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Spatial distribution and social cohesion of Greeks in the Wollongong local government area

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SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION AND SOCIAL COHESION
OF GREEKS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL
GOVERNMENT AREA.

by

AKRIVULA KAMBESIS.

- submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

- Wollongong University College (University of New South Wales).
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

LIST OF TABLES.

LIST OF FIGURES.

CHAPTER I. Introduction.

CHAPTER II. Greek Immigrants in Wollongong:
            Spatial and Ethnic Characteristics.
            A. Distribution Patterns.
            B. Ethnic Characteristics.

CHAPTER III. Residential Location and Residential Mobility Patterns.

CHAPTER IV. Place of Residence and Integration.

CHAPTER V. Place of Residence and Social Cohesion.
            II. Visitation Patterns as an Index of Cohesion.

CHAPTER VI. Conclusions.

APPENDIX A.

APPENDIX B.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.
LIST OF FIGURES.

1.1 The Wollongong Local Government Area 1966.

2.1 Distribution of Greek Migrants in Wollongong Local Government Area 1961

2.2 Distribution of Greek Migrants in Wollongong Local Government Area 1966

3.1 Residential Mobility of Cringila Greeks.

3.2 Residential Mobility of Primbee Greeks.

3.3 Residential Mobility of Wollongong Greeks.

3.4 Residential Mobility of northern suburb Greeks.

5.1 Visitation Patterns to Relatives.

5.2 Visitation Patterns to Greek Friends.

5.3 Visitation Patterns to Australian Friends.

5.4 Frequency of Visits.

5.5 Frequency of Visits to Relatives.

5.6 Frequency of Visits to Greek Friends.

5.7 Frequency of Visits to Australian Friends.
LIST OF TABLES.

1.1 Number of Greek Families interviewed in each Locality.
1.2 Percentage of assisted Immigrants during October 1945 - June 1968.
1.3 Urban : Rural percentage of Greek Migrants in Australia 1966.
2.2 Number of Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area 1947-1971.
2.3 Comparison of Greek-born population to other Migrant Populations 1966 and 1971.
2.4 Collector's districts of major Greek-born concentration 1961-1971.
2.5 Length of residence in Australia of Greek Migrants interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
2.6 Age on arrival of Greeks interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
2.7 Marital status on arrival of Greek male immigrants interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
2.8 Number of assisted or chain migrants of the Greeks interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
2.9 Reasons for migration to Australia of Greek migrants interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
2.10 Occupation in Greece of Greek migrants interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
3.1 Reasons for residential location.
3.2 Residential mobility of Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
3.3 Distance moved in changes in residential mobility.
3.4 Incidence of moves during the period of residence in Australia.
3.4(a) Duration of residence on each move.
3.5 Reasons for residential mobility.
4.1 Ability to speak English of Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
4.2 Greek school attendance in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

4.3 Naturalisation of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

4.4 Intermarriage of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

4.5 Attendance at Greek social activities of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

4.6 Attendance at Australian social activities of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

4.7 Preference of Greek or Australian social activities of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

4.8 Level of Education of Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

5.1 Location of relatives in Australia.

5.2 Number and location of relatives of the Greek Immigrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

5.3 Number of Greeks that visit Greek friends in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

5.4 Number and place of residence of Greek Friends in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

5.5 Number of Greeks that visit Australian friends in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

5.6 Place of residence of Australian friends of the Greek Immigrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

5.7 Place of first meeting of Australian friends.

5.8 Frequency of visits.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

With the growing impact of migrants on the community there has been a corresponding increase of research into the patterns and processes of immigration in Australia, both by Government agencies and by academics. Most of the material published has been in the demographic, sociological and social psychological fields, Price, also states that the psychologists, social historians, medical research workers, geographers are also concerned with this area of study. Assimilation - its measurement and problems arising from non-assimilation have received most of the attention.

Prior to 1966, geographers were generally conspicuous by their absence in the field. However, since 1966 several geographical studies of immigrant distributions have been carried out, most being papers or thesis dissertations. Almost all have been concerned with spatial distributions within cities, a neglected aspect of migrant studies prior to 1966 (Lee, 1966, 1970; Stimson, 1970; Gibson, 1967; Nunn, 1969; Wells, 1970; Mauros, 1971; Pavlou & Kelly, 1971). A number of social area analysis studies have been completed or are in progress, mostly to examine the way ethnicity and broad ethnic settlement patterns influence the character of residential areas (Jones (Melbourne), Parkes (Newcastle & Wollongong), Stimson (Adelaide), Sharma (Brisbane), Houghton (Perth)).

There is room for further geographical study of the distribution of immigrant settlement in Australian cities and the determinants of settlements, preferably using the Census Collectors District as the mapping unit. With the exception of Jones social area analysis of Melbourne and Sloan's work on the migrant residential location and mobility, collectors districts have not been used in immigrant studies. As Stimson has observed, it is only now becoming possible to establish whether or not there are definite trends in the tendency of immigrants groups in Australian cities to diffuse, whether they establish concentrations, or whether they establish new concentrations. The factors involved in the formation and survival of ethnic
concentrations are complex, and studies asking why migrants have settled where they reside are needed as well as traditional, ecological, demographic or geographic studies of communities.

There is need for intensive case studies of particular communities in the various cities in order to test the relationship between residential location within a city and social cohesion/integration. Further, most recent studies that have dealt with particular ethnic groups have concentrated on the Italian born which with 293,000 persons in 1970 were the largest non-British born immigrant group. Other large groups such as the Greeks with 160,500 persons have been relatively neglected until recently.

OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS:

There are three aims of this study. Firstly, to study the spatial distribution of the Greek immigrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area. Secondly, to study their residential patterns and mobility, with particular reference to the factors involved in the residential location decision and mobility of the Greeks. And, thirdly, to try to see whether there is any relationship between residential segregation and degree of personal integration of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

The study is based on data available in official sources (Bureau of Census and Statistics) and from a study of the Greek community from within.

THE STUDY AREA:

The study area is the Wollongong Local Government Area. A region with a population of 161,143, which has enjoyed a rapid growth rate in recent years partly due to the increase in immigrants settling in this area. (Table 2.1). The Australian Iron and Steel and associated industries at Port Kembla forms a focus for the Wollongong area;
THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA 1966
The older established urban areas stretching north in a finger-like pattern are constrained in their expansion by the Illawarra escarpment, while more recent urban expansion south forms a loop-like pattern around Lake Illawarra.

METHODOLOGY:

The Commonwealth Bureau of Census & Statistics provides data to map the spatial distributions of the Greek immigrants for 1961, 1966 and 1971 in the Wollongong Local Government Area. It also enabled the comparison of distributions and the observation of the trends in Greek settlement patterns in this period. Information was assembled at the Collector's Districts (the smallest units of area for which Census data are available, a typical Collector's District in an urban area comprised approximately 250 dwellings, and about 1,000 persons) level as it enables one to trace much more subtle changes in or consolidation of patterns of concentration. This information further enables the identification of the Greek areas, e.g. Cringila and Primbee.

