girl of English origin. As a result he was charged with living off the proceeds of prostitution and had by then, a number of convictions for gaming offences.

Jim possessed a car and was fairly gullible. He was easily persuaded to assist a group of factory breakers by providing transport and this led to further convictions. His partners in crime were mostly Australian-born. In keeping with his company Jim developed very strong feelings of hostility towards the police and, for a time, he saw life as a constant battle with them. By that stage he had given up work and lived off winnings from cards with no difficulty. In his mid-twenties Jim still showed no signs of settling down and then he received a lengthy prison sentence.

Relationships between Jim and his family were always tenuous, mainly because they moved in different circles and developed different interests. The clash was not obviously a cultural one and could easily have occurred in an Australian or any other family. The family's strong emphasis on economic pursuits was a factor but this is not peculiar to migrants either. The circle of friends of which Jim became a part was not a Greek one but included many different backgrounds. On arrival Jim was still rather immature and, despite sixteen years of living in Greece, he seemed to have few firmly entrenched values. He therefore quickly adopted many of the values of his environment, isolating himself from the mainstreams of both the Greek and Australian way of life.

In conclusion it can be said that the parents of the boys in this second category were less adequate, less concerned about their children and less involved themselves in the mainstream of Greek life in Melbourne than was true, for example, of the Dodecanese parents. The boys arrived here too old to enter school but, in a

sense, too young to settle down to a routine of home and work. They were also, as individuals, less well prepared for life in Australia than is the average Greek boy coming here. Their adaptation in these early years was neither to the Australian society nor to the ethnic group but to what could be described as a sub-culture.

*Older arrivals with weak families but some friendship support.* In our third category there were thirteen boys, most of whom were older arrivals. While the range was from thirteen to nineteen the average age was 17.5 years. The age at which the offence occurred varied from sixteen to twenty-nine and bore little relationship to the age of arrival or the length of time in Australia. In none of these cases was the offence serious and they arose from the boys' way of life. Most of the offences were either traffic offences arising out of the boys' desire to own a car, or gaming offences arising out of their frequenting places where card games were a popular pastime, or sexual offences arising from involvement with a girl under the age of consent or a prostitute, or offences such as assault and resisting arrest that stemmed mainly from the boys' attitudes towards the police and their unwillingness to co-operate with them. Most of these boys did not attend school or receive any form of trade training. Most of them worked in unskilled or semiskilled factory positions and derived most of their satisfactions from ethnic friends and acquaintances who gathered regularly in the various clubs and espresso bars. Most significantly their family situations were much weaker than was true of the Dodecanese boys who also frequented the espresso bars but did not sustain convictions. Two of these thirteen boys had no relatives at all in Australia. A further five did not have their parents here but only an older married brother or sister. Another three had their complete family in Melbourne but few if any other relatives and in each case the family lived a fairly isolated existence. Two boys belonged to Macedonian families with a few relatives here but no strong emphasis on family or ethnic group activities.

These boys were, therefore, far more dependent on their friends for their social life than was true of the Dodecanese boys. Their families did not weld them into either a wide group of relatives or an active social life in the ethnic group and they were left to find their own way. The following histories are typical.

Kyp was nineteen when he arrived in Australia. He lived with his family, consisting of the parents and nine children. The family had been poor in Greece and none of them had advanced beyond primary school. In Melbourne they were well off because so many of them were wage earners, but there was little ability to capitalise on the large sums of money received each week. The single members of the family, all with limited or no English and ample funds, moved around the Greek clubs and espresso bars. Prior to my meeting the family an older brother was deported for a serious offence.

Kyp was an unskilled non-English-speaking labourer who moved from job to job, interested only in the contents of the weekly pay packet. A few years after arrival he married a very traditional Greek girl and remained living with his parents. From all appearances they were a close-knit extended family with Kyp's wife deriving more support from other female members of the family group than from Kyp himself.

In no way did Kyp ever present as Australian or identify with an Australian way of life. His social network appeared to be exclusively Greek, his ties with his family were close and his values of Greek origin. Given an alternative life style it is probable that Kyp would not have sustained any convictions. He respected the property and persons of others and was a mature person. However, he desired to enjoy his life and he found satisfaction only in the Greek clubs—the one community setting where he found companionship and felt a sense of belonging. Within the clubs he was able to move and participate freely. The fact that he did not find complete satisfaction within the family is a reflection of the family's inability to develop a meaningful way of life as a family in their new urban environment. Australia offered them little more than adequate accommodation and jobs and it is now probable that the family will use their savings to build a life back in Greece. Kyp's convictions arose from gambling and brawls in the clubs and he was finally deported to join his brother.

Michael and Stephen are brothers who were sixteen and fourteen when they arrived here with their parents and a younger sister. Their mother had divorced and remarried but a good relationship prevailed between the stepfather and the boys. Because of the prevailing Greek attitudes to divorce the family had drifted away from

the wider family group. They had very few relatives in Australia and Melbourne was their second place of settlement in Australia. Here they bought a house and eventually a car and were well settled financially and socially, being part of a solidly Greek neighbourhood.

Michael and Stephen were convicted of larceny two years after arrival. The offence did not appear to be the outcome of any cultural or adaptation difficulties but rather a succumbing to temptation. The event did nothing to disturb the family's equilibrium. Stephen had made no headway at school, truanted frequently and finally left; he spent considerable time in the company of his brother and a few common friends, all Greeks. Once out of school he moved from job to job and often discussed joining the navy or going to work in the bush. This reflected some general instability and lack of any satisfaction from the work situation, but it did not seem to reflect any disharmony within the home. Of course the parents were upset by the chain of events but with Michael aged eighteen there was little that they could do.

Three years later Michael was involved in a further series of larcenies and was again treated fairly leniently by the courts. The parents were inclined to blame the neighbourhood and soon afterwards they successfully resettled on a property in South Australia. In 1973 both boys were very happy and the family was clearly working well as a family and enjoying considerable prosperity.

In this case the offences did not appear to be a result of culture tension or conflict at a family level nor did they result in such. They can be explained as part of the process of developing an identity within an environment, as a testing of a situation, in a way that occurs with many adolescents. Alternatively they can be explained as an outcome of involvement in an environment in which deviance of this kind is very common. The important point is that they occurred while the boys were a part of a Greek family and circle of friends and they did nothing to disturb these relationships at the time.

Two of the thirteen boys incurred convictions without any club involvement, but their convictions were still more a reflection of their way of life than anything else. Miltiadis became involved in a brawl while defending the reputation of his favourite Greek

soccer team at a match. George, when he failed to obtain a driving licence because of his lack of English, succumbed to the temptation of buying one.

These convictions in all cases failed significantly to influence either the boys' futures (except where deportation occurred) or their relationships with family or friends. They were a reflection of the hazards involved in moving into a new environment and they did not reflect, nor did other Greeks see them as reflecting, any tendency towards a criminal life style. Indeed, some would never have been convicted if their knowledge of the system had permitted an adequate defence.

*Review of cases.* For the boys in my first category the clash with police and the courts had obvious repercussions. Families felt shamed and embarrassed and often wanted to hide their heads or return to Greece. These feelings usually intensified the already tense relationships with the son. The boys themselves were frequently worried because they had a record and, partly as a result of family attitudes, were made to think of themselves as criminals unworthy of a decent place in society. The attitudes of police and magistrates alike, usually both frustrated by the language and cultural barriers, did little to help the situation. On the other hand, apprehension and conviction usually meant that the boy received more assistance and support as did sometimes the family as a whole.

A few of these younger boys were sentenced to periods of detention in youth training centres. In some cases there were several such sentences followed by model behaviour while at the centre. It was obvious that these boys found the situation there preferable to that at home because it avoided the cultural bind in which they were caught. One of the boys on one occasion rather astounded the court by asking to be sent to a centre. The net result of this procedure was not advantageous and, on reflection, it would have been preferable, even if more difficult, to have handled the conflict in the family context. Unfortunately Melbourne has lacked the workers able to do so and this the magistrates recognised.

When a boy was sent to a centre several things happened. The family found it impossible to hide their shame. In Fotios's case they moved interstate and in another they returned to Greece. The family also invariably rejected incarceration with Australian delin-

quents as an adequate solution for, after all, their whole struggle had usually been to keep the boy away from the company and influence of these Australian 'hooligans'. To a lesser degree the parents also worried about the all-Australian character of the youth training centres for they knew that the staff did not reflect their own values or use the methods of discipline that they upheld. For example, the boys were allowed to smoke and place pictures of naked girls in their rooms at the centres but not at home; and corporal punishment was not used in the centres but was preferred by many of the fathers. Committal to a centre, from the parental point of view, seemed only to intensify feelings of shame, insecurity, hostility towards Australia and a loss of authority as parents.

The centres also had on the boys strong influences that were not always beneficial. Their main effect was to weaken any ties that the boys might have had with family, relatives and ethnic friends and to develop stronger relationships with a group of non-Greek friends. The boys' attitudes and values increasingly reflected those of the general population of the centres and this too widened the gulf between the boy and his ethnic origins. In other words, the centres had an assimilationist effect similar to that often attributed to the schools<sup>20</sup> only to a much greater degree because they held a boy captive for a greater proportion of some of his most influential years.

Following discharge from the centre a few of the boys found it impossible to move back into the family home and shared accommodation with some of their centre friends. Again this was not conducive to good family relationships or a more stable life style, despite the fact that it was perhaps the boy's only choice. It also meant that the boys were constantly viewed with suspicion by the police and frequently questioned about offences in the neighbourhood. Almost invariably this hardened any existing anti-authority feelings and reinforced a sense of being a failure, if not a criminal.

