The Structural Imperatives
of Ethnic Identity:
Greek Ethnic Consciousness and the
Greek Community of South Australia

NICHOLAS GANZIS

The terms Hellenic ethnicity and Hellenic ethnic identity are usually associated with minority Greek groups living within larger societies beyond the centers of Hellenism (Greece and Cyprus). This Hellenic ethnic identity has characteristics that differentiate it significantly from those of the host country to which the Greeks have migrated and have been settled for a number of generations. An analysis of the Hellenic ethnic identity in South Australia should on the one hand be concerned to examine this phenomenon within its particular context and at the same time take cognizance of the continuing influence of the countries or origin (most notably Greece and Cyprus). The study should not be exclusively Hellenocentric, examining the phenomenon solely from the Hellenic/Cypriot perspective; nor should it be analyzed as a phenomenon totally isolated from external influences, even though Hellenic ethnic communities abroad may well develop a life of their own.[1]

Greeks have been in South Australia since the late nineteenth century, but Greek ethnic community formation was the product of the post-World War I period and more especially the post-World War II period. Consequently the community's relations with the homeland have been and still remain very strong. For the Greek communities of South Australia, Hellenic ethnicity is still largely a process of near

[1] A. Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt 1919-1937: Ethnicity and Class* (London, 1989) pp. v-9. Provides some of the ideas developed in this introduction.

total identification with Greece or Cyprus. For many Greek/Cypriot-born ethnic identity and ethnic allegiance are one and the same thing. For those of the second and third generations Greek ethnic identity does not necessarily entail allegiance to Greece and Cyprus though it may well do so. Whatever the degree of allegiance to the metropolis, the continuing existence of a Greek ethnic identity consciously held and fostered by individuals and communities in South Australia means the presence of certain values and characteristics that are definably Greek.

These values and characteristics described as Hellenism or the Hellenic spirit are passed on down the generations by families with strong collectivist Greek traditions, customs and mores that emphasize extended family solidarity, by communities and associations formed by these Greek families with the purpose of promoting Hellenism, and by the Greek Orthodox Church. Hellenic ethnic identity defines itself also by contrast to other ethnic minorities within Australia and to the dominant Anglo-Celtic Australian culture. This sense of difference was strongest up to the 1970s when Greeks per se were denied access to the political process and when they faced overt assimilationist policies. The sense of hostility which the Greeks accurately perceived reinforced their national/ethnic self-consciousness, which served to unite them in the face of hostility towards difference.

In South Australia the Greek sense of self-reliance was reinforced by the apparent indifference to their fate by the Greek governments of the day. The Greek State may have appeared to have abandoned them, but they did not abandon Greece/Cyprus. They maintained close ties and when the Greek migrants gained access to the Australian political system they tried and still try to influence the Australian political parties and governments to act in ways supportive of the homeland.

This paper sets out to examine those factors helping to strengthen a Greek ethnic identity in South Australia and those developments which seem to be undermining its vitality and affecting any conscious ethnic allegiance to the homeland.

The migration of Greeks to South Australia has been very significant in maintaining and developing a sense of Greek ethnic identity and allegiance. The arrival of new migrants revitalizes the shared living customs and traditions and strengthens the community's capacity for mobilization in support of common causes.[2] The new migrants

[2] Ibid. pp. 4-5

bring with them the recent cultural developments in the form and content of Hellenism as they are evolving in the metropolis, thus strengthening the relationship. In quantitative terms their arrival serves to replace the numbers lost to the Greek communities through death, repatriation, migration elsewhere and assimilation. Their arrival in sufficient numbers could increase the size of the community which in conjunction with natural increase could bring the community to the point of self-perpetuation. Such a stage has not been reached in South Australia; indeed, the opposite trend of decline seems to be establishing itself.

The Greek-born population of South Australia before the 1950's was insignificant.

Year of Census	Greek-Born in S.A.
1911	76
1921	152
1933	740
1947	1,029[3]

The dramatic increase in the number of Greek-born in South Australia in the 1950s and 1960s was due to the Australian government's mass-migration program and Greece's desperate condition.

Year of Census	Greek-Born in S.A.
1954	2,809
1961	9,476
1966	14,660[4]

That is, the number of Greek-born residents increased fourteen fold between 1947 and 1966 and South Australia in terms of Greek-born population jumped from fifth position to a very clear third behind Victoria (64,275) and New South Wales (48,494) in 1966.

South Australia's Greek-born residents peaked at 14,717 in 1971, after which their numbers have gone into an apparently irreversible decline.

[3] M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia," *Greeks in Australia,* ed. C. Price (Canberra, 1975) p. 25.
[4] M.P. Tsounis, *Greek Communities in Australia,* Ph.D. thesis (University of Adelaide, 1971) p. 579.

Year of Census	Greek-Born in S.A.
1971	14,717
1976	14,709
1981	14,205
1986	14,455
1991	13,628[5]

To these figures for the Greek-born can be added those for the Cypriot-born. In South Australia nearly 90% of all Cypriot-born are Greek speaking Greek Orthodox.

Year of Census	Cypriot-Born in S.A.
1971	N/A
1976	793
1981	1,787
1986	1,771
1991	1,634[6]

The later peaking and decline of the Cypriot-born reflects the fact that Cypriot migration to Australia started later (1960's).

Aging of Greek- / Cypriot-Born

Greek-Born	Year of Census	% 30 - 65+	% 55 - 65+
14,205	1981	84%	17.4%
13,631	1991	94%	42.0%
Cypriot-Born	Year of Census	% 30 - 65+	% 55 - 65+
1,787	1981	74%	19.9%
1,649	1991	84%	32.5%[7]

The drying up of the process of migration from Greece and Cyprus has had as a consequence the rapid aging of the Greek-born and

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[5] *Birthplace, Language, Religion, 1971-1986* (Canberra, 1991) 3, pp. 43-4. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census of Population and Housing,* Birthplace Profile – Greece, Table 1.

[6] Ibid. 1, p. 146. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census of Population and Housing,* Birthplace Profile – Cyprus, Tables 1, 2 and 3. Not included among the "Greek Born" are those "Greeks," born outside Greece and Cyprus but not in Australia, whose claim to being "Greek" is strong. For instance, of those born in Egypt there are 241 Greek Orthodox, while of those born in Turkey 197 are Greek Orthodox.

[7] G. Hugo, *The Aging of the Ethnic Population in South Australia* (Adelaide, 1984) p. 27. Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, *Profile '81:* 1981 Census Data on Persons Born in Greece, p.11; 1981 Census Data on Persons Born in Cyprus, p.11. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census of Population and Housing*: Birthplace Profile – Greece, Table 4; Birthplace Profile – Cyprus, Table 4.

Cypriot-born in South Australia as is shown clearly by the above table. Moreover in 1991 about 18% of the Greek-born and the Cypriot-born could be classified as still being in the child-bearing years (15-39 years of age), while 0.9% of the Greek-born and about 2% of the Cypriot-born were less than 15 years of age.[8] As a consequence of this process of aging the influence of the Greek-born and the Cypriot-born over the Greek community organizations and associations will in the not too distant future become much reduced unless a gerontocracy is created which would in itself be disastrous for the future of Hellenism.

Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the Greek-born and Cypriot-born have for many years been cut off from continuous contact with their homelands (Greece and Cyprus). For the Greek-born in South Australia 11,791 out of a total of 13,629 (i.e. 86.5 %) had arrived in Australia before 1971. Of the Cypriot-born, 1,006 out of a total of 1,644 (i.e. 62.2%) had arrived in Australia before 1971.[9] These very extended absences from continuous contact with Greece and Cyprus have meant that these people have in effect lost touch with the nuances of change in those countries let alone the dramatic changes these countries have undergone. Moreover, the social/kinship networks and ties they once had are either loosened or have disappeared. Furthermore, they have established new networks in South Australia and have undergone developments which make so many feel alienated when they return to Greece and Cyprus even for a short visit.

The process of migration to and settlement in Australia constituted a traumatic separation of the Greek migrants from the source of their culture and ethnic identity and from the developments of that culture as they were continuing to evolve from the date of their departure. The process of settlement in Australia set the first generation Greek/Cypriot migrants on a course which would affect dramatically the development of the migrant's culture and ethnic identity and just as significantly the fate of their children and grandchildren. However much contact the migrants might try to maintain with the homeland, sheer economics and time-constraints let alone commitments to the routine of daily life would impede significantly the maintenance of any sense of firsthand experience with changes there. Only recently, in fact, has much of the information technology providing more

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid. Tables 5.

immediate contact become available, so that for most of the four decades since 1950 the Greek communities of Australia continued to receive very limited information concerning Greece and Cyprus.

The migrants hoped for a better life for themselves and their children. They had no thought of surrendering their Greekness or even giving up their Greek/Cypriot citizenship. Moreover, they expected that their children would also be Greek, by maintaining the Greek language and culture. Yet they had migrated to a country which was deeply suspicious of aliens and which did not value Greek culture, language and civilization. This came as a shock. To make matters worse Australia openly promoted a policy of assimilation.

In this climate the Greeks were on the defensive. Apart from a natural and understandable desire on the part of the Greek immigrants to continue enjoying those Greek qualities of life they so treasured, they now found themselves in a situation where these very qualities were being called into question by the Australian authorities and by many Australians. This led to the development of a defensive, protective and conservative attitude, a feature which became embedded in the Greek institutions they had established. Through their own complex network of institutional, social, regional and familial arrangements they expected to preserve and maintain those values and characteristics which they deemed essential to the continuity of their ethnic identity.