In order to trace the residential movements of the individual migrants and glean information concerning the immigrants' background before arrival in Australia, the extent and nature of his contacts with the Greek and Australia community, and ascertain other personal characteristics such as education, nationality of marriage partner, ability to speak English etc. A personal interview of immigrants was necessary. This approach cannot be used to cover completely the Greek community of the study area because of the time limit.

The study is concerned with the total Greek population of the Wollongong Local Government Area. In the areas of major concentration, namely Cringila and Primbee (Figure 2.2) all the Greek households were covered in the survey. But in less important areas of Wollongong and the northern suburbs some Greek families were arbitrarily chosen for inclusion in the study. (Table 1.1). The Greeks living in Warrawong and Port Kembla areas which are considered to secondary concentrations were not included.
in the survey firstly because of the proximity of these areas to Cringila and Primbee and secondly, because the Greeks living in those areas are generally speaking of the same background and being in the same occupation. Therefore, it was anticipated that different information would not be obtained from them.

### Table 1.1 - Number of Greek Families Interviewed in Each Locality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Families Interviewed</th>
<th>Number of Persons Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cringila</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primbee</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Suburbs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Interviewed</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of Greek families who were interviewed constitute 25% of the total Greek population of the Wollongong Local Government area.

A questionnaire was designed to obtain the necessary information for the analysis. The questionnaire (Appendix A) covers information on the background of the respondent and his family, residential location decision and mobility, socio-economic status, and some indicators of integration or social cohesion such as intermarriage, education, religious affiliation, social participation, naturalization and visitation patterns.

No problems arose in the administration of these interviews. The reason for this is due to the interpreting and administering of the questionnaire in Greek by the author. The nationality of the author (being of Greek origin) also eliminated coloured or false statements to the questions asked.
The material collected by the questionnaire was then analysed and later interpreted.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

1) Residential Location and Mobility

Not much work has been done on the residential location decision and mobility of immigrants in Australia. Before dealing with the immigrants residential location decision and mobility the general literature on residential location decision and mobility will be briefly reviewed.

A combination of a large number of factors is involved in the residential decision to locate, of which some are more important than others. The residential location decision of a household is being influenced by:-
1. The scope of choice and intensity of residential development prescribed in the general plan and by zoning regulations.
2. What the produce offers - type of shelter package and price as well as accessibility the site offers to employment, schools, shopping and transport.
3. What the household purse allows.
4. What the household activity pattern calls for.
5. What the taste norms of the household dictate.

There are three principal determinants of the choice of housing according to Berry (1968): "the price of the dwelling unit ... ; the type of residence; and its location, both in terms of neighbourhood environment and in relation to place of work". These determinants have parallels "in the attributes of the individual making the choice of housing, which depends on his income; the housing he needs, which depend on his marital status and family size ... ; his life style preference which will affect the type of neighbour he wants; and finally, where he works and how close to the job he must live". When the values of the two sets of characteristics match a decision to purchase housing will be made.
The most important factors mentioned by respondents in Daly's (1968) study were "environmental values such as living in an area free from industrial pollution, having a bush setting, good views, good atmosphere for children and living in a new housing estate". Other authors, Alonso (1960), Beed Patton & Clark (1970), Chapin & Weiss (1962), found that journey to work and hence the relationship between place of residence and place of employment were considered prime determinants of where one chose to reside.

The theory of search behaviour also determines residential location. The individual evaluates alternatives with which he is familiar; places nearby the location of friends and relatives, areas visited in travel, described by mass media, or alternatives investigated in a systematic search. Generally, the alternatives are clustered around one or two locations. The residential decision to locate depends not only on demand conditions, the priorities which the family assigns to different housing characteristics, but also on supply constraints, the cost and quantity of different types of housing in different parts of the city. Social factors such as access to downtown, a familiar neighbourhood or an ethnic community, further complicates the decision.

Government policy is also a factor that should be considered in the residential location decision. For example, the Government influences the zoning of an area, the utilities such as sewerage, water and electricity and also gas.

Concluding, there has been a revolution in the literature on this topic in the last decade. This is due to the realization by some authors, for example, Berry, Chapin, that they are talking about 'people' not 'models'. It was realized that the residential decision to locate could be due not to traditional factors such as journey to work, accessibility, availability of amenities which classical geographers mainly concentrated on but on the people themselves. The persons race, income, way of live, occupation, age could all be taken as factors affecting the residential decision to locate.
When considering residential mobility the literature usually deals with the three following questions:-

1. Who Moves?

The people that move are either those that are dissatisfied with their present location or those that find something more attractive in their new location. Boyce (1969) and Simmons (1968) both agree that people who live in low value housing areas move much more often than people who live in high value housing areas, and people in their mid-twenties move more than people in other age groups.

2. Why Do They Move?

The motivation for changing residence within the city varies with the characteristics of the mover. Boyce found in his study of residential change in Seattle between 1962 and 1967 that "dissatisfaction with house and/or old neighbourhood" was the primary reason given for moving. Increase in family, income, and friends in the present neighbourhood also showed up as quite important. Other reasons why people move (he says) include the characteristics of the movers themselves. Maisel (1966) maintains that the important variables in housing status and in probability of moving are age of head of household, number of persons in the household, and income of household.

Simmons states that "in order to overcome the demonstrable time and money costs of moving, some kind of attraction or dissatisfaction is required. The most obvious factors are some kinds of social change which alter the relationship between a household and its environment". The environment may be altered by such things as blight, invasion by different cultural groups, or increased land values; while the household may change in age, size or income. More likely, both household and environment are changing simultaneously, and at varying rates. Three major clusters of social variables are given by Simmons as generators of mobility: life cycle; including demographic characteristics and life-style; economic
status, combining measures of income, occupation, and education; and segregation, the variables identifying ethnic or racial origin and religion.

3. Where Do They Move?

Many move to the outlying areas and therefore it has been assumed that suburban growth is being fed directly by migration from the central city. Some move only nearby and within the same sector. To determine where they move one has to consider the reasons for seeking a new home rather than the reason for leaving the old. The selection of a new home depends not only on demand conditions, the priorities which the family assigns to different housing characteristics, but also on supply constraints, the cost and quantity of different types of housing in different parts of the city. Also significant is the search procedure by which the family examines and evaluates alternative locations.

Migrant Residential Location Decision and Mobility

Gibson, in her study of the residential pattern and mobility of Dutch and Greek migrants found that type of housing and environment were very important factors in determining the residential location of these migrants. She also found that cultural moves resulting from ethnic origin are only one of the number of social differentials such as age, conjugal state, occupation and class which influence mobility. In Sloan's study of the migrant residential location and mobility the reasons most often stated for residential location were economic and social. He also states that the majority of the migrants gave as their reason for residential mobility 'the buying of their own home'.

Mavros (1971) found in her study of Greek migrants in Sydney that personal, social and accessibility factors determined the location of 80% of the newly arrived migrants. For the migrants that have resided in Australia for a longer period of time, the factors determining residential location have changed. A third chose their location because they liked the area.
Pavlou and Kelly (1971) found that on arrival the Greeks tended to concentrate in the inner suburbs but after a few years they moved outwards. They also found that in the early years the social and economic environment were the major reasons determining residential location but as the years in Australia increase the dominance of the social environment in location decisions tends to diminish.

