

**An Integration Study of Migrants in Australia**  
**With special reference to migrants assisted by**  
**the World Council of Churches and the Australian Council of Churches.**

**A work of personal research**

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**2ND EDITION**

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**I. INTRODUCTION**

At the second meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the W.C.C. Migration Conference in January 1960, which I attended, the need was felt to study the problems of integration, especially among those migrants who were assisted by the W.C.C. in their movement to a new country. After the meeting the Director of the Resettlement Department of the Australian Council agreed to have such a study undertaken and appointed me to carry out this task.

At the meeting of the Preparatory Commission it was realised that as only a short time was available, such studies must be on a limited scale. These limitations have affected my work in many ways and the results cannot claim to give comprehensive answers to the manifold questions posed by the complex process of the integration of migrants. Nevertheless, my aim has been to produce a report which would show the main problems facing both migrants and receiving community during the integration process. Also, this

report intends to touch upon spiritual (church) and legal relationships, which undergo deep changes once a migrant leaves his country of birth.

From the beginning, this study has been carried out in consultation with the Department of Demography at the Australian National University, Canberra. I am indebted to Dr. Charles A. Price, Senior Fellow in Demography, and to his colleagues for their expert advice, without suggesting that they bear any responsibility for the contents of this report.

I wish personally to express my gratitude to the Hon. John J. Dedman, Director of the Resettlement Department, for his support in this work, and to my colleagues, especially Miss Margaret Holmes, M.B.E., and Miss Constance Duncan, for helping me with their great experience.

A special tribute is due to all those who, following the circulation of the First Edition, made comments within Australia and abroad, so enabling the preparation of this Second Edition. This made it possible to improve expressions, to remove certain ambiguities, to show more clearly certain problem areas arising during the process of integration, and to make use of certain statistics which were the result of my study but which, because of shortage of time, could not be collated during the preparation of the First Edition of this report. Preparing the Second Edition also made it possible for me to do additional interviewing, especially on those matters the First Edition had shown to be particular involved or controversial.

In my work I was given complete freedom as to the manner in which the task should be accomplished. To the best of my ability I have observed the standards of scholarship to be expected in studies of this kind. It follows that I alone am responsible for the contents of this report and that the findings contained therein do not necessarily represent the views of the World Council of Churches, the Australian Council of Churches, or its Resettlement Department.

May this report create further interest towards the problems which arise in connection with the migration of large numbers of people, and also stimulate intensive study of some problems which emerge from this report.

## **II. SCOPE AND METHOD OF THIS STUDY**

From the beginning of WCC/Resettlement Department operations in Australia in February, 1951, up to the end of the year 1960, 29,039 refugees and migrants have arrived in this country under our auspices. Carrying out a sample survey with 1000 cases, about 2000 refugee and non-refugee migrants could be approached, representing not more than 6.9% of our arrivals. One should, however, remember that these migrants landed at various air or sea-ports up to 2,200 miles (3,500 kilometres) away from Melbourne and that they have settled in all parts of our Continent, covering an area of about 3 million square miles or 8 million square kilometres. Despite the lack of political boundaries, there are differences in conditions of settlement for migrants in the various States of the Commonwealth of Australia, according to industry, to economic position, and to the concentration of indigenous or migrant population, etc.; a study ignoring such differences would be very superficial. Because of the great distances, the only way of carrying out a survey would have been through questionnaires. This posed further problems. The answers to a short questionnaire would not give the background of the migrant and his environment. On the other hand, more ambitious

questionnaires could not be satisfactorily completed as the majority of our migrants have had very little education. Because of the great mobility of the migrants until they buy their own homes, probably we could not reach most of them by letter at all.

Owing to these difficulties, interviewing had to be substituted for the posted questionnaires, and thus the survey was limited to Capital Cities, where ACC. Resettlement Department offices are operating, beginning in Melbourne. Owing to shortage of time, the extension of my study to the Sydney area was impracticable. By using the method of interviewing, I had to limit substantially the number of cases which I could survey in detail and it became imperative that my study should concentrate on the group of migrants who came here under our auspices in the greatest numbers, namely Greeks 14,046, Yugoslavs 4,748 and Russians 5,516. The majority of the Russians are refugees from China (5,256), most of them settling in New South Wales and Queensland, Because their number is smaller in Melbourne, it was evident that I had to omit the Russian refugees from China from the Melbourne survey. Such a further limitation to the study project nevertheless brought the result that the study could be focused on non-refugee migrants alone, instead of dealing with refugee and non-refugee migrant together (1).

Another important factor is that the Greek and Yugoslav migrants who came here under our auspices received our travel loan assistance; the contact which we had with them for a period during the collection of the travel loans not only facilitated our efforts to locate them but also meant that the relevant records gave very useful information on the first years of the settlement of the migrants in this country until the loans were repaid. These records included summaries of interviews between migrants and officers of the Resettlement Department in Melbourne, covering much personal and economic material. Besides these summaries and the material obtained from the special interviews I made use of the results of several hundred interviews taking place between myself and the migrants in the ordinary course of my work since 1954 (handling personally the case of nearly all migrants who came with our assistance from Greece and Egypt to all States in Australia other than New South Wales and Queensland). The results of these several hundred interviews -which covered matters relating not only to travel loans, but personal and social problems and political opinions and attitudes as well - were taken into account in the final assessment of the migrant situation» But in order to avoid bias, these results were not considered during the process of selecting certain cases for more intensive interviewing.

The study thus conducted combined interviewing with the inspection of the records and statistics available in Melbourne for the whole WCC/Resettlement Department operation in Australia.

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(1) For the purpose of this division "refugee migrant" is a person who, before migrating to Australia, was under international legal protection and/or was assisted by an international organization helping refugees.

The problems connected with integration vary according to the length of residence in the new country. Therefore, our migrants were divided into three categories according to the date of their arrival. Our "early" migrants arrived between 1952-54, the "middle" group in 1955-57 and the "new" arrivals since January 1958.

Because the lowest number of our cases belonged to the first period I was able to inspect and examine the records in all cases in which migrants arrived anywhere in Australia with our Travel Loan assistance before the end of 1954. This was the "seed" migration which extended into a "chain-migration" process during the successive years. The numbers of "old" or "early" files examined totalled 1,465 and covered some 3,074 migrants in all.

The differentiation between our "middle" and "new" migrants could not be carried out in practice. Our Greek migrants who arrived in 1957 from Greece fit easily in the "middle" group. The Greeks from Egypt, however, who landed here in the same year seem to be closer to the "new" than to the "middle" group. Many "new" migrants who arrived only during 1958 and 1959 were sponsored during the early "middle" period but they were held up for 2-3 years because of the Australian immigration restrictions introduced in May, 1956. Thus our "middle" and "new" migrants are very closely linked through our present day to day operations, experiences and contacts with both groups.

Because of the large numbers, especially of Greek migrants, the inspection of their records for the post-1954 period was carried out through the analysis of certain records of some of the large migrant transports, representing a fair cross-section of our migrants arriving at regular intervals. In all, these selected transports covered 14.5% of our post-1954 migrants.

Problems of integration also vary according to ethnic group and area of origin; it was therefore necessary to divide our migrants into those categories which would most usefully serve to reveal these variations. After considerable discussion the following divisions were applied

- 1) Migrants from Greece, discussing our migrants from northwestern Greek Macedonia separately from those coming from the rest of Greece.
- 2) Migrants from Egypt (principally Greeks),
- 3) Migrants from Yugoslavia, discussing our migrants from Yugoslav Macedonia separately from those who come from the rest of Yugoslavia.

The reasons for making these divisions will emerge more clearly from the further chapters of this Report and need no further elaboration here.

Having decided how to divide up our migrant records for more detailed examination, it had to be decided how to select cases for more intensive interviewing. The first question here was whether a migrant with an outstanding travel loan could be complete unbiased when being interviewed. Accounts opened before 1955 showed that the proportion of still outstanding loans and amounts is rather small and suggested that I could safely assume that, unless difficulties arise, the travel loan repayment progresses normally and that interviews with such families would, in this respect, be unbiased. The minority of cases - i.e. those falling behind regular payment - might well give distorted answers, and it seemed wiser to select for interview only those families where the travel loan was fully repaid, or where repayment had progressed regularly.

The next problem concerned the distinction between unattached migrants and

members of family groups - i.e. migrants who had sponsored parents, husbands, wives, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, cousins, etc. , or who had themselves been sponsored by such relatives. Our records show that, during the period before 1955, the majority of the cases of our Greek and Yugoslav migrants were family reunions in which the degree of relationship between the migrants and the sponsors did not extend beyond brothers and sisters. This high proportion of family reunions has been retained, especially since the introduction of the immigration restrictions in May, 1956.

As I could do only a limited number of intensive interviews, it seemed appropriate to concentrate on family groups, since these included the great majority of our migrants. Also there was an additional advantage in that one interview gave useful information about more than one case and about several migrants who arrived at various times.

In the final selection I divided our alphabetically arranged records into a number of equal blocks (from each of which I could choose one family from each area of origin), arbitrarily decided from which block to select an "early", "middle", or "new" arrival, and then pulled out the first file satisfying the above criteria, including family connections and regular payments. Once a case was selected, this selection was supplemented by picking out all the files in which migrants were closely related to the sponsor or migrants in the primarily selected case. Unfortunately, for reason of time, I was unable to interview everyone, and finally completed satisfactory intensive interviews with only nine families from Greece, including four from north-western Greek Macedonia, five Greek families from Egypt, and seven families from Yugoslavia including two from Yugoslav Macedonia. (These families, in all, covered 119 persons).

It is not for a moment suggested that this procedure is scientifically random or that one can, from these families interviewed, draw general conclusions about all families from the different areas of origin. But my concern was not to examine scientifically representative families - the time available and the organization of our files effectively prevented that - but to choose a number of migrant families in as random a way as possible, but to examine in detail the problems confronting those families, especially those problems that would emerge clearly only with intensive interviewing., These problems could then be related back to the records, the interview summaries of our officers, my own interviews with several hundred families over the years, and some conclusions drawn about the intensity and widespreadness of these problems.