What happened to these boys convicted of delinquency as they grew older? The boys in the first category were mostly from family groups whose only fault was that they were too strong, too traditional and too authoritarian. This, together with a difficult arrival

<sup>20</sup> See J. J. Smolicz, 'Is The Australian School An Assimilationist Agency?' *Education News*, vol. 13, no. 4, August 1971.

age, were the main reasons for what happened. In the long term the fact that the families were cohesive and stood consistently for certain values was an advantage. A comparison will illustrate what I mean.

Tony, whom we have discussed, was one of the exceptions where the family group was weak and further weakened by the death of the father. The mother found it extremely difficult to cope and was frequently hostile, inconsistent and very insecure. It is not difficult to envisage the problems of a woman, illiterate in her own language and speaking no English, faced with the task of rearing three children in an alien environment. She quickly lost control to the detriment of her health and the well-being of the children. The father before his death preferred drinking with friends to either family life or ethnic functions, and relied on physical force to control the family. Tony had no consistent models available and, as a twenty-two year old, he is neither Greek nor Australian but a weak link in a disintegrating family.

John was typical of the more common situation except that his family was more traditional, authoritarian and unbending than the average. The older brother was, despite completing an evening course at a local Technical College, very Greek in all his attitudes. The younger daughter was strictly disciplined and, at seventeen, was a model Greek daughter. She was completely subservient and obedient to her parents, the perfect helper for her mother, always present but silent unless spoken to when visitors were present and, of course, never at any social function unless with the family. Yet in every way she was an intelligent and mature girl. By contrast, Tony's brother and sister had no respect for their parents or for visitors, thrust themselves at will into any situation and were defiant and independent in their involvement beyond the home. Both were also immature for their ages.

John, as we have seen, broke away from his family situation and for six years was at youth training centres with short periods at home in between sentences. During his periods away the mother and brother visited but the father remained proud and unbending. Finally, John matured beyond the delinquent phase but his association with centre friends led him into a de facto relationship with an Australian girl. The family disapproved from every point of view, except for the older brother who, partly out of loneliness and

partly because technical college and work were slowly broadening some of his views, started to visit John and his girlfriend. What was fascinating to watch, and John was not an exception in this regard, was the way in which John gradually identified more and more with his family. He expressed admiration for many of the family's achievements, appreciation of their attitudes and an understanding of the Greek heritage that they represented. This did not indicate that he needed them and he went on to marry and establish an independent life for himself in another State. Nor did it indicate that he accepted all that his family stood for. Yet it was obviously extremely important to him that they were there and that they were what they were. Certainly one reason was the comparison that John made between his family and the only section of Australian society that he had come to know. His maturity and intelligence enabled him to see through his Australian friends and he rejected them all except his wife. Even in her case a sense of responsibility for her and their two children was probably the main reason why he went on to marriage. In other circumstances I am sure that he would have returned to his family. As it is I am also sure that John and his family will eventually be reconciled and that John will never be identifiable as an Australian.

The fate of the boys in the second category will not be so pleasant. For them there is no longer a Greek culture to which they can retreat unless it is back to Greece. Nor is it at all likely that these boys will find a place for themselves in Australian society that is satisfying as they grow older. Some may well be forced into criminal circles because of this inadequate start to life in Australia. As far as the four in our sample are concerned, one is dead, one deported to Greece, one in prison and the fourth's fate is unknown to me. These boys have nothing substantial on which to build satisfactory lives in Australia.

The boys in the third category have little difficulty in the long term. They are mature and independent individuals and, in some cases, an integral part of meaningful family groups. Their convictions have not caused them excessive concern and, as they become more experienced, they are easily able to avoid others. In time most have married Greek girls and settled down to establish a modified form of the Greek family. They differ from the married arrivals only in their superior knowledge of some areas

of life in Australia and a stronger interest in certain activities. They differ from the older Dodecanese arrivals only in the size of the wider family group and in the degree to which they identify with a regional association. Their values and basic life style are similar and close to the Greek traditions in both cases.

### *Concluding remarks*

The inescapable conclusion from the experience and studies presented above is that the majority of Greek boys arriving in Melbourne aged ten or more adapt predominantly to the Greek population in Melbourne. On the other hand, there is considerable variation in both the nature of the adaptation and the way it occurs. This variation reflects the actual age at which a boy arrives in Australia and the extent to which his immediate family and wider family group are here with him. The boys' backgrounds in Greece, including family strengths and level of education received, are also important, as is the length of time that the boy has lived in Melbourne.

Some general conclusions can be offered. There is a strong tendency for the younger arrivals to form fewer and weaker bonds with both the wider family group and the ethnic group as represented, for example, in the regional association. These younger arrivals form more non-Greek friendships and are more exposed to values that differ from the traditional Greek ones held by their parents. As a result a degree of tension develops within the family around a few key values. If the boy is insecure in himself, or if the parents overreact in the situation, the tension may easily develop into conflict and delinquency then becomes a real possibility. In the majority of cases the family retains its values and the boy matures to the point where he can accept, but not usually live by, such values.

The older arrivals, provided that the family group is present in Melbourne, are very commonly involved in a full program of family activities and celebrations. In some groups, such as the Dodecanese, the regional association is also strong and active and the family participates in a range of ethnic functions. The boy thus has ready access to, and is expected to participate in, two areas of social life that are very traditional in every sense. This participation serves to reinforce the boy's sense of being a Greek and his

endorsement of many Greek values. These activities, together with the Greek soccer teams, cinemas and espresso bars, form the source of most of the new friendships formed and the context in which most of the existing friendships are continued. Needless to say the friendships of these older arrivals are exclusively Greek.

The situation changes when the boy comes alone to Australia or for one reason or another leaves his family. If he is educated he is usually free to move in Australian circles, form Australian friendships and marry an Australian girl. If he is not educated he tends to live within a narrow circle of Greek clubs and espresso bars because there is no access to family life or family-oriented ethnic activities. Depending on the boy's background and personality this pattern of adaptation may lead to conflict with the law.

With the passage of time most of the older arrivals settle down to Greek family life. The two exceptions are the better educated without families here, who move frequently into an Australian pattern, and the boys whose personalities and relegation to a limited club environment leaves them unprepared for a stable family life of any kind.

Except for the educated and independent older arrivals most of the Greek boys either never move in Australian circles or do so for only a limited period of time and revert to a life style that is closer to the Greek than the Australian. One important reason for this is the unwillingness of the majority to accept and live by Australian values. Many of the boys view Australian life from the outside—on the streets, in the media, at school and at work—and form stereotyped negative images of the working class and the adolescent and student populations particularly. Some develop more positive, but equally stereotyped, attitudes towards the Australian middle class and a desire to move out into suburbia as a result.

The predominantly negative attitudes lead many of the older arrivals to reject the Australian way of life at many levels, although when the boys' values are compared to those of their elders in Australia it is clear that some modifications have taken place. The younger arrivals are not so prejudiced and flirt with Australian values, and particularly adolescent norms, for quite a period. In time they too reject them. This is mainly the outcome of parental and ethnic group pressure applied from many quarters, but it can

also be attributed in part to the influence of at least ten years of life in Greece. The common result is that the boys compromise. For example, the Greek restrictions on teenage girls are seen as too severe but the Australian practice of twelve or fourteen year olds dating each other is also rejected. The compromise is to approve of a girl going out unchaperoned once she reaches the age of eighteen. Even in the question of selecting a bride these boys do not completely reject the wisdom of their parents although they certainly do not wish to be dictated to. The evidence of these changes in values is already there in attitudes but will be more obvious as these boys become husbands and fathers.

In conclusion, a word must be said about the facilities available in Melbourne to assist Greek boys in their adaptation to life in this country. First, in the education field there is no doubt that these arrivals of ten and above have been at a considerable disadvantage. There are virtually no facilities available to assist their entry into the education system and a very small minority are able to further their education here. The same situation applies to trade training. Entry into apprenticeship positions is carefully controlled and the entry criteria are not relaxed for migrant youth. Technical colleges are more and more controlled by quota systems and there are no scholarship provisions for the boy from an impecunious Greek family. Third, the existing attitudes of employers towards migrant labour do little to create work stability, job satisfaction, incentives or facilities to learn English and opportunities to formulate goals within a work situation. Only a few steps have been taken in some areas of industry.

Facilities to assist Greek boys to cope with their personal problems are as inadequate as those for vocational development. The education system has few counsellors able to work in a bicultural situation and many do not understand the exact nature of the problems that the boys face. In recent years more efforts have been made to structure the schools in ways that are more appropriate for migrant youth but very few boys encompassed in our studies have benefited in any way; in fact, many of the current ideas still await implementation. Similarly the factory, the court system and the community generally have been bereft of workers with a knowledge of the Greek language and culture and the time and ability to be available to those boys and families in need of assistance.

In the circumstances it is perhaps remarkable, and a tribute to the Greeks, that so many have been able to adapt so well to their new environment. If that adaptation is largely to a Greek ethnic group in Melbourne it is so because the boys, in their various personal and family situations, have very little choice. At the same time it is imperative that the situations confronted by migrant youth in Australia be better understood and that further steps be taken to assist them in their task of adapting to a new environment.



This chapter\* is based on research carried out in 1970-1 as part of an inquiry into the relationships between families and bureaucracies. Twenty of the families included in the study were of Greek origin; the remaining twenty were British. The material obtained from the Greek families is reported in these pages.