What these immigrants did was something entirely different from their homeland. The process of migration had broken up extended familial connections and social networks. While this had occurred to a lesser extent in Greece with migration to Athens/Thessaloniki, at least the urban environment was still Greek and the patriarchal village did not seem so irrevocably cut off. In establishing new networks the Greek immigrants had to forgo many traditional practices in the rearing of their young as often grandparents and other relatives no longer constituted part of their children's upbringing.

Nevertheless the structures set up by the Greeks in South Australia aimed at approximating the reproduction of these values which the parents deemed important. What was not reproduced were the means by which the prevailing ideology in Greece could be imposed on its citizens. The Greek State's writ did not have legitimacy in Australia. Moreover, in the crucial years of this mass migration (the 1950s and 1960s) the Greek State had not established an effective network of

diplomatic representatives to impart its views to Greek citizens in Australia. Even by the early 1970's South Australia still only had an honorary consul. Hence the Greeks in Australia had greater room to manoeuver in the creation of their institutions and their objectives. This greater freedom also extended to the area of their religious faith.

Economic circumstances as well as desire to preserve their ethnic identity led the Greek immigrants to settle close to each other. Their concentration in particular suburbs of the Adelaide metropolis and to a lesser extent in a certain number of non-metropolitan centers helped these Greek immigrants to function more effectively as reasonably cohesive communities.

Greek preference for urban settlement had been evident even before the mass migrations began in the 1950's.

Year of Census	Percentage of Greek-Born in Metropolitan Area
1911	63.2%
1921	52.0%
1933	39.2%
1947	59.2%[10]

In the non-metropolitan areas the Greeks were concentrated in industrial towns like Port Pirie. The pattern of settlement established by the Greeks pre-World War II in combination with the availability of relatively cheap housing and nearby employment opportunities resulted in the continuing concentration of the Greek-born residents in the Adelaide metropolitan area. In 1966 there were 12,185 Greek-born residents living in the metropolitan area (79%).[11] By 1986 when there were 13,456 Greek-born residents in South Australia, 88.3% lived in the Adelaide metropolitan area.[12] The Cypriot-born were even more concentrated with 93.5% of those in South Australia residing in the metropolitan area.[13]

This concentration of the Greeks not only in the metropolitan area, but also in particular suburbs was a natural consequence of the

[10] Tsounis, *Greek Communities in Australia,* p. 25 The 1933 figure reflects the impact of the Depression.

[11] D. J. Alfred, *A Cultural Geography of the Greek Community of Thebarton.* B.A. (Hons) thesis, (University of Adelaide,1970), p. 21.

[12] G. Hugo, *Atlas of the Australian People:* South Australia, 1986 Census, 2nd ed. (Canberra, 1990) p. 16.

[13] Ibid.

process of adjustment to a new and strange environment. This process of concentration meant that integration within the broader community was hindered and this simultaneously meant the maintenance of ethnic identity. The degree of concentration was not such, however, as to prevent learning from the new environment.[14] The initial areas of concentration were the inner suburbs. This led to the establishment of Greek shops, restaurants and institutions which in turn induced the most recently arrived migrants to choose those parts of the metropolitan area.[15]

The Greek-born residents became one of the most concentrated ethnic groups in Adelaide and the non-metropolitan area. This was still the case in 1986 even though the Greek-born population of Adelaide had peaked in 1976 and was declining. More significant, however, was the observable diffusion of these Greek-born from the South-West corner of the city of Adelaide towards the west and south of the city. In more recent years there has also occurred a shift towards the northern suburbs.[16]

The inner city suburb of Thebarton provides a good illustration of what was happening elsewhere. According to the 1966 Census, 1,854 Greek-born lived in Thebarton (i.e. 15.2% of the population of the Local Government Area of Thebarton).[17] Since that time the number of Greek-born in Thebarton has declined as has the percentage.

Year of Census	Greek-Born	Greek-Born as % of LGA's Population
1966	1,854	15.2%
1971	1,781	15.1%
1976	1,440	14.0%
1981	1,164	12.6%
1986	976	11.4%
1991	888	11.5%[18]

[14] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[15] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[16] Ibid., pp. 56-57.

[17] Alfred, *Cultural Geography*, p. 22.

[18] For 1966 see Alfred, *Cultural Geography*, p. 22. For 1971-1986 see *Birthplace, Language, Religion 1971-1986*, p.146, 2A, 280. For 1991, Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census*, Birthplace Profile – Greece, Table 1. Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs Ethnic Distribution: 1976 (Canberra, 1981) p. 107.

A similar picture is portrayed for the suburbs of Unley, Prospect, Port Adelaide, Hindmarsh, and Adelaide in the metropolitan area as well as for Renmark in the non-metropolitan area. Slight increases are evident in the suburbs of Woodville and West Torrens to the West and South of the city of Adelaide and in Salisbury to the North.[19] The Local Government Areas towards which the Greek-born moved were not upper social class areas, but are certainly an improvement on places like Thebarton and Hindmarsh. The situation of the Cypriot-born is similar though more stable.[20] Even in the Local Government Areas where the number of Greek- and Cypriot-born are increasing, such as Woodville, in terms relative to the other ethnic groups and the Anglo-Celtic Australians their proportion of these areas is almost stationary.

Although the level of concentration is significant in helping the Greeks to maintain their ethnic identity, the point needs to be made that in no area were the Greek-born or the Cypriot-born able to be self-contained. Even in Thebarton where the peak of concentration reached 15.2% in 1966 and in some parts of Thebarton rose as high as 23+%, the obvious needs to be pointed out: while 23% in one part were Greek-born, in the same part 77% were not. And as the absolute numbers of Greek-born and Cypriot-born decline and their relative strength in relation to other ethnic groups and the Australian-born declines, the Greek and Cypriot-born residents' capacity to maintain their ethnic identity that once so clearly resembled the Hellenism of the metropolis (Greece/Cyprus) is also undergoing change. The historical experience of mixed communities in Asia Minor where the Greeks were outnumbered and had little or no support from the Greek State and/or reinforcement through migration from areas of heavy Greek concentration, has shown unrelievedly a process of assimilation, often through modifications to or loss of the language, a point commented on by many Greek consuls. The same held true for the Greeks of Egypt in the provincial areas where the numbers were insufficient to resist the process of absorption.[21]

A similar process can be seen in South Australia where a number of provincial centers showed even relatively higher levels of

[19] See Appendix 1. The Relative Movement of the Greek-Born Residents by Local Government Areas: 1971-1991.

[20] See Appendix 2. The Relative Movement of the Cypriot-Born Residents by Local Government Areas: 1976-1991.

[21] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, p. 25.

concentration than the Adelaide metropolitan area. Here there is some significant separation of the Greek-born from the major population, but such concentration in 1986 was less than that of a decade earlier.[22] The major areas of concentration in the Upper Murray irrigation areas where the Greeks are heavily involved in horticulture are shown in the table below which reveals that despite maintaining reasonably tight-knit cohesive communities their numbers are declining which does not bode well for the future.

Greek-born in non-metropolitan areas as percentage of Local Government Areas 1971-1991[23]

LGA	1971	%	1976	%	1981	%	1986	%	1991	%
Renmark	397	6.3	362	5.8	314	4.7	316	4.4	275	3.8
Barmera	197	5.4	156	4.1	151	3.7	154	3.7	161	3.9
Berri	210	4.1	231	4.2	183	3.0	156	2.5	151	2.4
Loxton	114	1.8	125	2.0	114	1.7	109	1.6	93	1.4

These non-metropolitan Greek-born communities are not being replenished and expanded. In 1971 the Greek-born population of the Upper Murray region was 3.6% of the region's population and when their Australian-born children are included, this proportion exceeded 7%. Most (92.6%) of the Greek-born community lived in rural areas in 1981 and not the local townships. Nevertheless the Greek-born population ceased growing in the region in the late 1960's and an absolute decline occurred during the following decade.[24]

The declining levels of concentration are even more obvious for the metropolitan area where the significance of the separation of the Greek-born and Cypriot-born from the Australian-born is shrinking. The concentration of the Greek-born was at its height in 1961, but the decline became more evident after 1976 when Greek immigration virtually ceased. By 1986 the Greek-born were less concentrated than the Italian-born.[25]

With the almost abrupt ending of Greek immigration following over two decades of mass migration, greater significance now accrues to the second generation, the Australian-born offspring of the Greek- and Cypriot-born immigrants. Increasingly the burden for maintaining and promoting the Hellenic ethnic identity is falling on the shoulders of the Australian-born of Greek and Cypriot descent. C.A. Price estimated the number of Greek-born/Cypriot-born and their immediate descendants born in Australia for the year 1978 for Australia.

Greek/Cypriot-Born and descendants as percentage of all Generation I & II Ethnic Groups

Origin	Generation I	%	Generation II	%	Total	%
Greece	153,232	5.5	124,210	6.2	314,074	6.6
Cyprus	24,490	0.9	11,096	0.6	35,586	0.7

The second generation of Greek-born descent was 81% of the size of the first generation, while for the Cypriots the percentage was 45.[26]

From another perspective the impact of Australia's mass-migration program was such that in the period 1971-1981 the percentage of Australians having both parents born in Australia fell from 60.6% to 57.7%; there was a substantial increase with both parents born overseas. The ending of the mass migration program produced a reversal of this trend which become evident by the 1986 census which showed

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[22] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, pp. 58-59.

[23] *Birthplace. Language, Religion, 1971-1986*, 2A. Renmark p. 274, Barmera p. 240, Berri p.241, Loxton p. 258. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census*, Birthplace Profile – Greece, Table 1. Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, uses what he calls an Index of Dissimilarity whereby there is some significant separation of the sub-population if the index exceeds 30 and very significant separation if the index exceeds 50. For the non metropolitan areas this index was 59.37 in 1981 and 62.62 in 1986, pp. 58-59. *South Australian Year Book* 27 (1993) pp. 49-50.