All this information was then checked and supplemented by interviews with clergymen, professional men, and business men familiar with migrants from each area of origin. I was also able to use the doctoral thesis of Dr, Jo Ac Petrolias on Post-War Greek and Italian Migrants in Melbourne and, while in no way suggesting that my conclusions invariably agree with his, am very grateful to him for making his thesis available to me.

In addition to all these sources of information, I was able to draw on my own experiences gained during my participation for many years in the Good Neighbour Movement (which co-ordinates the assimilation activities of voluntary organizations in the Australian community), and from the personal contacts with most of the "ethnic" churches and many migrant organizations in Victoria.

My findings in this report are based on the cumulative results of all these

sources except where one particular source is mentioned in support of a statement.

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### **III. MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION**

From what has already been said, it follows that our integration study is closely linked up with the migration process, though migration and integration are two different phenomena, and the migration process must be complete before the process of integration can begin.

It is true that the moment cannot be easily defined when the migration process has been completed and the integration process begun. Migration is therefore regarded here as the movement of people into a different environment with the intention to settle there permanently. The degree of difference (whether geographic or ethnic) between the old and new environments can determine the scope of a particular migration study. For instance, the forthcoming WCC. Migration Conference, to assist which this document has been written, will not be able to deal with problems arising out of internal migration. My study is restricted to the problems which accompany the movement of non-British European migrants to Australia.

Integration, on the other hand, is regarded here as the process on the part of two or more groups or their members with different ethnic, cultural, etc., backgrounds, towards the feeling of belonging to or forming one nation or community as a whole, resulting in the application for and in the granting of citizenship in the country of immigration.

My above definition of "Integration" is the result of an endeavour to meet two needs which this study must serve. Firstly, in view of the fact that the work was undertaken in the hope that it would be of value to the WCC Migration Conference, this report presents the non-theological problem areas of integration as comprehensively as possible. Any definition developed by a particular discipline would have been insufficient for this purpose since a comprehensive treatment requires an inter-disciplinary approach. Secondly, the definition had to be relevant to the particular Australian situation, where the post-war migrants and their children form more than one-tenth of the population of this land and where the concept of the pluralistic society is gaining slow recognition over the concept of assimilation within one generation. This definition is also a recognition of the social change which has been taking place on our continent during the last decade, greatly influenced by the large scale post-war migration. In course of this social change indigenous and migrant population with varieties of backgrounds, contribute jointly to the development of a new national life. In course of such a social process, "integration" is needed not only between indigenous and migrant population, but also within the various groups of migrants with different backgrounds, and the definition of "integration" should be wide enough to cover this element too. Finally I felt the need to define "integration" in terms of its end:- the wholeness of the community, even in its changing structure, and this was achieved by including the formal, legal element in my definition.

It cannot be stated that the integration process begins when the migrant steps down from the boat or plane, though the actual immigration procedure, in the operational sense, definitely ends. For the purpose of an integration study covering a period of several decades or a century the above distinction

would-be of little importance. In our case, however, with not more than 7 or 8 years since the arrival of the first Greek or Yugoslav migrants under our auspices, this first period of integration, or the period before the beginning of the integration, is of great importance, and incorrect application of terms would lead to confusion.

On arrival of the migrants, mostly with the anticipation of happiness and with expectations of a prosperous future, there is an initial period of "orientation" in a new land, coupled with an anticlimax after the excitements of a great move. During this time, the new arrival tries to get "re-settled" in a physical sense in contrast to the movement. He will get a roof over his head and find work to pay for his upkeep. The need for clothing is no longer so pronounced among migrants as it is with refugees who come from a camp. The next period, after having satisfied the daily needs, is to achieve security for such an existence, including the consideration of a secure future by saving, the purchase of land or house, vocational training or higher education. Personal friendships belong to such future social security too. This phase of the new existence, beyond the mere re-settlement, may be called "re-establishment".

These periods in a sense correspond to the psychological phases of adjustments in the migrants life. On arrival there is a great enthusiasm during the "orientation" period, but once the re-settlement, with its relative stability, is achieved, the missing part returns with a very vehement force, potentially causing great emotional stress. This is usually overcome when the "re-establishment" stage is accomplished, including a sense of security and a reasonably justified confidence in the future.

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It is in relation to these two periods subsequent upon the completion of the migrant's movement, that we have to look for the beginning of the process of integration. The time needed for "orientation" and to achieve "re-establishment", may vary between a few days or weeks or months and the whole remaining lifetime of the migrant; but, no matter how short or how long these periods are, they should be observed very carefully, because otherwise physical settlement and economic establishment may be regarded as integration, whereas a well established person not availing himself of the citizenship of the new country clearly shows that he does not feel himself as a part of that receiving country; consequently "economic integration" in this case may tend to be a misnomer.

The problems which the migrants have to face during the periods of re-settlement and re-establishment in this country are fairly general, but migrants with different backgrounds react differently to the same problem; thus we cannot dispense with certain divisions among our migrants according to their backgrounds.

Some of the problems are quite obvious - those relating to housing, the effect of the suburban type of settlement on the migrant, occupation, the possibility of using the skill acquired in the old country, or the need to adapt oneself to new employment conditions. The family structure may undergo great strain on account of the changed social conditions in the country of immigration. The problem of learning English is related to the way of communication with the native population.

There are other problems which are not so obvious, but not less important. No study of integration can leave out the historical and political background of

the migrants. The opinions they hold, the ethnic societies and churches they join, the persons they marry, the extent to which they remain tied to their ethnic compatriots or make friendships with native Australians, etc., are all affected by their historical and political background.

Being far away from Europe it may be impossible to reach any objective truth about historical or political matters in Europe. But it is not the objective truth, but the migrants' own opinions of what happened, that play so important a part in the process of integration.

Australian Churches have been involved with the World Council of Churches in helping people in need, no matter what nation they belong to. The Australian Churches will never understand the problems of integration without the historical and political background of the migrants, and the more they know about it, the more likely are they to help migrants in the difficult years of re-settlement and re-establishment.

Our migrants, like the others, came with the intention of making a permanent home here. Many of them are already Australian citizens, or have the intention to become Australian citizens, and their children born here were born as citizens of this country. It is, therefore, essential that they should be looked upon as an integral part of the Australian community.

In addition to those opinions of migrants that clearly effect integration, the Australian Council is also concerned with the attitude, favourable or otherwise, of native Australians towards migrants; since the inauguration of the Good Neighbour Movement by the Australian Government the Australian Churches have played an important part in this Movement.

With this general introduction let us now turn to the process of integration as revealed by my study of some of our migrant groups.

Because almost half of our migrants are Greeks, it is convenient to treat their integration in some detail in Chapter V and to cover as many of the general problems of integration as possible in relation to them. It is then unnecessary to restate these problems in detail when describing other migrant groups, except where differences in ethnic and historical background cause such problems to express themselves in ways very different to the Greek pattern.

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#### **IV. GREEK MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA IN GENERAL**

Migration from Greece to Australia followed the pattern of chain-migration until the activities of I.R.O. (International Refugee Organisation) and I.C.E.M. (Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration) began. I.R.O. carried out the movement of Greek ethnic refugees to Australia, but, after the formation of I.C.E.M. in 1951 the movement of Greek ethnic refugees became insignificant compared with the movement of Greeks born both in Greece and Egypt. The increased migration from Greece coincided with the establishment of an Australian Migration Mission in Athens. The WCC/Resettlement Department operation regarding Greeks began in conjunction with I.C.E.M. in 1952, with assistance to Greek ethnic refugees and later on to earthquake victims. This work was extended soon to Greeks from Egypt who began to feel the increasing pressure of the Egyptian Government on aliens. By the second half of 1953, the WCC/ICEM Revolving Fund travel loan assistance included any indigent Greeks. The increasing number of Greek migrants travelling



through ICEM led to the Greek Government setting out from 1952 onwards eligibility criteria for ICEM assistance, which naturally affected the WCC/ICEM Revolving Fund travel loan cases, especially after January 1955. (2)

Also within the scope of ICEM, but independently of WCC, the Australian Government commenced to recruit Greek workers in 1953, and these migrants came to Australia within the Governmental Assisted Migration Scheme, paying only a small contribution towards the fare prior to embarkation. Those who migrated under such Governmental Scheme were entitled to nominate wives, minor children, fiancées and unmarried sisters. Though the recruiting under the Workers<sup>1</sup> Scheme was discontinued in 1956, with limited exception during the last 2 years, the movement of Nominated Dependents has gone on continuously, but in gradually decreasing numbers.

Broadly speaking, WCC migration from Greece provides extensions to both the individual chain-migration and the Governmental Assisted Migration Scheme. Nominees of a migrant who came here at his own expense, or such nominees of Governmentally assisted migrants who were ineligible for free passage under the Nominated Dependant Scheme, benefited from our travel loan assistance. Meanwhile, of course, a chain-migration has developed within our operation too, because migrants who came here with our help began to bring their nominees, again with our assistance, once the first loan was repaid and the nominees were eligible for admission to Australia under the immigration policy as well as under the Greek Government regulations, (3) By the end of 1960, 14,046 Greek migrants arrived here under our auspices. Of these, 11,219 came from Greece and 2,421 from Egypt. The balance of 406 is composed of Greek refugees from various countries including about 300 from countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The Governmental Assisted Migration Scheme did not cover Greeks in Egypt, but operated in large areas of Greece. When the Greek Government revised its regulations in 1955, the inhabitants of Northern Greece and of some islands were affected, but in March, 1959, these territorial restrictions were lifted. (3)

Our migrants of Greek nationality have come from many regions and districts and, in their integration, frequently show the influence of diverse backgrounds. Ideally an integration survey should bring out these differences by treating each regional migrant group separately.

