The European Diaspora in Australia

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An Interdisciplinary Perspective

Edited by

Bruno Mascitelli, Sonia Mycak
and Gerardo Papalia

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This is a collection of essays emanating from the "European Diaspora in Australia" Workshop organised at Swinburne University of Technology in Melbourne, Australia in 2014. The event was organised under the auspices of the Contemporary European Studies Association of Australia (CESAA) and supported by the European Union Centre of RMIT University. The event attracted more than 25 presenters and papers which addressed the many facets of this theme of the European diaspora in Australia. The production of this book owes much to the sponsors of this event and also to the 15 authors who shared their knowledge and analysis of their respective fields in a more public outlet through this book. The editors of this book are indebted to the persistence and patience of the authors who endured a rigorous review process before ultimately producing quality chapters of relevance and synthesis for putting across their respective angles on this vast theme.

Australia has experienced various forms of immigration leading to settlement. There is much to learn about how to converse with and understand others across the cultural and linguistic barriers that characterise a permanently changing phenomenon. Though "Australia in the Asian century" as a theme may appear to be the overriding narrative at the present moment, Australia and its people have a far deeper global sense of association embracing both different races and peoples from many regions of the world into the single melting pot called 'Australia'. This platform for scholars of these European communities provides an enriching experience, each with their own story, and each with a point to make. We are sure that this workshop and the chapters that are presented in this volume have contributed to this process.

A final acknowledgement must go to the publisher, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, which persisted with this project even before the workshop was completed. A deep felt thank you for believing in this project.

The Editors
February 2016

BIOGRAPHIES

Riccardo Armillei joined the UNESCO Chair team in October 2014 and the Alfred Deakin Research Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation as an Associate Research Fellow. Riccardo will conduct research in the area of civil society, democratisation and political transformations applied in the context of Arab Spring countries (with a special focus on Tunisia). His research interests include Romani studies, forced migrations, social justice, and cross-cultural theories and practices. Riccardo graduated from Roma Tre University in 2005 with an Honours degree in History, Geography and International Cooperation Studies and a major in Anthropology. Riccardo undertook his Ph.D. at the Swinburne Institute for Social Research (2010-thesis submitted in July 2014) where he examined the social exclusion of Romanies in Italy. His dissertation focused particularly on the condition of those living in the so called 'campi nomadi' (nomad camps) and on the recent implementation of the 'Emergenza Nomadi' (nomad emergency). Between 2011 and 2012, Riccardo carried out qualitative research in Rome, where he worked for several years in the role of educator/social worker in some of the biggest Romani communities.

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Gerardo Papalia is a Research Associate in Italian Studies at Monash University in Melbourne. He has completed degrees in Italy and Australia and has taught in universities in both countries. He is a specialist in the study of the history and culture of the Italian diaspora in Australia. His publications cover a wide range of disciplines including the history of relations between Italy and Australia, Italian and Australian cinema, religious beliefs, domestic architecture, and diaspora literatures. Amongst his recent publications there are two book chapters: "Mussolini's Australian campaign of 1935-36" in Gianfranco Cresciani and Bruno Mascitelli (eds.) *Italy and Australia: An Asymmetrical Relationship*, Connor Court, Ballarat, 2014; and: "Writing as an act of love: the works of Hafez Haidar" in Grace Russo Bullaro and Elena Benelli (eds.) *Shifting and Shaping a National Identity: A Study of literature written in Italian by and about migrants in Italy*. Troubador, Leicester, 2014. In 2014 he also

published a refereed article titled "With an island as their hearth: The Aeolians and the 'Società mutuo soccorso Isole Eolie", in *La Questione Meridionale - The Southern Question*, vol. 1, no. 4, February 2014, Luigi Pellegrini Editore, Cosenza, pp. 21-46. He is currently working on his book *L'Australia e l'Italia fascista* to be published by the Pavia University Press.

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THE EUROPEAN DIASPORA IN AUSTRALIA: FROM MIGRATION TO SETTLEMENT

BRUNO MASCITELLI

The European diaspora in Australia is neither a new or original area of study, and many important and revealing studies have preceded this book. However, the phenomenon of European migration to Australia has changed significantly in recent years, having shifted from a migration journey to mostly one of community and residential experience. Migration from Europe has gone down from its high point in the 1950s and 1960s to significantly lower numbers in modern times, as verified in the latest 2011 Australian census. Australia's migration priorities, like its economic needs, have shifted to attention on the Asian region. While the use of the term "Australia in the Asian century" may not adequately define the new Australian geo-political paradigm, it is certainly an indication of its direction. Yet the statistics still tell us that the majority of the Australian nation is for the moment mainly composed of people from a European ancestry as can be evidenced from Table 1. Despite changes in Australia's migration programs, the nature and evolution of Europeans in Australia continues to have important consequences and even to harbour some surprises. For academics and scholars (as with for those concerned) the European diaspora in Australia remains, as will be evidenced in this book, a field of ongoing research, analysis and commentary.

