

Elitism in Ideological Construction White Australia Coloring the Southern European 'Black Fella'

The Australian Liberal Government (1945-1972)¹ continued to align with policies supporting assimilation and an already politically constructed *White Australia* became inclusive of a selective European migrant presence.² The ideological construction lending shape to these policies defined what it meant to be a 'white European' through those migrants of British and northern European backgrounds. This was promoting a dichotomous and racist opposition toward European migrants of southern European background. The idea was one of racial supremacy and the elitist sensibility. The paper deconstructs the old British idea of 'divide and conquer,' taken as a legacy from its former empire to a new nation that developed as British colonial out post. The 'non-white Greek' in the state of Victoria will be the postwar ethnic focus. The paper will deconstruct the ways Greek migrants were structurally assimilated and exploited at a time Greek mass migration was at its peak in Australia. Australian political constructions gave power to a group of 'political' and 'civil elites' who engineered a hegemonic process for postwar monoculture and capitalism.³ Understood as a color, white has been associated to the system of capitalism.⁴ When related to this system, Greeks worked as a non-white category of workers and were being exploited as a force of manpower. They were employed as laborers behind machines, assembled in the darkened niches of the manufacturing sector of industry. The paper deconstructs capitalist structural assimilation because structural factors forming out of this ideology undermine the sense of equality and solidarity. This historical exegesis is about subordinating a class of 'non-whites' who lived under the interest of a dominant class of 'whites.' This paper discloses the degradation and exploitation of people under a monocultural and capitalist state. The paper will also show how 'chain migration' became a social

¹ For an analysis of party dominance in Australia between 1941-1972, see Goot (1979).

² For a historical analysis that summarizes the social climate of policy development of post-war Australian society, see Harris (1979).

³ For an understanding of 'ideological construction in Australian society through hegemonic discourse, see Morrissey, 1984.

⁴ Being the opponent color, red is politically associated with communism.

phenomenon associated to Greek migrants that grew and replenished the need for both a familial and a familiar environment in forming a community during this formative period of their mass-migration.⁵



Figure 1: Noah's Arc Cartoon, Collete – The Herald, March 3, 1984. Bridges and Heimann, 1988:88.

The concern of the government to preserve a White Australia after the Second World War developed from previous efforts that were focused on Indigenous and Asian populations.⁶ What had to be established now was that a new non-British, European population could not be white enough. This exclusion was reflected in the Australian Citizenship Conventions that were held annually, 1950-1970. These produced a number of resolutions that were directed toward assimilating a migrant population. For example, in 1950, the Minister for Immigration, Harold Holt, spoke of 'The Welcoming Hand' that later led to the establishment of the 'Good Neighbor Movement.' It was developed to encourage good neighborhood relations between 'old' and 'new' Australians. The political back current behind the Good Neighbor Movement was that politicians felt pressed with the problem of housing shortages and believed this to be a chief obstacle for assimilation as the situation in migrant hostels encouraged foreign languages to be spoken. The objective was that assimilation would be achieved by encouraging migrants to meet Australians so that they could be naturalized quickly. It was expressed to Australians that they must prove to be 'good neighbors.' However, there was never a mention that Australians had to make any adjustments to the ways of migrants. At this time ideas concerning assimilation continued to be made by various government politicians and these ideas were presented as resolutions during the Australian Citizenship Conventions. Evidently the state implemented the ideology of assimilationism through the Australian Citizenship Conventions to employ various mechanisms of assimilation.

⁵ As the scope of this paper is to prove the validity of 'chain migration' and its specific link to Greek migrants in Australia, a list of other works on the consolidation of Greek community during the postwar era will be cited. Of the earlier sociological works produced for the Greek-Australian community, see Tsounis, 1975; Martin, 1975 and Bottomley, 1975 and 1979. For historical references see Dumanis, 1990.

⁶ Those who wrote about the White Australia Policy during this period see Gibb, 1973. For the making of the White Australia Policy see Palfreeman, 1967. For the administration of the White Australia Policy see Willard, 1967. For the history of the White Australia Policy see McQueen, 1972.



Figure 2: The Welcoming Hand. Dugan and Szwarc, 1984: 5.

The first mechanism of assimilation was Great Britain and its monarchy. The Australian Citizenship Conventions created resolutions about the significance of the monarchy of Great Britain and during the year of the royal visit speakers at the 1954 convention suggested migrants be encouraged to take part in demonstrations of loyalty to the Queen during the Royal Tour. Attention to royalty was a way of preserving an orientation toward the culture of British imperialism. After the Royal Tour the Queen's crown and portrait were displayed at Assembly Hall in Canberra and politicians stressed the importance of the coronation year for Australian 'citizens' and doing so hoped to encourage migrants to take out citizenship and assimilate. By using the image of the Queen as Australia's royal figure politicians preferred to bring a larger number of British migrants to Australia. This became known as the government campaign called the 'Bring out a Briton Campaign.' It was launched for the host population in an attempt to encourage them to act as sponsors for prospective British migrants. Athol Townley who was Minister for Immigration in 1950 announced the campaign and was subsequently pleased to report that 28,500,000 pounds had been spent on Britons since 1947 compared to 9,500,000 pounds for nationals of 38 other countries (Wilton and Bosworth, 1984:27). Although the government spent a large amount of money on advertising for British migrants, the intake figures remained low and Australia was forced to look elsewhere for prospective migrants.