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(2) The purpose of such regulations was mainly (a) to ensure that only indigent migrants could receive WCC/ICEM travel loan assistance and (b) to discourage migration from certain underpopulated areas.

(3) See footnote (2)

Unfortunately, the scope of this report prevents such a treatment and for the most part can do no more than discuss all migrants of Greek nationality

together. There are, however, two groups amongst our migrants that for a variety of historical and social reasons, and because numerically they are quite important, cannot sensibly be lumped into an undifferentiated survey of Greek migration:- migrants from Egypt and migrants from north-western Greek Macedonia. Experience in Australia shows that the integration problems of these two groups are sufficiently different from those of other migrants to warrant discussing their integration separately from that of other Greek nationals. This will become clearer in the next three chapters.

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## **V. MIGRANTS FROM GREECE (Excluding Migrants from North-Western Greek Macedonia)**

The majority of our migrants under this heading to Victoria come from the islands and from the Peloponnese, and five of the interviewed family groups migrated from these areas.

From the beginning of our operation our applicants in Greece were poor and since 1953 the Greek Government has required a certificate of indigence from all migrants who apply for our travel loan assistance. Poverty, large families, and lack of industries outside Athens, are the main causes for our migrants deciding to come to Australia. They can achieve their aim if they have a close relative here, who as sponsor is able to obtain permission for the migrant's admission to Australia.

The fact of individual sponsorship and the close relationship between the migrant and the sponsor have their effect on the initial period of orientation and re-settlement of the migrant. Accommodation is provided in the family home of the sponsor, or in another room of the same house if the sponsor lives in rented accommodation. Employment is also arranged with the help of the sponsor. Where the sponsor is reliable and well settled in his work he can usually recommend his nominee to his employer with success, even in times of an economic recession, when not much employment is available for unskilled labourer who do not speak English. If the sponsor is not well settled in his work or if there is some disharmony between the sponsor and his nominee, the period of "re-settlement" may last longer than in the majority of the case of our Greek migrants.

Generally speaking, the proportion of tradesmen among our migrants coming from the islands or the Peloponnese is small. Among the interviewed cases there was one barber who came here first in 1924 and who, as an Australian citizen, returned to Greece in 1930 to get married. He came here for the second time in 1954 with his family, under our auspices. Another tradesman was a tailor whose father had a small tailor's shop. Both are from Kos Island, in the Dodecanese, and both work in their trade here. One has his barber shop, the other is employed in a tailoring workshop. The other interviewed migrants arrived with no skilled trade and with very little education (not more than 6 years primary school); like most of our Greek migrants, they found employment in industries which depend on unskilled or semiskilled labour that can be supplied in time of economic buoyancy from migrant sources only. The Victorian Railways, the Australian Glass Factory, motor car factories and, for women, the clothing industry provide employment even if the migrant speaks little or no English. The migrants work with co-nationals and this solves the problem of interpreting. The earnings even if only slightly above the

basic wage enable the maintenance of a single person amply and he is in a position to save to bring to Australia someone else, or to send money to Greece to support relatives there.

During the "middle" period, between 1955-1957, in the course of interviews in our office with Greek husbands who came here under our auspices and were anxious to bring out their families with our travel loan assistance too, these migrants told us quite frequently: that every- thing they could save after paying living expenses and traveller loan instalments, had to be sent to their families in Greece; they were thus unable to pay the required one-third deposit towards their families fares. However, during the last two year's we have seldom heard this. plea; the probable reason being that such recently arrived husbands ".- are adequately helped by their better established close relatives-paying: the required deposit towards the familys travel loan, so that no unnecessary delay may occur in their migration; and they need to, send remittances to the family in Greece may be overcome.

A migrant who comes alone and is able to save some amount before he brings out his fiancée or marries somebody from Australia is in a better position than- the head of a family who. comes first and brings his family here later, or comes together with his family. The larger the- family and the younger the children the greater: are the difficulties which must be faced until the children grow up so that they are able to start work. The analysis of our pre-1955 records show that the average number of persons is larger in cases in which the loans are not fully repaid then in the fully repaid cases.

The completion of the period of orientation and re-settlement with the beginning of the process of re-establishment occurs usually when the migrant's primary needs are satisfied and he starts to work for some long term objective. He decided upon a future occupation, (perhaps a business), permanent accommodation, bringing out a family, marriage, social life, friend's, community. The migrant needs to have satisfactorily completed the initial resettlement process, otherwise he will not be desirous of making long term plans. In the second phase of re-establishment the migrant has to build up his own community contacts, ethnic as well as indigenous, and the learning of English is inevitable.

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The learning of English by migrants has been a persistent subject for discussion, with little results, within the Good Neighbour Movement since its formation some ten years ago. The Australian Government provides free English classes for migrants in the evenings and recent inaugurated daytime classes too. Correspondence tuition is also available and English lessons are given by radio for "New Australians". There no evidence that our migrants use these facilities to a great extent; still in every family visited by the writer the interview could proceed in English without any difficulty for two hours or more. Apart from t few who go to English classes the majority of the migrants learn English by "picking it up" at work, in cinemas, through radio or television. ' same applies to women working outside the home, but they are rather diffident about speaking English. The low level of education in the home country and the low standard of literacy, even in the native tongue, se' limits to the progress in learning English for adult migrants, no matte how long a migrant remains in Australia. Learning English starts son times in Greece within the family. In one of the interviewed cases we heard that the father in

Greece spoke a few English words which he taught his children before they came to Australia. Another interview showed that some families in Greece learnt English during the last World War when they harboured Australians.

It requires no little effort on the migrant's part to attend twice week English classes of two hours each after a day's heavy work, and receive tuition from a teacher who is similarly tired. There is a changing attendance in the classes and as soon as new ones come the teachers start from the beginning, giving more excuse for those who have attend the classes for a while to give up. However, in time of economic recession when certain unemployment occurs among unskilled labourers unable to speak English, the migrant is forced to recognize the imports of learning English. During the second post war recession period of 1957-8 English reading and writing was required to obtain employment even as a track repairer of the Tramways Board, or as a labourer to dig holes or trenches to repair pipes for water supply. Migrants who fail to re-settle satisfactorily at the end of the "orientation" period cannot be expected to be willing to go to English classes. Their failure is not due to lack of English alone, and learning of English at the classes cannot help to overcome all the psychological etc. difficulties of the migrant. The classes intend to help the "Australianization" of the migrant without the slightest linking of his future to his past in his native country. A migrant with a re-settlement failure will see no purpose in going to school to learn something with which he has nothing in common whatsoever.

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The successfully re-settled Greek migrant in his aim to be re-established, looks for security in employment, in housing, in his family life, and in his social contacts. During the years when our first Greek migrants arrived, in order to earn the maximum amount, migrants often changed their employment, seeking higher wages, preferably with overtime work. The recession in 1957-58 hit mostly those who changed jobs too frequently and so had no time to achieve security in their service. This experience made the Greek migrants cautious and how their first long range objective is security in employment even if the earnings are only slightly above the basic wage. Industrious migrants are still able to save for housing or for other purposes. There is no evidence that our Greek migrants will commence business of their own in great numbers. Most of them are likely to remain unskilled or semi-skilled workers for the rest of their lives, enjoying the achievements of the civilization (refrigerator, radiogram, television, motor car, etc.) which are accessible on hire purchase even to the earners of the lowest, or basic wage.

A large proportion of our Greek migrants are already living in homes of their own and the earlier ones are almost fully paid for. There are indications that some families who have been here for not longer than 7-8 years are buying a second house. This happens especially where a family is successful in a business enterprise (milk bar, barber). Families with small children, however, have the great disadvantage of living on the earnings of one person only. Their housing aims usually materialize when they bring out one or two close relatives who help first to pay the deposit on a house and afterwards contribute to the payment of the instalments with the rent they pay for their accommodation. The recent opening of new land subdivisions and the very favourable terms offered by the building industry enable many Greek migrants to move out from the congested suburban areas into new houses. The

continuation of the chain-migration even within the limits of the present immigration policy makes it possible for the earlier arrival to find tenants for his house among relatives who later on may purchase the older house in the inner suburb while the sponsor with his family moves into a new home.

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The community contacts in the re-establishment period grow out of the family background between the migrant and his sponsor. The sponsor's friends and neighbours, co-villagers from Greece, and their organization or club here, and friends of the migrants from their voyage to Australia, all provide plenty of contacts to overcome any sense of loneliness. Still, the beginning of the re-establishment is usually the positive result of the resettlement period. This gives sufficient compensation for all that the migrant left behind in the native country - his family, friends and happy memories. In the case of single men and women, community contacts provide partners for future marriage. Thought the contacts towards the native country, Greece, are tied to a particular area and the future spouse brought out from Greece usually comes from the same district, in Australia the friendships and ethnic community contacts overcome regional limitations and one can find for example, in a family from Crete, that the two sisters, after their arrival here, married a Macedonian and a Cypriot respectively

The participation of our migrants in the ethnic community does not seem to be significant. (Dr. Petrolias estimated that only about 15% of the postwar Greek migrants take an active part in the life of the ethnic societies). Friendship is maintained among those who come from the same district in a club but it would appear that our migrants attend mostly the family dances and one picnic or two annually. The barber from Kos who was mentioned before, said in course of the interview, that he pays his subscription to his club from Kos but he does not go there. The explanation is that while he was in Greece between 1930-1954 and worked in his barber-shop he formed an association of the barbers to maintain a certain business standard, but this action met some opposition and he is not keen to go to the Kos Club. This did not prevent him from helping many of his co-villagers when they arrived several years ago, but by now they too are quite well established.

Among our migrants the relationship between the earlier and later arrivals does not reveal any conflict on a large scale, probably because of the close relationship and perhaps because the new migrants follow the same occupation as their sponsor. If however a better established migrant is called upon to help a number of friends from his village, not related to him, he seems to expect a certain (not financial) appreciation of his friendship, for the time and money lost while he had to be absent from his business finding jobs for his friends when they arrived years ago, not to mention the accommodation and meals given freely to them in his home. These differences are now rather exceptional, because migrants have been here for years from all parts of Greece and they can look after their own relatives on arrival.