Information about their experiences in the education, health and welfare life sectors was obtained from the wives in the forty families, all of whom had arrived in Australia between five and ten years earlier and were living in an inner suburban area of Melbourne. Since the research required that the families in the survey should have a school age child, and since it was known that virtually all British and Greek migrant children in the area attended the local state schools, families were selected from school records. Only families with both parents living in the home were included. By contacting forty families whom we expected to be eligible according to the lists supplied by the two secondary schools in the district and two primary schools, we found thirty-two eligible Greek families; ten refused to take part and two were eliminated from the

\* The chapter reports some preliminary findings from a research project on family-bureaucracy linkages, undertaken as part of the Cross-National Family Research Project, sponsored by the Committee on Family Research of the International Sociological Association and the U.S. National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and directed by Marvin B. Sussman. The research received additional funds from the Australian Research Grants Committee. I wish to express my appreciation to Miss Margaret H. Kelso who played a major part in developing the interview schedules, arranged and supervised the field research and contributed to the preliminary data analysis, and to Mrs Margaret Purvis, who computerised the data and assisted in the final analysis.

study to keep the number interviewed to the target of twenty. There were three interviews with each wife, normally one covering each sector; after the interviews were completed, each woman was paid \$15 in acknowledgment of her help. Greek-speaking interviewers were used to interview the Greek families.

Although the interviews concentrated on the wife's perception of the experiences she recounted, the information given by the Greek women was often supplemented by information from family, kin and friends, either because of the wife's concern to get the story right, or because others who were present in the house at the time of the interview insisted on joining in. Most of the Greek interviews in fact took place with other people present, usually the husband and/or children. When I speak of the family's perceptions or experiences, rather than the wife's or someone else's, I mean that, to the best of my knowledge, what is being reported applied to both parents or, where relevant, to all members of the family.

The characteristics of the Greek families are tabulated in Appendix 6.1. All the families had arrived in Australia between 1962 and 1965, when the husbands were on average thirty-nine years old and the wives thirty-four. The husbands' jobs were semi-skilled or unskilled; eighteen of the wives also worked. Even counting married children living away from home, no family had more than four children. Three had only one and ten only two unmarried children at home. Only two couples had had a child since coming to Australia.

Most households consisted of the nuclear family only, but three contained married children with spouse and/or offspring of the married child and four contained other kin or boarders. Seventeen households contained four to six members; the mean was 5.3. The fact that only one household had fewer than four members and that, in all except one of the households which contained members in addition to the nuclear family, there were only one or two children at home, suggests that these Greek couples tended to keep their households above what they regarded as the minimum economic size. If the nuclear family provided the requisite numbers, outsiders were not taken in. If it did not, there were always kin available to make up the numbers. Only one family had no relatives in Melbourne. Sixteen had kin living in the area. The

migration of these families normally involved persons of the same generation: most kin consisted of the families of the brothers or sisters of husband or wife; the rest were cousins of one degree or another.

In analysing the ways in which these recently arrived Greek families have related themselves to bureaucratic structures, I have made the assumption that interaction between family and bureaucracy is primarily task-oriented, or instrumental, in character. This assumption does not, however, rule out the possibility that the interaction may come to be invested with wider intellectual or emotional significance on both sides, nor the possibility that it may produce consequences that were not intended by anyone involved.

The analysis will concentrate on easily recognised bureaucratic structures: the State Department of Education and the schools it operates; the Commonwealth Employment Service run by the Department of Labour; public hospitals; formal welfare organisations such as the Social Work Department attached to the local Town Hall. It refers to private professional services, such as the medical service provided by the general practitioner, and the family's use of non-organised resources, such as kinsman's advice on medical problems, only in so far as these are relevant to understanding family-bureaucracy interactions.

When convenient, I shall use the terms 'officials' or 'bureaucrats' to refer to all personnel employed in bureaucracies, including teachers, medicoes and other professionals.

The resources available to the family in developing its relations with bureaucracy will be examined under four headings: financial means; competence; the network of formal and informal contacts the family can draw upon; the status assigned to the family by officials of the bureaucracy. The family's competence is a matter of degree.<sup>1</sup> It depends on the extent to which individual family mem-

<sup>1</sup> Competence is usually treated as a characteristic of individuals. I use the term 'the family's competence', not to reify the family, but to emphasise that the way in which the competence of each individual member serves other individuals or the family as a whole depends upon interaction patterns within the family and between family members and others, and that in turn these interaction patterns affect the individual's opportunities for developing competence. My usage of the term 'competence' follows M. Brewster Smith ('Competence and Socialization', in J. A. Clausen (ed.), *Socialization and Society*, Boston, 1968), except that I have incorporated what Smith calls 'equipment for

bers possess certain characteristics and make them available in the service of other members or of the family as a whole. The relevant characteristics are self-regard and trust in others, sense of efficacy and conviction that hopes can be realised, capacity to solve problems and realism in appraising situations, knowledge, skills and abilities. The network of contacts consists of the friends, kin and other personal contacts, as well as the officials of formal associations or organisations, whom the family can call upon for information or other forms of assistance. These contacts give help of many different kinds; we shall be particularly concerned with their function as linkage agents between the family and bureaucracy; that is, the ways in which they act as intermediaries in bringing family members into contact with organisations. Although officials within organisations also act as intermediaries in referring clients on to other officials in the same or different organisations, we will not describe these officials as linkage agents. It will, however, be important to explore the conditions in which individual officials come to be seen and used by the family as a special kind of privileged 'inside' contact. The choices which the family perceives as available to it in attempting to fulfil goals and relieve tensions will be called options. The nature of available options varies from one sector to another: in education, the only genuine options for children under fifteen are between one kind of school or another, not between schooling and other kinds of education; health and welfare offer options which are diverse in numerous ways, including the extent to which they are institutionalised. A linkage agent may turn into an option, as for example when a friend consulted for advice on a medical problem herself provides the cure. Or an option may become a linkage agent, as when the friend whom a woman believes can provide her with a cure advises her to see a doctor.<sup>2</sup>

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competence'—'the array of knowledge, habits, skills, and abilities that are required to translate hopeful expectations and active orientations into behaviour' (p. 282)—into the concept itself.

<sup>2</sup> The theoretical framework used in the analysis takes its departure from Sussman, who defines 'life sector' as an 'area of activity' ('Some Conceptual Issues in Family-Organizational Linkages', unpublished paper read to the session on family bureaucracy, 64th meeting of American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 1969, pp. 6-8), options as 'opportunities available to a family member or a family for role participation in different life sectors'

Status refers to the way in which officials regard the client. That is, how legitimate are his claims on the bureaucracy and how acceptable is his approach? From the present survey, we have only the families' perceptions of the status assigned to them but, by setting these perceptions beside independent evidence on the operation of the health, education and welfare services, we will be able in the final discussion to gain some idea of how status operates as a resource.

Resources and family-bureaucracy relationships will be described for the three sectors separately. In the conclusion I will outline a general typology of family-bureaucracy relationships that emerges from the detailed analysis of the research findings and will briefly consider the implications of these relationships for the bureaucracies' functioning.

### *The education sector*

Because the survey included only families with at least one school-age child, every family had had experience of the education sector. And because all the parents interviewed said that one important motive in their coming to Australia was to give their children a 'good' education, this sector is one in which everyone we interviewed was very much personally involved. In terms of relevant skills and knowledge, the family members were all in the same boat on arrival in Australia: all were equally ignorant of the local education system and, with a few exceptions, of the English language, and all were aware of themselves as ill informed outsiders. With time, however, marked differentiation among family members has developed, accentuating some established age and sex roles and challenging others.

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(p. 10), and 'linkage groups' as groups linking 'the family with bureaucratic organizations in the various life sectors' (p. 8). I depart from Sussman's usage, firstly, in avoiding the term linkage, which he defines as 'the contacts made by individuals with organizational resources, interventions either on their own behalf or for other members of the family' ('Awareness of Linkage: plan for analysis', working paper prepared for the Cross-National Research Studies on the Family, 1972, p. 2), and secondly in using the term 'linkage agent' to refer to the intermediary between the family and another group, organisation or service (in this case, bureaucratic structures) instead of applying this term to the family member who acts on behalf of the family in contacting extra-family groups ('Some Conceptual Issues', p. 9). In my terminology, linkage agents may thus be individuals or (linkage) groups.

School age children have quickly gained some proficiency in spoken English. Although most fathers have learnt some English, they do not speak as well as their children. Most mothers have learnt none or very little. Children now correct their parents' English and act as interpreters for them. Their greater competence in the language and the fact that they are the ones with personal experience of the education system put them in a superior position, particularly in relation to the mother. The father's experience remains extremely limited compared with the child's, but he is likely to have had some contact with the schools his children attend and to have discussed their education with Greek relatives or friends, particularly his male peers. His traditional authority as family head thus leads him to expose himself to experiences which curtail the child's absolute monopoly of knowledge about the education sector.

As knowledge becomes unevenly distributed within the family, the mother moves to the position of the least knowledgeable member, and it is not uncommon for her to be placed in the kind of situation we unwittingly created in the interviews, when her ignorance of the education system in general and her children's experience in particular were exposed, and she was openly taunted or kindly reproved because she 'doesn't know nothing', as one son put it. Most of the women we interviewed accepted this view of themselves, their traditionally subordinate role and self-image being reinforced by the migrant situation. Some of them were embarrassed or disturbed by the unmistakable inconsistency between the vital interest they expressed in their children's schooling and their ignorance of educational matters. They wanted to be seen as 'good mothers', but it was not easy to assert this claim in the face of their patently imperfect understanding of this crucial area of their children's lives.