Figure 4: Bring Out a Briton. Dugan and Szwarc, 1984: 148.

Despite the vigorous campaign, the Australian government was not very successful in encouraging citizens of the host population to sponsor British migrants between 1947-1960. From the total figure of Australian Assisted Passage Schemes for the United Kingdom (378,578 arrivals) only a very small minority (2,718 arrivals) came to Australia through the Bring Out A Briton campaign. The majority of these arrivals (2,455) came before June 1960. Between June and December 1960, a minority (263 arrivals) arrived with Victoria supporting the largest number of

assisted passage arrivals. Through the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration Australia signed an agreement with the Greek government for larger intakes of Greek migrants in 1952. This agreement was finalized six years before the Bring Out A Briton Campaign was launched (Kern, 1966:35). However, expense figures revealed the apathy of the Australian government to accept Southern European, non-British migrants. This was no more evident than between 1955 and 1975 when the Australian government spent ten cents on publicity for every Greek, 180 dollars for every Swede and each German cost the government twenty times as much as each Italian (Wilton and Bosworth, 1984:32). The attempts by the Australian government were a clear indication of their desire to preserve a majority culture by maintaining a large 'white Australian' population. Arthur Calwell expressed the hope that 'for every foreign migrant there will be ten from the United Kingdom' (Ruth, 1969:59). During the 1952 convention he also stressed that ...

We must have a single culture. If immigration implied 'multi' culture within Australian society then it was not the type of Australia wanted. I am quite determined that we should have a monoculture with everyone living the same way, understanding each other and sharing the same aspirations. We don't want pluralism'.

Greece was the fifth largest source country to populate Australia between 1945 and 1970 with 184,715 migrants. Between 1945 and 1950, 5,412 Greeks migrated to Australia. During the 1950s, 63,614 Greeks migrated to Australia. Greek migration to Australia was highest during the 1960s with the arrival of 115,689 Greek migrants (Appleyard, 1971: 217).

The second mechanism of assimilation was mass media with a focus on radio and the English language. Radio presentation was a major source of media that promoted the idea of assimilationism into the society. Broadcasts explained to migrants exactly what was meant by assimilation while, concurrently, the government informed the host population about what was happening as a result of immigration, especially in the field of assimilation. Radio announcements were aided through convention resolutions. For example, in 1954 the government used convention information when promoting assimilation over the radio: 80 recommendations were made and 40 of them concerned naturalization. There was only one recommendation on migrant education: of 32 subjects, 28 concerned assimilation activities. The following year 50 resolutions were made and all of them encouraged immigration and assimilation (Harris, 1979:26). Migrant education statistics suggest that the English language was a very important factor for

assimilation. English day and evening classes were available to migrants as well as ABC radio correspondence courses. Victoria had the highest number of enrollments and the most number of running English language classes offered of all Australian states. However, the percentage of migrant attendance and turnover rate was the lowest of all states (Commonwealth Department of Immigration, 1961:26).

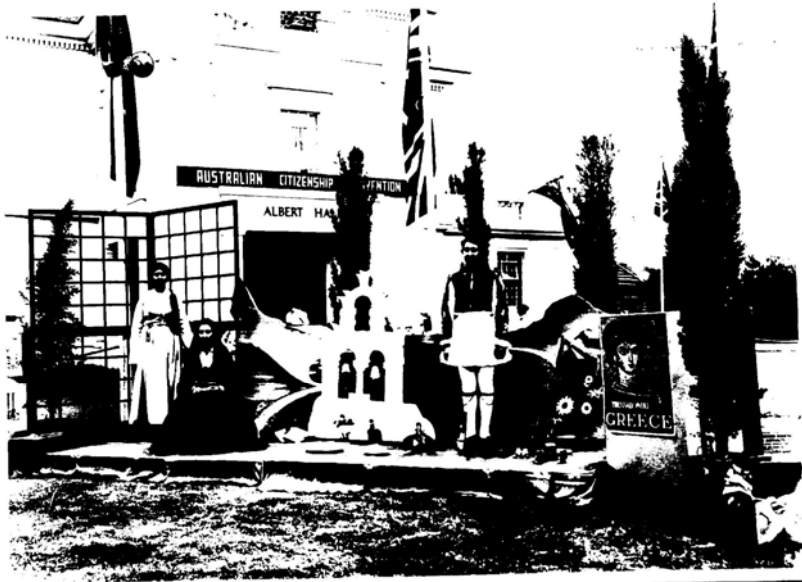


Figure 4: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Photograph' 1959. Greek section of 'Europe in Australia' display outside of Albert Hall, Canberra