Family life is strong and healthy among our Greek migrants, and among Greek migrants in general. It would appear that the divorce rate is very low, and as a legal practitioner in Melbourne, born in Australia from Greek parents, explained to me, the breaking up of a family home is usually due to the fact

that the wife in Greece could not avoid a marriage arranged by her parents against her feelings. Her earnings in the new country affect the relative status of such wife within the family and she will not tolerate remaining in an inferior position indefinitely.

I learnt from the same practising lawyer that the good morals of the young people are strengthened by the awareness of the Greek girls that their future husbands expect them to have had no pre-marital experience. The custom of a dowry is followed only in a few cases, and these mostly among recently arrived families. The dowry usually takes the form of an agreement affecting a piece of land in Greece. Though the marriage arrangements for our Greek migrant women in Australia are less formal than in Greece, the women still accept the fact that the consent and blessing of the parents and family are most desirable.

The position of the children who migrated under our auspices at such an age that they had or have the whole or part of their education here is somewhat different. In their case the re-settlement is accomplished when there is a family home here, no matter how poor or primitive it is, from which they can go to school. With the family home available their school attendance is the process for re-establishment. English language and friends are provided at the school and the Greek children fit in without great difficulty. Nevertheless the

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contact of the children with the Australian life is greatly limited by the fact that they are living mostly in the inner suburbs where the school population like the adult residents are - with few exceptions migrants. The school performance of the Greek children seems to be similar to the school work of other migrant children, but they have no desire to spend more time at school than is compulsory. There is little indication of training for higher skill - to earn money is more important. The highest aim of the Greek children appear to be to achieve success in business as some of the old established businessmen have managed to do.

There is no evidence of a conflict between first and second generation among our Greek migrants. Even if the mother does not speak English the children speak Greek and the unity of the family is safeguarded. Greek school children are bilingual but they cannot write and read Greek unless they go diligently to the Greek classes of the Church. But even if unable to read and write Greek they are not far behind the standard of literacy of the old members of the family. It is another matter if, in order to reduce the burden on the family in Greece, the young men migrate first and bring their younger brothers and sisters here later. The lack of family discipline may affect the young people but the girls marry rather early, and usually a Greek man. My study included only very few migrants who came here more than eight years ago. The absence of any existing conflict between first and second generation does not mean that no tension is likely to arise in the future in Greek families in Australia.

The contact with the Australian born population is rather limited among our Greek migrants. The indigenous population has been leaving the inner suburban areas and the houses there were bought by migrants. With the remaining Australian population our Greeks maintain a certain kind of friendship, but our Greek families are not keen on visiting the "pubs", neither are they interested in races, not even in the Australian Rules football. One interviewed Greek man said firmly that "our life is different, we are working

hard, we do not like to drink in the pubs". Another interviewed migrant in the newly developed area stated several times that Australians are not interested in migrants. If the migrant greets them or speaks to them they reply but they never initiate conversation. Also he complained that Australians who accept an invitation to the home of a migrant do not invite him back. He added that during the war his father shared the meagre food at home with the Australian soldier whom they sheltered during the war.

Naturalization shows slow progress, but the majority of our migrants has not yet fulfilled the 5 years<sup>1</sup> residential qualification and it is too early to try to assess the future trend. It was interesting to find that in the family where the father has been an Australian citizen for 30 years and his whole family is naturalized too he is the only person registered for the Electoral Roll.

Perhaps the greatest link with the Australian community is the Greek Church. The Greek Orthodox Church of Australia is a member of the Australian Council of Churches and it is through this contact that, even if indirectly, the members of the Greek Orthodox Church are united in a common bond with more than two-thirds of the Australian population. The individual church members on both sides may be unaware of this link; nevertheless it exists and it may give the most solid basis for the integration of the Greek people into the Australian society. Greek migrants, especially from the country areas of Greece are attending their church services very regularly in spite of the changed environment, Because of the greater distance from the Church and due to limited public transport on Sundays in Melbourne the attendance is less frequent than it used to be in Greece.

The Greek Orthodox Church is confronted with the same problem which other Australian churches (indigenous or "ethnic") have to face. The population increase and the move of the population into new suburbs impose great strain on church finances and create a shortage in church buildings and ministers. The great need for rapid development is a very serious challenge to the "ethnic" churches which have not had enough time to establish themselves in a definite pattern in their new environment. Until recently many ethnic churches were supported by the church communities, which are often incorporated legal entities, formed under the Companies Acts in the various states. Recently, the Greek Archdiocese of Australia has undertaken direct responsibility for church-extension and consequently at present the rapidly growing Greek population has seven churches in Melbourne; three of them are maintained by the Greek Orthodox Community and the other four partly independently by the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, but more churches will be needed soon. One additional priest is assigned to visit the Victorian country districts where Greek Orthodox Church members live. (The thesis of Dr. Petrolias contains much useful information about the structure and function of the Greek Orthodox Community in Victoria).

The Greek Orthodox Church provides liturgical ministry at the services on Sundays and other occasions, administering the sacraments, celebrating marriages and performing funeral services. The senior priest in Melbourne takes a full part in inter-church activities. He is on a television panel and conducts evening devotion once every week in English. But unfortunately only few of the priest can at present speak English. This may partly explain why some Greek migrants, especially with an urban background and without a family here, feel compelled to approach an Anglican or Protestant Australian minister in the hope of obtaining help in their efforts to understand, and

adjust themselves to the outlook and customs of the Australian people. This situation may change considerably when Archdiocesan plans for establishing a Greek Orthodox seminary and monastery in Australia and for attracting second-generation Greeks into the ministry, come to fruition.

Since the Greek Orthodox Church is a member church of the Australian Council of Churches it would be too superficial to regard it only as an ethnic church, especially when we are dealing with the question of "inter"-marriages. Within the Greek Orthodox: Church intermarriage is increasing between Greeks from quite different parts of their homeland. As far as intermarriage between our Greek migrants and Australians is concerned, all that has been said before would lead to the conclusion that young people of marriageable age with only a few years residence in Australia have not much in common with Australians to enable them to form a happy and harmonious union for the future.

It is perhaps too early to make a prediction, but it would not be un-Australian if members of the Greek Orthodox Church were to continue to marry members of the same church as mostly happens in Australian churches. In mixed marriages there is a danger of spiritual indifference with other possible compromises on ethical values. The time may come when such lowering of the spiritual and ethical values could be more harmful to the community than the marriage of the Orthodox Christians within their own denomination.

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## **VI. GREEKS FROM EGYPT**

Greeks in Egypt are greatly different from the population of the Greek mainland. The alien population of Egypt had a higher education than the Egyptians, with the result that the European was in better paid work and enjoyed higher social status than the indigenous population. Soon after the last world war Egyptian law restricted the number of aliens employable in industry and commerce and limited their salaries. The proportion of employable foreigners was decreased step by step and once somebody lost his job by such retrenchment it was impossible to find other work for himself in E'gypt- The repatriation to Greece gave no solution because many Greeks from Egypt say they are looked upon as foreigners in Greece and that the employment position in Greece itself has been difficult. (4)

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(4) Greek official policy has been to treat Egyptian Greeks in Greece as completely equal with persons born in Greece. The opinions of Egyptian Greeks interviewed in Australia may be rationalizations of economic difficulties in Greece or may reflect discrimination privately practised by natives of Greece against their Egyptian compatriots.

Migration from Egypt with WCC assistance began in 1952 and gradually increased until 1958. There was no Governmental Assisted Migration Scheme from Egypt to Australia and the only benefit given by the Australian Government was that until 1954 migrants who met certain criteria were admitted to this country without any individual sponsorships provided they could produce landing money on arrival. During 1957-1958 Greeks from Egypt were regarded almost as refugees, and our Greek migrants from Egypt were



received as such. (5)

WCC established its operation in Egypt to assist only indigent Greek migrants from Egypt. Because of this the migrants assisted by WCC from Egypt are mostly tradesmen, but among family reunion case we find Egyptian Greeks with higher intellectual background.

There are two differences between Greeks from Greece and those from Egypt which affect their re-settlement and re-establishment. Greeks from Greece retain close ties with a great number of family members. Greeks from Egypt are more individualistic and there is little evidence of common efforts among various members of the family once they have reached Australia, Another important fact is that with few exceptions Greeks from Egypt are multilingual,

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educated in Greek schools, learning French and English in the School, speaking also Arabic and Italian, Many of them were employed by the British Forces, and thus Greeks from Egypt to a large extent speak English when they arrive in Australia.

On arrival in Australia a Greek migrant from Egypt too receives assistance from his sponsor with accommodation and employment but this does not mean that the "orientation" period is over and re-settlement is achieved. Greeks from Egypt do not like living together with other relatives and great efforts have to be made to find suitable accommodation. In families with small children and with the father the only breadwinner it takes a long time until the migrants get reconciled with the new situation. Employment gives rise to problems too, A tradesman from Egypt, speaking English, may soon obtain a position, but seeing little difference between his earnings and the earnings of an unskilled labourer, he compares his new position in his employment unfavourably with his former status as a European in Egypt. If any difficulty arises in obtaining recognition of the trade-skill, it only aggravates the situation Those who had a business of their own or who followed a clerical occupation in Egypt suffer an even greater disadvantage. These people on arrival in Australia may have to take an unskilled job in a factory, to which they are not accustomed. If a person with a command of English succeeds in obtaining a clerical position on the lowest level of the Public Service, he still feels a very substantial loss of social prestige.

Though the migrants feel for a long time their position in Australia inferior to their "privileged" status in Egypt this does not prevent them from re-settling and working for a re-establishment. In the case of a Greek from Egypt this second period begins when he is able to feel that (a) the absence of the discrimination from which he suffered in Egypt and (b) the future in a free country (free of limitations but also free of any positive assistance from anywhere) give somewhat more than sufficient compensation for (c) the lost status and (d) the difficulties of the new beginning.