This workshop on *The European Diaspora in Australia* held in September 2014 was an important opportunity to learn about the rich cultural heritage bequeathed by European migration to Australia in the post war period. The workshop provided expression to varied stories of integration, some would say assimilation, into the wider Australian society in positive and at times less positive ways. We heard in the workshop many cultural, historical and even linguistic accounts of journeys of success as well as failure. Papers discussed segments of the migration process, such as tackling a new language, seeking to be understood and new communities trying to find a role in this Australian melting pot. Some papers presented in this workshop spoke of the ongoing diverse expression

of migrant communities that are no longer growing and are represented by lonely voices of cultural and linguistic expression. Overall the workshop captured a vibrant segment of the stories, narratives, and history of specific communities and their journey towards integration in Australia.

In 2011, the Census revealed that over a quarter (26 per cent) of Australia's population was born overseas and a further one fifth (20 per cent) had at least one overseas-born parent. Ever since the 1911 census, migrants, mostly from Europe, have made up a large component of the Australian population, although increasingly there are more Asian born Australians.

Australia has on numerous occasions been referred to as a "classical country of immigration" (Castles & Miller 1993: 5) along with other similar recently established nations like Canada and the United States. Moreover European migration, a feature of the diaspora in Australia and the focus of this book, has on the whole changed and Europe now can be defined as an immigration region itself.

Post war migration was a phase of Australia's migration program which was front and centre to Australia's needs. It received population and labour growth initially from displaced persons from war ravaged Europe, but it also called for many more from Europe who were looking for a better life from the ruin and decline of their own nations. Australia was an emerging nation and its labour needs were a priority. The initial target of the Australian migration program had intended to bring in 70,000 migrants per year with a ratio of ten British migrants to every other "foreigner" - this proportion of British immigrants, however, would never be attained - the government selected its initial immigrants by "recruiting in European Displaced Persons Camps, which contained those who were perceived as both 'racially acceptable' and anti-communist" (Castles & Miller: 1993: 74). Australia then opened up its categories of immigrants to 'acceptable European races' both Northern as well as Southern European. By the mid-1950s the largest sources of migrants were in Italy, Greece and Malta. Non Europeans at that time were not allowed admittance as a result of the White Australia Policy which was still in force and would remain so until the late 1960s.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s immigration was the fuel for Australian post war economic growth. This was especially the case in the manufacturing sector, so much so that according to one study "from 1947 to 1973 it [immigration] provided 50 per cent of labour force growth" (Castles & Miller 1993: 74). By the late 1960s European immigrants started to decline both because of improving conditions in their countries of origin and changing circumstances in Australia.

Europeans settling in Australia played a key nation building role. Some decades later, the Australian migration focus changed and re-aligned more towards Asia. Many communities from Europe have long ceased to be part of the migration cycle and settlement in Australia. Some European communities within Australia therefore, are in decline, along with their languages and cultural expressions. Migration from Europe has distinctly changed and assumed greater educational and youth centred priorities.

The meaning of "diaspora"

Migration studies have resorted in some cases to the use of the term "diaspora" which one scholar nicely defined as a "de-centered approach in which migration, migrants and their multi-generational societies and cultures are seen as a phenomena in themselves and not simply in relation to the countries of origin and reception" (mac Einri 2000: 1). Fullilove has provided an even more expansive interpretation of diaspora which has strong pertinence to its understanding of Australian ethnic communities in Australia. In his summary of this phenomenon he states:

> "Diasporas – communities which live outside, but maintain links with their homelands – are getting larger, thicker and stronger. They are the human face of globalisation. Diaspora consciousness is on the rise: Diasporans are becoming more interested in their origins, and organising themselves more effectively; homelands are revising their opinions of their diasporas as the stigma attached to emigration declines, and stepping up their engagement efforts; meanwhile, host countries are witnessing more assertive diasporic groups within their national communities […]". (Fullilove 2008: vii – emphasis in the original).

According to the model above the diaspora communities have become a core phenomenon of global mobilisation. This explanation would hold equally for the "diaspora" in Australia. The term diaspora in this volume is used interchangeably with migration and ethnic communities.

Ethnic communities and its meaning

According to one view, the meaning of ethnic minorities has some of the following characteristics:

o Subordinate groups in complex societies;
o Special physical or cultural characteristics which may be held in low esteem by dominant groups in the society;

o Self-conscious groups, bound together on the one hand by language, culture and feelings of shared history, tradition and destiny, on the other hand by a common position within the society concerned;

o Membership in the ethnic minority is to some extent transmitted to subsequent generations by descent (Castles & Miller 1993: 26).