To those who can afford it, the Victorian education system offers the options of state, Catholic and non-Catholic independent schooling at both primary and secondary levels. The only private schooling within reach of people at the income level of these Greek families is that provided by parochial schools. Because they were Greek Orthodox by religion, the families interviewed did not usually regard the parochial schools as an option; they saw themselves as having no choice but to send their children to the schools

run by the State Education Department. Three families, however, either sent a child to a Catholic school or were considering doing so. To these families, church schools, believed to observe strict discipline and to take their custodial function seriously ('they lock the children safely in the school grounds'), appeared as a feasible—if not the most appropriate—alternative to the lax, overpermissive institutions run by the state.

Limited financial resources also influenced decisions about education in another way: it often represented the critical factor in determining how long children—particularly children who were seen as capable—stayed at school. Here too resources came to be unevenly distributed among family members: children who were old enough to work on arrival in Australia did so; those who turned fifteen soon after arrival left school to contribute to the family income; younger children were more likely to stay on long enough to qualify for whatever they and their parents had come to define as a 'good' education.<sup>3</sup> More precisely, the proportion of family income going towards the support of a child beyond the school leaving age of fifteen appeared to be determined by three factors: the child's perceived ability and seriousness of purpose, total family income and the assets that the family had built up. Assets were important: once the family had paid off a house, or nearly so, the pressure on children (and probably wives also) to work decreased.

Contacts form another important resource. Nearly all the families in the survey had kin already living in Melbourne before they arrived. It was usually these kin—occasionally a neighbour or landlady instead—who told the parents where schools were located and accompanied one or other of them, as guides and interpreters, when they embarked on their first experience of enrolling their children. Although all the wives emphasised that they and their husbands discussed decisions about their children's schooling together, it was more often the father than the mother who acted on behalf of the family in conjunction with these linkage agents.

<sup>3</sup> In his chapter of this book David Cox analyses the educational experience of forty-two Dodecanese boys who arrived in Melbourne aged 10-20 years. Of the fourteen who were under fifteen on arrival, five 'could be classified as having profited from the education system', the rest either not starting school at all or leaving after a short time to take labouring jobs, having acquired little knowledge of English in the meantime.

In subsequent dealings with the school, linkage agents were used far less, the parents making direct contact with teachers and either dispensing with an interpreter altogether or using one of their own children for this purpose. It was not uncommon, for example, for the child concerned to accompany father or mother to parent-teacher nights to act as interpreter. Most parents much preferred to use their own children as interpreters rather than calling upon the alternatives of kin, neighbours or other children. None had used formal associations to provide them with linkage agents in their dealings with the education bureaucracy. The only parents who belonged to associations connected with their children's schools were two fathers who had attended the initial meetings of a Greek Parents Committee formed (at the instigation of a Greek teacher) at one of the local schools. Two Greek-speaking teachers assumed the importance of privileged contacts to several families, acting as mentors and guides and in a sense as trusted authority figures within the school system.

The predominant mode by which the survey families related themselves to the education bureaucracy can be illustrated by describing the A family. Mrs A works in a factory and knows no English. The two children started primary school several weeks after arriving in Australia in 1965. The family's Greek landlord and Mr A took the children to school to be enrolled, the landlord acting as interpreter. By 1970, the elder son had completed primary school and was attending a technical school. The parents thought high school might in some way be better, but concurred in the son's choice with little discussion and do not know whether the primary school teachers advised him in this direction or not. Neither partner has ever been to the technical school, but Mr A made regular visits to the primary school when the children began there, because the younger child was unhappy. He had no interpreter on these brief visits; he communicated with the teacher as best he could to find out about the child's progress, but did not discuss his son's unhappiness with anyone at the school. Mrs A knew that her son was good at maths and that both children learnt English, but could not name the other subjects they took. Nor was she aware of whether at technical school the elder child had any choice of subjects. The children read their report cards to her and she was happy that they were apparently doing well, enjoyed

school and had never been in trouble. She knew nothing of any parents' groups associated with the school and had no wish for any more information than was being transmitted to her through her children, nor for any involvement. Though sometimes frustrated by her lack of knowledge of English, Mrs. A, at thirty-five, had resigned herself to the fact that she would never learn. When the interviewer asked whether she knew about evening English classes, she replied yes, but 'What is the good at my age? It's more important for the children.'

The central theme of Mr. and Mrs. A's mode of dealing with their children's education was non-involvement, which has several facets. The motivation can be primarily face-saving, to protect both parents and children from the shame of not being able to communicate in English. Arranging for an interpreter—or putting a teacher in the position where he has to find one, invariably a bilingual pupil—draws attention to one's incompetence and is to be avoided whenever possible; while the risk of being seen as stupid and ignorant is minimised if one's children assume full responsibility for dealing with school affairs. These parents are eager to believe that their children are happy, doing well and do not require their intervention. They are relieved if children are forceful in making their own decisions and deal with their own problems. Sons in particular are encouraged into this role. It is consistent with these attitudes that education is also seen as the school's business and that the authority of teachers is expected to extend far beyond academic matters. In practice—because Australian schools do not exercise the amount or kind of authority that these parents believe proper—parental non-involvement means that the child himself assumes the main burden of responsibility for his own behaviour. If the parents become aware of behaviour or academic problems, they are likely to blame the laxity of school standards and discipline, but their efforts to remedy the situation will be directed to the child, not the school, and through sanctions of various kinds, including physical punishment, they will put pressure on him to mend his ways.

With little variation, this was the kind of relationship most parents had with their children's schools. A few, however, showed more readiness to deal with the education bureaucracy on its own terms. They were not necessarily the parents who spoke some

English, but if their English was inadequate they purposefully engaged someone known to them to serve as an interpreter. They made it their business to collect information not only from one ready-to-hand source but also from others which they had to seek out, and they compared what they learnt—for instance about the relative merits of technical and high schools—from different informants. They saw themselves as well as their children as active agents in dealing with the school system and in this they were confirmed by the responses they elicited from the authorities. One anxious father, for example, having discovered information that led him to think the secondary school his son was enrolled for was inferior to another in the area, obtained the help of a fellow worker in writing a letter to the Education Department requesting a change of enrolment and subsequently took a friend with him as interpreter to interview the headmaster of the school he wanted his child to enter. His repeated efforts to transfer the child were fruitless and eventually he gave up, but in the meantime he had gained considerable direct experience of how the system works. Not surprisingly, when it came to decisions about his children's school subjects and career plans, he and his wife played an active part.

### *The health sector*

Australia has as yet no national health scheme and health insurance is not compulsory. A survey in August 1972 showed that, for Australia as a whole (excluding Queensland for which the figures are not comparable), 85·1 per cent of overseas-born adults were covered by insurance, compared with 91·6 per cent of the Australian-born. Of the eight main non-Australian-born groups, Greeks had the lowest coverage, with 62·0 per cent.<sup>4</sup> Of the twenty Greek families in the present study, only five carried health insurance.

The area in which the survey was conducted contains two of

<sup>4</sup> Australia, Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, 'Persons Covered by Hospital and Medical Expenditure Assistance Schemes August 1972—preliminary statement', Canberra 31 May 1973. In January 1970, the Commonwealth Government introduced a scheme for giving migrants free insurance coverage for the first two months after arrival, provided that they first joined (which in effect meant paid an initial contribution to) a health insurance fund. The Labor Government plans to introduce a national health scheme in 1975.

Melbourne's largest public hospitals and most of our families had had experience of one or other of these institutions. Health loomed large in the thinking of the wives we interviewed; information and misinformation about medical services circulated freely among kin, workmates and friends. But health problems had so many emotional and financial overtones that the parents' capacity to use the medical services for their own purposes appeared more affected by their insight and motivation than by their knowledge of the options available or their skill in English or in handling bureaucratic procedures.<sup>5</sup>

Compared with the education sector, the health sector offers a wide range of options: whether to take out health insurance or not and, in some cases but not all, whether to seek medical treatment or not; further, if medical treatment is sought, whether to attend a public clinic or hospital, a private doctor or a non-registered or para-medical practitioner.

The limited financial resources of the families we interviewed affected in various ways their handling of health needs. Some parents decided not to take out health insurance because, being financially hard-pressed, they were unwilling to pay out cash for anything that was not immediately essential. It is not easy to say whether a wish to avoid expense or reluctance to face a medical diagnosis was the primary consideration in leading parents to delay seeking medical attention—as they often did, particularly for their own health problems—but the difficulty of meeting known costs and the fear of running themselves into unknown liabilities often entered into their thinking. Delay in turn meant that, by the time treatment was sought, the condition was often so serious that the

<sup>5</sup> In his chapter, David Cox has described the health problems of Greeks in Australia as centred around: the accentuation of anxiety about health, as the result of insecurity in Australia; the lack of trust in doctors or hospitals; reliance on traditional cures and home remedies; a high rate of utilisation of health services, particularly the outpatient clinics of public hospitals; a proneness to industrial accidents, particularly back injuries, and to certain forms of mental disorder; and 'cultural inability to handle Australian hospital systems'. J. I. Balla ('Knights in Armour: a follow-up study of injuries after legal settlement', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 22 August 1970) and S. Moraitis ('Medico-Social Problems in the Greek Population in Melbourne: 2. Paediatric problems as seen by the medical practitioner', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 14 October 1972) also discuss the social and cultural factors that lead Greeks in Australia to evince extreme anxiety about health.

casualty ward of a public hospital was the obvious service to use. Public hospitals were, of course, also chosen because they were less expensive than a private doctor. In most cases, however, families did not initially enter the public hospital system as the result of a choice of this kind, but rather because of the seriousness of their condition or because they were directed there by some external agency. The question of choice often arose only later when, dissatisfied with the public hospital, they turned to a private practitioner as an alternative.