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(5) Greeks from Egypt were permanently under the legal and political protection of the Greek Government as long as they remained Greek citizens- Thus they were not refugees under international protection

The re-establishment period aims mostly at improving the living standard, buying a house, furniture and car, and educating the children. There is not much hope of improving employment status whether the migrant is a tradesman or a clerk. Gradually with time, earnings increase and there is some advancement by seniority in clerical positions, but though a tradesman may benefit from a margin in his wages rewarding his trade skill, the clerk will not advance into the higher, professionally skilled category of the intellectuals.

A much higher proportion of Greek women from Egypt speaks English than of those from Greece, and many of them have in addition to the intermediate standard a clerical training in typing or shorthand from Egypt. On arrival these girls continue in a business college and work in Australian offices together with Australian girls. Married women with children are usually unable to go to work because they have nobody to look after the children. In one of the interviewed families the wife speaks good English and has office work experience, but because this family had a disagreement with the sponsor they prefer to live in a rented room in the inner suburban Fitzroy on the storeman's income of the husband. With three young children, the loss of the wife's earnings aggravate the difficult situation. In this particular family the husband with a clerical background from Egypt, had to start as a labourer, due to lack of English. His present storeman position was the result of a slow advancement due to seniority. His English is still poor; he explained that as he speaks and reads Greek, French, Arabic, Italian, all of which he writes (except Arabic), his brain cannot hold a fifth language.

In the case of a barber, who came here because his customers in Egypt were lost by their migration to Australia, he obtained his Australian barber's licence, but having no capital to open a hairdresser shop and employment in his trade is rather insecure, he has been a cleaner in the Railway Workshop in a job offering limited income but security. Meanwhile, he is living with his family in a partly finished house in St. Albans, one of the new industrial suburbs.

Though the family ties are much less extensive than is the case with Greeks from Greece, the community-feeling is stronger among Greeks from Egypt due to their community life in Egypt as a minority. Greeks from Greece are united through and in the Church, Greeks from Egypt in the community. It is no wonder that among the Greek regional organizations in Australia the Egyptian Greek Association shows a large membership (Dr. Petrolias). This Association helped Greek migrants coming from Egypt after the Suez crisis, by generally its function is to provide cultural programmes and organize excursions for the members.

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Greeks from Egypt show less devotion than other Greeks towards their church in Australia. Instead of the impressive Cathedral of the Patriarchate in Alexandria they find small, overcrowded churches, filled with Greeks from the rural or fishing background of the Greek countryside, or from the islands. We find that some migrants, after intermarriages in Egypt with Italians and Lebanese, show signs of religious indifference. Though they claim "all churches are the same" and "they go to any church", which means mostly

Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox or perhaps Anglican, church-life ceases to be an important factor in the family.

Because of an interest in education, their children are close to Australian and other migrant children. In one of the interviewed families, the son, studying in a technical college joined the local Anglican Church and Youth Fellowship, where many of his classmates belonged. The religious Greek families from Egypt are conscientious in their devotional life. The holy pictures in a corner of the living room with the candles give inspiration to the children too. The very good progress in the high school of a young boy did not prevent him from going regularly to church to assist his priest. Nevertheless, the knowledge of the written Greek is decreasing among Greek children from Egypt, and the writer found no evidence that these children take advantage of the Greek schools of the Church. No conflict is conspicuous between the older and the younger migrants, possibly because the parents are not very distant from the Australian way of life.

The social status of the Greeks from Egypt explains why their associations with other Greeks does not extend to those from the Greek country or from the islands. In cases of inter-marriage Greeks from Egypt generally choose their partners among Greeks from the Athens district or among Greeks who have acclimatized in Australia, have been educated here or who belong to the second generation already.

Participation in Australian community life is not hindered by lack of English, but by the fact that life in Australia is not comparable with the colourful city life in Egypt. "After 8 o'clock everything is closed in Melbourne except the cinemas". "Melbourne is like a large cemetery" I was told. Mixing with Australians in offices and in the factory does not result in social visits in the homes; probably the Egyptian Greeks are not less reserved than Australians are. As the dispersion of the Greeks from Egypt into the better residential suburbs is going on to a greater extent than among Greeks from Greece, the link with the Australian families in the neighbourhood will be achieved no doubt through the children.

No objection to being naturalized was noticeable among the interviewed families. They said they would be strangers in Greece too, in spite of their Greek passports, so nothing holds them to that country. The tradesman category completes naturalization without much delay, while some of the educated ones expressed their feelings by saying: "It is not bad, one cannot lose anything, perhaps it may help to get a better job. . . "

A family with small children interviewed in one rented room in Fitzroy declared its intention to apply for citizenship three years ago, before their application for a Housing Commission house was accepted. They had been promised a Housing Commission house towards the end of the last year and the family will be eligible for naturalization this year when their five years residence in this country is completed.

## **VII. MIGRANTS FROM NORTH-WESTERN GREEK MACEDONIA**

The greater part of Greek Macedonia is clearly Greek in-character and culture; for many centuries the population of southern Greek Macedonia - Grebena and Kozani districts, for instance - has been predominantly Greek while since the population exchanges of the 1920's, Greeks have clearly made up the great majority of the population of the areas around Thessalonika and

of eastern Greek Macedonia. In the north west of Greek Macedonia, however, especially in the mountainous districts of Fiorina and Kastoria, there were still in 1951 an appreciable number of Slav-speaking families. Some of these when migrating have definitely identified themselves as Greeks and have joined Greek communities abroad. Other Slav speaking migrants have definitely identified themselves as Slavs and, while admitting more or less close affinities with Bulgarians and Serbs, assert most strongly that they are part of what they claim to be a quite distinct but hitherto unrecognized Macedonian people. The rest of their people, they claim, live in Yugoslav Macedonia and Bulgarian Macedonia, and with them should have been permitted - when the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 drove the Turkish rulers completely out of Macedonia - to remain undisturbed in the land, using their own Slav language and practising their Slavonic Orthodox liturgy without interference and without discrimination.

Though making up a relatively small part of Greek Macedonia the districts centered on Fiorina and Kastoria are important to Australia because a considerable number of families have come to Australia from them; many under the WCC/ICEM Revolving Fund programme. No exact figures are available, but the analysis of the records of our "early" migrants and the nominal rolls of our largest Greek transports in 1956 and of eight transports arriving in 1959 and 1960 respectively, give some indication. These suggest that between one quarter and one fifth of our migrants coming to Victoria from Greece between February 1951 and December 1960 derived from Greek Macedonia, and that the overwhelming majority of these came from the districts of Fiorina, Kastoria and Kozani, especially Fiorina (of those from Greek Macedonia 70% came from Fiorina and Kastoria, 15% from Kozani and 15% from elsewhere in Greek Macedonia).

With migrant families from these north-western parts of Greek Macedonia the periods of "orientation" (or re-settlement) and of re-establishment are rather short.

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One gains the impression that the proportion of those who have initiative and ambition to improve their social status in Australia either turn towards a business enterprise or towards education of the children. A young man who interrupted his studies in medicine at the University of Perugia (Italy) to join his father in Australia (who meanwhile brought here the rest of the family from Fiorina) learnt English very well but has no chance to continue his studies in medicine here. He is in the family fish shop earning well above the high salary of a qualified chemist (about £35 per week) and despite his nostalgic memories of his student life would not consider studying pharmacy to become a chemist. In another family a 15-year old boy going to high school stated firmly that he wants to become an accountant. The son of another family shows great talent in sketching and he will study in a technical college when the time arrives.

Most migrants from north-western Greek Macedonia in the Melbourne area are settled in the inner-suburban municipalities of Fitzroy, Collingwood and Richmond, where the Australian population is rapidly decreasing. Nevertheless they are on friendly terms with Australians at their work, even if they do not visit each other at home. The social contacts are thus mostly with relatives and Macedonian friends. Due to hard work there is not much time for relaxation or recreation within the family as a whole. The children therefore

grow-away to some extent from their father. In one home the young son wants to go out at weekends in the afternoon as well as in the evening, and his insistence on watching television at home on weekdays until 11PM meets with his father's strong disapproval.

Among the interviewed families no tendency towards intermarriage was noticeable. In one case where no great ethnic intransigence appeared, one of the sons married a German girl from Frankfurt am Main. The common language for all, including the wife's brother, is either Macedonian or English.

There are fewer families with many small children in our records, and the wives and mothers go to work in more cases than among the " Greeks from the South.

The Church is a very important part of the Slav Macedonian community life in Australia. One must dwell here for a moment on" history, for without some understanding of historical circumstances it is impossible to understand why, though some Slav-speaking families from north-western Macedonia have joined the Greek Church, others feel sufficiently strongly to have broken off all connection with the Greek church and organizations and to have formed independent -, Macedonian churches and organizations. Here we are not concerned with what actually happened but with what migrants think happened; it is this that determines their actions in Australia and affects their whole process of integration. Likewise, at this point of the report we are' concerned not with the Greek interpretation of events but with the Slav-Macedonian interpretation. Which of the two interpretations is true is not for this report to say; it is simply forced to concern itself with the Slav-Macedonian viewpoint here since it is that view that has created the situation I am about to describe.