[24] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, pp.60-61, Indices of Dissimilarity with the Australian-Born population 1954-1986 – non-metropolitan South Australia.

Country of Origin	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	70.31	61.15	-
Greece	52.84	52.59	58.98	57.64	58.75	58.50	60.64

[25] Ibid. pp.135-36, 139. Indices of Dissimilarity with the Australian-Born population 1954-1986 —metropolitan South Australia.

Country of Origin	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	29.72	26.23	23.75
Greece	42.00	46.40	44.57	42.14	40.02	36.15	33.42

If Index exceeds 30 - some significant degree of separation from the Australian-born population. If Index exceeds 50 - very significant separation from the Australian-born population.

An example of the shift / drift in population is the recent announcement of the establishment of a new Greek Orthodox Church of "The Neo-Martyrs Saints Raphael, Nicholas and Irene" for the suburb of Athelstone and the North-Eastern Suburbs. (Έλληνικά Νέα - Greek News, October 5, 1995, p. 10.)

[26] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, p. 163.

that the number of Australian-born with both parents being born in Australia was growing at a faster rate than those with at least one parent born abroad. Among the Australian-born parents, naturally, are included the second generation of the Greek/Cypriot-born immigrants.[27]

The degree to which this second generation would maintain and promote a Hellenic ethnic identity would depend in part on the degree of endogamy among their parents of the first generation. And the first generation revealed a very low level of marriage outside the Greek group.[28] Such had not been the case before World War II. Between 1911-1923, 53% of Greek-born males married Australian-born women; between 1931-40 the percentage had dropped to 40.5 only to rise again to 41.1% in the 1941-50 period. This had been due to the unusual nature of Greek migration to Australia pre-World War II when about 80% of the Greek-born population were males.[29] This imbalance in the sexes was not evident after World War II when the migration of both sexes and families was encouraged.

By the end of the inter-censal period 1981-1986 the gap between the first and second generations was closing even more.[30] By the time of the 1991 Census the second generation outnumbered the first generation.[31]

The concentration of settlement of the second generation up to 1986 largely paralleled that of the first generation primarily because at that stage they were still residing with their parents in accordance with Greek tradition until they set up their own households. This observation held good for both the metropolitan and non-metropolitan centres of settlement. Since 1986, however, the second generation has been increasingly moving into that stage of life where they were setting up their own independent households and forming their own families. Only in a very few areas of settlement have the Greek/Cypriot-born maintained their predominance over the second generation in numerical terms. Moreover in traditional areas of settlement such as

[27] Ibid. p. 166.
[28] Ibid. p. 169.
[29] Alfred, *Cultural Geography*, p. 17.
[30] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, p. 170.
[31] S. Salagaras, *The Multicultural Education System of Australia and Greek Education,* paper presented at the International Conference "Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics" (12-14 May 1994, Sacramento CA) p. 2.

Thebarton and Hindmarsh where the number of Greek-born is falling, the rate of decline of the second generation is even faster.[32]

In a number of Local Government Areas the second generation has a heavy predominance, indicative of the shift of this generation into such areas as Campbelltown, Tea Tree Gully and Salisbury to the North and North-East of the city of Adelaide. Nevertheless the suburbs to the west of the city (Woodville and West Torrens) have maintained high levels of first and second generation Greeks as to a lesser extent do Prospect, Unley and Mitcham. There are also some indicators of second generation Greeks moving into more socially prestigious areas. The evidence supporting a declining concentration of Greek/Cypriot-born is even stronger for the second generation. That is, they are moving further away from the older established Greek institutions, associations and organizations. This is particularly true of those second generation who have through the acquisition of professional qualifications and employment and success in business and industry, begun moving into the more socially elite areas of Adelaide. That is, socio-economic class differentiation is becoming evident among the Greeks of the second generation. This could well contribute to a loosening of community contacts without necessarily weakening family bonds.[33]

Two critical features need to be stressed concerning the first and second generations and the relations between them. The first generation almost overwhelmingly came from a lower socio-economic class base and initially most moved into lower status manual occupations. The formal education of these migrants was limited or non-existent due largely to the impact of World War II and the subsequent Civil War period. Their knowledge of Hellenism as a consequence was little influenced by the learned aspects of Hellenic culture. The traditions and customs of the villages constituted the culture which as families they were able to pass onto the second generation. While this culture is crucial to Hellenism, it does not encompass many other aspects. Those other aspects were not made available until the mid-1970's and then initially only to a few with the introduction of Modern Greek Studies at secondary and tertiary levels in South Australia. By this

[32] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, p. 171. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census,* Birthplace Profile – Greece and Cyprus, Table 1; Religion Profile – Greek Orthodox, Table 1.
[33] Ibid.

time much of the second generation had lost the opportunity to be-
come acquainted with the learned culture. And since at tertiary level
this learned tradition was experienced largely by those intending to
become teachers, many others (especially males who moved into other
professions) did not have the opportunity to improve their level of
Greek language or to be exposed to various other aspects of Greek
culture (literature, history, music, etc.).[34]

The second feature that needs to be stressed is that while the sec-
ond generation has gained dramatically far more access to higher lev-
els of education than the first generation, they have done so through
the medium of Australian English and culture. That is, the Greek cul-
tural level for most second generation Greeks has tended to remain at
about the same level as that of their parents who have imparted a form
of Greek deeply influenced by English. On the other hand the second
generation, especially those with professional training, have gained
access to higher levels of Anglo-Australian culture using the English
language at a far more sophisticated level than their knowledge of
Greek.

These two features are borne out by an educational and occupa-
tional comparison of the first and second generations as revealed in
the Census data of 1981, 1986 and 1991. What the data reveal are that
the Greek-born and Cypriot-born had attained a higher level of edu-
cation significantly less than the Australian-born population. The sec-
ond generation, however, showed a marked level of upward mobility.
Their proportions going on to higher education were not only greater
than the first generation, but were also greater than the Australian-
born average.[35] The generation gap is thus widened, particularly by
the second generation's limited knowledge about the allegedly com-
mon and shared Greek ethnic culture. Family connections may still
be strong, but the shared cultural connection has been weakened.[36]

[34] N. Ganzis, "The Politics and Purpose of Language Maintenance: the case of Mo-
dern Greek in South Australia at Tertiary Level," *Greeks in English Speaking Coun-
tries: Proceedings of the First International Seminar, 27-30 March, 1992,* S. Vryonis et
al (eds.) (Melbourne,1993) pp. 297-98.

[35] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, pp. 180-81. Australian Bureau of Statistics,
1991 Census, Birthplace Profile – Cyprus, Tables 7 and 8; Birthplace Profile – Greece,
Tables 7 and 8.

[36] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census,* Birthplace Profile – Greece, Table 7.
This table reveals that 7.6% of the Greek-Born had never been to school while nearly
half of those who had attended school had left before they were fifteen years old. In
reality most of these had left before going onto secondary education.

This perception of generational differences is reinforced by the
occupational status of the second generation. In 1981, 11.6% of the
second generation had professional qualifications compared with 1.5%
of the Greek-born persons. There was also a very high proportion of
second generation Greeks in clerical white collar occupations.[37] More-
over the second generation are employed in jobs which generally pro-
vide a higher level of income.

As indicated earlier the second generation is now entering the in-
dependent household and family formation stage. According to the
1981 Census, 79.4% of the second generation were under 20 years of
age while 18.08% were between 20 and 49 years of age. By 1986
there was a very strong concentration in the teenage years and the
early 20's. This concentration in the years of formal education placed
great stress on the ability of the structures established for passing
down Greek culture, language and traditions to succeeding genera-
tions.[38] Indeed the 1991 Census confirmed the declining number of
children in the lower age ranges. The average number of Greek Or-
thodox in South Australia 1-4 years of age is 440 per year, while the
5-9 years of age cohort averages 400 per year and the average for the
10-14 cohort is 426. Increasingly, the lower age groups are made up
of the third generation.[39] A majority of the second generation is now
more than 20 years of age. Moreover, whereas in 1981 there was 18%
of the second generation in the 20-49 age group, in 1991 there was
49%.[40]

As indicated earlier the first generation, the Greek-born and Cyp-
riot-born, showed considerable reluctance in marrying outside the
Greek Orthodox fold. Indeed C.A. Price estimated that 86.7% of Greek
marriages were "unmixed" (i.e. Greeks marrying Greeks).[41] Yet this

[37] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, pp. 183-85.

[38] Ibid. pp. 198-99.

[39] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census,* Ethnic Communities Package: Reli-
gion Profile – Greek Orthodox, Table 4. The average and the median are approximately
the same.

[40] Ibid. 44% of the second generation were less than 20 years of age. More detailed
studies are needed on the degree of concentration of this second generation. Moreover,
there has been insufficient field research undertaken to evaluate the extent to which
statistically significant generational differences of age, occupation, education, income
and social status have affected the social and cultural distance between the generations
especially in regard to the questions of language and cultural maintenance.