It was particularly as the result of accidents that these families came into contact with public hospitals. Altogether, twelve families reported eighteen accidents, eight of which occurred to the husband at work, eight to sons at work, in the street or at school, and one each to a wife and a daughter. As we did not ask for a report of the total number of accidents that had happened to family members since their arrival in Australia (but only for information on first, most serious and most recent health problems), the accident figures give an underestimation of the incidence of accidents among these families.

In most accident cases the decision about where the victim should go for treatment was made by someone outside the family, such as an employer, foreman or factory nurse or a taxi driver. Financial considerations were not, at that moment, relevant, either because of the urgency with which attention had to be obtained or because—as in eight cases—the accident set in motion the machinery of workers' compensation, thus relieving the individual of financial responsibility.

The family's financial resources were thus less decisive than other factors in determining some important aspects of how medical needs were met, but there was one way in which economic considerations directly and repeatedly affected behaviour in this sector, namely, the extreme importance most parents attached to ensuring that medical treatment did not interfere with their work. Medical bills could be paid one way or another, but the fear of loss of income through absence from work, or—more seriously still—loss of job because of illness, created serious conflict and anxiety. When it was one of the parents who was ill, one problem was to avoid taking time off for treatment; follow-up visits were particularly likely to be ignored for this reason. Another problem was

keeping the knowledge of one's illness from the boss because of the risk of losing one's job, a genuine danger in the case of men in labouring occupations. When a child was ill, the mother was often in acute conflict about whether to stay home to care for him and take him for treatment or go to work. Both decisions jeopardised the family's well-being: which was worse, a neglected child or the loss of income, and threat of loss of job, entailed by the mother's staying home?

The family's capacity to mobilise help from the personal networks of its members had an important bearing on the way in which medical needs were met. In some respects the network operated in much the same way in regard to both education and health: knowledge and experience were pooled and members of the network were used as interpreters, guides and supporters in contacts with the medical bureaucracies. But, in many cases in which it was a matter of urgency to get medical attention, the family did not so much seek out the best assistance as grasp at whatever help was immediately accessible. Thus when an accident occurred, friends who happened to be visiting, or a neighbour who was virtually a stranger but at home at the time, could play a major role in making and carrying out the decision about what should be done. Furthermore, throughout their contacts with medical services, these families were more likely to draw on peripheral members of their networks and even strangers than on officials of the bureaucracy in establishing and facilitating their relationships with the appropriate services. The helpers they used—kin, neighbours, friends, boarders, workmates, landlords, shopkeepers, casual acquaintances—were nearly always fellow Greeks. Irrespective of the effectiveness of the concrete assistance afforded by these contacts, the parents looked to them to provide reassurance and moral support, a kind of engaged but not personally involved buffer between the family and the bureaucratic structure. The use of members of the network as interpreters posed particular problems because of the private nature of the information which a patient needed to convey to a doctor or nurse.

At first glance it appears that the predominant mode of interaction between these Greek families and the medical bureaucracies was one of passive and uncomprehending acceptance. An experience as recounted by one couple is an extreme, but by no means an

unusual example of confusion and misunderstanding contributing towards severe anxiety and poor medical care. The husband injured his foot at work and was taken to a local public hospital by a Greek fellow worker. After waiting five hours, he was treated and sent home. The family knew nothing of the accident until another Greek fellow worker called in during the evening to tell them what had happened. The accident had occurred on a Thursday. By Saturday, the leg was badly swollen, and the husband, taking his son along as interpreter, returned to the hospital. He was informed that no doctors were available on Saturdays, given an injection and told to return on the Monday. This he did, again taking his son with him, but they arrived too late and again no doctor was available. He was given another injection and the bandages were changed. On the Wednesday he returned to the hospital with his son, was seen by a doctor, admitted with a badly infected foot, operated on and given a skin graft. He was in hospital for two weeks and off work for three months. Throughout the incident, the couple relied on the son to interpret for them, except briefly when another patient acted as interpreter for the husband. The interviewer reported that the husband 'did not know if there was a Greek-speaking interpreter in the hospital, as no-one ever mentioned the existence of one'. The wife kept track of her husband's progress by getting her children to ask the nursing staff about his condition. In the interview neither husband nor wife complained about the lack of interpreting facilities, the wife explaining that 'they were not in their own country and had to fit in with the system that existed here'. The fact that the hospital did in fact have a Greek-speaking interpreter at the time lends credence to the suggestion that this incident involved gross distortions of communication, the hospital staff having possibly given information and instructions that did not get through to the husband, who acted instead in terms of certain unfathomable individual perceptions of his own.

Like this couple, the parents we interviewed for the most part expected to be given instructions without being told the rationale behind them. They suffered endless delays without complaining. They endured situations in which their treatment involved absolutely minimal communication with medical personnel and where they were regarded as classified objects rather than as sick indi-

viduals. They were resigned to the fact that, because of the barrier of language, such communication as did take place was grossly imperfect and, in its imperfection, limited and sometimes negated the value of the treatment they received. Confused and trying to remain as inconspicuous as possible, they would accept an incomprehensible diagnosis or scrap of information on the outcome of an operation without making the further inquiries that would—however grudgingly—have been recognised as legitimate.

On closer scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that behind this apparently passive response to the bureaucracy's controlling power over the situation there often lay determined attempts on the part of these families to exercise a measure of influence over their own affairs. The most straightforward way in which they could assert some claim to autonomy and individuality was by changing from one medical service to another. Most families had exercised this freedom on at least one occasion, and a few had gone through a considerable number of options in a desperate search not so much for a cure as for a medical practitioner whom they could communicate with and trust. In some cases the pursuit of alternatives took the form of a silent protest. One father, for example, promptly followed the advice of a school medical officer and took his daughter to have her eyes attended to at the appropriate public hospital. On learning that she would have to wait five weeks for an appointment, however, he went directly to a city optician who provided her with glasses on the same day. He never cancelled the appointment he had made with the hospital. Where parents had some freedom of choice, as in this case, they often actively sought advice about preferable alternatives and, within the limits of this advice, made an informed decision. In workers' compensation cases, where in practice because of the urgency of the situation they often had no freedom of choice, they seemed far more likely to allow themselves to be carried along by the routine machinery that had been put into operation, making only the meagrest efforts to understand what it was all about.

Greek-speaking doctors (all of Greek origin) were sometimes chosen as a first option—in preference to public hospitals or English-speaking doctors—but more commonly these parents would seek out a Greek doctor to replace some other service they had found unsatisfactory. Greek doctors, in other words, were not auto-

matically assumed to provide any better service than anyone else, and indeed were judged on the same instrumental basis as medical practitioners in general: that is, on whether they cared about the patient and whether they cured him. Greek doctors clearly operated as a kind of safety valve, sometimes saving an individual from the depths of frustration and alienation that resulted from failure to establish any meaningful communication with other services.

The family's attempts to exercise some degree of control over the medical bureaucracies serving their needs often took the form of undeclared non-compliance: families would persist in taking food to patients in hospital despite protests from the nursing staff; one woman insisted on going from one hospital to another in a taxi instead of an ambulance as the authorities wanted her to do; parents returned to work against their doctor's advice; one couple took their child out of hospital before the doctor would agree to discharge him; a father refused to pay the bill of a hospital that had failed to cure his son. Non-compliance of this kind sometimes produced minor confrontations with hospital staff, but the interviews give the impression that the hospitals tried to keep such confrontations as low-key and subdued as possible.

Where families intervened in the patient's medical treatment conflict was likely to be more open. In one case of this kind, a mother used a fruit knife to hack the plaster off a son's arm where it was cutting into his flesh, the doctor and nurses having refused her pleas to alleviate the child's pain. According to the mother, the doctor was very angry when he discovered what she had done. Further extended treatment as both an in-patient and out-patient failed to heal the original wound and the family eventually resorted to an ointment which they had sent from Greece and which effected a cure within a week. The long and complicated story of this family's attempts to obtain what they regarded as adequate treatment for their child within the available medical system illustrates how a family that is not prepared to be passive can be driven to what they recognise as desperate options because of the hospital's refusal to recognise the reality of their situation or the legitimacy of their claims to be heard. Experiences of non-compliance and open intervention all had in common the parents' perception that they made no dent whatsoever in the impregnable wall of bureaucratic procedure.

However rigidly medical bureaucracies retain exclusive control of the distribution of relevant information and of the norms governing the service they give, patients who know the ropes and are highly enough motivated can of course secure from them a response that is adaptive to their own individual situation. The interviews contained a number of examples of what the parents regarded as successful hospital treatment, but this was always achieved by the family's unquestioning conformity to the norms, with the parents' active role limited, at the most, to requests to see a doctor or to be provided with an interpreter.

### *The welfare sector*

The purpose of the welfare interview was to determine what those interviewed defined as 'family problems', what resources they brought to bear on dealing with these problems and what modes of relationship with bureaucratic structures they developed in the course of attempting to arrive at a successful resolution. Interviewers were accordingly advised that it was 'not possible to give a cut-and-dried definition of family problems' and instructed to accept the wife's definition of what constituted a problem. The women interviewed had been given the opportunity to bring forward educational and health problems in the first two interviews, and no new health or educational problems were in fact revealed in the welfare interview.