Slav identified migrants from Fiorina and Kastoria who were born before the beginning of this century tell us that, before the final break-up of the Ottoman Empire in the area that is today Greek Macedonia, the Greek and Bulgarian cultural and religious influences were the strongest and the population speaking the Slavonic language had a Bulgarian leaning; also that in the years following the establishment of the Bulgarian Orthodox Exarchate in 1870 Bulgarian churches' and schools were set up in many parts of Macedonia and began, for reasons of linguistic affiliation, to draw many Slav-speaking families away from the Greek churches and schools - these Greek institutions being the only ones permitted to operate amongst Macedonian Christians between the time that the Turks allowed the Greek Church to suppress the old Slav churches, many years before, and 1870. Migrants further state that after the Balkan and Great Wars, when Greek sovereignty was extended to its northern territory, many Slav-speaking families were compulsorily deported to Bulgaria, the Slavonic churches and schools were replaced by Greek, many families were compelled to adopt Greek surnames chosen for them by Greek officials, and prosecutions were often launched against those overheard speaking in Slavonic. As a result of all these activities, migrants continue, many Slav Macedonians looked to Bulgaria for assistance, but that after Bulgaria's oppressive occupation of eastern Macedonia during World War II, a considerable number gave more attention to Yugoslavia - especially after Marshall Tito established within Yugoslavia an autonomous Macedonian republic with its own official language. (6)

While not altogether content with events in, Yugoslavia these migrants are at least appreciative of Yugoslavia's recognition of the Macedonian language and people and have expressed even more appreciation since 1958 when the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church allowed his Macedonian dioceses to become an autonomous Macedonian Orthodox Church. (7)

These feelings and events have had their repercussions in Melbourne; repercussions that are of some importance both to the Australian churches and to those concerned with integration. Before the establishment of their own church these Slav-Macedonians say that when they attended church at all, they attended either the Greek Orthodox Church, the Syrian Orthodox Church or the Anglican Church. But, they continue, they were repelled by the hurtful remarks made .nod at them at the Greek Church when church members heard Slav language at the Greek Church, and were too unfamiliar with and Anglican liturgies to feel completely at home there; many of the Slav-speaking Macedonians admit frankly that they have had very little education and are unable to take full part in church services ~o apart from those held in their own Macedonian language. Hence many did not attend church at all. or else attended simply for special days, baptisms or marriages.

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(6) The Greek Church and government do not officially recognise a Macedonian language but prefer to speak of a Slav-Macedonian dialect idiom. The Slav Macedonians say that theirs is a proper language, and point to Macedonian grammars-books written by scholars of different nations, to Macedonian books and newspapers (including the bi-monthly official church paper) published in Skoplje, and to the translation of the Bible into modern Macedonian. This last is sometimes used in church services in Melbourne.

(7) This recognition of autonomy by the Serbian Orthodox Church does not make the Macedonian Orthodox Church autocephalous. The Greek Orthodox Church has not recognized an autonomous Macedonian Orthodox Church nor has the Ecumenical Patriarchate. A Macedonian,Church exists in the USA. It is recognized by the Antiochian Orthodox Church there, and it is a member of the Pan-Orthodox Conference in the city of Detroit. This report is not concerned to pronounce upon jurisdictional matters of this kind but uses the term "Macedonian Orthodox Church" simply because this is the title it gives itself and under which it conducts negotiations with civil authorities responsible for giving it legal rights of incorporation etc. It is of interest to (d) note Section 116 of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia which reads: "The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth."

With the establishment of a Macedonian church in this situation changed, so it is said, and interest in church life increased greatly. The establishment of a Macedonian church, however, was not a straightforward matter since difficulties arose between the older Bulgarian sympathizers and that increasing number looking towards Yugoslav Macedonia. Around 1952 an older Macedonian received ordination from a Bulgarian bishop who came here from America, and the priest with the support of the Slav Macedonians, built a Macedonian-Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Though few Bulgarians took an

active part in the church life, the Bulgarian link was more pronounced than might have been expected, considering their numbers compared with those of Macedonians with Yugoslav orientation.

This led to a movement which withdrew support from the Bulgarian-Macedonian Church and gathered the Slav Macedonians under a social club to build an entirely Macedonian Church with a priest from Yugoslav Macedonia. Finally they erected a new large church, containing community rooms and offices, and the Department of Immigration admitted to Australia a senior priest from Skopje, appointed by the Macedonian Archbishop of Skoplje. He arrived Australia in August 1960, with a delegation sent by the Macedonian Archbishop and headed by one of the three Macedonian Bishops, Bishop Naum of Zletovo and Strumica. Bishop Naum consecrated the new church on the 7th August 1960 in the presence of Anglican and Orthodox clergymen and of a congregation of about 3000, including some official representatives. The priest of the first church, which was referred to before as "Bulgarian" or "Macedon-Bulgarian", had died and the future of this church, now called "Self-Independent Macedonian Church", is an open, .-question. Similarly the future orientation of the new Macedonian Church, which is under the ecclesiastical authority of Skopje in Yugoslav Macedonia, remains to be seen. At present it is reported to be drawing two hundred or more worshippers regularly each Sunday and nearly a thousand on special days. It is also reported that Slav Macedonians in Perth, south-west Western Australia, Adelaide, Shepparton, Queanbeyan, Newcastle and elsewhere - some of whom also came to Australia under WCC auspices - have already formed their own social clubs and are hoping to raise enough money to establish their own churches. Some of these communities, were visited by the Macedonian church delegation before it returned to Yugoslavia in September, 1960.

It is very difficult to estimate the proportion of migrants from the north-western areas of Greek Macedonia that join these Slav-Macedonian communities and the proportion that remain identified with the Greek Orthodox Church and communities. Some Greeks say that Macedonian nationalists are a minority of extremists and subversives and estimate that no more than 20% of migrants from these areas join Slav-Macedonian Organisations. Slavs assert that migrants from these areas may join the Greek Church because they wish to protect their families in Greece from reprisals taken by the Greek Government -especially in the decade following the Civil War - against relatives of Macedonian nationalists abroad, including those who joined the Macedonian Church; eventually, they say, when close relatives in Greece have migrated, died or become decrepit, at least 80% of migrants join the Macedonian Church and community.

An interesting and important feature of Slav-Macedonian life in Australia is their attitude to integration. Some migrants interviewed say that they experienced a great change when settling in Australia, feeling a great contrast between living in Australia where they could speak, write and worship in whatever language they chose, and living in Greece where they felt there was constant pressure to suppress their Slav heritage. So grateful are they, they say, for this freedom that they are anxious to become Australian citizens as quickly as possible and make no effort to force their children to learn to read and write the Macedonian language; some say they do not even make their children speak Macedonian at home in the family. It is difficult to assess these opinions: certainly none of the interviews revealed any resistance to naturalization, while the constitution of the new church in Melbourne makes

English the second official language of the church; on the assumption that the Australian educated children will soon be wanting services in English and that it is the function of the Church to provide such services for them.

As far as church attendance is concerned, while the women go to church regularly the Slav Macedonian men in Australia church less frequently.

These, then, are the opinions and attitudes that have led immigrants - many of whom have come to Australia under WCC auspices - to form communities in Australia before our eyes. It is not the purpose of this report to pronounce upon the correctness or falsity of these opinions or to give a considered judgement as between Greeks and Slav Macedonians. The Slav Macedonians assert they have friendly contacts with Greek migrants in Australia as long as their right to use their own Macedonian language is not questioned and as long as their relatives in Greece are not threatened with reprisals because of their attitude here. It is to be hoped that the conciliatory ministry of the churches in Australia can do something to bring mutual tolerance closer to divided Christian groups, ethnic churches included.

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### **VIII. MIGRANTS FROM YUGOSLAV MACEDONIA**

Among our 4, 748 Yugoslav migrants 1,877 came from Yugoslavia, the other 2,871 arrived here as refugees. Our migrants from Yugoslavia include migrants from Yugoslav Macedonia and the situation described in the previous chapter applies to them too, with certain differences.

During the "early" period of WCC/Resettlement Department operations, the overwhelming part of our migrants from Yugoslav Macedonia were born in Greek Macedonia and crossed the frontier only during or after the Greek Civil War in 1946-48, These migrants share the historic and cultural heritage with the Slav speaking Macedonians on the opposite side of the political boundary. (8)

During the last few years the number of our Macedonian migrants born in Yugoslav Macedonia has increased. They are among the members of the Macedonian Church communities, but because their strongest communities are in New South Wales and few of them are known to have come to Victoria it was not possible for me to interview them.

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(8) The records show 159 "early" migrants from Yugoslavia, of whom 4Z came from Yugoslav Macedonia, including 34 who were born in Greek Macedonia,

Many of our migrants from Yugoslav Macedonia to Victoria thus belonged to the group which can be classified as Greek Refugees in Yugoslavia. (9)(10)

There is one noticeable difference between these migrants and those coming direct from Greek Macedonia, that the former are even more outspoken against the Greek Government and what they feel to have been its suppressive policy in Macedonia.

Families interviewed were unanimous in their support for the Macedonian Church, their appreciation of conditions in Australia, and their pride in the fact that they have either become Australian citizens or are in the course of

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doing so. Families interviewed also stated that their younger members had received very good education in Yugoslavia under its present regime, had learned to read and write several Slavonic languages, and had thereby developed a linguistic facility that greatly assisted them in quickly learning English in Australia. Whether this be correct or not it is noticeable that some younger migrants have found occupations requiring considerable fluency in English, such as bookshop salesmen and clerks in estate agencies.

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(9) Jacques Vernant: *The Refugee in the Post-War World* pp. 275-7 (A survey supported by the Rockefeller Foundation at the request of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees).

(10) See footnote 1 on page 4.

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### **IX- MIGRANTS FROM OTHER PARTS OF YUGOSLAVIA**

In the four groups previously discussed, all migrants, other than those who came within the Governmental Assisted Migration .

Scheme and those who paid their own fares, came here with the , assistance of WCC. Among Yugoslav migrants from Yugoslavia those who come here under WCC auspices cannot claim to be a majority, A very substantial proportion of Yugoslav migrants, from Croatia and Slovenia, are of the Roman Catholic faith and come here through the International Catholic Migration Commission, Those who are assisted by WCC are mainly members of the Serbian Orthodox Church coming from Serbia or belong to a Protestant denomination from the Vojvodina, north of the Danube.