More than 200 delegates from all states attended the 10th Australian Citizenship Convention at Albert Hall, Canberra, January 20-22, 1959. The convention was officially opened by the Governor-General, Sir William Slim, who told delegates that a vigorous immigration program was more important than ever to the security of Australia. Guest of Honour at the convention was Mr. Marcus Daly, Director of the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration. Australian Official Photograph by Don Edwards, January, 1959.

The third mechanism of assimilation was the education system. As 'political elites' government politicians also required the services of 'civil elites' such as academics to help impose the ideology of assimilationism. Until the beginning of the 1950s assimilation was advocated by the efforts of T. Hayes who was the first secretary for the Department of Immigration. By 1950 he employed almost 6,000 immigration officers as opposed to less than 100 four years earlier (Wilton and Bosworth, 1984:19). As well as expanding the Immigration Department he developed a network with civil elites such as academics to strengthen the political educating body for the public through Australian intellectual circles. One of Hayes' academic supporters was Charles Price who was a social scientist at the Australian National University and through his academic position and his links to political circles through Hayes received a position as a government adviser. He advised that Australia should not allow too large a settlement of any particular migrant group in one geographic area. Price advised that migrants should not settle as groups but be dispersed and taught to discard their old ways in the interests of Australian nationalism. Political elites such as Hayes were incorporating civil elites such as Price into the educating body to intensify educational control by disseminating such ideological convictions through academic literature that was being incorporated into universities (Wilton and Bosworth, 1984:53).

The following decade produced convention resolutions that were made to improve the way the state constructed the ideology of assimilationism. However, the attempt was merely superficial for integrating the Australian population. Resolutions from the 1960s were constructed from academic discussions about migrants that introduced intellectual changes through the ideology of 'integrationism.' Terminologies became an intellectual concern for politicians as academics were concerned with how to define the term 'migrant.' Any developments in constructing the terminology were really another way of engineering assimilationism. Terms connected with the migrant were meant for the convenience of the host population and not the migrant population. Essentially what the government was trying to do was to define the migrant in terms of their own intellectual constructions and not in a manner which benefited the migrant conception of 'self.' The social climate of this decade was no longer influenced by England and the ramblings about the British Empire but by the United States. The 1960s was a turbulent period for American society and one of critical self-assessment. Migrant power was one of a number of social movements developing along with black, women and gay liberation movements to announce, amongst other things, the idea integrationism. The conventions were embracing this humanitarian climate of the 1960s. Papers were delivered mainly by academics and by the end of the decade they were held at the Australian National University. Discussions continued to be concerned with terminology debates. They discussed whether 'new' be dropped from 'Australian' or, 'migrant' be dropped for 'newcomer', even though many migrants had been present in Australia many years before terminology debates began. It was during the latter half of the decade that migrant guest speakers were welcomed to present papers (Wilton and Bosworth, 1984: 67). Traditional intellectuals persisted in wanting to preserve White Australia, in spirit.⁷ During the 1960s R. Taft followed in the footsteps of Charles Price. He was an academic psychologist and a specialist in psychological policy regarding immigrants and like Price he advised the government concerning the integration of migrants. He converged assimilationism to his twenty-eight-point scale of 'Australianism' to test what made a 'good Australian.' As well as academics, politicians during this decade also continued to serve as proponents for assimilationism. For example, Hubert Opperman followed in the footsteps of Arthur Calwell. As minister for Immigration he presided over the change in doctrine from assimilationism to integrationism. However, his reaction to the bipartisan agreement spirited a Calwellian aggression ...

⁷ The White Australia Policy was abolished in 1965.

Australia has no history of social pluralism ... it may develop gradually and to a limited extent but that is something not to be forced on any nation of people including Australians. Furthermore, the minister commented that we ask particular of migrants that they be substantially Australians in the first generation and complete Australian in the second (Castles et al, 1988:52).



Figure 5: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Photograph' 1961. Entrance to Bonegilla Reception Center. Stop-check at gate is to prevent entry of unauthorized people.