[41] C.A. Price "The Ethnic Character of the Australian Population," *The Australian
People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* ed. L. J. Jupp
(Sydney, 1988) p. 14.

same level of endogamy, an important feature in maintaining and re-inforcing Greek cultural values, is not so evident in the second generation. Here, the rate of exogamy appears to be at a much higher level. There seems to be a high correlation between the diffusion of the Greek populations and the rate of exogamy, especially in such local government areas as Woodville and West Torrens where the "Greeks" constitute a small minority in very multi-ethnic suburbs. Moreover, the second generation's attendance at state schools with mixed populations and their involvement in work places which are composed of various ethnic groups as well as their presence at social functions outside those arranged by their communities and regional associations have all meant much broader social contacts which have made the likelihood of exogamy greater. And exogamy seems to have a very negative impact on any attempts to maintain and promote Hellenic ethnic identity. That is, mixed marriages are perceived as disastrous for the survival of any authentic sense of Greek ethnicity in the context of a multicultural Australia.[42]

The maintenance and promotion of Greek ethnicity in Australia is deeply influenced by the nature of Australia's policy of multiculturalism which replaced assimilationist policies in the mid 1970's. A multicultural Australia, while accepting cultural pluralism, does not accept structural pluralism such as had existed in Asia Minor and Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. J. J. Smolicz made this point quite clearly. There are certain "overarching values", as he describes them, to which all groups in Australia will have to subscribe for the sake of cohesion and social unity. Among these values are the predominant Anglo-Australian views of democracy and the freedom of the individual together with an economic system based partly on private enterprise and partly on state initiatives, the legal system, the integration of all groups within the mainstream administrative structures and the English language as the common means of communication for all Australians.[43] That is, these values will constitute part of identity of all Australians, including Greek Australians. In this sense then the Hellenic ethnic identity, particularly of the second and later generations, will be modified. And if this is added to the sense of ethnic identity created here by the Greek-born and Cypriot-born, who have formed social bonds and communities quite different from those in Greece and Cyprus, then one can see that there has indeed been a substantial shift from the Hellenic identity of the homelands. The point is highlighted by comparison with the Greek communities of Asia Minor and Egypt where learning the native language (Turkish/Egyptian) became, unwillingly in many cases, an additional subject to the program where the medium of instruction was Greek. Except in the community ethnic schools in South Australia for a couple of hours per week, the Greek language does not constitute the language of instruction.

To maintain and promote an authentic ethnicity certain core values, as Smolicz describes them, need to be identified. Smolicz singled out the Greek language, the Greek Orthodox Religion and certain Greek customs and traditions such as the collectivism and solidarity of Greek family life.[44] Eva Isaacs has come out strongly in support of the third area stressing the significance of family and elected kin (Koumbaros et al) as a means of managing and maintaining tradition.[45] Hence the importance of marriage in establishing and maintaining social relationships, those shared experiences so important to maintaining group identity. Marriage within the group therefore becomes paramount especially for the maintenance of certain values and traditions. The Australian emphasis on individual freedom in such matters as portrayed and constantly reinforced by an all persuasive multimedia transmitting American-Anglo-Australian values through the English language may well serve to undermine these traditional family values as do the schools which Greek-Australian children attend.

The maintenance of an effective use of the Greek language within an Hellenic cultural context will depend on the quality of the education which the Greek Australians (the second generation et al) receive concerning the language and its cultural nuances. In the Australian

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[42] A number of studies have referred to inter-ethnic marriages and their increasing rate. See Salagaras, *Multicultural Education System*, pp. 12-13. Moreover, a number of Greek Orthodox Churches seem now to specialize in conducting the marriage service in English not only to cater for those second generation "Greeks" who virtually know no Greek, but also for the mixed marriages.

[43] J.J. Smolicz, *Greek Australians: a question of survival in Multicultural Australia*, paper delivered at the annual conference of the National Union of Greek-Australian Students (NUGAS) (January 1983, Adelaide) p. 2.

[44] Ibid. pp. 3-8.

[45] E. Isaacs, *Factors in Transmission and Maintenance of Traditional patterns by second generation Greeks*, paper presented at the 50th ANZAAS Congress (Adelaide, 1980) pp. 3-4 and 6 ff.

context such an education must be limited simply because the schools these children attend do not provide a total commitment to Greek language and culture. The overwhelming number of Greek Australian students in South Australia attend State schools over which no Greek institutions can exercise control or even exert significant influence. This is totally different from the case in Greece today or from the Greek schools of Asia Minor and Egypt whose key objective was the "Cultivation of the Hellenic spirit" and which operated "according to curricula in Greece … with the aim of educating Greek children and promoting Greek culture and language …"[46] Even here, however, the Greek consuls spoke of the deleterious effect whenever "Greek" children had to go to foreign (i.e. non-Greek) schools. According to the Vice-Consul at El Minya (Egypt) the "Greek" children

> "… graduate with deformed beliefs and an indifference to anything Greek. Similar and even worse are the results with Greek children produced from mixed marriages with foreigners and especially with natives. Those who have the misfortune of attending native schools, which are noted for deriding anything associated with Greece … graduate with an indifference to their national culture which borders on actual aversion."[47]

Such a picture could describe equally well the situation that prevailed openly in the State school system of South Australia in the 1950's and 1960s and which only began to change in the 1970s.

The Greek communities of South Australia undertook many initiatives and exerted considerable political pressure once gaining access to political rights to set up an infrastructure for the teaching of Modern Greek that ought to have assured the future of the Greek language.[48] A whole hierarchical structure had been set up by the late 1980's: Modern Greek at Flinders University of South Australia;

Modern Greek at state secondary schools; Modern Greek at state primary schools; Modern Greek at Greek ethnic community schools (secondary and primary) and Modern Greek at a private Greek Orthodox College at primary level. Despite these achievements the future for the teaching of Modern Greek looks bleak.

Certain fundamental problems have simply not been addressed, especially the question of the number of students studying the subject. Dr. Paul Tuffin pointed out that "there has been a tendency for Modern Greek to remain the province of background speakers of Modern Greek."[49] This practice of Greek for the Greeks has resulted in declining numbers sitting for matriculation examinations in this subject and consequently fewer undertaking its study at the tertiary level. This is further evidence of a decline in the numbers of students which reduces the economic viability of maintaining the same number of schools and classes teaching Modern Greek. This may be a permanent state of affairs or merely a trough out of which the numbers will rise once the second generation's children are born and begin passing through the schools. Whichever is the case, the tendency for the younger generation to have few children in combination with increasing mixed marriages will most likely mean that the number of "Greeks" available for studying Greek will remain permanently depressed.[50] If further evidence of declining numbers of students of Greek background were needed, a glance at the 1991 Census would reveal

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[46] President of the Greek Consular Court in Alexandria to Greek Community, Alexandria, 15 September, 1919. Archives of the Greek Community Alexandria. Outgoing Correspondence, Volume 49, 1920, in Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, p. 45.

[47] Greek Vice-Consulate El Minya to Y.E., 17 March, 1925, AYE B/49, 1925 in Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, p. 25.

[48] See N. Ganzis, "The Politics and Purpose of Language Maintenance: the Case of Modern Greek in South Australia at Tertiary Level," in *Greeks in English Speaking Countries: Proceedings of the First International Seminar*, eds. S. Vryonis et al (Melbourne, 1993).

[49] P. Tuffin, "Educational Rationales and the future of Modern Greek in Australia," *Afstraliotes Hellenes: Greeks in Australia,* eds. A. Kapardis & A. Tamis, (Melbourne, 1988), pp. 111-112.

[50] Statistics provided by the Education Department for enrollments in Modern Greek in state schools reveal a continuing decline. The 585 students enrolled in year 8, the first year of secondary schooling, in 1981 fell away to 485 in year 9 in 1982 and then to 325 at year 10 in 1983. Thereafter it fell even more sharply to 249 at year 11 in 1984 and to 183 in 1985. See P. Tuffin, op.cit., p. 114. The decline in numbers is even more dramatic for the years 1992, 1993 and 1994. See Appendix III. At matriculation level the numbers have continued to decline alarmingly.

Year 12	1992	116	State school enrollments		
	1993	88	"	"	"
	1994	97	"	"	"

In 1995 the total enrollments for Year 12 including those undertaking Modern Greek through the ethnic community schools are 116.

that the number of children registered as Greek Orthodox is shrinking.[51] A further reflection of the declining numbers undertaking Modern Greek at state secondary schools is the decision of the Education Department to reduce the number of schools offering the subject at this level. In 1994 there were thirteen secondary schools offering Modern Greek. The claim has been made by the Council for the Promotion of Modern Greek that the number will be reduced substantially in 1996, having already been reduced to eleven in 1995.[52]

A similar picture of declining enrollments is also evident in the Greek ethnic schools. In 1972 there were 3001 students attending Greek ethnic primary schools (afternoons or Saturday mornings) in South Australia.[53] In 1992 there were 2,131 students attending Greek ethnic schools in South Australia.[54] The factors contributing to the decline are, according to Dr. S. Salagaras,

> "… the aging of the Australian Greek Community, the almost complete lack of migration from Greece, the high rate of interethnic marriages … and unfortunately the noticeable apathy among some second generation Greek Australians towards maintaining a commitment to their inherited language and culture."[55]

The nature of the problem of language promotion is not merely quantitative, but also qualitative. The Department of Education and Children Services statistics indicate that in 1992 there were 5,771 students "studying Modern Greek at Primary levels (Years 1-7), in 1993 this figure had risen to 5,821 and even further in 1994 to 6,281. Yet at Year 8 level, the first year of secondary school the numbers

studying Modern Greek had fallen to 263 in 1992, to 214 in 1993 and to 225 in 1994.[56] Why would there occur a drop from 707 in 1993 at Year 7 to 225 in 1994 at Year 8? In accordance with Australia's multicultural policies children at Primary level are to be exposed to a language other than English (LOTE languages) among which is Modern Greek. Unfortunately the quality of this exposure is patchy and in many cases restricted to one lesson per week often only for one school year. There is no set policy requiring students to follow a particular language systematically and consistently over the whole period of the primary years. Some students are "exposed" to a number of languages over these years. Apart from the superficiality of this approach (unless decided otherwise by the school principal), there is the question about the teachers' abilities in the language and in language methodology which vary considerably. In fact, so little is known about what is actually occurring that a data collection program has had to be instituted.[57] Nevertheless Secondary Teachers of Modern Greek have indicated that most of these students who claim to have studied Modern Greek at Primary level virtually know little or nothing of substance.