Lee, in his study of the distribution and mobility of Italians noted that most of the Italian-born were concentrated in the inner suburbs of Melbourne but that the dominance of these suburbs lessened through time.

ii) Integration of Migrants

Most of the work done on immigrants in Australia concerns this aspect. However, the geographers as such have done very little work in this field. Most of the immigrant studies concerning this aspect have been done in such fields as psychology, sociology, anthropology and social history.

In the study of migration problems in Australia the term 'integration' has often aroused considerable argument. Some writers do not make it clear whether they mean the term to cover "the whole long process whereby immigrant groups gradually lose their ethnic characteristics and become indistinguishable from the rest of society" or whether they mean it to describe simply 'the final state of invisibility'. Other writers speak as if integration is complete "when immigrants have done no more than become happily incorporated and native stock have adapted themselves to each other sufficiently well to maintain political and social cohesion but otherwise retain their ethnic identity".

Further the term integration according to Martin (1965) simply means "the process by which an individual immigrant adapts himself to life in a new society, thus every immigrant is integrated in some measure". There are four sub-processes involved in this process; acculturation, social assimilation, identification with the host society and satisfaction.
According to Zubrzycki (1966) "integration can be defined as the process whereby native population and immigrants become more alike through interaction"\textsuperscript{11}. Therefore, the degree to which newcomers are accepted by the Australian community is an important aspect of integration. Integration can therefore be thought of as a two-way process. Kavass relates integration to the "institution of marriage where each spouse must get used to his or her partner, learn to tolerate one another's weaknesses and to admire one another's virtues"\textsuperscript{15}.

From the brief review of literature it is evident that many ideas of what integration means exist. Briefly, integration refers to the relationship between the immigrant group and the host society while the eventual state of full or high integration is usually referred to as assimilation. Social cohesion refers to the strength of the relationship amongst immigrants or between immigrant groups.

Measures of Integration:

In this section only a brief summary of the measures is given as they are dealt with in more detail in Chapter Four. Many variables are used to measure integration and social cohesion.

Recent studies of residential concentration among immigrants have emphasized its importance as an indicator, and major determinant of integration. Jones (1967), states that "concentration serves to reinforce the differences between groups by heightening their visibility, and through the spatial proximity afforded to group members provides a means whereby distinctive cultural patterns and group affiliations can be maintained"\textsuperscript{16}. Heiss (1966 1967) found that integration is also affected by the ethnicity of the neighbourhood of first residence.

Intermarriage is also used as a measure by many authors. According to Price and Zubrzycki "for several decades marriage statistics have been used as a means of assessing the speed with which immigrant, racial or ethnico-religious groups shed their ethnic identity"\textsuperscript{17}.
Mastery of the English language is another measure of integration, Vahl (1960) states that "the most potential factor which prohibits the adult migrants smooth blending into the host society is his language difficulties, and his accent, this will keep him apart and in some measure in the outgroup". 

Another indicator of integration is length of residence in Australia, a recent immigrant is unlikely to have achieved a level of integration the same as that of a less recent arrival regardless of other factors. Naturalisation, is also used as a measure, for as Jones (1967) states "it is a reasonable assumption that the naturalisation of a non-British subject, involving a change in political allegiance and national identification, indicates that at least a minimal amount of integration or assimilation has occurred".

Membership to ethnic communities and use of old language are also used as measures of integration.

(iii) Background to Greek Immigration to Australia

Greek immigration to Australia is mainly a twentieth century event. The main wave commenced in 1947 and rose sharply after the 29th August, 1952, when "the Australian Government agreed to a proposal by the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration (I.C.E.M.) .... under which Greek nationals resident in Greece could be assisted to resettle in Australia". Following this agreement, the largest number, 9,593, of assisted Greek immigrants came in the year 1954-1955.

Chain Migration:

A distinguishable feature of Greek immigration to Australia regardless of the assisted migration programmes, is that it has been primarily a chain migration movement. (Table 1.2)
Chain migration is "characterised by migrants in a country of destination nominating, sponsoring and/or economically assisting relatives or friends, usually from the same village or region of origin, to migrate. In part because of the structure of peasant societies in countries from which most chain migration has originated, kinship is of considerable importance."\(^{22}\)

The reason for this feature is that a Greek national cannot migrate to Australia if not assisted by the Australian Government, unless he has been sponsored by a relative or friend already resident in Australia. As Table 1.2 shows, only a small proportion (29.1%) of the Greek migrants in Australia have been assisted, compared to 78.5% of the British, 84.6% of the Austrian, and 72.2% of the German, the rest of the Greeks (70.1%) have arrived as 'chain migrants'.

With the Greeks, chain migration usually takes the form of the male immigrant arriving first, then follow his next of kin and lastly distant relatives and friends. As a result, new and larger migration chains are set in motion and some of those already in existence become extended.

Causes of Greek Immigration:

There are three main causes of Greek immigration:-

1. **Economic Dissatisfaction:**

   a) the main source of post-war Greek migration to Australia has been the
a) depressed agricultural areas of Greece, namely, the Peloponnese, the central regions of Thessaly and Euboea and the northern regions of Thrace and Macedonia. The rural areas due to poor soils, depleted natural resources and high population densities are suffering from under-employment which is especially affecting the young adults. Therefore, the bulk of the Greek immigrants in Australia have been villagers and small scale mixed farmers who are thus unskilled in the present day urban trades and professions.

b) economic dissatisfaction is not only confined to the rural areas. Conditions for the urban workers are just as bad as unemployment is high. Consequently, many Greeks, finding it very hard to support themselves in their native country consider emigration as the only solution to their problems.

2. Political Events:

For example, the Greco-Turkish War 1921-1923, which resulted in the settling of Greek refugees in Greece, the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese Islands from 1912-1947, the Greek Civil War which followed immediately after World War II, have been only of minor importance in Greek emigration.

3. Assisted Passages Offered to Qualifying Greeks:

As stated above, this is only of minor importance.

Distribution of Greek Immigrants in Australia:

In 1970, there were 160,532 Greeks in Australia which formed 6.3% of the total population. The states with the largest numbers of Greek immigrants were Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia.

There is a tendency for Greek migrants to settle in urban cities. (Table 1.3). This is not surprising as there are more jobs available in the urban centres than in the country.
TABLE 1.3 - URBAN/RURAL PERCENTAGE OF GREEK MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA - 1966.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan</td>
<td>87.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Urban</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Urban</td>
<td>95.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FOOTNOTES:

1. Department of Immigration, Good Neighbour Council
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
12. Ibid. 201.


21 Ibid. P. 34.

CHAPTER TWO
GREEK IMMIGRANTS IN WOLLONGONG:
SPATIAL AND ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS

A. Distribution Patterns:

Wollongong Local Government Area, as one of the major provincial industrial areas of the nation has received a considerable number of immigrants. In 1947, immigrants formed 13.4% of the total population, while in 1961 they formed 28.2% of the total and by 1971, the overseas born persons totalled 48,821 and formed 30.3% of the total population of 161,143. These figures emphasise the importance of Wollongong as an immigrant centre in the post-war period.