The fourth mechanism of assimilation was the establishment of migrant hostels. An important and more forceful way the Liberal

Government legitimated its construction of White Australia to a migrant population was through migrant hostels such as the Bonegilla Immigration Center. Throughout the years of the Australian Citizenship Conventions (1950-1970) White Australia was no more vivid for the migrant experience than when they arrived at Bonegilla. It was established longer than the duration of the conventions (1947-1971) and functioned as a displaced person's camp. Many migrants assisted by the government with their passages to Australia stayed at Bonegilla and signed a two year working contract with the government. The contract defined migrants as 'government workers' and it was the responsibility of the government to find initial employment for them. The name of the reception center means 'the parting of the waters' in native Aboriginal language as this was what the government was trying to achieve through assimilation and the displacement of ethnic cultures. Greek-Australian playwright Tess Lyssiotis created the script 'Hotel Bonegilla' as a narrative documentary, telling of the migrant experience from stories told by one Greek, Italian and German couple. The play was created as a stage production and it was performed in Melbourne in 1983. The play came to represent Australia as an alien and inhospitable environment - stories about immigration officers, the bush land, migrants confusing 'new food' such as cornflakes for potato peel and scared by the laughter of the kookaburra early in the morning. As one Greek migrant noted of his unpleasant experience with Bonegilla:

We boarded the buses that were to take us to Bonegilla. For a few moments I wondered about these people who break the law, who are sentenced to jail and others who are exiled ... I wonder whether we belonged in this category and whether we were being punished. But what was our crime? - Stephanos Kastamonitis (Sophocleous, 1987:4).



Figure 6: A Group of Greek Men Dancing at Bonegilla. Greeks just dancing to pass the time or was it their way of countering a hegemony? Gibson, 1988:115.

After having interviewed Lyssiotis I found it to be quite ironic that she named the play as though it was a conscious reminder of the

Eagle's song 'Hotel California.' She parallels the migrant experience at Bonegilla with the experience of a horrid hotel the migrant feels they will never leave and, as the quote mentioned earlier suggests, they felt as though they were to become prisoners at Bonegilla. In the context of Australia's postwar immigration the Australian Citizenship Conventions were a way the government attempted to produce a hegemony by forcing British monocultural philosophies in the hope of preserving a White Australia (Willard, 1967:119-123; Palferman, 1967:20-26; Gibb, 1973:114-125 and Wooden, 1988:322). State politicians as political elites and, academics as civil elites, played a major role in determining national identity. Liberal Government incentives attempted to make citizens of the state functional to state ideological control through the means of non-confrontation. As a state ideological construction White Australia enabled the government to disseminate cultural ideals about self-identity. White Australia was promulgated by the state as a dominant, national self-concept. The state attempted to implement a means of mystifying or hiding ethnic cultures by creating a cultural transition for the migrant. Morrissey asserts that any migrant difficulties that developed because of assimilation were to be seen as difficulties arising out of their own ethnic culture. Any difficulties attributed to adaptation were considered 'assimilationist in nature' by the state. Dominant ideology linked related migrant experience to their 'cultural exoticness' (Morrissey, 1984:74). This mystification of cultural identity was the way the 'ethnic 'self' was being mystified as the 'hidden other' by the state.

Figure 7: Migrant Labor, Broome, 1989.

Al Grassby was Minister for Immigration during the Australian Labor Party Administration (1972-1974) and he described the pro-British assimilationist policy as 'fragmentation' and not 'cohesion.' He used the term 'fragmentation' to refer to a break with family related experience. Grassby further commented that the migrant was viewed as a 'fragmented being' uprooted from family existence. Being a migrant then meant being an individual – a worker (Grassby, 1984: 156). The idea of losing familial identification and gaining the industrial status of worker took the Greek migrant

on a transformative journey from a very personal belonging to a very impersonal displacement. Grassby also mentions that 'a transmutation of words' occurs to describe the migrant going from 'a dark horse' to a 'fair cow' in the process of their White Australian assimilation (Grassby, 1984: 159). Smolicz also describes assimilation as a lion and the lion's share of this value comes from a dominant group in Australian society that devalues and destroys the values of minority groups (Smolicz, 1984: 11-12). Following the American model with the ethnic minority group assimilation of Negroes, Indians, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, the emergence of Southern European groups in the Australian postwar context, namely Italians and Greeks, indicate, as Bell puts it, 'a barrier between the races.' The southern Europeans were treated like these North American ethnic groups as 'colored' – the condition of a racial segregation and an ethnic and national separatism (Bell, 1985: 15). Many non-white minorities, particularly those in New World states such as the U.S.A. or Australia believed their plight paralleled that of 'Third World Peoples' struggling for recognition and equality through decolonization and, like their colonized counterparts they recognized that the nature of their subordination could only be explained in historical terms with reference to slavery through white European expansion. The idea supported white supremacy, social Darwinism and economic exploitation (Bell, 1985: 16). Assimilation and its connection to group relations and class formation is one associated to economic development cutting across all national boundaries. In the case of such stratified societies most members of a given ethnic group are restricted to a particular economic class disclosing conditions of slavery. This form of racism is a condition imposed in a stratified society, such as Australia, to emphasize what van den Berghe terms as 'relations of power and relations of production' (Bell, 1985: 19). Banton argues that this form of racism

and exploitation is used to divide workers in a mixed society that gives power and wealth to a dominant and exploitative group or class (Bell, 1985: 19). Australian assimilation was best described in two words by Jakubowicz: 'structural disadvantage' (Jakubowicz, 1981:5).