There is also a question of quality concerning a significant number of Greek Ethnic schools. Many primary school classes contain students at different levels and teaching in a multi-level environment really requires special training and in any case is pedagogically considered as falling outside what might be deemed best practice. Moreover, many Greek ethnic schools use school books prepared by the Greek Education Department for children in Greece, the content and level of which are inappropriate and irrelevant to the needs of children in South Australia, particularly for those who have little or no Greek at their command. Some of the teaching methods used would remind Methuselah of his youth. The point is that the Education Department and the Greek ethnic schools as institutions have generally failed to provide the quality of education which would attract and maintain the interest of the children and parents.

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[51] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census*, Religion Profile – Greek Orthodox, Table 4, Age by Sex, All persons. Whereas the age cohort 15-19 reveals an average per year of 540, the age cohort 10-14 reveals an average of 425, while the age cohort 5-9 reveals an annual average of 400. Only in the age cohort 1-4 is the trend reversed slightly with an average of 440.

[52] Ἑλληνικὰ Νέα – Greek News, (Thursday, 28 September, 1995) p. 11 – an advertisement promoting a conference on the future of Modern Greek entitled: Θὰ ὑπάρχουν ἑλληνικὰ σὲ κρατικὰ γυμνάσια τὸ 2000;

[53] M.P. Tsounis, "Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia," *Australian Immigration Monograph,* Series No.1 (Canberra, 1974) p. 17.

[54] A. Tamis, S. Gauntlett & S. Petrou, *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential. Profiles of 9 Key Languages in Australia*, Volume 8 - Modern Greek. (Canberra, 1993) p. 119 (Salagaras, *Multicultural Education System*, p. 9).

[55] Salagaras, *Multicultural Education System*, pp. 12-13.

[56] See Appendix 3.

[57] The National LOTE Data Collection Project 1995. A Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs has been set up to provide the MCEETYA SAMPLE STUDY: Definition of Non-English Speaking Background, 15 June 1995, in an attempt to set 'standard' definitions of NESB languages, ethnicity, et al.

Moreover, in the area of education the Greek State has to a large extent also failed in its supposed objective of promoting Hellenism especially among its own people abroad. It was not till after the events of 1974 that the Greek State saw fit to provide full-time consular representation in South Australia. During the period of the honorary consulate in the post World War II period till the early 1970's requests for assistance to help maintain the Greek language and culture were largely ignored. Even so no really substantial research has been undertaken by consultants appointed by the Greek State or by the consular authorities in South Australia with an eye on developing clear objectives and drawing up effective plans. There has been much talk about analytical programs, but not much else. Even the presence of so-called "educational advisers" has not improved the situation much; many are either underused or have no really clear idea of their roles. All this groping in the dark will not produce desired outcomes. Furthermore, the consular authorities in this area need to learn how to work more cooperatively and effectively with the communities.

In a world full of competing interests what are the chances of promoting Hellenic ethnicity when the bearers of that Hellenic identity and their organizations, associations, regional brotherhoods, communities, the Church and the diplomatic representatives are at loggerheads with each other? Competition, rivalry and ambition have on many occasions got out of control and have become destructive. It should not surprise anyone that many young people of Greek background have despaired of the constant internecine conflicts and personal abuse. Even the attempt to create a council for Greeks living abroad (Συμβούλιο Αποδήμου Ελληνισμού)seems to have brought out the worst traits in many people and this causes disenchantment and a loss of confidence in Greek institutions.[58]

The conflict is related to the well-known split within the ranks of Orthodoxy and community relations, a conflict whose historical roots lie in the development of Hellenism in Australia (especially in

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[58] Ἑλληνικὰ Νέα – *Greek News* (Thursday, September 28, 1995) p. 23 wherein a letter sent to the Consul-General of Greece, Mr. S. Aliagas, was reproduced, the head of Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia attacked the Consul General concerning the representation on the Council and stated, among other things, ". . . Λυποῦμαι εἰλικρινῶς διὰ τὴν ἐμπιστοσύνην καὶ τιμὴν μεθ᾽ ὧν σᾶς περιεβάλομεν ἀρχῆθεν καὶ ἐξακολουθητικῶς μετὰ πάντων τῶν συνεργατῶν μου καὶ τῆς τιμίας ὁμογενείας καὶ παρακαλῶ νὰ μὲ ἀπαλλάξετε τῆς ὀδύνης νὰ σᾶς ἐπανασυναντήσω." See also Ἑλληνικὰ Νέα (Thursday, October 5, 1995).

Adelaide) as well as in the socio-political developments in Greece from the period of the Occupation (if not before) until the collapse of the Junta.[59] The Greek Community of South Australia Inc., the so-called schismatic community, has its own autocephalus church recognized by the Australian authorities as a legitimate religious body. The Greek State recognizes the Community as a legitimate Greek organization, but not its autocephalous church. But the Community is not dependent on the Greek State or on the Archdiocese and in this sense has become part of the broad Australian fabric where religious pluralism is accepted and recognized.[60]

From another perspective all the Greek communities and a number of associated institutions have become incorporated into the body politic of South Australia and Australia. The Greek ethnic schools of both major Greek bodies (Archdiocese and Greek Community of South Australia Inc.) receive and depend on financial support from the State and the Federal governments. Both receive financial support for the functioning of their old folk homes. In these as well as other ways the Greek communities are becoming integrated into the functioning of Australian society. While the State and Federal governments are prepared to extend special financial consideration to meet particular Greek needs, it should be noted that most of the services (hospitals, Social Security, etc.) are mainstreamed so that on an individual basis Greeks are treated as part of the broader community and this they have accepted.

The fragmentation of the Greeks into a multiplicity of ethnic institutions, while initially serving socially useful purposes, such as the regional associations responding rapidly to the needs of their fellow villagers, has also served to obstruct the implementation of a degree of cooperation necessary to make effective cohesive Greek ethnic activity. The failure to marshal the Greek Community's resources effectively towards the end of promoting Hellenic ethnicity may well contribute to a weakening of that identify.[61]

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[59] Tsounis, *Greek Communities in Australia,* thesis.

[60] Fiona Mackie, *A Sociological Study of the Influence of the Greek Church in the Assimilation of Greeks in an Inner Suburb of Melbourne,* M.A. thesis (Monash University: Department of Anthropology and Sociology, December 1967).

[61] Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia," p. 37. In the 1950's and 1960's "about 100 new Greek Orthodox communities, 200 regional fraternities and 130 Pan-Hellenic organizations" came into existence. See also: Directory of Multicultural and Ethnic Community Resources, 1995 Adelaide, South Australian Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1995. For Cypriots, pp. 61-62. For Greeks, pp. 66-76.

Larger regional fraternities (Pan-Macedonian, Pan-Peloponnesos) were often underpinned and at times effectively displaced by fraternities for smaller territorial areas. The latter occurred because they responded more sensitively to the aspirations of their members and sought solutions to immediate problems. Now, however, that these most urgent problems have been solved, many of these smaller fraternities seem to serve only a social entertainment role primarily for the first generation. Many of the second generation as they mature seem to be distancing themselves from their activities. The loss of this shared experience may weaken the bonds that hold the smaller fraternities together and could constitute part of the process of integration into a broader community. The larger regional associations have been revived by such "national" issues as FYROM's claim to the name of Macedonia (Pan-Macedonian Association) but what will be their fate when the issues are resolved or when the second and third generation cease to respond instinctively to the call of the homeland? Regional associations are representative of Greek ethnic identity closely related to the parochial origins of the migrants and through this to a Greek national consciousness. The declining interest of the young in such associations does not augur well for the reproduction of that ethnic identity which the first generation migrants so desperately want to pass onto their children.[62]

Traditionally, the Greek Orthodox Church has had an honored position in the history of Hellenism, being viewed as one of the most important institutional means for the reproduction of Hellenic and Orthodox values. Custom and habit through regular attendance at Church services inducted the first generation into a language and culture that was (and is as some see it) central to Hellenism. While field work needs to be undertaken, the subjective impression of a number of observers is that the young adults of the second generation are noticeable for their infrequent or non-attendance at services.

One factor contributing to this situation is the inability of these young people to comprehend what the liturgy is about. To some extent the Orthodox Church has partially acknowledged this difficulty through the repetition of the Lord's Prayer and the Credo in English. In the Orthodox Church at Norwood, the whole liturgy is in English,

[62] Eva Isaacs, *Factors*, p. 3.

but only on Saturday evenings, never on Sunday.[63] The Church authorities still insist in conducting the Liturgy in the form it has had for centuries. To what extent the language of the New Testament $(Κοινὴ)$ and the rituals disaffect the young, if at all, needs to be researched. The observation, however, still remains – the young adults do not seem to be attending regularly. This would mean a weakening of the Church's hold over the second generation and the Church's capacity to act as the defender of Hellenism and the Greek language.[64]

The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese's support of the day school, the College of Saint George, fits in with its desire that the young have an adequate exposure to the Orthodox faith and the Greek language. But the numbers attending the College, which at present is only functioning at Primary level, touch only a small number of the children at this level.[65] It should also be noted that increasing numbers of first and second generation Greeks are sending their children to Roman Catholic and Protestant private schools because of disenchantment with the State school system or because they themselves have become upwardly socially mobile. The extent of this trend needs to be investigated as does its effect on ethnic identity.[66]

The Greek Press in Australia has been described as a significant factor in promoting Hellenism. Local Greek newspapers include the

[63] *'Ελληνικὰ Νέα* - Greek News, (October, 1995) p. 17 – advertisement calling on all interested in attending the Liturgy in English to go on Saturday, 7 October 1995.