The European diaspora played a key role in defining the new demography of Australia. Until the mass immigration of the 1950s, Australia remained in effect substantially "WASP" in its make-up. The Displaced Persons and the European and British migration contributed towards a major change to the Australian scene with their intersecting interests. Despite the post-war Immigration Minister Arthur Calwell "putting aside" the White Australia Policy to allow unimpeded European migration, the Australian government still insisted on the "10 British to 1 other immigrant" for the European nations involved in the migration program. Of course, despite all the efforts made to entice British migrants to Australia, Calwell had to accept a ratio which was almost the opposite of what was originally intended.

What Australia saw by the early 1970s was a vastly different demographic kaleidoscope of people now inhabiting this country. Formally, and informally, the White Australia Policy had become redundant and new challenges and approaches were emerging, giving rise to new journeys and tasks for this country. The end of Australia's participation in the Vietnam War (1965-1972) ushered in a period of rapid social and cultural change. Rarely had a war produced such tension, conflict and internal disaffection in the nation, as well as deep self-reflection. Multiculturalism was introduced as a term by the Whitlam government (1972-1975) and its flamboyant Immigration Minister Al Grassby. While Grassby's permanence in the Whitlam government only lasted the first legislature (1972-1974) he left his mark in many ways. In 1974, Grassby lost his seat but was appointed by Whitlam as the first Commissioner for Community Relations and undertook an important role in administering the Racial Discrimination Act, 1975. Grassby documented his views most vividly in his iconic work "The tyranny of prejudice" (1984). Many ethnic communities remember the Whitlam government for being the first to embrace the immigrant community which had been politically neglected until then.

Some communities from Europe were more prominent than others. In some respects the Irish have the longest history, long before the Second World War, playing an enduring part in the history of Australia. Many

came to Australia in the eighteenth century as settlers or convicts and contributed to Australia's development in many different areas. In the late 19th century about a third of the population in Australia was Irish. Interestingly, the number of people professing to have Irish ancestry is significant but impossible to verify. The 2011 census indicates that over two million people indicated they had some ancestry with Ireland. This amounted to more than ten per cent of the total Australian population (See Table 1).

Table 1 – Selected characteristics of ancestry groups – 2011 Census

			Generations in Australia			
	Persons(a)	Proportion of total population	First generation	Second generation	Third-plus generation	Also stated another ancestry
Ancestry	'000	%	%	%	%	%
English	7 238.5	36.1	18.5	20.1	61.4	53.5
Australian	7 098.5	35.4	2.0	18.3	79.6	38.5
Irish	2 087.8	10.4	12.9	13.9	73.2	80.4
Scottish	1 792.6	8.9	17.1	19.1	63.8	78.3
Italian	916.1	4.6	24.1	41.0	34.9	44.3
German	898.7	4.5	17.3	19.8	62.9	75.4
Chinese	866.2	4.3	74.3	21.3	4.4	16.2
Indian	390.9	2.0	79.8	18.6	1.6	12.9
Greek	378.3	1.9	30.9	44.8	24.3	26.2
Dutch	335.5	1.7	32.5	43.3	24.2	55.1

Source: ABS 2011 census (a) Table presents collective responses to ancestry question. As some people stated two ancestries, the total persons for all ancestries exceed Australia's total population.

It is said that former Prime Minister Bob Hawke once noted that in Australia there were "more Irish than any other country [apart from Ireland]". While the statistics may not indicate this clearly, the presence of the Irish permeates Australia.

Readers will note the chapter on the Turkish diaspora in Australia. This community is numerous, mostly based in Melbourne, and a relatively recent arrival. Some scholars question even whether Turkey can be considered a part of Europe. While this issue is not a focus of this study, the editors believe that Australia's Turkish community is of sufficient importance to justify its inclusion in this book.

The European diaspora in Australia is a vast topic and this work does not pretend to cover its meanderings and features. This book offers readers an interdisciplinary transversal slice of this topic. Not only does this volume cover some nine communities, it also approaches them in many ways and not simply from a descriptive demographic viewpoint. There are chapters which tackle these communities from a social and cultural perspective, encompassing cinema and literature, whilst a separate section is dedicated to the diaspora.

What is in the book?

What is special about this volume is the interdisciplinary approach of the chapters and the innovative and contemporary approach undertaken by the authors. Thus the title: "The European diaspora in Australia: An interdisciplinary perspective". Each of the contributing authors is aware that the themes they tackle have been addressed by scholars in the past.