The 'One Per Cent Rule' was developed as a policy to create a reserve army of labor. An absolute labor shortage after the Second World War led to the call for migrant labor. The political catch cry 'populate or perish' was raised by Calwell calling for increased manpower for postwar reconstruction.⁸ However, the government did not want to acknowledge immigrant labor as anything more than an economic necessity in the population statistics, even though Australia's population was a little over 7,500,000 and birthrates fell from 135,000 to 110,000 yearly during the 1920s and 1930s (Appleyard, 1971:209-211). The new migrant population had to be a working population, a socioeconomic class of workers. The Liberal Government feared that there would be large reductions in a young labor force due to losses and injuries incurred to Australia's male population during the war. Greek workers, amongst others, would help to secure the flow of consumer goods and revive capital flow for economic recovery. Post war immigration was a direct outcome of the decision of the government to adopt the One Per Cent Rule as part of a government incentive to have 70,000 migrants migrate to Australia annually (Karnups, 1984:1). Karnups states that when the Department of Immigration was established it came under the control of a cabinet minister who carried both the immigration and labor portfolios and so he linked immigration to the concept of economic development to stimulate domestic markets. Greeks were a major ethnic group that helped to develop the industrial sector. Greece was the third largest source country after Italy and, the then Yugoslavia, to supply an industrial labor market. Industrial labor figures increased from 800,000 in 1947 to 1,250,000 in 1968 (Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1988). Appleyard states that several thousand Greek females, famously known as 'the brides,' migrated to Australia in 1964.⁹ This was a Liberal Government incentive to help begin balancing the sex ratio of Greeks in Australia. Before 1964 the immigration program admitted many Greek males (Appleyard, 1985:99). Greek migration between 1952 and 1964 was gender specific as there was a preference for men to work in industry (Jupp, 1988:516). The fact that between 1952-1964 there was only a preference for Greek male workers indicates that the Liberal Government did not want Greek migrants to integrate fully. The reason for this was due to the need of the government to produce a splitting of the labor force. This was due to a long-

⁸ For the historical background of Australian society and the push for a postwar migrant population see Appleyard, 1972 and Collins, 1988.

⁹ For an account of postwar Greek female migration to Australia see, Kunek, 1989.

standing nationalist history where both the Australian Liberal and Labor parties supported the White Australia policy as it was considered a government policy of top priority.

The occupation of Greek male and female workers in industry indicate that in 1966, Greek migrants worked as laborers and leather cutters, lasters, sewers and in 1971 they were concentrated in areas of industry such as laborers, metal and electrical production process workers (Lever, 1975:33). The occupation of Greek female workers in industry indicates that in 1966, Greek female workers were concentrated in areas of industry such as laborers, millers, bakers, butchers, brewers, and other food and drink and in 1971, laborers, spinners, weavers, knitters, tailors, cutters, furriers (Lever, 1975:38).¹⁰ These occupations for Greek men and women are reflected in figures showing the skill base of foreign nationals working in the Australian workforce as unskilled laborers between 1971-1972. Greeks workers comprised of 76.5 per cent making them the highest percentage displayed of other southern European groups (Yugoslavia with 61 per cent, Italy with 40 per cent and Malta with 40 per cent) (Collins, 1984a: 186). John Collins argues that southern Europeans constitute a significant external reserve army of labor to Australian capitalism. During periods of rapid economic expansion the migrant influx alleviates labor shortages especially in those sectors of the labor market where wages and conditions are regarded as unsatisfactory by Anglo-Celtic workers.¹¹ By inflating the labor market employers are able to reduce workers' bargaining power. Employers may have exploited mass migration to drive down unskilled and semi-skilled wages in the early postwar decades particularly in those sectors that were key employers of unskilled migrant workers. In the 1950s the motor vehicle companies used the mass recruitment of southern European labor to prevent a substantial increase in marginal rates for production line workers. Without this influx labor shortages might have weakened employer and Arbitration Court opposition to claims for semi-skilled marginal rates for production line workers (Tierney, 1996:1). Castles and Kosack (1973) argue that for the Australian working class the aim was to provide special categories of workers who could be discriminated against without arising any general solidarity from other workers. This not only forced migrant wage earners to accept pay for long hours and work in poor conditions but it also served to split the working class on nationalist grounds.

¹⁰ For more specific statistics of Greek male immigrants in occupational categories compared to other ethnic groups see Zubrzycki, 1968.