The post World War II immigration programme was designed to accelerate economic development through an increase in the work force beyond the normal population increase. The Australian Government was able to do this by instituting a system of assisted migration to Australia as well as encouraging fare paying immigrants. Further, the plan for national development also incorporated the development and decentralisation of industry. This led to the direction of large numbers of assisted migrants to provincial industrial areas such as Newcastle, Wollongong, Geelong and the La Trobe Valley. These immigrants formed the increased labour force necessary to carry out the industrial expansion planned in these provincial centres.

The Wollongong areas prior to World War II was an important coal mining and dairying centre in New South Wales and had only a small (13.4%) but well-established immigrant community which were mainly from the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Post World War II immigration into the area commenced in 1947. Since then a continuous inflow of immigrants has been coming into the area, the number of foreign-born increasing from 8,428 in 1947 to 48,821 in 1971, an increase of 497.3%. This inflow of immigrants was of major importance
in increasing the area's population (together with the national increase) from 62,960 in 1947 to 161,143 in 1971. (Table 2.1).

### TABLE 2.1 - POPULATION OF THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA 1947-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>POPULATION INCREASE (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL FOREIGN BORN</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL POPULATION</th>
<th>% INCREASE OF TOTAL FOREIGN BORN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>62,960</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>8,428</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>90,852</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>20,072</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>138.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>131,758</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>37,222</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>149,506</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>43,582</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>161,143</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>48,821</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i) Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area

The Greek-born component\(^2\) of the population totals 1,684 and accounts for approximately 1.1\% of the total 1971 period although this proportion has varied through time. In the 1961-1966 period there was an increase in the number of Greeks in the area from 1,552 to 2,005, although the number of Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area had decreased by 1971 to 1,684. It is also interesting to note that twice as many Greek-born males had left the area in the 1966-1971 period than Greek-born females\(^3\). (Table 2.2).

### TABLE 2.2 - NUMBER OF GREEKS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA 1947-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL POPULATION</th>
<th>% OF OVERSEAS BORN POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,552</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2,005</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1,684</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In comparison with other ethnic groups such as the Yugoslav, Italian or German, the Greek group is rather small. It only accounts for 3.5% of the total Overseas-Born population in the Wollongong Local Government Area for 1971. (Table: 2.3).

### TABLE 2.3 - COMPARISON OF GREEK-BORN POPULATION TO OTHER MIGRANT POPULATIONS 1966 & 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1966</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>% OF TOTAL POPULATION</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>% OF TOTAL POPULATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>12,413</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>21,262</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>2,647</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>2,005</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1,684</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>5,631</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5,539</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>777</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1,998</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1,878</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>4,217</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>6,697</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A further aspect of Greek migration to the Wollongong Local Government Area is that it is relatively 'old' in comparison to the Yugoslav and Turkish migration - only 20.5% of the Greek-born have been residing in Australia for less than five years compared to 54% of the Yugoslav-born.

ii) Distribution of the Greek-born Migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area

The spatial distribution of the Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area has altered in the period of 1961-1971. (Table 2.4, Figures 2.1, 2.2).

In 1961, the major concentrations of Greek-born immigrants extended over 10 Collector's Districts (C.D.'s: at Iringila, Port Kembla, Primbee,
fig. 2.7

DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK MIGRANTS
IN WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AREA 1961

Nº of Greeks
- 101 +
- 81 - 100
- 61 - 80
- 41 - 60
- 21 - 40
- 0 - 20

SCALE
0 2 4 6 Km.
DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK MIGRANTS
IN WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AREA 1966

No of Greeks

101 +
81 - 100
61 - 80
41 - 60
21 - 40
0 - 20

SCALE
0 2 4 6 Km
Warrawong and Coniston - Wollongong. (Table 2.4). This major concentration constitutes 43.6% of the total Greek-born population of the area. Two interesting features of this concentration are evident, firstly, that it is mainly located in the southern suburbs near the major sources of employment and secondly, that the largest concentration of non-Australian-born and non-British-born, are at these C.D.'s.

Within this concentration a nucleus occurs at Cringila which constitutes 18.5% of the total Greek-born population of the Wollongong Local Government Area or 34% of the Greek-born population of the major concentration. The secondary concentration of Greek-born immigrants extends from Towradgi to Figtree, including Fairy Meadow, Mt. Ousley, Gwynneville, Mt. St. Thomas and parts of West Wollongong, Wollongong and Coniston.

In 1966, the major concentration of Greek-born extended over 12 C.D.'s at Cringila, Primbee, Kemblawarra, Port Kembla, Coniston and Wollongong. (Table 2.4) This concentration constitutes 44.7% of the total area and again as in 1961 mainly occurs south of central Wollongong. These C.D.'s have low percentages of Australian-born, German-born, Dutch-born, English-born and Spanish-born, and high percentages of Yugoslav and Italian-born.

Within this concentration the nucleus still occurs at Cringila (C.D.'s 130, 131, 132) but this time involves only 16% of the total Greek-born population of the Wollongong Local Government Area.

Secondary concentrations of Greek-born immigrants occur in Corrimal, Fairy Meadow, Coniston-Hights, Warrawong, Kemblawarra and Port Kembla.

In 1971, the major concentration of Greek-born extended over 11 C.D.'s at Cringila, Coniston, Wollongong, Kemblawarra and Primbee. (Table 2.4). This concentration accounts for 34.6% of the total Greek-born population and within this Cringila still is the nucleus but only accounts for 13% of the total Greek-born population of the area.
Secondary concentrations occur at Primbee, Warrawong, Port Kembla, Mt. St. Thomas, Coniston Heights, Unanderra, Figtree and some C.D.'s of Wollongong.

The spatial distribution of the Greek-born population has gradually changed in the 1961-1971 period and a new pattern has emerged. Although areas of major concentrations of Greeks still occur, their order has changed.

Cringila remains the nucleus but over the period it has lost some of its importance as a "Greek area". In 1961, 18.5% of the total Greek-born population of Wollongong Local Government Area lived in Cringila while in 1971 it only accounted for 13%. Other areas that have lost some of their importance as major Greek concentrations are Port Kembla and Warrawong.

The Coniston-Wollongong area has become increasingly important as a major Greek concentration. In 1961 it only accounted for 14.6% of the total Greek-born population while in 1971 the percentage had increased to 19.3%. New concentrations emerged in 1971 in two C.D.'s which previously had very few Greeks. (Table 2.4). For example, C.D. 108 (1966 code, 9207.6 in 1971 code) had only 8 (.4%) Greek-born persons residing while in 1971 the number had increased to 42 (2.5%).

There has been a tendency in the later years 1966-1971 for the Greek-born population to move away from major Greek concentrations to areas of secondary or minor concentrations. Approximately 35% of the total Greek-born population were living in a major Greek concentration in 1971, compared with 45% in 1966 and 44% in 1961. (Table 2.4).