The book contains 11 chapters covering different facets of the European diaspora in Australia grouped under the categories of diaspora politics and communities, cultural life and language maintenance. Each chapter presents a specific theme from a cross disciplinary perspective. The ethnic communities examined include many of the predominant communities now established and settled in Australia. An introductory chapter on the European diaspora shifting from migration to settlement sets the scene for the chapters that follow. The first chapter by Michális Michael and Dimitri Gonis traces the contours of Greek-Australian Europeanness as it negotiates the interstices left by the clash of its essentially Anatolian demeanour and European expectations as the custodian of Western civilisation. Chapter two offers readers a unique insight into the largely neglected Rom (nomadic) community of Australia, often referred to as "Europe's oldest ethnic minority" (Bale 2013: 372). The third chapter examines the case of a politically mobilised diaspora in Australia, that of the Macedonian communities and their complex relationship with their country of origin. Chapter four focuses on the Italian Federation of Migrant Workers and Their Families (FILEF) and traces stories detailing the involvement of a group of Italian migrants in FILEF in Australia in the 1970s and 1980s. The final chapter in this section examines Australia's German community in terms of the changing patterns of engagement in its community organisations from 1952 onwards.

While the reception of migrant culture in Australia has informed serious political and civic debate over the past decade, anthropological and

cultural research into migrant literature has fallen behind. The aim of the second section is to address these neglected aspects of Australia's European diaspora. Chapter six by Kasia Williams provides an entry point to a broader discussion on the diversity and importance of minority writing in Australia as a record of multiple allegiances and transnational ties within the Polish diaspora. Sonia Mycak in Chapter seven focuses upon Eastern Europeans who immigrated to Australia as "Displaced Persons" immediately after the Second World War. Her interest lies in the literary cultures these immigrants created and she documents the production, distribution and circulation of literature within their ethno-cultural communities. Chapter eight by Gerardo Papalia offers a perspective on the neglected and repressed subjectivities that constitute the Italian diaspora in Australia through the films of acclaimed second generation Italian-Australian cinematographer Monica Pellizzari.

Language issues characterising Australia's European diaspora are the concern of chapters nine, ten and eleven. Chapter nine deals with the Adult English Migration Program implemented by Australia from 1947 until 1971 in terms of its promotion of assimilation for newly arrived migrants. Chapter ten addresses the change from assimilation to multiculturalism in terms of the role played by Australia's multicultural education policy by creating various opportunities for Turkish-Australians, particularly in the State of Victoria, to learn and maintain their language and culture. The last chapter in this volume deals with the spread of European languages during the vibrant 1970s and 1980s through the vehicle of the Victorian School of Languages.

To conclude, this book offers readers a panoramic view of how European diasporic communities have evolved from the days of their arrival and highlights how important it is for scholars to revisit the views, experiences and consequences of their settlement in Australia. The book will therefore provide a useful point of comparison for the challenges posed by the new demographic priorities of tomorrow. We see this happening every day and in ways which are both similar to and different from the European experience. The post war European presence that peppers large cities and the countryside of this country is a constant reminder of how Australia's migration and settlement processes have developed and progressed. We hope this collection of essays will not only remind readers of the experiences of separate ethnic communities, but will also reflect the richness of their contribution to Australian society.

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SECTION I:

DIASPORA POLITICS AND COMMUNITIES

CHAPTER ONE

RETHINKING THE "EUROPEANNESS"
OF GREEK-AUSTRALIANS[1]

MICHÁLIS S. MICHAEL AND DIMITRI GONIS

Introduction

The 2010 Greek economic crisis[2] and its manifestation in Australia's social discourse has underscored, once again, the complex and multifaceted presence of Greeks in Australia.[3] Now entering its second and third generations since the mass migration of the 1950s and 1960s, the 2011 Census recorded 99,937 (0.5% of total Australian population – hereafter AP) Greece-born people living in Australia with 378,270 (1.8% AP) claiming Greek ancestry, and 383,400 (1.9% AP) declared as belonging to the Greek Orthodox faith. However, informal sources estimate the Greek-Australian community to be as large as 600,000-700,000 (Department of Immigration and Border Protection 2014; Tamis 2001, 387).[4] Whether from the "custodian" site of western civilization or one of the most dynamic migrant communities, Greeks occupy a unique place in contemporary Australia. In addition to its links to Greece, and by implication, as a conduit to the European project, the Greek-Australian community's transient, historical and spatial delineations—including its Mediterranean, Hellenic, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman and Orthodox lineages—renders it exceptional when discussing Australia's European communities. By accentuating these nuances and interpreting them from a critical Eurocentric perspective, this chapter grapples with a series of epistemological questions relating to hyphenated Greek-Australia, at the centre of which is its claim to "Europeanness" as caught within the binary that divides the West from the East.[5]