¹¹ For an analysis of the fragmentation of the working class during this period see, Collins, 1975c.



Figure 8: 'Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Photograph' 1955. Migrant workers at Ford Motor Works. Fifty-four per cent of the 4,500 workers employed are migrants.

Collins' observations in the Ford Factory in the Melbourne suburb of Broadmeadows showed that 95 per cent of workers in the production area, the body shop and the assembly line were migrants of non-English speaking background (NESB). The reverse was true in the service departments, the stock rooms,

areas where work was cleaner, more varied and less monitored than that of the assembly line. About 70 per cent of workers in these areas were English speakers, that is, British migrants or Australians (Collins, 1975b:116). This, in terms of Castles' and Kosack's argument was the splitting of the working class based on nationalist grounds. Collins argues that Greek migrants were 'pitchforked' into working positions that involved manual labor in areas of the work force Australians had no desire to work in. He also argues that labor created during the postwar era divided the Australian working class. Instead of Australians and northern Europeans seeing themselves as sharing a common class-consciousness they regarded themselves as superior to southern Europeans (Collins, 1975b: 120). The splitting of the working class on nationalistic grounds is evident in the wage figures that indicate Greek male workers were the highest paid group, alongside Italians, to earn between \$27-39 weekly which was the lowest set wage displayed during this period. Between 1955 and 1959, Greeks were second to Italians by 11.1 per cent. However, between 1960 and 1966 Greeks became the highest group earning between \$27-39 weekly, 25.3 per cent higher than Italians. The increase also coincides with the influx of Greek migrants to Australia during this period. In total, Greeks earning less than \$39 a week represented the ethnic group with the highest rate of decrease in earnings (Henderson, Harcourt and Harper, 1970:126). The Liberal Government successfully divided the working class to disable class-consciousness through creating a fragmented working class. One Greek migrant worker remembers...

'The more I thought, I could deeply see that Australia wanted workers to build its industry and grow its population. I tried to deny the possibility that once in the old days people were sold into slavery' (Sophocleous, 1987:7).

Collins adds that researchers and journalists created journalistic terminology such as 'factory fodder' when researching or reporting on the nature of this kind of work (Collins, 1975a: 579). As the quote mentioned earlier by the Greek migrant worker suggests, many were made to feel like the 'one per cent fool' for coming to Australia. The policy of the Liberal Government dispersed many Greeks into specific working categories: process workers and laborers. As the 'proletariat of the proletariat', the Greek working class experienced industrial assimilation in the workplace. 'Greek migrants and particularly those of the post war 'factory fodder era,' when immigration planning was subordinate to the needs of the Australian labor market, find themselves alienated from their labor' (King, 1981:68). Migration was followed by a period of demographic changes where Greek migrants experienced new forms of production and working relations in a new workplace. Greek migrants left a peasant-agrarian economy to work in the industrial sector of an urban city. Many experienced a change in the organization of production (Martin and Cox, 1975:25-27). Any traditional forms of production practiced in the Greek rural countryside were now replaced with the demands of a new set of working principles. For example, governmental law and the practices of trade unions became more important than customary law that had traditionally served to preserve rural working traditions. Over 90 per cent of Greek immigrants had come from a rural background and for many Greek workers the workplace was the factory (Moriatis, 1975:1). Many were unfamiliar with the urban industrial setting and were unaccustomed to working in factories. The experience of the Greek working class was one of alienation.

For 90 per cent of Greeks coming from the rural areas of Greece, the Australian government offered them economic assimilation and as workers experienced a modified working situation. Such situations help to create conditions of occupational and residential alienation. Poor jobs meant poor income making it necessary for Greeks to look for cheap housing close to work. The Greek as migrant and worker experienced cultural and economic alienation as a result of these conditions. This condition of alienation is documented by Jupp (1988) who proposes that a migrant opinion survey showed that Greeks and Italians had the largest male percentage, the smallest number of married and the most working category. Moreover they had the least Australian friends (Collins, 1975a: 580).

They (Greeks) are not met by immigration officers but by relatives. Relatives will find them work and lodging. It is natural that for reasons of security, language and culture the migrant will aggregate with his own ethnic group (Moriatis, 1975:4).