From these maps and table it is apparent that there has been a marked dispersal of Greeks all through the Wollongong Local Government Area, with increasing concentration in the central suburbs and northern suburbs of the study area (Wollongong-Coniston) and away from the southern suburbs where the centres of Greek concentrations occur.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>C.D.</th>
<th>Greek-Born Persons</th>
<th>% Of Total Greek-Born Population</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>C.D.</th>
<th>Greek-Born Persons</th>
<th>% Of Total Greek-Born Population</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>C.D.</th>
<th>Greek-Born Persons</th>
<th>% Of Total Greek-Born Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>093</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>9211.7</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>094</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>9211.8</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>095</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>9211.9</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>051</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>058</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>9207.9</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>061</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>98</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>9207.3</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>062</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>9207.4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>9208.7</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>120</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>9207.5</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>145</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>9207.6</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>151</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>9209.3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>9209.10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td></td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Ethnic Characteristics:

It is apparent from the literature that characteristics of the immigrant group itself are important factors in explaining patterns of concentration and social cohesion. In this section a number of characteristics, developed from the questionnaire (See Appendix A) are briefly discussed as background information for the following Chapters.

Length of residence in Australia

Most of the Greek migrants interviewed (52%) have been residing in Australia for 16-20 years (Table 2.5), this means that their year of arrival was in the period 1953-1957. This corresponds with the earlier observation (Chapter One) that the main wave of Greek emigration to Australia was in the 1953-1954 period which resulted from the availability of assisted passages to Greek migrants. Table 2.5 also shows that only a very small number (2.7%) have been residing in Australia for less than 5 years. The Census provided information which enabled the comparison of the lengths of residence in Australia of various ethnic groups. For the Wollongong Local Government Area 20% of the Greek-born and 15% of the Italian-born were residing in Australia for less than 5 years compared to 54% of the Yugoslav-born and 33% of the United Kingdom and Irish-born. This led to the conclusion that Greek emigration to Australia is comparatively 'old'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEARS</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>1 2.6</td>
<td>2 5.0</td>
<td>1 4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>9 23.0</td>
<td>10 25.0</td>
<td>4 17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>9 23.0</td>
<td>13 32.5</td>
<td>3 13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>20 51.3</td>
<td>15 37.5</td>
<td>13 56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2.5 - LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA OF GREEK MIGRANTS VIEWED IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.**
Age On Arrival

Most Greek migrants (50%) arrived in Australia between the ages of 21-30 (See Table 2.6). The reason for this is that the Australian Government was making available assisted passages to young migrants who were able to work in its numerous factories. This was the most suitable age group. For the females the same trend is evident but the reason here is that they either migrated with their husbands or arrived as fiancée's. Very few Greek migrants (2.2%) arrived in Australia over the age of 41. The reason for this is that many realise that to obtain employment at this age would be quite difficult in a foreign country.

Marital Status on Arrival

This feature is closely related to the age of arrival. Table 2.7 shows that the majority of the Greek males (42%) migrated singlemen. The reason being that preference was given to the single male by the I.C.E.M. (Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration) to be assisted to Australia, as Australia at the time, was in need of young men to increase its labour force.

Another common feature of Greek migration which is also shown in Table 2.7 is that some 12% of married Greek males migrated to Australia alone and only after a few years when they had decided to permanently settle in Australia did they bring out their families.

Differences in marital status on arrival are also found between the suburbs. Cringila and Primbee have a higher percentage (45% and 37% respectively) of families settling that were married prior to arrival in Australia than do Wollongong and the northern suburbs (20% and 29.4% respectively). Wollongong and the northern suburbs on the other hand have a higher percentage (73.4% and 58.8%) of families that have married after arrival to Australia.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 -10</td>
<td>3 7.7</td>
<td>3 7.5</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1 4.0</td>
<td>2 13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20</td>
<td>3 7.7</td>
<td>6 15.0</td>
<td>5 21.7</td>
<td>6 24.0</td>
<td>3 20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>19 48.7</td>
<td>22 55.0</td>
<td>9 39.1</td>
<td>15 60.0</td>
<td>9 60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>13 33.3</td>
<td>8 20.0</td>
<td>9 39.1</td>
<td>3 12.0</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 41</td>
<td>1 2.6</td>
<td>1 2.5</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>1 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39 100.0</td>
<td>40 100.0</td>
<td>23 100.0</td>
<td>25 100.0</td>
<td>15 100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARITAL STATUS</td>
<td>CRINGILA</td>
<td>PRIMBEE</td>
<td>WOLLONGONG</td>
<td>N. SUBURBS*</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persons %</td>
<td>Persons %</td>
<td>Persons %</td>
<td>Persons %</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married migrated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with family</td>
<td>14 45.0</td>
<td>10 37.0</td>
<td>3 20.0</td>
<td>5 29.4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married migrated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with no family</td>
<td>5 12.5</td>
<td>4 14.8</td>
<td>1 6.6</td>
<td>2 11.8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>17 42.5</td>
<td>13 48.2</td>
<td>11 73.4</td>
<td>10 58.8</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>40 100.0</td>
<td>27 100.0</td>
<td>15 100.0</td>
<td>17 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One (1) Greek family in the Northern Suburbs had been born in Australia.
The most probable reason for this pattern is that Cringila and Primbee have cheaper land prices than elsewhere, and married families on arrival because of their higher expenses are unable to buy a home or land in other areas. A single Greek male on the other hand, because of his lower expenses is able to save more money and therefore by the time he marries can afford to buy a home, if he desires, in areas where prices are much higher.

Type of Migration

There are two ways in which a Greek migrant can arrive in Australia: Firstly, as an Assisted Migrant, and secondly, as a Chain Migrant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF MIGRATION</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assisted</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>58.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chain</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.8 shows that the majority (58.6%) of Greek males in the Wollongong Local Government Area were assisted migrants (Chapter Two, A.) This figure contrasts sharply with the Australian-wide figure as only 29.1% of the total Greek-born migrants in Australia were assisted between October 1945 and June 1968.

The reason for higher percentage of assisted migrants in Wollongong can be explained by the post World War II immigration programme. (Chapter Two, A.) This programme led to the direction of large numbers of
assisted immigrants to the Wollongong industrial area.

Out of the four areas only Primbee (Table 2.8) had a higher percentage of chain immigrants (51.8%) than assisted immigrants (48.1%), but even here, the difference was so small as to be insignificant.

It should be emphasised that only the male immigrants are taken. All the females, interviewed, other than the ones that arrived as 'married assisted migrants' are chain migrants.

TABLE 2.9 - REASONS FOR MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA OF GREEK MIGRANTS INTERVIEWED IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASON</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pers.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Pers.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Pers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better opportunities</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape persecution</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family moved</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reasons for Migration

Most respondents stated that they came to Australia in search of better opportunities (Table 2.9). The term "better opportunities" covers a whole host of opportunities such as better economic opportunities, better educational opportunities for their children, better living standards. The next factor to be looked at "Occupation in Greece", will readily show why 87% of the Greek migrants interviewed gave this reason for leaving Greece.