But first we need to contextualise our definitional understanding of "Europeanness". In understanding "Europeanness", in terms of the ideological development of Greek nationhood, we need to treat Greek "Europeanness" as a subset of—or at least in tandem with—European

"Europeanness", rather than as a separate ontology. After all, Greece's European ideological orientation took form 50 years prior to the formation of the modern Greek state (Liakos 2008, 204-5). However, from the very outset, Greek nation-builders found themselves, as Hugh Seton-Watson (1977, 112) reminds us, "divided between the followers of the Enlightenment and traditional Orthodoxy". Greece's historical and cultural demeanour may lie in the East, but with its national transfiguration it severed its Anatolian linkages that founding fathers such as Rígas Velestinlís (Feraíos) and Adamántios Koraïs viewed as an embarrassment. Paris-based Koraïs, in particular, sought Greek emancipation from the double yoke of Turkish Ottomanism and the obscurantism of the Orthodox Church (Clogg 2010, 28). Greece's turn to Europe was, in essence, a deliberate embracing of what was then seen as modernity; its institutions and the European rendition of history and geopolitics. Greek "Europeanness" was an evolving construct grounded in eighteenth and nineteenth century European neoclassicism and romanticism which sought to resurrect an idealised rendition of ancient Hellenism through modern institutions, practices and precepts (Horrocks 2014). Such aspirations would ultimately lead in 1832 to the establishment of the Modern Greek nation-state—very much a European construct and an antidote to four centuries of Ottoman oriental subsistence.

The re-constructed and nationalised "Hellene" was adulated with a re-imagined likeness to its glorious ancient ancestors, as a conduit and continuer of their legacy. This in turn consigned Greeks to a role as custodians of Western (European) civilization. Throughout their history, Greeks have struggled to measure up to the "European invitation". Convinced of belonging to the West, Greek elites sought to negate the contractions that stemmed from their Oriental and Orthodox lineages and leanings, manufacturing a more "European" "sophisticated" Greek demeanour that purged their Greek culture from all its Ottoman-Eastern vestiges. In this context, Greek Europeanness needs to be viewed as the distilling of an occidental dialectical process that sought to modernise whilst "de-orientalising". It is within these conflictual parameters that, in both Greece and its diaspora, Modern Greek identity continues to negotiate its *Europeanness*.

While at the very heart of this inquiry are broader ontological considerations of what it means to be a Greek-Australian, this chapter concerns itself with one particular facet: how do Greeks in Australia negotiate their Europeanness? From this core query, a set of sub-questions emerge: What nuances shape—and reshape—identity group formation in a third party setting such as Australia? How does the nexus between the

original homeland and the adopted hostland impact upon notions of Europeanness amongst Greek-Australians? How has the Europeanization of Greece and Cyprus, as Greek "Metropolitan Centres" (Niotis 1999, 5), affected Greek-Australian perceptions of themselves? And, how does Europeanness (by now a metaphor for the East-West identity predicament), manifest itself for Greeks from different demographic settings (regional, urban, rural) and chronological periods of departure/settlement? These are some of the questions that we will attempt to deliberate on in our survey of the Greek-Australian community as a European diaspora.

This chapter makes the case that, if Greek-Australians are to navigate/negotiate their "Europeanness" at all successfully, they will need to forge a sustained and multi-dimensional dialogue with their Anatolian/Eastern predisposition, of the kind that has so far eluded them in their one-dimensional engagement with Europe. Simply put, this will need to be a dialogue that engages not just the political, social, financial, intellectual and cultural leaders of the homeland (Greece and the Republic of Cyprus), but also their respective diasporas in ways that are mutually reinforcing. In this respect, the Greek-Australian community is geo-culturally well situated. The dialogue itself will need to be multifaceted, connecting traditional identity concerns with emerging transnational cultural challenges, of which cultural hybridity is but its most striking manifestation. It will also need to reflect upon the evolving social fabric and economic structure of Europe, Asia and Australia with a view to identifying fruitful avenues of collaboration and importantly, ways of negotiating the undeniable cultural and political distance that separates them.