[64] There is controversy over the fate of a religiously-based ethnic identity as opposed to an ethnic identity based on national/ethnic sentiment also. J.J. Smolicz refers to the work of M. Clyne, *Multilingual Australia,* (Melbourne, 1982) in which Clyne states ". . . that religion which is unique to a given group can only help with language maintenance if the church services are conducted in that tongue and if parish activities also provide an avenue for the use of the ethnic language." See J. J. Smolicz, *Greek-Australians: a question of survival in multicultural Australia,* p. 8. See also Salagaras, *Multicultural Education System,* pp. 11-12 and p. 23, and J. J. Smolicz, *Australian Diversity, Adelaide Centre for Intercultural Studies and Multicultural Education*, University of Adelaide, 1994, 2nd Edition, pp. 12-14. Smolicz stresses that in Australia national identity does not demand that Australians follow one particular religion or any, a situation different from what many would associate with Hellenism.

[65] Salagaras, *Multicultural Education System,* p. 9. The table provided by Tamis, Gauntlett & Petrou, p. 119, indicates 185 students in attendance in 1992. The number of Greek Orthodox children at primary school age in 1992 (5 years - 11 years) was in excess of 2,800. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census Population and Housing,* Ethnic Communities Package Religion Profile Greek Orthodox, Table 4).

[66] Over 20 years experience supervising student-teachers in state and private schools brought me into first hand contact with this phenomenon.

Greek News - ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΝΕΑ (a weekly) and Community Tribune ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΑΚΟ ΒΗΜΑ (a monthly) as well as parish-community newsletters. In addition the Greek press from Melbourne and Sydney also circulate in South Australia. The local newspapers give more news concerning Greece and Cyprus than can be found in the Australian mainstream press, and they also devote much space to parochial events that would rarely, if ever, be reported in the South Australian mainstream press or even suburban press. The Greek News claims a circulation of 18,896 but this does not reveal who reads the paper which is nearly all in Greek. Some of the national circulation papers have made concessions to the second generation whose command of Greek is limited or non-existent. Sections of the newspapers are written in English and are directed at those people who still maintain a sense of Greekness but who do not read Greek. That is, the newspapers are trying to draw as large a circulation as possible and adjust their language of communication to meet the needs of their clientele.

According to the 1986 Census there were 27,581 persons or 2.21% of South Australia's population who claimed to speak Greek at home.[67] This was more than double the number of the Greek-born, the remainder being made up mostly of the Australian-born second generation. Within the metropolitan area, a third of these Greek speakers are to be found in the lower status middle western local government areas of Woodville (3,567), West Torrens (2,903) and Enfield (1,606). The distribution and diffusion of Greek speakers parallels the proportions for the Greek-born and the second generation, revealing a move towards the south in particular (Unley, Mitcham and Marion). In the non-metropolitan area most of the 3,029 who claimed to speak Greek at home were located in the Riverland with smaller concentrations at Whyalla, Port Pirie and Coober Pedy.[68]

The 1991 Census revealed an increase in the number claiming to speak Greek at home (28,619).[69] Of this number 13,605 (47.5%) were born in Australia.[70] The declining numbers of the younger five-year cohorts reveal the same trend as for religion and population

[67] Hugo, *Atlas of Australian People*, p. 226.

[68] Ibid. 235-36.

[69] Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census,* Ethnic Communities Package - Language Profile Greek, Table 1.

[70] Ibid. Table 2.

generally.[71] This in part is a reflection of the fact that the second generation seems to be following the common western world trend of having fewer children and in part a reflection of the fact that at the 1991 census there were still substantial numbers in the 15-24 age cohort who had never been married, though this category of never married shrank dramatically, especially for women, in the 25-34 year age cohort. That is, the second generation was, in 1991, still at the stage of family formation.[72]

In the various censuses no questions have ever been posed, as for English, on the proficiency of the respondents in Greek. Moreover, there is no indication about the frequency of use of Greek in the home or elsewhere. Much research is needed in this area, the results of which would have significance for the owners of local Greek radio stations (Radio Ena and Doriforos) and for the Ethnic Broadcaster 5EB1 as well as for the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) which transmits regular but infrequent radio programs in Greek and Greek television programs (very limited). For the first generation such services, including the reception of direct radio broadcasts from Greece, serve only to reinforce an existing Greek ethnic identity. What is not known is the extent to which the second generation audits and views Greek programs and how this affects their sense of Greek identity.

As the Greeks and Greek communities and associations become more actively involved in the politics of Australia with the passage of time, their concern for and interest in the affairs of the metropolis diminishes, except in exceptional circumstances when the Greeks living abroad are mobilized for particularly sensitive national causes. This too is part of the process of adaptation to the new environment, to the new reality especially for the second generation that no longer

[71] Ibid. Table 4:

Cohorts	Nos. speaking Greek 5 years and more
5-9 years	1,457
10-14 years	1,703
15-19 years	2,325
20-24 years	3,381.

[72] Ibid. Table 13 and Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census,* Religion Profile – Greek Orthodox, Table 13, which showed for:

15-24 years cohort	3,091 males never married
	2,495 females never married
25-34 years cohort	1,350 males never married
	777 females never married.

shares with the same intensity the past and present experiences of the metropolis.

Australia has certainly, once the overt assimilationist policy was abandoned, made it possible for Greek first generation migrants to participate actively in Australian politics at all levels (Local, State, Federal) through the acceptance of dual citizenship and by extending all rights to these Greek immigrants. The extension of full rights and access without threatening overtly cherished ethnic sentiments for the homeland "has had a massively positive effect in forging the new comers' identification with Australia."[73] The Greek-born in Australia have taken up dual citizenship with enthusiasm. About 90% of Greek-born immigrants have become Australian citizens. Many Greeks with dual citizenship have returned to Greece and enjoy the benefits of old-age and invalid pensions provided by Australia, but most have remained mainly because their children and grandchildren see Australia as their home though they may still have strong affections for Greece and Cyprus.[74]

And yet Greece still has a need to invigorate the Hellenic ethnic identity abroad. In the past it had relied on these Greeks for their remittances to relatives in Greece; it now wants to encourage them to invest their wealth in Greece or even to repatriate bringing their wealth with them. Greece and Cyprus also are now beginning to understand the political significance of these strategically placed Greek communities in helping to promote and protect Greece's interests abroad. For these reasons Greece is concerned to maintain the Greek citizenship of the migrants and their children, to foster their sense of Greek ethnic identity. The problem facing Greece in the not too distant future is that these communities may not necessarily respond positively to the prevailing ideology of the metropolis or to particular policies of the Greek State, and may be more discerning and less emotive in their responses to appeals for support. Such a development may be a further indicator of a growing distance between the metropolis and the communities in Australia. Greece's plans for a Council of Greeks Abroad and a Parliament of Hellenism have been described as the organs by which:

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[73] J.J. Smolicz, *Australian Diversity*, p. 7.

[74] Ibid. p. 8. This poses the question of whether the adoption of dual citizenship does by implication lessen an exclusive devotion to one national identity.

"... ὁλοκληρώνεται οὐσιαστικὰ ἡ ἔννοια τοῦ ἔθνους ποὺ περιλαμβάνει πλέον καὶ τοὺς ἐκτὸς Ἑλλάδος Ἕλληνες ..."

with the purpose of promoting and developing relations among the Greeks worldwide in the sectors of culture, language and historical remembrances.[75] It will certainly be interesting to observe what such high sounding slogans mean in practice and how this will affect the Greek-born in Australia and their descendants.

Greek national consciousness, the Hellenic identity and its reproduction have been the justification for the establishment and perpetuation of the Greek-Australian communities. The communities wanted to and still want to promote and develop a Greek ethnic identity within the context of a multicultural Australia. To do this they have arranged their organizations and associations to promote Greek language and culture and they have asserted the centrality of the Greek Orthodox faith. They want also to maintain close links with Greece and Cyprus. However, as this paper has indicated for South Australia, the Greeks are beset by a multitude of problems and pressures, not least from the same multicultural Australia, which demand changes to Hellenic ethnicity. What the Greeks face in Australia, Greece faces in the age of the global village.

As Professor Anthony Liakos (University of Athens) has pointed out Modern Greek studies (language, history, culture et al) seem to be isolated from the mainstream global issues and as a small country whose concerns seem primarily to be with its own navel gazing Greece seems to be either an irrelevance or at best something very exotic.[76] The global village brings closer to Greece the idea of a multicultural world within which she will have to compete to survive and flourish just as the Greek communities in South Australia will have to do. If Greek language and culture become peripheral on a worldwide basis what future is there for the Hellenic ethnic identity in Australia? The Greek communities of South Australia and Australia generally will have to address the bigger and deeper questions concerning their direction of development and not merely be content with reproducing

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[75] *Ἑλληνικὰ Νέα* - Greek News (October, 1995) p. 17. Γ. Νιώτης: "Μεγάλης ἐθνικῆς σημασίας ὁ θεσμὸς τοῦ Συμβούλου Ἀπόδημου Ἑλληνισμοῦ."

[76] Anthony Liakos, *Νέα πατρίδα*, New Country Sydney, Saturday, 6 November, 1993, p. 29.

what is past. The development of a Greek Australian ethnic identity will not be accomplished as long as the Greek organizations continue to waste their resources and allow divisions to divert attention from the main objective, the promotion and development of a Hellenism that is relevant to the world in which we live.

I conclude with a quote which I used to open an address in Melbourne in 1992, for it seems to sum up the attitude needed for the continuity of Hellenism in Australia. They are the words of Costas Cavafy to Stratis Tsirkas.

> Εἶμαι κι' ἐγὼ Ἑλληνικός.
> Προσοχή, ὄχι Ἕλλην, οὔτε Ἑλληνίζων,
> ἀλλὰ Ἑλληνικός.