7% of the Greek migrants interviewed gave as their reason for leaving "because family moved to Australia" all these respondents are
Greeks that migrated as children but have since then married and formed families of their own. These migrants in reality had no choice whether to migrate to Australia or not, as their parents, were the decision makers at the time of migration. Even so, it is quite likely that these migrants on reaching maturity would have migrated to Australia for the same reason as their parents did, that is, "in search of better opportunities".

Occupation in Greece

As stated above the most important reason given for leaving Greece was "in search of better opportunities". By looking at the occupations in Greece of the migrants interviewed (Table 2.10), it becomes evident why these people were searching for better opportunities. The majority of the Greek males and females interviewed were agricultural workers in Greece. Dissatisfaction is widely spread throughout the rural villages because of the hardships involved in this kind of work and the low yields per acre and therefore, immigration is the only means of escape. The trend of rural villagers to migrate rather than urban dwellers is also noticed in other Australian cities as well as in America, New Zealand and Germany.

Another striking feature of Greek migration is that persons in the professions or in technical occupations don't migrate to the extent that unskilled workers (mainly rural villagers) do. Of the Greeks interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area no person with tertiary training had migrated and only 24.7% with technical training.

It is clear that Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area show many similarities to each other as well as to Greeks in other areas. A discussion of the ethnic characteristics of the Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area is important, as these characteristics, play an important role in explaining patterns of concentration and social cohesion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Work</td>
<td>20 51.3</td>
<td>20 50.0</td>
<td>11 47.8</td>
<td>6 24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Work</td>
<td>10 25.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 26.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other *</td>
<td>5 12.8</td>
<td>12 30.0</td>
<td>4 17.4</td>
<td>11 44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nil †</td>
<td>4 10.3</td>
<td>8 20.0</td>
<td>2 8.7</td>
<td>8 32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39 100.0</td>
<td>40 100.0</td>
<td>23 100.0</td>
<td>25 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Females usually were dressmakers. Males were employed in a number of positions, such as fishermen, sales assistants, bakers and factory workers.

† Either were too young to work, or were still at school.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
<td>Male Pers. %</td>
<td>Female Pers. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Work</td>
<td>20 51.3</td>
<td>20 50.0</td>
<td>11 47.8</td>
<td>6 24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Work</td>
<td>10 25.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6 26.0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other *</td>
<td>5 12.8</td>
<td>12 30.0</td>
<td>4 17.4</td>
<td>11 44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nil †</td>
<td>4 10.3</td>
<td>8 20.0</td>
<td>2 8.7</td>
<td>8 32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39 100.0</td>
<td>40 100.0</td>
<td>23 100.0</td>
<td>25 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Females usually were dressmakers. Males were employed in a number of positions, such as fishermen, sales assistants, bakers and factory workers.

† Either were too young to work, or were still at school.
FOOTNOTES:

1 Figures obtained from the Commonwealth Census 1971.

2 This figure does not include Cypriot Greeks, Egyptian Greeks, Turkish Greeks, etc., nor does it include children born in Australia to Greek parents. Only persons born in Greece are accounted for.

3 In 1966 there were 1,110 Greek-born males and 895 Greek-born females in the area while in 1971 there were only 892 Greek-born males and 792 Greek-born females.

4 Major concentrations are C.D.'s with 40 or more Greek-born persons residing.

5 Cringila C.D.'s ................................ (093, 094, 095)
Port Kembla C.D.'s .......................... (103)
Primbee C.D.'s .............................. (108)
Warrawong C.D.'s ............................ (100)
Coniston-Wollongong C.D.'s .............. (061, 062, 051, 058)

6 Secondary concentrations are at C.D.'s with 21-40 persons Greek-born residing.

7 Cringila C.D.'s ................................ (130, 131, 132)
Primbee C.D.'s ................................ (154)
Kemblawarra C.D.'s .......................... (151, 147)
Port Kembla C.D.'s .......................... (145)
Coniston C.D.'s ................................ (115, 120, 98, 111)

8 Cringila C.D.'s ................................ 9211.7, 9211.8, 9211.9
Coniston C.D.'s .............................. 9207.3, 9207.4, 9207.5, 9208.7
Wollongong C.D.'s ........................... 9207.6, 9207.9 For 1971.
Kemblawarra C.D.'s .......................... 9209.3
Primbee C.D.'s .............................. 9209.10

9 See Chapter One for more detail.
CHAPTER THREE

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PATTERNS

1. Residential Location

As seen in Chapter Two, Greek migrants of the Wollongong Local Government Area tend to concentrate into certain areas. (Figure 2.2). The majority of the Greek migrants settle in older housing areas. This trend is frequently noted in the Australian cities (Rose, Scott) and is frequently the reason suggested for the maintenance of high population densities in old suburbs. Also evident in Figure 2.2, is that the majority are located south of Wollongong (City). The reason for this is that the main employment channel - Australian Iron & Steel Pty. Ltd. is situated south of Wollongong and the migrants locate here so that their journey to work and all it entails is short.

In this Chapter only the Greek male migrants replies are considered, as they are the decision makers in the household. Also, for the mobility section there is more reason to take the males mobility patterns as the females usually arrive in Australia once their relatives or husband's have settled down into a permanent home.

Reasons for Residential Location

In the Wollongong Local Government Area the most important factors determining residential location of the Greeks are accessibility, economic reasons and 'liking the area'. Personal and social factors were also of importance. (Table 3.1).
TABLE 3.1 - REASONS FOR RESIDENTIAL LOCATION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS</th>
<th>CRINGILA Persons</th>
<th>PRIMBEE Persons</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG Persons</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS Persons</th>
<th>TOTAL %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liked Area</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liked House</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27% regarded accessibility to work, shops and schools as an important factor in determining their residential location. Many (22.6%) gave economic reasons, by this it is meant by cheaper land rents and cheaper purchase prices for homes. Liking the area was also a major determinant of residential location. The Greeks interviewed in the northern suburbs and Primbee said they liked the area as it is away from the industries and pollution free, others said they liked the area as it is quiet and clean for their children.

Personal and social reasons didn't emerge as major determinants of residential location. Personal reasons mainly imply that the migrant moved into a particular residential location because a relative or friend lives there or close by. Social reasons include the great number of Greek people in an area as well as closeness to Greek shops, schools and churches.

Liking of a house is an unimportant factor in determining the residential location of Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area.
The emergence of accessibility and economic factors as the major determinants of residential location is easily explained when considering the occupations of the Greek migrants. The majority (56%) are unskilled manual workers or service workers, while only 4% are in the white collar occupations. In consequence, their choice of residence is limited as they could only rent or purchase low cost housing near the industrial area (A.I. & S., where the majority work) or place of work. (Wollongong).

Major reasons for determining residential location differed for each of the four areas studied.