The Greek Diaspora in Australia

The Greek presence in Australia can be traced as far back as 1829, when seven Greek sailors from the Aegean island of Hydra, convicted of piracy, arrived at Sydney harbour on board the Norfolk (*NSW State Records* 2014).[6] However, the trajectory of Greek migration to Australia is demarcated around Australia's seminal post-war migration scheme. The pre-war period (1830-1930s) was characterized by transient evanescence of the Ottoman Empire and the nebulous uncertainty of the young Greek State. Most of the early Greek migrants (1830-1910s), were enticed to Australia by the gold rush, from the British administered Ionian Islands of Kythera and Ithaka and the Aegean island of Kastelorizo (Gilchrist 2001, 389). Within Australia's federation at the turn of the twentieth century,

there was a clear upward mobility amongst these Greeks as they had begun to move into the hospitality sector by becoming small business owners. In 1897 they established Greek Orthodox communities in Melbourne and Sydney, ostensibly to meet their growing religious, cultural and social needs. The next major wave of Greeks to migrate to Australia (1900-1940s) was the result of the political upheaval, carnage, poverty and dislocation that befell millions of Greeks as a result of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the First World War (1914-17), and the Greek-Turkish War (1919-23). The Asia Minor Catastrophe, in particular, with its demoralizing exchange of populations, saw many Greek refugees redirected to Australia as a result of US migration restrictions (Tsounis 1975, 22).

Figure 1: Greece & Italy born population in Australia 1901-2011
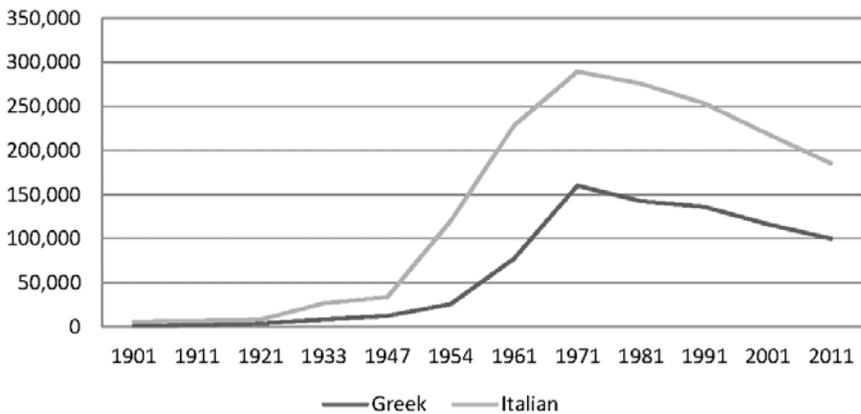
Sources: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs ([DIMA] 2001) & Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Housing, 2006, 2011.

Post-war migration forms the basis for the mainstream Greek community in Australia. The devastation of the Second World War compounded by the *adelfoktónos* (fratricidal) Greek Civil War, followed by decades of conservative and fiercely anti-communist regimes leading to the Cyprus tragedy of 1974, serves as the political backdrop for post-war Greek migration. Initiated by the Commonwealth Assistance Scheme in 1952, unlike earlier Greek migration, post-war migration, by and large, was sourced from the Peloponnese, Northern Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and the large Greek islands of Crete and Lesbos (Tsounis, 1974, 24;

Gilchrist 2001).[7] This catchment needs to include those Greeks born outside Greece from Egypt, Cyprus, Turkey, and Romania. In contrast to mainland Greeks, this latter cluster formed minority communities in their homelands, with the Greek-Cypriots forming an exception but whose particularism rendered them amenable to the double-minority syndrome. These were urban populations, cosmopolitan in outlook with higher levels of education. Greeks of Egypt, for example, were multilingual, cultured, and entrepreneurial, and constituted the commercial and erudite classes in Egypt, whilst the Greek-Cypriots were generally bilingual and more versed in British legal and administrative institutions (Kringas 2001, 393).

In contrast to other communities in Australia, which are firmly recognised as European, Greeks are problematic in their classification. A Eurocentric approach accentuates our analysis and grounds it in a transnational emigrational milieu which places Greek migrants within the southern European cohort. In the post-war era, Southern Europe was Australia's main migrational catchment with 278,000 migrants from Italy and 164,000 from Greece (Price 1970, 181). Until 1939 Greeks (and Italians) in Australia were considered as "White Aliens"—or even "semi-coloured" (Langfield 1999). As Charles Price (1970) points out, Greek migration, settlement and integration shared similar features and patterns with the Italians in terms of background, history and profile. Such comparisons are further enhanced by the way Italians and Greeks fitted into the racial template of White Australia. In their study of the post-war migrant experience, Janis Wilton and Richard Bosworth (1984, 2) note that during the White Australia period, Greeks and Italians were seen as the key "aliens that Australian public and political opinion deemed to be the chief infringers of British Australia". Furthermore, a much greater proportion of Greeks (58%) and Italians (49%) comprised of unskilled labourers compared to the 7-9% of the Australian male average. In the 1970s, Greeks and Italians were the principal southern European ethno-linguistic communities who were most likely to be unskilled, brought-up in a rural peasant environment, and uneducated or with very low schooling (Wilson & Bosworth 1984, 93).