Arrivals under Assisted Migration Schemes between 1956 and 1961 indicate that countries that received the highest assistance for migration to Australia through government assistance schemes were those nationals from the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany. These countries are all part of northern Europe because the Australian government envisioned a White Australia (Australian Consolidated Statistics 1960). Greek assisted migration to Australia until the middle 1950s had more assisted males. From 1956-1966 more females were assisted. After 1966 male and female assisted migrants were more equal in annual intake (Australian Consolidated Statistics 1969). Despite the fact that until 1958 Greece was the sixth largest country to receive government assistance for migrant passages to Australia, the figures for Greek migration suggest that until 1952 a very small number of Greeks were actually granted government assistance. For example, between 1947 and 1952, only 43 Greek migrants were granted government assistance as opposed to 10,275 Greek migrants having arrived as unassisted migrants. However, after 1952 patterns emerge for Greek assisted migration. Even after the introduction of assisted migration schemes between 1952 and 1969, Greek assisted migration was not the major characteristic of Greek migration to Australia. Of total arrivals between 1952 and 1969 (174,397 arrivals) less than one third (56,362 arrivals) were assisted by the Australian government. The remaining figure (118,035 arrivals) indicates that 'chain migration' was the most important characteristic for Greek migration to Australia during this period (Appleyard, 1971:217).

Figure 9: 'Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Photograph' 1959 Greeks in the community: Greek dancing.



Chain migration led to a large movement of Greeks to Melbourne through relatives and friends offering direct assistance through sponsorship and with accommodation and work through the Family Reunion Scheme during the 1950s and 1960s. Chain migration for southern Europeans, particularly Greeks, was relatively more successful than having Britons migrate through the Bring Out A Briton Campaign (Martin

and Cox, 1975:21). It was particularly successful among Greeks because it enabled them to recreate a sense of the home country. Victoria supported the largest Greek population of any Australian state. By 1966, 60,793 Greeks lived in Melbourne, which was 43 per cent of the total Greek population in Australia (Burnley, 1972:170). The figures for total Greek assisted migration between 1958 and 1964 (19,993 arrivals) indicates that migration was male oriented (12,963 arrivals). Between 1958 and 1964 figures for female assisted migration increased (13,014 arrivals) over the figures suggested for male assisted migrants (2,714 arrivals). This justifies Appleyard's assertion made earlier that up until 1964, males were preferred over females. However, between 1964 and 1969, male (8,902 arrivals) and female (10,543 arrivals) figures were closer to even (Jupp, 1988:516). During the 1960s unassisted migration (127,688 arrivals) far exceeded the figure of assisted migrants (29,706 arrivals). It was also during the 1960s that most of the first generation of Greeks settled in Australia. Chain migration served the purpose of forming a Greek community in Melbourne. Greeks of the same region lived together For example, migrants from the Florina region of Greek Macedonia settled in Richmond and Collingwood. Migrants from Epirus settled in East Brunswick. Ithacans settled in South Carlton. Migrants from the island of Lesbos settled in Northcote, Prahran and South Melbourne (Burnley, 1972: 329-30). Chain migration determined clustered demographic patterns and by 1961 more than 80 per cent of the foreign born population lived in urban

areas and slightly more than 64 per cent in metropolitan areas. Southern Europeans were 'over' represented with 71 per cent of Italians and 80 per cent of Greeks living in metropolitan areas.¹²

Jean Martin (1971) suggests that two important themes arose from the governments' attempt to counter the threat of pluralism in Australia after the Second World War. Developed as ideological solutions for immigration policy, the themes of non-confrontation and dispersal became important developments for the construction of assimilationist policy. The policy of assimilation meant that any possibility of cultural pluralism developing from ethnic communities would not be tolerated in the Australian society. Non-confrontation became an official strategy for assimilation that defined the cultural aspect of migration would not recognize ethnic culture. Dispersal became an official strategy for assimilation. Economic aspects of migration through developing structural pluralism, meaning that the socio-economic class of migrants would be the same so that no definitions of what Martin calls the 'total lifestyle' of one ethnic group could be determined from another. For the majority of migrants there would be no basis for the development of distinct economic interests apart from the interest they had in common with the industrial labor force as a whole.

The cultural and economic strategies for the Australian society were not a legitimating process determined only by official forces defined by the government. If this were the case, the Greek migrant would become progressively more Australian and less Greek which does not justify the presence of ethnic pluralism in today's society. Progressive assimilationism through official strategies of non-confrontation and dispersal were incomplete. One must add the subjective experience of the migrant in

¹² Ian Burnley has produced a number of important articles on the demographic settlement patterns of Greek migrant settlement in Australian cities during the postwar period. For a detailed study on Greek settlement patterns in Sydney (1947-1971) see Burnley (1976). For a more comparative analysis of Greek postwar settlement in both Melbourne and Sydney, see Burnley. The average Greek simple family household is 58%. Between 1954 and 1959 the simple family household increased by 10%. Between 1955 and 1964 simple family households greatly increased by 37 %. Between 1960 and 1966 simple family households increased by 12%. The average Greek extended family household was 31 per cent. Between 1954 and 1959, the extended family decreased by 8%. Between 1955 and 1964, the extended family increased by 18% . Between 1960 and 1966, the extended family decreased by 10% (Burnley, 1972:167). The socioeconomic implications of chain migration can also be understood though analyzing the type of accommodation of Greeks between 1940 and 1966. The average figure for Greeks living in rooms was 32%. Between 1940 and 1959, living in rooms decreased by 4%. Between 1955-1964 living in rooms greatly increased by 22%. Between 1960 and 1966, living in rooms further greatly increased by 52%.