The migration, of Yugoslavs from Yugoslavia ia rather anomalous being concurrent with a stream of refugees leaving Yugoslavia clandestinely. Viewed from our receiving end, the arrival of the migrant from Yugoslavia is often simultaneous with the landing of Yugoslav refugees from the various countries of asylum. These refugees proceed here either within the Governmental Mass Migration Scheme or through the Voluntary Agencies upon sponsorship by individuals or by such Agencies, and mostly with assistance from the United States Escapee Programme. Thus Yugoslav migration to Australia is a combination of the movement of refugee and non-refugee migrants, divided between Governmental and Voluntary Agency movements. Of course some Yugoslavs find it possible to make their own travel arrangements, and come here independently.

The two categories of migration (voluntary and compelled or involuntary) are even more closely interrelated: the first Yugoslavs who reached Australia in great numbers were the 23,000 Yugoslav refugees within I, R, O. Governmental Mass Migration Scheme. The subsequent migration from Yugoslavia comprised the nominees of the first refugees to whom the Yugoslav Government granted exit permits, if only after long delays.

Within the migration procedure it is found that the sponsor and the nominees, even though they may be closest relatives [wife, children, parents), have different status and different experiences. The original refugee status and experiences of the sponsor during World War II, in the European refugee camps, and during the 1949-51 period in Australia, and. the consequences of

all these make it imperative that when, discussing the pattern of re-settlement and re-establishment among our Yugoslav migrants, the role of the sponsor and the nominee should be viewed separately.

The five interviewed cases of Yugoslav migrants may not be very typical, because they were selected from the Melbourne area, whereas in Victoria a substantial proportion of WCC migrants from Yugoslavia live in Geelong and around Wodonga near the north eastern boundary of the State.

The process of re-settlement and re-establishment of the refugee is more involved than that of a non-refugee migrant. Whereas in the case of Greek migrants from all areas it is evident that the situation of the sponsors is at least as favourable as that of the migrants, the Yugoslav sponsor who came here as a refugee, mostly between 1949-51 has still to struggle with his own problems.

The greatest proportion of Yugoslav refugees who settled in the area of Melbourne were formerly army officers, who were taken prisoners of war by the Germans or if they managed to join the allied forces, served after the defeat of Yugoslavia under allied, mostly British, command. After the end of the war both groups refused repatriation when the Communist resistance movement took control of Yugoslavia eliminating the pro-Western royalist forces under the leadership of General

These refugees were brought to Australia from the camps by I.R. O. Mass transports. They were resettled by the Commonwealth Employment Service under a two years' employment contract scheme, with little regard to background, experience and ability, and the official policy appeared to be the strict enforcement of the contracts, mostly in unskilled labourer jobs.

The educational background of those who came from Yugoslavia had much less in common with the British way of life than we saw among our Greeks from Egypt. This made it difficult for the Yugoslav refugees with little English to strive for at least a clerical position. Those who had experience in engineering gradually moved into better factory jobs, became draftsmen, mail sorters, or made a step forward in the railways, but never completely overcame the disabilities arising from lost status.

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All these difficulties were aggravated by loneliness, having nobody from the family here, or, if the refugee was a single man, by inability to find a partner to marry. Many Yugoslav refugees married in Europe or in Australia, German, Polish etc. wives but there are many matrimonial difficulties in those marriages. The only community life available was in the association of the ex-army officers and later in the church, but these two had different aims.

It was in this atmosphere that the sponsor had to make arrangements for the accommodation of his nominees. It follows that the later the nominee arrived the more stabilized was the sponsor's position and the re-settlement and re-establishment of his nominees was less disturbed.

The nominees who were permitted to leave Yugoslavia, in spite of the changed situation, had still retained a social status similar to the prewar level of their sponsor. The wives had been occupied in teaching positions or in clerical

work, the children went to school and could, reach the matriculation standard. The political shadow of their father's absence had been felt only when university education was denied them. The young women who were nominated as fiancées had similar backgrounds. Though these considerations do not arise among people of a lower educational standard, these factors had to be mentioned because these problems emerged from four of the five cases interviewed. For them, resettlement really means obtaining employment, with a realistic appreciation of the situation even on the wives' part. Where there are young people efforts are made to let them study first, with the objective of obtaining later a position corresponding with the social status in the old country.

Difficulties in the re-settlement period may arise if on arrival family conflicts occur between the sponsor and the nominee. The sponsor and his fiancée may not find each other suitable and they decide not to marry. The mother may meet antagonism on the part of her non-Yugoslav daughter-in-law; the son or daughter may have the same experience when they meet on arrival their stepmother whom their father married outside Yugoslavia. In such cases the new arrival is usually dependent on the help of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the A. C. C Resettlement Department.

The re-establishment period begins with a definite decision to stay in Australia and the making of plans for the future. Without such a decision or the ability to achieve re-establishment the migrant may return to Yugoslavia and this has occurred in cases of women with an educated background.

There is a difference in the degree to which the social status in Australia can be regained by migrants with university degree, matriculation or intermediate standard from Yugoslavia. Women with intermediate education standard doing clerical work in Yugoslavia follow a more refined way of life than those with only a primary education, whereas in Australia a well established factory worker and a clerk do not live very differently. For this reason if a migrant from a somewhat better social level turns to factory work, on account of the living standard here no real vertical displacement occurs, and the feeling of a loss in social prestige is only subjective, which can be overcome by a realistic approach to the new environment.

During the process of re-establishment, our Yugoslav migrants have material aims, too; security in employment, with gradual advancement, saving, the purchase of a house, furniture, car and television.

The community participation of our Yugoslav migrants is influenced by the place of residence. In the inner suburbs with few Australians, not much social contact develops. The young people mix freely with Australians where they work but there has been no time yet to assess whether the realistic approach to the Australian environment or the rather reserved refugee attitude of the fathers will prove to be more influential. Nevertheless the position seems rather healthy among the young people; recently there has been no shortage of young Yugoslav women of marriageable age and young people can easily find mutually satisfactory companionship within the circle of friendly families.

There is a church conscience among Serb Orthodox Church members and even if not frequently, mainly on account of distances, they do attend church services from time to time, especially on the main holy days of their Church. There are two congregations in the Melbourne area. One meets in a church rented from the Presbyterian Church, the other congregation has been

building its church in its typical Byzantine style in St. Albans on the outskirts of the suburban area. Regular church services are held in Geelong and Wodonga too. One of the priests worked with the WCC for many years, in Austria and Trieste, and is now a valued officer of the Resettlement Department in Melbourne.

The lack of a definite pattern in the relationship between "ethnic" Church Communities and the ecclesiastical authorities (Chapter VI requires great patience on the part of both sides within the "ethnic" churches. In December 1960 the tension which occurred in Adelaide was reported in Newspapers, when some office-bearers of the Serbian Church community, after having been removed from their office, closed the church to its minister and his parishioners. According to the news, the Australian Serbian Orthodox hierarchy took action to close the rift which led to the conflict.

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## **X. INTEGRATION**

By now it is clear why it was absolutely necessary to differentiate between various migrant groups. So far in the course of this study the migrants stood in the centre of the enquiries. When observing the complete process of integration, the receiving community and its individuals have also to be considered. The possibilities of and obstacles to, the formation of one nation or community as a whole by the individuals of the receiving community and by the migrants depend very much on the attitude of the indigenous population and of the whole nation too. Fortunately the migrant groups, though distinctly separate, show great similarities and this may help in finding results not too complex to be of practical use.

Even within my limited study a difference had to be made between a voluntary migrant from his own country and a refugee who is outside his country of origin because of persecution or threat of persecution.

Speaking of the integration process, I have said that it cannot begin without satisfactory- re-settlement. The factors which affect the process of re-settlement are a) accommodation arrangements, (b) the finding of employment, (c) the missing of the old environment and (d) the anticipation of a successful future in the new country. The reaction of the migrant to these factors will depend on his own personality and will be influenced by the conditions (economic, social, etc) in the receiving country.

First of all, however, it is necessary that as an effect of the previously mentioned four factors the migrant should decide definitely to stay in the immigration country. Failing to come to such a decision the voluntary migrant may return to his home country and the refugee migrant to his previous country of asylum.

Failure to resettle occurs in lowest proportion among refugees, because of the difficulties of returning to the previous country of asylum or of accepting repatriation to the country of origin.

The old environment in the native country (among refugees often the imaginary old country) has a life-long influence on the migrant through the memory of his "relative social position" in the home land. This "relative social position" is built around the real social status in the old country, and includes that person's subjective assessment of his own position in his old environment.

In the new country the migrant soon tries to measure his new "relative social position" and will compare this with the "relative social position" in the old country.

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Those who find the combined result of these three relative social positions positive, or in other words those who feel that their situation has been improved by moving to a new country, will stay. If there is a doubt that migration improved the position, the possibility is greater that the migrants will return to their native country. The relative position of the Greeks and of Slav-Macedonians improves greatly with migration. Among the Greeks from Egypt the impossibility of returning makes up for the lack of a positive difference in the relative social positions. Among Yugoslavs those with a country background find the new situation an improvement in contrast to those who had the background of an army official or of a good position in the public service.

The fact that the integration process cannot start without an accomplished re-settlement does not mean that when re-settlement is achieved the integration process necessarily begins. It may, or may not, and this is why the introduction of the term "re-establishment" is justified. In this second stage the factors affecting re-settlement undergo a great change. Employment and accommodation become a part of the economic sphere of the migrant. The weighing of the necessities to be acquired against savings, the consideration of financial security, purchase of house, medical and life insurance, and the financial measuring of the way of life will determine a decision on the future occupation. The second factor is social participation in the new country, more real than emotional, and the third factor is the more emotional than real relationship to the old country: Social relationships include family, friends from the old village or country as well as from the new neighbourhood, personal, cultural and

legal contacts. It is at this stage that the attitude of the receiving community and in particular its members becomes important. It is conceivable that where several migrant groups are taking part simultaneously in the integration process with the receiving population, the attitude of one particular migrant group may affect the integration of a smaller group.