But attempts at comparing Greeks with other European communities—most notably the Italians—need to take into account the difference in religion. As noted earlier, the whole East-West/Asia-Europe divide is engrained in the Roman Catholic-Greek Orthodox partition which renders Greek Orthodoxy, in terms of the European civilizational discourse, exceptional. Greek exceptionalism was picked up by Donald Horne in his cardinal work *The Lucky Country*. Contrasting Australia's migration and the settlement of non-English speaking Europeans with the ghettoes in the

United States, Horne notes that there had been no "closed areas of settlement and separate schools, or strong political groupings extending into the general community or (with the exception of the Greeks) separate church groupings" (Horne 1964, 90-1). Australia's "moderate secularism", as founded in Article §116 of its Constitution, sets the political and cultural parameters for accommodating religious difference. Here the argument is that Orthodoxy's exceptionalism—in its Greek, Slavic and Arabic ethnic manifestation—remains, symbolically and politically, an expression of non-committal feelings towards Western Christianity and liberal post-secularism.

The increased presence of Orthodoxy in the Greek-Australian community is also a consequence of its comparative late industrialisation and urbanisation. Here Nicos Mouzelis (1978, 60-5) and Lila Leontidou (1990, 123) claim that Greece's postwar urbanisation "disentangled" Greeks from the traditional ties of political clientelism. However, as Chris Moustakas (1964) demonstrated in his original study of Greece's internal migration, rather than undermining the traditional social ties of rural-born populations, the processes of urbanisation and migration have led to a reassessing of traditional ties, values, norms and lifestyles.

Since the publication of the seminal *Life in Australia* (Kentavros & Andronikos Bros 1916), studies on Greeks in Australia have been relatively inconsistent and irregular. With an aberration towards institutional historiography (Tsounis 1971; Kapardis & Tamis 1988; Tamis 2005; Gilchrist 1992-2004; Tsingris 2009; Fifis 2009) they have been either prone to niche specialisation or confined to the narrow disciplinary milieu of Modern Greek studies.

While the first studies provided a firm sociological scholarly basis (Price 1975; Tsounis 1971; Bottomley 1979), this soon dissipated as scholars diversified and incrementally were absorbed into the province of Modern Greek studies (literature and language). Throughout the literature, a certain vagueness obfuscates Greek presence in Australia in terms of their Europeanness. While a distinction is drawn with the dominant British-Australian culture (Smolicz 1985; Gauntlet 1997; Nicolacopoulos & Vassilacopoulos 2004), their catchment classification as southern Europeans (Price 1963; 1968; Tamis 2005) frames a Eurocentric discourse that is sourced by the statist hegemony emanating from Greece (and Cyprus) and their subsequent confluence towards Europeanization. In this context, as Anastasios Tamis exemplifies, Greeks are projected as embellishing the European profile in Australian life (Tamis 2005, 130) whereupon all vestiges of non-Europeanness are subdued, suppressed or

simply overlooked as they do not conform to the official historical template.

Reception by the Host Society: the Disputed Europeanness of Australia's Greek Diaspora

The idea of Greek *Europeanness*, or the lack of it, was to be very early on, challenged by an Australia that was largely unaccommodating of, as well as hostile to, this new Southern European interloper. Although it was infrequently acknowledged that "Europeans made good settlers" and on occasions they were even praised as being "superior to English migrants", this was not the prevailing view of White Australia (*The West Australian* 1928). Greeks, as with other Southern Europeans, were originally perceived as alien trespassers that threatened to contaminate the White Australia paradigm (*Albury Banner and Wodonga Express* 1926, 20).

Southern *Europeanness* constituted the margins of European civilization, with connotations of the parochial, provincial and unsophisticated. The usage of the "Southern" qualifier in the Australian discourse denoted notions of a "diluted" constituency, an auxiliary or appendage spuriously attached to the purity of the core—in this case British-Australia. This was evident in the media coverage of pre-war Australia, which, replete with pejorative phraseology and degrading innuendos, relegated Southern Europeans to a marginal, almost, "parasitic" presence. For example, in a 1927 article, Southern Europeans, and Greeks and Italians in particular, were referred to as "cheap low-grade labour". The same article went on to compare the influx of Southern Europeans to the "African slaves in America...who led to the troubles of the Civil War and the dreadful Negro problems of today" (*Bunyip* 1927). The implication was that Greeks (and Italians), as with the "American negro", were a subaltern category to the Anglo-Saxons and Northern Europeans. The divide, therefore, between Anglo/Western Europeanness and Southern Europeanness soon became very clear to the new arrivals. *Europeanness*, in terms of "whiteness" as per the "White Australia" policy, excluded the southern European, and by extension the Greek or the Italian or any "half-bred Moor" with "black blood" who was less "European" than the Western European (*The Argus* Melbourne 1937). The Greeks' Balkan, Ottoman, Mediterranean and oriental demeanour motivated their exclusion from full participation within Australia's social corpus.