For Greeks in Cringila the three most important factors influencing their residential location came out to be accessibility, economic and social. This is quite understandable as the Australian Iron & Steel Pty. Ltd., where the majority work is quite close (Cringila even shares a boundary with A. I. & S.). Because of the proximity of the A. I. & S. and all it entails, both air and noise pollution, land prices are low compared to other areas. Also due to the proximity of A. I. & S. the accessibility to work is quite high for this area, thus transport costs for the journey to work are minimised or non-existent. The social factor in influencing residential location is quite easily explained when considering Cringila which has had the highest concentration of Greek migrants in the last ten years. Liking the area and the house were factors considered unimportant in determining the residential location of the Greeks in Cringila.

In Primbee, the most important factors in determining residential location were liking of the area, accessibility and personal. By liking of an area most of the Greeks meant that they liked the area (Primbee) rather than Cringila or Wollongong. Accessibility is also important even though they are not next to the works, transport costs are still quite low. Accessibility to the shopping centre in Warrawong was also considered to be a major factor in influencing the residential location decision of Greek residents in Primbee.
Accessibility was the most important factor influencing residential location in Wollongong. Accessibility in terms of shops, Greek school, and the Greek church. Economic and environmental factors were considered equal in importance following accessibility in influencing residential location. Factors considered unimportant were personal, social and choice of house.

In the northern suburbs, the most important factor influencing residential location was environmental. This is quite understandable as the northern suburbs has the lowest number of Greeks as well as being the furthest from the A. I. & S. and associated industries. The only other factor of importance in influencing the residential location of the Greeks in the northern suburbs was economic. Factors considered to be unimportant are social, accessibility, personal and liking of the house.

Initial Place of Residence

The initial place of residence expresses the sort of migrant one is (i.e. married, ambitious etc.) but also influences to quite a large extent the direction of ones future movements.

43% of the Greek migrants initial place of residence was the home of a relative whilst 30.3% of the Greek migrants first residence in Australia was a Government hostel.

Differences in choice of housing generally and in the initial accommodation in particular can be understood in terms of three main factors:

1. The type of migrant - particularly his demographic characteristics and social background,
2. His expectations with regard to live in Australia, and,
3. His mode of emigration.

Demographic Characteristics

Age, family status, presence of relatives, regulate the migrants housing needs, what he considers satisfied these needs and how he goes about satisfying them.
Approximately 75% of the Greek males interviewed were less than 30 years of age on arrival, while 52% were single on arrival. The significance of this is that the majority of the male Greek immigrants require no more than a single room on their arrival which is usually supplied by their relatives.

The presence of relatives is important not only for the assistance they may give to migrants arriving after them in the form of initial place of residence and/or financial aid to purchase housing but also in influencing where the migrant will move next and where he will eventually buy a home.

Many of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area were preceded by a relative. For 42.6% of the Greek males interviewed, accommodation was immediately offered to them by a relative. The fact that the Greek migrant was usually single would make this easier.

As is evident, community background is very important. In most other communities to have a relative in the Wollongong Local Government Area doesn’t necessarily mean that one will live with them. With the Greeks this is not unusual because the traditional extended family system still exists.

Expectations

Most Greek migrants come from rural villages and when they arrive in Australia they expect to make quick money in order to be able to return home at the earliest possible. In order to achieve this expectation they are prepared to economise on most expenses. This desire limits the type of house they will live in. Further, Greek family and community interdependence makes sharing of housing with relatives acceptable even in Australia.

Mode of Emigration

It is suggested that the way the migrant arrives - whether assisted or unassisted, in itself influences where he will live. It determines whether hostel accommodation is open to the migrant.
Of the Greek migrants studied 58.6% were assisted but only 38.3% had hostel accommodation open to them. The other 20% (usually single) moved into private boarding houses. Approximately 41% of the Greek migrants arrived in Australia unassisted, these are the chain migrants who were brought out to Australia by relatives. The relatives are responsible for their initial accommodation and this is where the majority reside on their arrival. However, when the relatives place of residence is restricted the relative usually arranges accommodation elsewhere.

Therefore, for the initial place of residence the majority of the Greek migrants have no choice. Their accommodation is either arranged by the Government (hostels) or by their relatives.

RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

1. Degree of Mobility

In this section the questions:

a) How mobile have the Greeks been?

b) How many moves have they made?

will be examined.

The Greek migrants interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area have not been as mobile as expected, only 10% have made five or more moves. (Table 3.2). The majority have made between two to four moves in their period of residence in Australia. Also significant is that 29% have made no move or only one move. The low degree of mobility can be explained by the fact that once a Greek migrant has found suitable accommodation he will not move because of the high costs involved in moving. Also many of the migrants live with their relatives till they save to buy their own home.
When looking at individual suburbs at a time, definite patterns emerge. Greek migrants in Cringila have a greater degree of mobility than migrants elsewhere in the area. (Table 3.2). However, even though Greek migrants in Cringila have a greater degree of mobility many of them still made less than one move. In Primbee, the same thing emerges, approximately 45% of the Greek migrants have made one or no move at all. (Table 3.2).

2. Patterns of Mobility

A significant feature indicated in Table 3.3 as well as Figures 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, is that the majority of the moves of the Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area are within the one suburb and even within the one street regardless of the number of move it is, in other words the same pattern occurs even with increasing time. The distance moved is
still very small. This is opposite to what was expected that the distance of movement will increase with length of residence in Australia.

Another significant feature shown in Table 3.3 is that 23 of the first moves were moves into the area. These moves mainly involved hostel occupants who were directed to the area by the Australian Government as at their time of arrival (1953-1956) there was an acute shortage of labour in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Moves</th>
<th>Same Street</th>
<th>Same Suburb</th>
<th>Adjacent Suburb</th>
<th>Suburb less than five miles</th>
<th>Suburb more than five miles</th>
<th>Moved Into Area</th>
<th>Moved Out of Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When looking at individual suburbs definite differences emerge. For Cringila, the majority of the Greek migrants moved within the same suburb regardless of the number of moves. (Figure 3.1). In Wollongong a different pattern emerges, (Figure 3.3) the first move tended to be the longest for most of the Greek migrants, while their second move tended to be the shortest, and also they moved within the same suburb. In the third move many again moved a greater distance, but still this distance was less than five miles. The same pattern emerges for Primbee as in Wollongong. The
LEGEND FOR FIGURES 3.1, 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4

--- First Move
--- Second Move
--- Third Move
......... Fourth Move
oooooo Fifth Move
xxxxxx Sixth Move
-o-o-o- Seventh Move
-x-x-x-x- Eighth Move
FIG. 3.1
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY
OF CRINGILA GREEKS

PACIFIC OCEAN

Elsewhere

Sydney
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF PRIMBEE GREEKS
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY
WOLLONGONG CREKES
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF
FIG. 3.3
FIG. 3.4
RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY
OF NORTHERN SUBURB GREEKS

Elsewhere

Wobhona

PACIFIC

OCEAN

SONAGILLA
Adelaide

Physella

GRINGILA

Port Kambla

Primbee

SYDNEY

SCALE

0 2 4 6 km
have found in their studies that, as the period of residence in Australia increases the frequency of moves decreases. The Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area were no exception as Table 3.4 shows.