Without the co-operation of the receiving country and its population, offering the migrant a mutual sharing in the life of the nation there is no integration, no matter how well established a migrant is.

As long as the economic conditions are favourable the migrant can establish himself very well, without being integrated into the receiving community. Though the economic re-establishment has some subjective factors, (e. g. the living standard prior to migration), such re-establishment mainly depends on the type of employment, the earnings and the family structure (size, age of its members, and their co-operation), illness on the other hand may cause a serious setback whether it affects the breadwinner or a member of his family.

In the re-establishment process social participation gradually extends from the ethnic contacts to the indigenous society. The way in which the language of the receiving country is learned plays a part in the building up of links with the indigenous society. Apart from personal contacts: the indirect relationship, through knowledge of the wider community, has to develop, but the pace of this process and its extent is dependent on the: intellectual ability of the

particular migrant.

The friends within the ethnic community itself have in reality more in common with the life in the country of immigration than with the country of origin. Nevertheless (as is the case with the Greek, Slav-Macedonian and some of the Yugoslav migrants) the understanding of the new environment may progress more slowly than their own feeling of a satisfactory re-establishment. It is at this point that the question of the acquisition of the citizenship of the receiving country should be considered.

The official attitude of the Australian community is that of welcome towards the migrants in general, but the individual migrant may not feel this in his everyday life. Those who feel that their relative status in the new country is lower than it was in their home country, like Greeks from Egypt, or refugees with higher education and their nominees from Yugoslavia, will not find at once the welcome, interest and friendship of those Australians with whom they would like to be associated. In the case of refugees, the reception and the administration of the Labour Contract by the Australian authorities between 1949-51 gave rise to a distrust with a cautious and suspicious attitude towards the Department of Immigration and towards the Australian people in general. The lapse of time and the changing Australian environment were not enough to remove the psychological results of those early experiences some ten years ago.

These circumstances help us to realise why there is little emotional attachment to the new country. It is natural too that the contact with the old country becomes more emotional than real, once a migrant reaches the re-establishment period. Any migrant who feels that the situation would be less favourable in his home country will not insist on being closely linked with that land; this is most conspicuous in the case of the Slav-Macedonians. The situation in the case of the refugees is rather involved.

By definition "refugees" must not avail themselves of the protection of their home country and refugees do indeed oppose the present governments of their country. However the emotional link with the native country is still strong, perhaps it is paramount over all loyalties; but it relates to that country in the past, which does not exist and it is very doubtful if it ever will be restored.

The resultant of the three factors- (a) economic, (b) links with the new country, c) ties with the home country-, will influence the migrant in his decision to apply for citizenship in his new country. Australia encourages migrants to become citizens whereas in certain other countries legal assistance is necessary to obtain naturalization and the status of a citizen. In fact there is official disappointment in Australia over the rate of applications for naturalization.

The description of our five migrant categories suggests that very few migrants progress within five years, in their re-establishment far enough to have sufficient Australian contacts to make them naturally feel part of the nation so that only the legalization of this fact is necessary. The decision to obtain naturalisation stems mostly from a unilateral motivation on the migrants part towards the receiving community, with very little direct personal reciprocation from the native environment. This is the explanation why the migrants hesitate to become naturalized: they allege that naturalization makes no difference in their position and that they will still be "New Australians" and as

naturalized Australians will still be classified as second rate citizens.

In the definition which have been using in this study for "Integration" the result of the integration process is marked by the application for and in the granting of the citizenship in the country of immigration. By this definition the naturalization of the migrant completes the process of integration.

This opinion may be open to criticism from the sociologist. At the same time it is important to consider that the extension of the integration process beyond the acquisition of the citizenship of the new country by naturalisation, would expose any naturalised citizen to the enquiry as to whether he is integrated or not. This would mean that "citizenship" which by virtue of the Australian legislation places the naturalized person in an equal legal status with the native born Australian citizen, would be regarded as sociologically ineffective. This would amount to a sociological "de-naturalization" of any Australian citizen who had been an alien before.

The legal procedure of naturalisation contains two important elements fulfilling my definition for "integration", (a) the migrant expresses his wish to become part of the receiving community and (b) the government of that country accepts the expression of such wish and agrees to the migrant's becoming a member of the whole receiving community.

The administrative measure of the government does not mean that the individual native citizens who are in daily contact with the majority of the migrants would in fact reciprocate the migrant's approach and thus the naturalized migrant is too often far from being regarded as an equal member of the nation. Such an attitude can potentially weaken the citizenship as an important institution of the Public Law, especially at a time when the number of migrants is large.

The conflict between the sociological and legal aspects appears to be less pronounced with regard to the migrant's old citizenship while he is already in the new country. The conflict of laws governing citizenship in different countries, including the question of dual citizenship, seems to have few sociological implications.

The more progress the recognition of the cultural pluralism makes in a community the more difficult it is to regard a naturalized citizen as being still as "unintegrated migrant".

Like the problem of the learning of English on the migrants' part the question as to how to increase the rate of naturalization among migrants has been constantly in the focus of discussions within the Good Neighbour Movement, but with rather little result.

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## **XI, THE CHURCH AND THE MIGRANT**

From the description of the integration procedure it is obvious that amidst the changing factors and in different environments, religion or the Church provides the link between the perplexed individual and the unchanging Deity, The Church reminds the migrant of the eternal God and the highest ethical values. This can give him firm points for orientation, helping him to reconcile old and new environments with different values. The highest regard for the freedom in a new country may conflict with the closely linked family pattern of the migrants, hut the practical expression of love for the old people in the Greek families should be compared with the need for improvement in the care

by Australians of their own old people. Any disturbance in the relationship of the migrant to God through the Church with which he was in touch in his old country even though very superficially, may add to the problems of Ma integration in the new country. With a few exceptions it is unlikely that an indigenous Church, with which the migrant had no contact in his country of origin could perform a helpful function by trying to integrate such a migrant into its midst. A few of our sponsors belong to sects and it would appear that these are the bodies which often appeal to the migrants who cannot find answers to their spiritual problems in their own church. The same applies to Australians.

The indigenous church could assist in two ways (a) by helping the migrant retain his original church-relationship and (b) by furthering his re-establishment through assisting him to improve his economic situation and to extend his contacts with the Australian community.

Indirectly, the indigenous church could show its concern for the "ethnic" church (which may also be in the process of becoming indigenous, e.g. Greek Antiochian Orthodox, and Armenian Apostolic), by making church buildings available in areas with high migrant concentration, and by extending fellowship to ministers and congregations.

Most of the migrants coming to Australia with the assistance of the W.C.C are members of the Orthodox Churches and the relationship between "indigenous" and "ethnic" churches has to be worked out between Anglican, and non-Lutheran Protestant Churches on the one hand and the Greek, Russian, Serb, Macedonian, etc. Churches on the other. As it has been said before, the Greek Orthodox Church is already a member of the Australian Council of Churches and this may lead the way towards the indigenization of the other ethnic churches, too. The future of the Macedonian Church will show if the division between Greeks and Slav-Macedonians or between Bulgarians and Macedonians will create any bitter feeling between the churches. During the last LI years with 250,000 political refugees arriving in Australia one could not see any great national antagonism between the various national groups. It is conceivable that the inter-church relationship may be even less disharmonious. There has been a brotherly communication between the various Orthodox priests in Melbourne for the greater part of the time.

Despite the answers obtained during the interviews it is felt that the contact between the individual migrant and his original church suffers from the inadequacy of the ministry: partly because of the great number of migrants compared with the few priests; partly because in some churches, owing to the small number of migrants, pastoral care cannot be secured (because of lack of funds or of church building or the priest has to work). Marginal church membership could be improved with more adequate facilities on the part of the ethnic church and this is the reason why the concern and a little help on the part of the indigenous churches may be of great importance to the "ethnic" churches in their efforts to improve the standard of the ministry.

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## **XII. CONCLUSION**

The main problems seem to be the slow integration with the indigenous society on the part of economically satisfied, but socially quite distant migrant population and (b) the intellectually better equipped migrant who suffers from



a real or imaginary vertical displacement through a loss of social status. In both cases it is the "ethnic" community and church which stands by the migrant from the resettlement to the integration.

One favourable exception during the integration process is when with little education from the old country migrants with exceptional ability manage to venture out of the protective ethnic community and take their place in the indigenous society. Another exception is the migrant with a very high education standard who can obtain recognition, for his skill in the indigenous society.

There is a tendency to regard the "ethnic" communities as having a temporary and protective function only. Those who are exceptionally successful in achieving reciprocal integration in the new country mostly feel it unnecessary to retain any contact with such communities. Sometimes the communities resent the condescending attitude of the successful migrant because he is inclined to belittle those links towards the home country held by the majority of migrants. Too often for the successful man everything is perfect in Australia and in his opinion the average migrant is at fault for not seeing this perfection. It would be a great service on the part of the successful migrant if he were to help the bulk of his fellow migrants through his understanding and suitable leadership. There is no evidence that this is generally encouraged though it could help to solve many individual, community and church problems.

The potential contrast between integration and naturalization points towards the need of studying this problem from the legal angle, instead of speaking of naturalization in terms of sociology only. There is a need to study the meaning of citizenship in relation to the State and its citizens, with a view to strengthening the legal tie between the State and its new citizens and also between its old and new citizens. This would help the old citizens also, to look afresh at their country in its changing stage.

But above all there is a need for the conciliatory ministry of the Church, and the witness to the one Lord, one faith, one baptism all around the world in spite of her divisions. It is a sign of the times that we see the struggle of mankind for the ideals of the United Nations and that we are witnesses of the Ecumenical Movement. Nations and individuals are growing in the realization of their inter relatedness. In this growing complexity it is the spirit of God which provides guidance in the midst of the New World which is being built so much under the influence of the movement of the millions both within and across political boundaries all over the world.

**Melbourne, May, 1961.**