Appendix I
The Relative Movement of Greek-born Residents by Local Government Areas: 1971 - 1991

L.G.A.	Number & Percentage of Greek Born by Censal Year									
	1971	%	1976	%	1981	%	1986	%	1991	%
Woodville	1,254	1,7	1,771	2.3	1,609	2.1	1,787	2.2	1,820	2.3
West Torrens	1,158	2.3	1,345	3.0	1,311	2.7	1,356	3.1	1,404	3.3
*Unley	1,546	3.9	1,164	3.1	1,440	3.5	976	2.8	950	2.7
Enfield	633	0.8	815	1.2	849	0.6	791	1.2	808	1.8
Mitcham	283	0.5	626	1.0	531	0.9	706	1.2	761	1.2
Marion	352	0.5	490	0.7	460	0.7	520	0.7	583	0.8
Salisbury	327	0.6	682	0.8	578	0.8	705	0.7	775	0.7
*Prospect	638	3.0	627	3.4	651	3.3	533	2.9	513	2.8
*Port Adelaide	647	1.7	575	1.6	679	1.9	507	1.4	447	1.2
Cambelltown	203	0.5	458	1.1	362	0.9	488	1.1	534	1.2
*Hindmarsh	927	9.0	518	6.8	715	8.2	451	5.7	445	5.5
*Renmark	397	6.2	314	4.7	362	5.8	316	4.4	275	3.8
Burnside	273	0.7	290	0.8	249	0.6	296	0.8	290	0.8
Tea Tree Gully	48	0.1	241	0.4	134	0.2	292	0.4	329	0.4
Munno Para	273	1.4	n.a		n.a.		248	0.9	243	0.8
*Adelaide	645	4.0	197	1.6	271	2.0	173	1.2	161	1.1

*Denotes Local Government Areas (L.G.A.) of significant decline.

The above table is based upon the following sources: *Birthplace. Language, Religion, 1971-1986*, 1, p. 149. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census*, Ethnic Communities Package, no. 2, Greece, Table 1. *South Australian Yearbook No 27*, 1993, p. 49, Adelaide, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1992.

Appendix II
The Relative Movement of Cypriot-Born Residents by Local Government Areas: 1976 - 1991

	1976	%	1981	%	1986	%	1991	%
*West Torrens	298	0.7	241	0.5	233	0.5	224	0.5
Woodville	182	0.2	172	0.2	195	0.2	207	0.3
Salisbury	122	0.1	130	0.2	145	0.2	145	0.1
Marion	127	0.2	118	0.2	135	0.2	138	0.2
Enfield	123	0.2	89	0.1	109	0.2	112	0.2
*Unley	117	0.3	136	0.4	105	0.3	92	0.3
Tea Tree Gully	107	0.2	87	0.2	105	0.1	106	0.1

*Denotes Local Government Areas of decline.

The above table is based upon the following sources: *Birthplace. Language, Religion, 1971-1986*, 1, p. 146. Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1991 Census*, Ethnic Communities Package, No. 2, Cyprus, Table 1. *South Australian Yearbook No. 27*, 1993, Adelaide, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1992, p. 49. *Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Ethnic Distri-bution*, 1976, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1976, p. 107.

Appendix III

Enrolments in Modern Greek at State Secondary Schools,
Using Figures Provided by the Department of Education
and Children's Services (DECS).

YEAR	1992	1993	1994
8	263	214	225
9	218	186	199
10	157	146	121
11	140	119	121
12	116	88	97

Enrolments in Modern Greek at State Primary Schools,
Using Figures Provided by the Department of Education
and Children's Services (DECS).

YEAR	1992	1993	1994
Reception	784	602	726
1	696	684	814
2	728	701	808
3	819	794	817
4	764	791	755
5	727	771	787
6	687	761	738
7	566	707	733

Greek-Born Population of South Australia

Year of Census	Number
1911	76
1921	152
1933	740
1947	1,029
1954	2,809
1961	9,476
1966	14,660
1971	14,717
1976	14,709
1981	14,205
1986	14,455
1991	13,628

Cypriot-Born Population of South Australia

Year of Census	Number
1971	N/A
1976	793
1981	1,787
1986	1,771
1991	1,634

Aging of Greek- / Cypriot-Born

Greek-Born	Year of Census	% 30-65+	% 55-65+
14,205	1981	84%	17.4%
13,631	1991	94%	42.0%

Cypriot-Born	Year of Census	% 30-65+	% 55-65+
1,787	1981	74%	19.9%
1,649	1991	84%	32.5%

Year of Arrival in Australia According to 1991 Census

Arrival of Greek-born pre 1971:   11,791
Arrival of Greek-born by 1991 :   13,629
     Therefore, 86.5% Greek-born in Australia pre 1971.

Arrival of Cypriot-born pre-1971:   1,006
Arrival of Cypriot-born by 1991 :   1,644
     Therefore, 62.2% Cypriot-born in Australia pre 1971.

Greek-Born in Metropolitan Area

Year of Census	Number of Greek-Born in Metropolitan Area as Percentage of Total Greek-Born in South Australia
1911	63.2%
1921	52.0%
1933	39.2%
1947	59.2%
1966	79.0%
1986	88.3%

(In 1986, about 94% of the Cypriot-born lived in the metropolitan area.)

Second Generation:
Descendents of Greek-Born Immigrants to South Australia 1991

Those with both parents born in Greece	11,290
Those with one parent born in Greece	5,079
Total	16,269

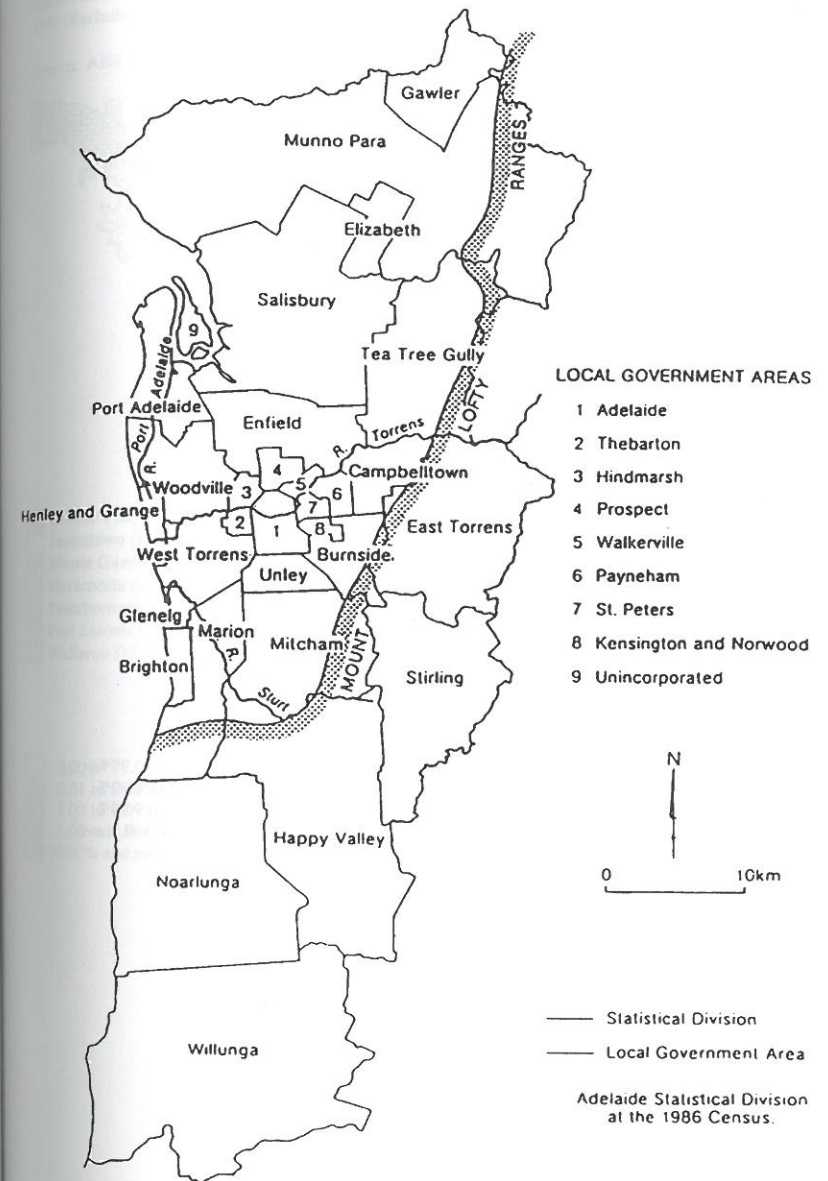## Greek-Born in Local Government Area
Thebarton - Inner Metropolitan (LGA)

Year of Census	Greek Born	% of LGA's Population
1966	1,854	15.2%
1971	1,781	15.1%
1976	1,440	14.0%
1981	1,164	12.6%
1986	976	11.4%
1991	888	11.5%

Greek-Born in Non-Metropolitan Areas
as Percentage of Local Government Areas
1971 - 1991

LGA	1971	%	1976	%	1981	%	1986	%	1991	%
Renmark	397	6.3	362	5.8	314	4.7	316	4.4	275	3.8
Barmera	197	5.4	156	4.1	151	3.7	154	3.7	161	3.9
Berri	210	4.1	231	4.2	183	3.0	156	2.5	151	2.4
Loxton	114	1.8	125	2.0	114	1.7	109	1.6	93	1.4

Adelaide - Local Government Areas

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREAS

1 Adelaide
2 Thebarton
3 Hindmarsh
4 Prospect
5 Walkerville
6 Payneham
7 St. Peters
8 Kensington and Norwood
9 Unincorporated