Of the fifteen welfare problems nominated, five were related to finance, five to employment, three to housing, and two to children's behaviour. A variety of other matters had caused these families concern but were, often insistently, denied as welfare problems. Difficulties related to employment and housing were common enough among associates and friends for most families to have acquired some knowledge of the organisations available to assist in dealing with them. Other kinds of difficulties were much more likely to be thought of as the family's private concern; indeed it seems likely that we were often not told of their existence.<sup>6</sup> Friends, kin and fellow workers were the only likely source of information about community resources available for dealing with

<sup>6</sup> Cf. David Cox. When marital breakdown threatens among Greeks 'the tradition is that it be hidden from all except the closest relatives . . . To be placed in a situation where the intimacies of married life must be discussed with an outsider is an impossible experience for a Greek'.

personal difficulties of, for example, a financial, psychological, sexual or interpersonal kind, but the pool of knowledge to be tapped through such contacts seems to have been minimal. Some measure of our families' ignorance of community services is provided by responses to a list of the major thirteen organisations which offer welfare services in the area or at some accessible location in the city. The average number of organisations known to these Greek women was 3.1 (compared with 8.2 for the British) and the average number of organisations contacted was 1.5, including the Commonwealth Employment Service, the Greek Consulate and the Social Work Division of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration. Only one Greek woman had heard of the Good Neighbour Council (compared with fourteen British).

Four women had heard of the Social Work Department at the local Town Hall, but the only two who could describe the kind of help available from that source were women who had gone there for advice in finding employment. When the municipality employed a social worker in 1947 it was one of the first in the city to do so. Over the years, the service has expanded substantially and the senior member of the staff 'describes the municipal social worker as a "general practitioner" who has to be concerned with an increasingly broad range of issues and problems'. Migrants are one group of the population responsible for this extension of the social workers' responsibilities: 'newly arrived migrants', stated the Social Work Department's annual report 1968/69, 'look to the Town Hall as a source of advice and guidance and readily approach it for help'. However, migrants accounted for only 13 per cent of the families helped in 1968-9, whereas, at the 1971 Census, they formed 32 per cent of the municipality's population. The municipal social workers rarely receive referrals from migrant community organisations or clergy; neither do they refer cases to the few agencies specifically concerned with migrant welfare. Infant Welfare sisters are the main organisational source of migrant referrals, and deserted wives form the largest single category of cases among the Greek clients.<sup>7</sup> The conclusions to be drawn from our own inter-

<sup>7</sup> The quotations and observations on the work of the Social Work Department come from an unpublished manuscript kindly made available to me by Wendy Chew of the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research, University of Melbourne.

view material are thus not inconsistent with the picture that emerges from an examination of the work of the Social Work Department: Greek families approach the municipal social workers only under pressure of serious crisis; little knowledge of the help available at the Town Hall has percolated through the Greek population, and organisational links between Greek community structures and the municipal social work service are almost non-existent.

Although only five of the welfare problems nominated by the women interviewed related to employment, seven families had had ten contacts with the Commonwealth Employment Service. Five husbands and four wives were involved in these contacts. One wife was successful in getting a job through the Commonwealth Employment Service on two occasions, one husband on one occasion. The rest were unsuccessful and found jobs by other means. Although the CES operates primarily to place skilled and unskilled workers in employment and although most wives interviewed knew of the existence of this service, the preferred way of finding a new job was through kin, friends and direct application to employers. Even in the ten reported contacts, the CES was approached first, ahead of these other alternatives, only twice, once by a husband on arrival in Melbourne and once by the wife who had previously obtained a job by this means.

Kin, friends, neighbours, local shopkeepers and workmates were used as a resource for dealing with family problems in quite specific ways. They were approached primarily to provide information, although the information they had to give was on the whole extremely limited and, with the partial exception of employment, neither directed the families we interviewed to appropriate community resources nor saved them time, trouble or anxiety in seeking ways of coping with difficulties. Personal contacts of these various kinds were also used as interpreters, although in more recent years one or other of the parents themselves could usually speak English well enough for minimal communication, or a child in the family acted as interpreter. Personal contacts were sometimes drawn on as companions or sponsors (as in the case of a woman being accompanied by her sister when applying to factories for work) and still more rarely, and mainly in the case of kin, as sources of financial help.

What distinguished the experiences which these women identified

as family problems from difficulties related to education and health was that these experiences could be handled in such a way as to minimise the family's loss of independence. So far as education was concerned, options were few and the parents' role was essentially that of passive and often bemused onlookers. Dealing with health problems offered more options, both in terms of the point at which help was sought and which medical service was approached, but in practice the urgency of the need for medical treatment often took major decisions out of the family's hands. Families disrupted by death, desertion, separation, long-term hospitalisation, etc., would face crises of a seriousness similar to the health problems described in our study, but the limitation of our sample to intact families meant that problems of this unequivocal kind were unlikely to be present. Instead there were employment and housing difficulties, common among fellow migrants and handled without extra-family interference unless sought by the parents themselves, financial problems, dealt with as privately and unobtrusively as possible, and problems of marital and parent-child relations, psychological disturbance and child behaviour, which were the family's private business and which, for the most part, had simply to be endured.

Modes of dealing with such problems gave scope for the expression of deep-seated values that depended for their validity on concepts of the family and its place in the larger society. A determination to maintain independence of action and a mistrust of outsiders were central elements in this set of values. One wife summed up the predominant attitude when she said 'strangers do not help us; we can only help ourselves'. Bureaucratic organisations were avoided whenever possible because their workings were incomprehensible and to become involved with them threatened privacy and entailed the risk of being pushed around. Thus knowledge about the operation of welfare services did not expand. Nor were fears, anxieties or vague and confused impressions tested against reality. Self-reliance was a virtue, but where a woman felt herself isolated from community support the value placed on self-reliance became tinged with despair. One woman, whose husband was disabled and unemployable as the result of an accident and whose working son had suffered an injury which would permanently affect his earning capacity, denied that the family had

problems and could not imagine community resources that might be of service to them. 'Where', she said, 'could we ask? There is no-one to help us.'

Approximately a third of the women we interviewed showed a high level of anxiety associated with a very weak sense of efficacy. They recounted numerous incidents which led them to worry desperately without feeling that they could do anything effective to cope with the source of the trouble. The feeling that they were crippled and impotent was often justified in the sense that, ignorant of the relevant factors in the situation, they made the wrong cause-effect interpretations, or, aware of their ignorance, felt incompetent to make any inferences about what action would produce what results, and simply sat tight. At the time of the interview, for example, one family, even though threatened with court action, was trying to avoid further contact with a church organisation concerning a travel loan that was overdue for payment, because of the fear that contact would lead to investigations of the family's financial situation, and so result in the husband's employer learning of a back injury and dismissing him from his job. Another family was nervously awaiting the next move from the Housing Commission, which had informed them by letter that their house was to be resumed for a Commission development. They had no wish to move and were anxious about the possibility that the only alternative accommodation the Housing Commission would offer them would be a flat. The couple, however, had had no direct contact with the Commission, an officer of which had addressed his questions about the house and its occupants to a nephew of the couple whom he found at home when he called. The wife knew of public meetings being held to protest about Housing Commission redevelopment plans for the area, but neither she nor her husband had attended. 'How', she said, 'can you fight the state?' Similar examples of self-defeating wait-and-see responses occurred over issues as varied as a child's truancy (where the parents' non-response to official communications eventually culminated in court action) and the collection of garbage (where failure to understand requirements about type, amount and placing of garbage led the husband into protracted and fruitless exchanges with the local council). While all these incidents involved some language problems, the anxiety they aroused is not to be explained simply in those

terms, for in each case items of crucial information had been passed to the husband or wife in their own language but had still remained unassimilated, apparently because of the lack of an intelligible frame of reference into which they could be fitted. Without a meaningful overall construct, information failed to be integrated into the individual's thinking as knowledge relevant to action.

When contacts with officialdom could not be avoided, these families were likely to become the victims of their own ignorance of bureaucratic procedures, their poor command of English and the incapacity of the organisation to adapt itself to their needs and situation. The experience of one family in obtaining the renewal of child endowment payments is instructive. These parents were unusually resourceful and masterful, but they did not ever learn why payments had been stopped (although they may indeed have been told), and it took them a visit to the bank which held the account into which the child endowment was normally paid and two visits to the Department of Immigration to have the matter righted. The visit to the bank was carefully planned for a Thursday, when the couple knew that a Greek interpreter would be available. They had no such advance knowledge about the Department of Immigration and, after the first visit when a casual inquirer like herself interpreted for her, the wife took her daughter along to interpret on the second occasion. She regarded the officials she encountered as apathetic rather than hostile in their unhelpfulness, accepted the fact that if one is a migrant even simple problems take a long time to solve and that, to obtain satisfaction, it is the individual who has to take the initiative vis-à-vis the bureaucracy. This couple achieved what they wanted by compensating for the bureaucracy's deficiencies and—at some inconvenience to themselves—adapting their approach to official procedures as they saw them.

The few contacts with welfare bureaucracies reported in the interviews included only one example of a family being involved in an attempt to influence bureaucratic policy in any way (that is as compared with the attempt to solve individual problems according to the accepted routine). This was also the only incident in which any of the families had supported group action aimed at influencing official decisions. The matter concerned the threatened compulsory resumption of dwellings by the State Housing Commission.

Local residents organised protest meetings, and the husband in one family attended, signed petitions and joined in an approach for support to the Greek Consulate.

### *Conclusions*

The discussion has been concerned with the processes by which a sample of twenty Greek families in a Melbourne suburb established modes of relating themselves to the educational, health and welfare bureaucracies during their first five to eight years in Australia.

Among the resources which these families saw as affecting the way in which they related themselves to officialdom, lack of knowledge of English was the most crucial. Many of the women we interviewed recognised that their ignorance of the language would have been far less critical had adequate interpreters been readily available. Knowledge of English clearly affected both the confidence with which they entered into situations and the way they saw the treatment they received. While it is impossible to say from our material whether the officials referred to did in fact respond differently according to the individual's competence in English, other evidence suggests that this is very likely to be so. But it also seems clear that the women often attributed the responses of officials to impatience over the difficulties of communication, or general intolerance for migrants *qua* migrants, when in fact they were being accorded the kind of indifferent service very similar to that which anyone else could expect.<sup>8</sup> They sometimes came to see themselves as the fools that bureaucrats seemed to think they were and, when they felt humiliated, it was as Greeks, or migrants, *vis-à-vis* Australians.