The view that Greeks and Southern Europeans constituted "shifting parasitic populations" was not restricted to the outer ridges of Australia's racist contours, but was shared by the educated, cultured—and presumably

sympathetic—elite. Indicative of such views are the scathing comments of Australia's foremost orientalist and classicist Professor William John Woodhouse in 1922. Returning from a 12-month holiday, mainly in Greece, Woodhouse, who was the Chair of Greek and Curator of the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney, was quoted extensively as saying:

> That Australia needs population will be readily granted by every sane thinker, but *I am not in favour of the introduction into a vigorous young country like Australia of peoples of the decadent nations of Southern Europe*. Be they Italians, Spaniards, or Greeks, they are not the most desirable foundation for a young nation. Added to this, the people who emigrate from Greece and Italy do not come to Australia with the intention of settling here. When they have gathered enough money they return to their home country. It would be a shock to a number of people if they knew the amounts of money that are sent from the Commonwealth to foreign countries, such as Italy and Greece. The class of new settlers *that should be invited and encouraged to come to Australia are the peoples of Northern Europe*, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. After spending a number of months among the people of Southern Europe, and I went with a fixed purpose, to observe, *I am quite convinced that they are not a desirable class of immigrant: they are merely a shifting, parasitic population* [italicized text by authors] (*Kalgoorlie Miner* 1922, 3).

Such overt racism and exclusion from mainstream White Australia forced Greek migrants to turn inward by "constructing" their own networks, structures, and spaces as "an alternative social and cultural environment" (Tsounis 1975, 20). With the abandonment of the White Australia policy and its replacement with multiculturalism, Greek exclusion receded. Nevertheless, it continued as a sense of otherness which underscored a subterranean societal and cultural divide.

Greek migration did not only bring its unwanted "southern Europeanness", it also, inadvertently, brought its own regional politics. Greece's divided neutrality at the outset of the First World War and King Constantine's pro-German stance only compounded the prevailing view of their "otherness" and "disloyalty". Resentment towards Greece, and consequently Greek-Australians, during this period manifested as riots in Sydney against Greek-Australian businesses (Tsounis 1975, 34; Gilchrist 2001). The Greek-Australian diaspora, once again, became the victim of homeland politics and Greece's wartime allegiances. The introduction of Greek ethno-politics into multicultural Australia—the most prominent examples being the Cypriot, Macedonian and Pontian issues (delineations of the Eastern Question)—often reinforces how other Australians perceive

Greeks and their unwillingness to extricate themselves from their nationalist veneered "oriental links".

Modernity, Traditionalism and the Greek East-West Duality

As a "contrast concept", modernity is renowned for its theoretical vagueness and normative elusiveness (Bauman 1983; Kumar 1988). By adopting Europeanising modernity as a conceptual framework for the Greek-Australian community, we are cognisant of the inherent temptation to hurl all cultural, political, economic, legal and social phenomena into its intellectual vortex.

Nevertheless, from the outset we need to be conscious of the binary homeland/diaspora European/Anatolian composition of Greeks in Australia and Hellenism's transient historical, political and physical context when referring to Greek identity. The political, economical, social and psychological separation of the two competing forces of Europeanising modernity (since the eighteenth century) and its Anatolian vestiges throughout the evolution of Greek society since antiquity, endowed with a geographical and ethno-demographic dimension, renders pertinent the question of whether we should be referring to Greek identity in its singular, plural or divided milieu.

Nowhere is Greek culture's Anatolian—or non-Europeanness—more evident than in the alluring and sublime world of the *rembétika*—the Greek blues (Holst 1977, 77). Encapsulating a lifestyle that predates the formation of the modern Greek state in the nineteenth century, *rembétika* is rooted deep in its Eastern Asiatic disposition, having survived the advent of Europeanising modernity with a transnational adumbration that resonates with expatriation, *xenitiá (cf* Greek experience of exile*) and to kourbéti (*cf Turkish *gurbet* meaning "exile") (Gauntlett 2009, 271). In Greece, *rembétika* evolved as an urban underground sub-culture brought over and developed by the 1923 Asia Minor refugees and their descendants who inter-generationally formed the bulk of Greece's urban lumpenproletariat (Papadopoulos, 2013, 336).[8] These downtrodden and dispossessed villagers and urban workers, who for decades constituted Greece's lowest social strata, sought solace in *rembétika* from the humiliation imposed upon them by the dominant mainland culture when dealing with authority, power and officialdom (Petropoulos 2000; Holst 1977).