N

0   10km

—— Statistical Division

—— Local Government Area

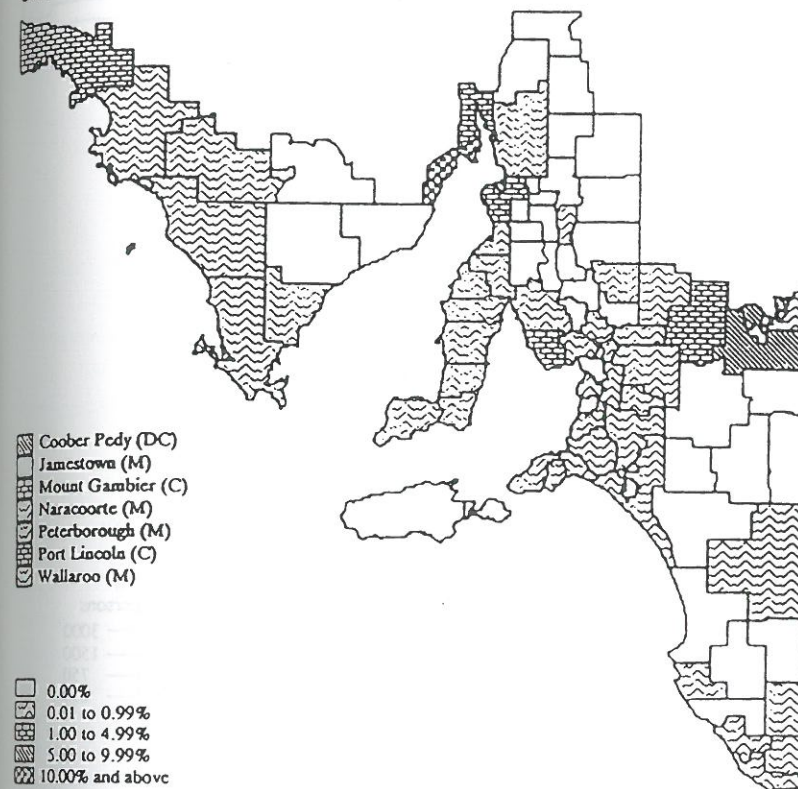Adelaide Statistical Division at the 1986 Census.

Adelaide Metropolitan LGAs: Distribution of Persons Aged 5 to 19 Years Who Speak Greek at Home (N = 6499)
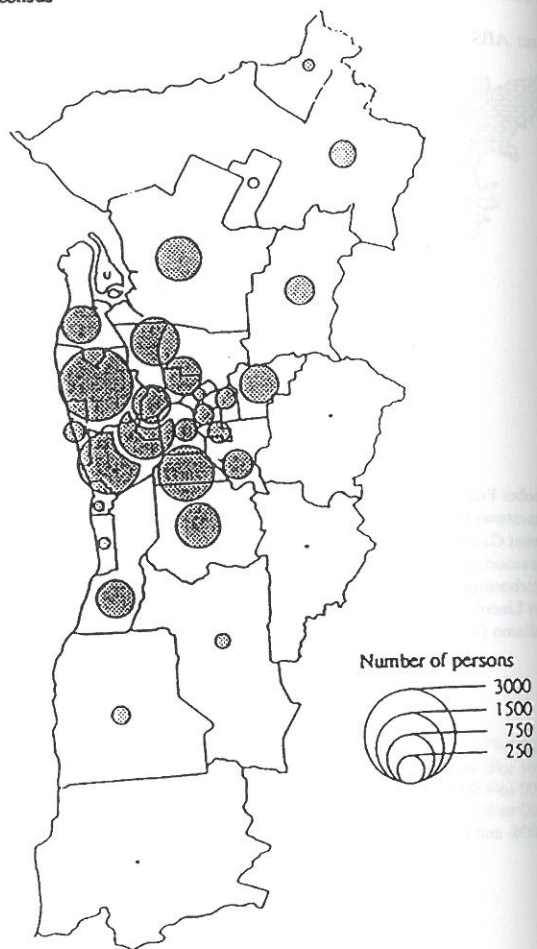
Source: ABS 1986 census
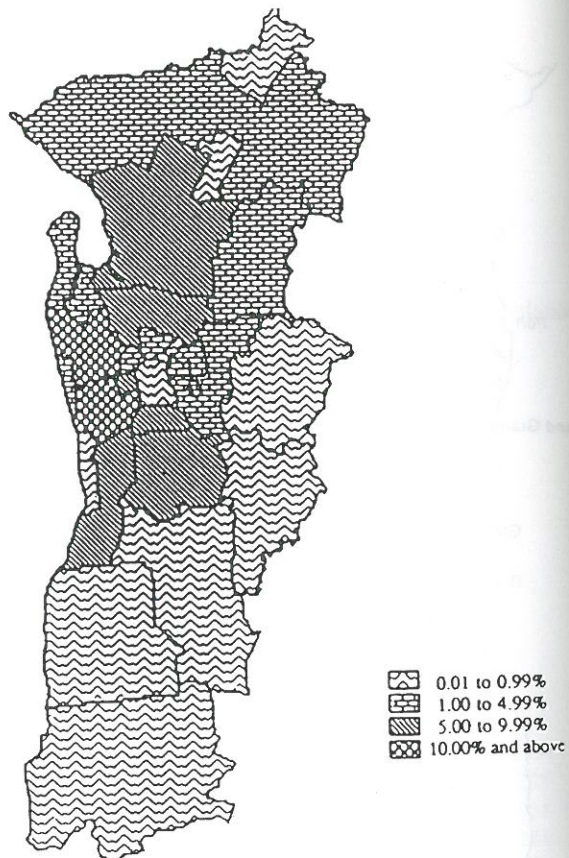
South Australia Non-Metropolitan LGAs: Distribution of Persons Who Speak Greek at Home, 1986 (Excludes 0–4 Year Olds) (N = 3029)

Source: ABS 1986 census

Coober Pedy (DC)
Jamestown (M)
Mount Gambier (C)
Naracoorte (M)
Peterborough (M)
Port Lincoln (C)
Wallaroo (M)

0.01 to 0.99%
1.00 to 4.99%
5.00 to 9.99%
10.00% and above

0.00%
0.01 to 0.99%
1.00 to 4.99%
5.00 to 9.99%
10.00% and above

Adelaide Metropolitan LGAs: Greek-born Persons, 1986 Census

Source: ABS 1986 census

Number of persons
3000
1500
750
250

South Australian Non-Metropolitan LGAs: Greek-born persons, 1986 Census

Source: ABS 1986 census

Number of persons
2000
1000
500
250
100
20
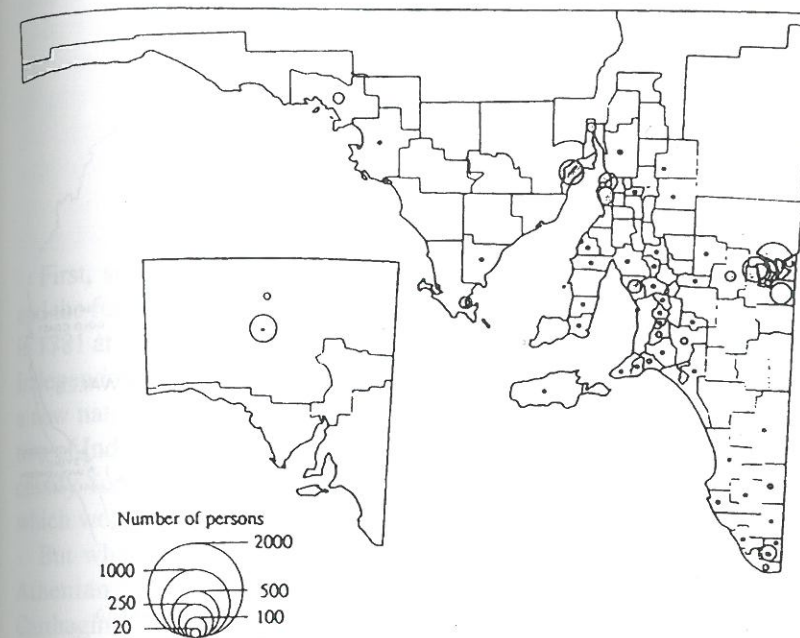
Thomas Jefferson
and His Philhellenism

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

First, some introductory remarks on the classics, philhellenism, and the founders of the American Republic. The defeat of the British in 1781 at Yorktown ended the military phase of the American War of Independence, and the Treaty of Paris of 1783 officially gave birth to a new nation. But one or thirteen nations? Even before the Declaration of Independence, leaders of the thirteen colonies realized the necessity for a common constitution and an effective administration which would unite the thirteen states into one.

But what kind of a constitution? What form of government? An Athenian type of direct democracy, or Roman republicanism? Carthaginian aristocracy, or Spartan mixed democracy? What happens if in adopting an Athenian type of democracy it breaks down and leads to a civil war, as happened in the Golden Age of Athens? And what kind of guarantees are there to safeguard Roman republicanism from breaking down into military dictatorships and imperialism as it did in the Roman republic during the first century before Christ?

These and other similar questions were raised before and after the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia. On the basis of a common core of classical learning, the Founding Fathers in their debates appealed to classical antiquity for lessons and guidance. The Federalist Papers reveal that the Founding Fathers were well read in the classics and some of them knew Greek and Latin. Plato and Aristotle, Herodotos and Thucydides, Polybios and Plutarch, Sallust and Livy, Cicero and Tacitus served as sources for the drawing of parallels and lessons.

Greek and Latin were systematically taught in the nine Colonial Colleges, from Harvard, Dartmouth, Brown and Yale in the North, to King's College (Columbia), Queen's College (Rutgers), College of New Jersey (Princeton) and Pennsylvania in the center, to William