As one outcome of the interdependence of communication and experience, the families we interviewed had become most aware of available options in the health sector, less so in the education sector and least knowledgeable in the welfare sector. Parents had had far more contacts with health than with the other bureaucracies,

<sup>8</sup> Writing on the particular difficulties experienced by migrant families with mentally retarded children, Loula Rodopoulos says: 'In the situation where the child has been placed on a waiting list it is very difficult to assure these Greek families that it is not a discriminatory process that prevents them from gaining appropriate treatment, care and assistance for their child.' ('Minus Children', *Navigator*, 9-10 June 1973, p. 9).

and these contacts had been more varied, as indicated by the fact that couples used on an average 1.4 options in dealing with each of their first and most serious illnesses, compared with 0.4 options in dealing with each welfare problem. Information about health options became readily distributed through kin and friendship contacts. By contrast, the education sector offered few options and parents came to rely mainly on communications from their children to add to their knowledge in this area. Moreover, the choice among options fell so often to the child himself that parents did not have the incentive to become well informed. Family problems identified in the welfare sector were diverse. Employment and housing offered the same kind of opportunity for the expansion of knowledge as did the health sector. Other difficulties of a financial, psychological or interpersonal kind were more often described as private matters, although to what extent this attitude expressed deeply held values, or represented a realistic response to the paucity of services geared to migrant needs in these sensitive areas, it is impossible to say.

It was assumed that one of the resources which would affect the way in which these Greek families related themselves to bureaucratic structures was the network of contacts from which linkage agents could be generated when the occasion demanded it. The most important finding about the nature of these contacts was that they consisted almost entirely of fellow Greeks known to the families on an informal or personal basis. Amongst these, kin were the most important, but friends, neighbours, shopkeepers and workmates also became of significance from time to time, often adventitiously because they happened to be available at some critical moment. Greek professionals—doctors, lawyers, nursing staff and teachers were the four categories which appeared in the interviews—were more important as options than as linkage agents. That is, they fulfilled (or sometimes failed to fulfil) the purpose for which the parents had sought them out, without referring them on to other sources of help. Greek priests did not figure as helpers, linkage agents or options. Membership of community groups was almost non-existent, and the wives reported only two isolated instances in which they or their husbands took part in an organised community movement to influence bureaucratic decisions. Except for their role in arranging medical attention for employees who were hurt or became ill on the job, employers and management represen-

tatives played no part as helpers or linkage agents. Trade unions officials were never mentioned.

Interpreting was the most important kind of assistance given by the people described as helpers in contacts with bureaucracy. Officials sometimes made it their business to find casual interpreters, a bilingual schoolchild or cleaner, for example, being sent for when the need arose. Interpreters employed as such by the bureaucracy were available still more rarely (their use was reported three times in forty-eight contacts with health, education and welfare bureaucracies). Overwhelmingly, it was the migrants themselves who supplied the interpreter if one was used. Mostly they drew upon kin or friends. As time went by, they used their own children in preference to other alternatives. Occasionally, in desperation, they appealed to a stranger.

The most important statement to be made about the options used by these migrant families in meeting their educational, health and welfare needs is how few in number these options were. The health sector offered more genuine alternatives than did either of the others, but even here the frequency with which a public hospital was chosen (by them or for them) as the first option often meant that alternatives were effectively closed off. For people differently placed, a wide variety of options in all three sectors is available in the Melbourne area. For the families we interviewed, limited finance, inadequate knowledge and lack of the confidence needed to explore various possibilities combined to keep chosen options at a minimum.<sup>9</sup>

While our knowledge of the options that exist in the city makes

<sup>9</sup> O. H. Mok suggests that the explanation for the high proportion of migrant children attending the Children's Casualty Department at the Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital (relative to the proportion of migrants in the population) is that 'immigrant parents with limited English find it much easier to bring their sick children to a hospital with interpreters. The language problem is compounded when such parents have to use a telephone, and few can cope with a tape-recorded message' ('A Study of a Children's Casualty Department in a General Hospital', *Medical Journal of Australia*, 27 May 1972, p. 1149). Mok reports that the hospital had six full-time and one relieving interpreter, an unusually large number among Melbourne hospitals. The hospitals in the area in which the present study was carried out were poorly served with interpreters and the availability of interpreter services was clearly not one of the factors that attracted our families to use public hospital facilities.

it possible to say that the number used by these Greek families was 'small', no comparable information allows a complementary statement about the number of linkage agents operating to bring families and services together. In addition to describing who these linkage agents were, however, we can say that nearly all these families preferred to deal directly with officialdom, independently of linkage agents, whenever they were in a position to do so. They had virtually no concept of using associations to mediate between themselves and bureaucracy, while personal, informal contacts were used as helpers rather than linkage agents.

These Greek families were too alike for variations in their use of helpers, linkage agents or options to be associated with varying modes of relationship with bureaucracy. All that can be said is that the few families in which one or both parents had a reasonably good command of English, and had had experience outside Greece before coming to Australia, were more active and systematic than the rest of the survey families in seeking information and trying various options and were correspondingly less inclined to use helpers or linkage agents just because they happened to be available.

In terms of the spectrum that one would expect to find in the community as a whole, modes of family-bureaucracy relationships were also fairly homogeneous. Three somewhat different patterns did however emerge. The most common was a conformist mode, which involved the family in remaining as inconspicuous as possible, minimising its own demands and maximising its adherence to what the parents perceived as the requirements of officialdom, and accepting a view of itself as passive, dependent and ignorant, and a view of bureaucracy as active, powerful and endowed with expert knowledge. These couples made few complaints and could not articulate either constructive or destructive criticism of how the bureaucracies worked. Although they believed, as one woman put it, that you 'have to fit in with the system', they did not always automatically conform to what they saw as the bureaucracies' expectations. Their non-conformity was, however, of the passive resistance kind (like failing to keep an appointment), not of the kind that would require them to confront the bureaucracy with their dissatisfaction or react to the displeasure they had incurred. This mode can best be described as conformity-withdrawal.

There were some families who followed the conformity-withdrawal pattern most of the time, but who, while ignoring (and often being ignorant of) accepted bureaucratic procedures, quietly persisted in non-conformist behaviour (like visiting their children during school hours), or, in moments of desperation and frustration, made extreme and bizarre assertions of their own competence and autonomy. This mode of relationship will be called anti-conformist self-assertion.

Different again is the pattern of masterful control, which characterised the relationships with bureaucracy of a few families some of the time. This mode was built on the assumption that the bureaucracy exists to serve and can best be induced to provide service that meets the family's requirements if the family works through accepted bureaucratic procedures. It is up to the family, however, to take the initiative, exert pressure on officialdom and ensure that ignorance does not place its members at a disadvantage.

The Greek families in our study found most opportunity for self-assertion and mastery in the health sector, some in the education sector and little in the welfare sector. The difference between the modes of relationship with health and education bureaucracies is probably a function of the different degrees of urgent stress involved. Ill-health was a source of serious anxiety to these families and dealing with medical services elicited more independent, individualistic behaviour than did encounters with education or welfare bureaucracies. Since most welfare problems, as the families defined them, were regarded as outside the range of bureaucratic concern, only minimal family-bureaucracy relationships were generated in this sector.

In contacts with bureaucracies, husbands acted on behalf of their families more often than did wives, and where a mode of masterful control was observed it was nearly always the husband, sometimes husband and wife together, who did what had to be done by way of writing letters, calling on officials, making phone calls, etc. By contrast, it was usually the wife who was the principal actor in instances of anti-conformist self-assertion. It seems that where these couples saw their attempt to influence officialdom as institutionally legitimate, in the bureaucracy's terms, the husband was more likely to act than the wife. But where they saw themselves as directly contravening, ignoring or acting outside institutional

norms, then the wife usually took the lead. Masterful behaviour confirmed the husband's traditional role; self assertion on the part of the wife was in another category and did nothing to challenge his dominance.

Whatever variations in family-bureaucracy relationships can be noted in this small population of families, the material gives the unequivocal impression of the apartness of families and bureaucracies. It is, as it were, an unexpected and happy accident if their goals and mutual expectations happen to coincide. Bureaucracies have a life of their own. They exist to maintain this life as much as to serve, and to the extent that they serve they take account only of the relevant segment of the individual's experience, not the individual as a whole, nor the individual as a family member. Nor are they expected to do so: it is up to the parents to use whatever resources they can muster to shape the family's experience with bureaucracy in such a way that this experience confirms, or at least does not threaten, the internal patterns of interaction that the family has evolved. Clearly these are parental perceptions, perceptions of people with an acknowledged and strong commitment to maintaining the family unit they head. Had we interviewed the children, we may well have found that they sometimes saw the education bureaucracy, at least, as an ally in their attempts to change or disrupt existing patterns of interaction in the family.<sup>10</sup>

Bureaucracies, in particular the medical services, are also seen as oblivious to individual differences. It is consistent with their concentration on problems or segments of experience, rather than on individuals as a whole, that this should be so. It is not the bureaucracy's responsibility to cater for a client's idiosyncracies or peculiarities.<sup>11</sup> With the exception of a very few incidents, the reports of

<sup>10</sup> Sussman ('Some Conceptual Issues', pp. 14-15) discusses the ways in which new linking activities available to individuals may change the family role and power structure among rural-urban migrants.