order to complete the equation. Berger and Luckmann (1969) propose that the process of legitimating one's 'social universe' should not be understood as a process of adopting the institutional process alone but of what they call 'incorporating the integration of subjective meaning.' For Burger and Luckman (1969) the origin of the social universe or what they call 'the process of legitimation' can be visualized as a horizontal and vertical axis of 'objective legitimation' and 'subjective integration' which together grid where the social universe is located for the individual in terms of institution-horizontal and individual biography-vertical. However, the problem of legitimation arises when objectification of the institutional order is to be transmitted into the individual biography. This is because the institutional order cannot be realized by the migrant because of the recollection and the known routine of their Greek biographical history. As a result, the objectification of the institutional order breaks the historical and biographical unity of an individual in a non-pluralist Australia. As institutional order, the government employs what they call 'the normative element' through knowledge such as the ideological construction of assimilationist themes suggested by Martin to propose the construction of knowing the self. This is enforced by legitimating instruments of knowledge such as 'ethical elements of tradition,' - to become an assimilated Australian is to become an Australian. Berger and Luckmann (1969) argue that the incorporation of subjective integration is the crucial point of self-analysis within the entire matrix of the social universe. They argue that the individual will determine the meaning of their social universe and create individual biographies by incorporating a subjective account of the new society. This is particularly important in what they call 'marginal situations' like that of a migrant incorporated into a new society.

Meaning systems, as exemplified by Schutz (1964) indicate that if new institutions are to have any meaning for the subjective account of the migrant, they must bear some relation to peoples' previous experience of the social world from which their individual history was created. Unlike Berger and Luckmann (1969) Schutz (1964) proposes that knowledge is the direct construction of the subjective experience of the individual. Schutz (1964) argues that subjective meaning systems are 'trustworthy recipes.' These recipes develop one's social world as would be interpreted in the place of their historical biography. Trustworthy recipes are a construction of what he calls 'thinking as usual' and in the event of a crisis, such as migration, thinking as usual changes from being a natural process to becoming a historical process. The crisis interrupts the flow of habit and gives rise to a changed condition that will make the relevance of one's meaning system uncertain in their new social world. When a crisis such as migration occurs, it reveals that these recipes are limited in applicability because new cultural patterns do

not continue to be the outcome of an unbroken, historical development for one's personal biography. However, trustworthy recipes remain an important part of an immigrant's life because they continue to help one interpret their new society.

Trustworthy recipes are a significant part of the migration process because of the importance placed on individual historical process. Anglo Australia does not have a long historical process and has not developed sedentary trustworthy recipes like those found in the historical biographies of Greece. Australia's population has increased and diversified in a relatively short period of time and so it becomes difficult to answer the question - to what does a migrant assimilate? Trustworthy recipes then are an important part of the ongoing immigrant biography in Australia. Greek migrants remained part of a social world that became internalized and fostered primary socialization patterns with chain migration and made adjustments to a new cultural environment that tended to become what Schutz calls 'migrant experiences of partial transformations and avoiding discontinuities.' As Greeks were faced with the possibility of maintaining cultural institutions that parallel those of the host society, they were able to maintain a consistency in the historical element of their biographies by creating an Australian biography to include pre-migration experiences.

For the Greek migrant, the more formalized experience of assimilation and alienation came with White Australia. It was the 'process of assimilation' that was 'non-white' and, not the migrant. Right wing conservative politics disseminated by political and civil elites define the Liberal Government's administration during this period as a state apparatus intolerant of accepting a more culturally diverse society yet welcoming certain ethnic cultures with the expectation that they would somehow dissipate into the darker, dingier industrial niches, hidden working behind machines and not really noticed by the rest of the 'whiter' society. It was the planned project of economic progress to dehumanize certain ethnic groups through capitalist accumulation. The categorical non-white European migrants were to be tolerated as 'slaves to the machine.' On a more promising note to themselves Greek migrants created the social phenomenon known as 'chain migration' a desire for a humanizing element to their lives. 'Chain migration' meant the paying the fares of loved ones to come and live with them in Australia to eventually form an ethnic community. This division of 'white and non-white' in post-war Australian society indicates the colored portrayal of a legacy that divides and conquers. Such dualities and the hardened reality of an 'us versus them' or the 'known versus the unknown' was used to create an entire society

after long periods of world wars. This only enables for the misguided justifications of race and race relations in light of favoring and harboring inequalities and racial prejudice.

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Patricia Riak, PhD (Soc. Antrop.)

La Trobe University, Australia