<sup>11</sup> Ann Thodey, writing on 'Migrant Unmarried Mothers' (in N. Parker (ed.), *Focus on Migrants: a social work perspective*, Sydney, 1973) refers to 'a tendency which exists in all large organizations . . . i.e. the failure to individualize and the tendency to expect a high degree of conformity. If we view the hospital as a type of microcosm of the Australian community at large, we can see that with regard to assimilation a type of norming process takes place' (p. 27). In the same publication, Jill Williams, another social worker, describing 'Australian Family Agencies', says: 'I think that to a large extent, particu-

our survey families indicated that these parents accepted it as inevitable, as in the nature of things, that bureaucracies should regard being a migrant and being incompetent in English as peculiarities which called for an adjustment on the part of the client, not the bureaucracy. The picture of the bureaucracies that comes through these interviews is clear and consistent. Their rigid organisation and operating procedures make the minimum of adjustment to the characteristics or situation of the Greek migrant. When these couples did receive recognition as legitimately different, not peculiar, it was not—as they saw it—because of enlightened bureaucratic policy, but because of their good fortune in encountering, for example, an atypically sympathetic medico or a Greek-speaking teacher or nursing sister.<sup>12</sup>

From the information obtained in our interviews, the bureaucracies with which these families came into contact appear to have been characterised by what I have previously called 'non-confrontation' in their orientation towards migrants: that is, 'a failure to inform ourselves about the actual place of migrants in Australian society or, following this, to give serious attention to the possibility that the presence of these new settlers may call for changes in traditional patterns of group organisation'.<sup>13</sup>

Non-confrontation implies lack of feed-back from migrant experience to bureaucratic structure. Sheila Shaver's independent investigation of education, health and welfare services in the district concerned in the present study confirms that the bureaucracies

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larly when dealing with the more integrated migrants, we have to individualise, and adapt our way of working with the particular client as far as possible.' (p. 50).

<sup>12</sup> In recent years a number of writers have documented the way in which the shortage of trained interpreters and the absence of bilingual service personnel have adversely affected the medical and welfare services available to migrant clients. See, for example, Moraitis, 'Medico-Social Problems'; P. M. Oliver, 'The Migrant in the Community', in *Australian Frontier, The Migrant in the Community*, Malvern, [1972], part I; Parker, *Focus on Migrants*. On the basis of experience in the intensive use made by migrants of the Children's Casualty Department at the Queen Victoria Memorial Hospital, where interpreter services are relatively good, Mok ('Study of a Children's Casualty Department') puts forward a case for developing the role of casualty departments in serving the medical needs of non-English speaking immigrants.

<sup>13</sup> J. I. Martin, 'Migration and Social Pluralism', in AIPS, *How Many Australians?*, Sydney, 1971, p. 106.

involved have indeed failed to confront the reality of the local migrant situation and remain singularly ill informed about the effectiveness of the service that migrants are receiving.<sup>14</sup> For example, four of five local headmasters interviewed in Shaver's study 'seemed either to have little interest in migrants or to feel they presented no difficulties'. One remarked that his school had 'quite a number of Greeks', who were 'the least of our worries; they are very stable'. It is easy to understand how children subject to strict family discipline and parents who willingly accord full educational responsibility to the school and avoid making nuisances of themselves should come to be approvingly viewed as 'the least of our worries'.

Shaver interviewed ten local professionals serving the Greek community, all except one Greek-speaking: two bank officers, two teachers, two solicitors, two doctors, a priest and an official in a Greek community organisation. Her interviews revealed that these professionals constituted an assistance network, largely independent of other local services (including the Social Work Department at the Town Hall) and highly informal, with a minimum of institutionalisation. The most effective help given by these professionals came from their ability to mobilise local resources through their extensive personal contacts in the Greek community. Included in the network was a small group of second generation Greeks with a well articulated philosophy on the provision of health and welfare services for migrants. They

had few referral ties except with the Greek migrant organisation and government departments. Their lack of referral links was based neither on an unwillingness to refer nor on ignorance about available facilities, but rather on the belief that there was no place where Greeks would be offered help which they could and would use, presented in their own language and based on understandings of their culture.

Consistent with our own findings, Shaver's research shows that institutionalised community resources are providing Greek families with little in the form of assistance with welfare problems and that

<sup>14</sup> I am grateful to Sheila Shaver for making available to me the following material from her current research, to be presented as a Ph.D. thesis to La Trobe University, under the title 'Networks of Personal Assistance in Three Melbourne Municipalities'.

Greek-speaking professionals serve the family through accepting diffuse multi-purpose roles, rather than keeping strictly to their professional functions, and thus operate as an expert extension of the informal network of kin, neighbours, friends, shopkeepers and so on.<sup>15</sup>

Since this study was undertaken three years ago, powerful pressures towards changing the relationships of migrants and bureaucracies have accumulated in the Australian community. Until now the most significant outcome of these pressures has been the generation and communication of information about the reality of migrant experience, the most recent contribution being the report of the Victorian Migrant Task Force Committee to the Minister for Immigration.<sup>16</sup> With the advent of a new Australian government at the end of 1972, the demand for information has increased and policies for dealing with the kind of problems indicated in this paper, as well as a wide range of other matters associated with migration and welfare, are being pursued more energetically than in the past.

It is not easy to say why it took the Australian community some twenty years of large-scale migration to test the validity of the common consensus that the absorption of some three million newcomers and their children has in general been a painless experience on all sides, that the minimal adjustment to the needs and situations of migrants made by Australian institutions was all that was required or desirable, and that, though some 'failures in assimilation' might appear in the first generation, the second will be indistinguishable from children of local origin.<sup>17</sup> Whatever the causal sequence that explains this long period of unruffled indifference, several factors are clearly decisive at the present time both in encouraging the interest of government and non-governmental

<sup>15</sup> One of the hypotheses being tested in the Cross-National Research Studies on the Family is that the higher a family's social class the greater the number of different linkage agents used by the family and the more specialised, or less diffuse, the role of each one. See Sussman, 'Awareness of Linkage', p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Australia, Migrant Task Force Committee, Victoria, *Report to the Minister for Immigration*, Melbourne, 1973.

<sup>17</sup> For a more detailed discussion of responses on the part of the Australian community to the influx of migrants in the post-war period, see Martin, 'Migration and Pluralism'; *Community and Identity: refugee groups in Adelaide*, Canberra, 1972; *Migrants: equality and ideology*, Melbourne, 1972.

institutions, such as the churches and professions, and in eliciting from the community more engaged responses to government initiatives than in the past. One factor is that the pile-up of migrant health, educational, welfare and economic problems, resulting from the earlier period of neglect, can no longer be ignored. Another is that the new structures brought into existence in response to migrant needs and situations are now, after modest and quiet beginnings, acting effectively to articulate and make visible the actual situation of the migrant population. The Ecumenical Migration Centre, with its international library of migration material, now under the direction of an Italian scholar, illustrates the increasing tendency for structures that serve migrants—either as the whole or as only part of their function—to be multi-ethnic both in membership and in their organisational links. At the same time a number of ethnic communities themselves are generating a body of expertise that makes it possible for them to assume more far-reaching functions than they have attempted in the past; the group of Greek professionals operating in the area of the present study is in fact the nucleus of a newly forming welfare structure within the Melbourne Greek community. Several categories of people—those born and trained overseas, those born overseas or in Australia of migrant parents but trained in Australia, and those of Australian origin and training—are now beginning to form a common pool of competent and committed participants in the process of developing knowledge, awareness and realistic policies in relation to the migrant situation.

At the present stage in this process, there are, I believe, three ways in which people of overseas origin might be encouraged to assume a more active and responsible role in making bureaucratic structures more responsive to their migrant clients. Firstly, ethnic groups can be stimulated to develop organised structures to undertake health, welfare and educational functions within their own communities. Secondly, individuals born overseas or born in Australia of migrant parents, with bilingual skills and bicultural understandings, might be encouraged to undertake professional and para-professional training—as, for example, teachers, nurses, social workers, welfare officers, counsellors, doctors—which could then be used in the service of creating more differentiated and sensitive bureaucracies. Finally, through diverse kinds of action research, in-

dividual migrants and migrant families, in their capacity as clients of bureaucracy, might be encouraged to articulate their experiences and maximise the use of resources in their dealings with bureaucracy. I hope that this chapter will contribute to this third kind of development.

# Appendix

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## APPENDIX 6.1: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE, 1970

Year of husband's arrival in Australia (in two cases, the husband arrived one year earlier than the wife and children):	1962	4
	1963	5
	1964	6
	1965	5
Mean age of husbands:	45.9 years	
Age range of husbands:	36-54 years	
Mean age of wives:	40.4 years	
Age range of wives:	33-49 years	
Number of unmarried children at home:	1 child	3
	2 children	10
	3 children	4
	4 children	3
	mean	2.4
Total number of living children:	1 child	2
	2 children	9
	3 children	4
	4 children	5
	mean	2.5
Number of persons in household:	3 persons	1
	4 persons	6
	5 persons	6
	6 persons	5
	7 persons	—
	8 persons	—
	9 persons	2
	mean	5.3
Number of families with a child born in Australia:	2	
Household composition:	nuclear family only	13
	nuclear family and kin (including married child)	3
	nuclear family and other kin or boarders	4

Number of families with kin (including married children) in household (H), same area (S) and other parts of Melbourne (M):

H	S	M	4
H	S	—	3
—	S	M	7
—	S	—	2
—	—	M	3
—	—	—	1

Number of wives working: 18

Occupation of husband:	production-process workers	10
	labourers	5
	cleaners	3
	postman	1
	social services	1

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