**TABLE 3.4 — INCIDENCE OF MOVES DURING THE PERIOD OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Moves Made Within each period of residence</th>
<th>Period of Residence in Australia</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>During 1st 3 years</td>
<td>Between 3rd 5th year</td>
<td>Between 6th 10th year</td>
<td>Between 10th 15th year</td>
<td>Over 15th year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>74</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the Greeks moved more frequently in their first three years in Australia than they did later on. (Table 3.4). The reason for this is that when a Greek migrant arrives in Australia he is unsettled and has no fixed occupation. This feeling of unsettlement is reflected in his residential mobility. The migrant tends to move around till he finds what he is looking for. This unsettlement period usually lasts for three years and is an explanation for the high degree of mobility in the first three years in Australia. After this three year period, most of the Greeks have settled into a stable job and a home of their own. Once they have become home owners their residential mobility comes almost to an end, the only reasons that will cause them to change residence at this point of time would be to move into a newer and better home after a few years or to buy a business (with Greeks this is usually the case). As Table 3.4 shows, the number
of moves that occur in the 10th-15th year and over 15 years of residence in Australia are quite low compared to the number of moves in the first three years of residence in Australia.

Marriage is an important influence on residential mobility. While single, a Greek male will move around more, usually migrating from the country to the city according to the season. Many of the Greek males interviewed said they moved to Mildura and associated areas for the grape-picking season but when this season finished they again returned to the Wollongong areas and to their usual jobs in the Steelworks (A.I. & S.). Marriage is closely associated with a desire to remain in the city and a stable job throughout the year. The city is usually favoured because most Greek wives cannot speak English and prefer to live in areas of Greek concentrations. Marriage also affects residential mobility in that many Greek males moved to their own homes or moved from a single room to a flat when their wives or fiancées arrived from Greece.

Family size also affects the frequency of residential mobility as many Greek families move about from a house-sharing home as the number in the family increases.

The frequency of residential mobility is also related to occupational stability. For most of the Greeks interviewed, the frequency of job changes was much greater in the first few years than later on.

The fact that the frequency of moves decreases with increasing period of residence in Australia is also related in the duration of residence on each move.

4. Duration of Residence on Each Move

In this section the question "how long did people live in the residence associated with each move?" will be looked at.
Table 3.4 indicates that 52% of the Greeks interviewed spent less than one year in the residence (residential location) of their first move, 21% spent between one and three years, 11% spent between four and five years, 12% spent between six and ten years, 1% spent between eleven and fifteen years and 2% spent more than fifteen years. These results indicate that many of the Greek migrants didn't last long in their first location - i.e. they moved quickly. The same trend occurs for the second move.

For the third and subsequent moves the trend changes. Fewer people are now spending less than one year in any residence. The majority as Table 3.4 indicates spend between one and three years in a residence.

These results are similar to those for the frequency of residential mobility and the same explanation applies to this section as for the one above.

5. Reasons for Residential Mobility

The most important reasons for the residential mobility of the
Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area are, firstly, 'bought own home', secondly, employment reasons and thirdly, economic reasons. Other factors of minor importance causing residential mobility are 'personal reasons' and 'needed a better home'. (Table 3.5).

TABLE 3.5 — REASONS FOR RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASONS</th>
<th>NO. OF MOVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>14 9 8 2 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>2 3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>2 2 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bought Home</td>
<td>20 10 15 14 1 3 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better House</td>
<td>4 9 12 7 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Area</td>
<td>1 3 2 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>33 12 7 2 2 1 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>17 21 8 4 4 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

100.0%

The most important reasons causing the first move are employment, 'bought own home', economic and personal. (Table 3.5). Employment reasons are quite understandable when considering that many of the Greek migrants are assisted and that their initial place of residence was a Government hostel (usually Bonegilla) and from there the Australian Government had every right to send them anywhere for employment reasons. 'Bought own home' is easily explained in that the majority of those involved were chain migrants who usually resided with their relatives till they saved a deposit to buy their own home. Economic reasons implies that the rent was too high and this caused mobility. Personal reasons is an important factor in causing residential mobility. Many of those involved again would be chain
migrants whose initial place of residence in Australia would be a relative's home.

The reasons causing residential mobility have changed by the third move. Reasons important now are, 'bought own home', 'wanted a better home', economic and personal. By the fifth move the major determinant causing residential mobility is the economic factor.

Social, accessibility and environment (liked the area) reasons did not emerge as major determinants of residential mobility. This is rather surprising, as in most studies of migrant residential mobility (Pavlou and Kelly, Gibson), these factors were of major importance in causing residential mobility.

In summary, it can be said that the migrant's residential movements are the result of the tension between his housing requirements and the forms of accommodation available. The Greek migrant, goes through a stage of interim housing, finds that boarding with relatives is satisfactory until he purchases his own home and achieves financial independence, which after a while may lead him to look for a better home and in some cases to buying a business.

FOOTNOTES:

CHAPTER FOUR

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND INTEGRATION

A. Measuring of Degree of Integration

In this Chapter the relationship between the immigrant group and the host society as well as the relationship between members of the immigrant group is looked at.

The terms integration, assimilation and social cohesion are used by many authors interchangeably. However, in this study the terms assimilation and integration are used interchangeably while the term social cohesion is used to denote a different type of relationship.

The terms 'integration' and 'assimilation' have often aroused considerable argument (Chapter One). Integration (in this study) can be defined as the process "whereby native population and immigrants become more alike through interaction. This definition contains two important elements: first of all it is a process involving several stages of integration from 'low' to 'high' and, secondly, it means that native population and immigrants become more alike, i.e. it is a two-way process". In other words the term 'integration' refers to the relationship between the native group and the immigrant group. The state of 'full' or 'high' integration is referred to as 'assimilation'.

The term 'social cohesion' refers to the strength of the relationship among immigrants or within the immigrant group.

CLASSICAL MEASURES OF INTEGRATION

1) Mastery of the English Language - is used as a measure of integration by many authors in Australia (Vahl (1960)), Horn (1952), Kavass (1962), Taft (1966) Johnston (1963), Borrie (1954), Zubrzycki (1966), Masero (1960). Vahl states "that the most potential factor which prohibits the adult migrant's smooth blending into the host society is his language difficulty and his accent. This will keep him apart and in some measure in the outgroup". Zubrzycki sees the learning of the English language as one of the initial stages of integration.
He argues that "once the immigrant has learned to speak English ....... he will be ready to venture outside the community entirely on his own"3. Further, many authors argue that foreigners are incapable of integration because they cannot speak English 'properly', this is not so, as all a migrant needs is adequate English for everyday situations.

ii) Residential Concentration of Immigrants - recent studies have emphasised the importance of this factor as an indicator and a major determinant of assimilation (Price (1968), Zubrzycki (1959), Jones (1967), Heiss (1966, 1967), Timms (1968)). Zubrzycki, hypothesised that there is "a positive correlation between integration and decreasing residential segregation"4. Jones states that "concentration serves to reinforce the differences between groups by heightening their 'visibility', and through the spatial proximity afforded to group members provides a means whereby distinctive cultural patterns and group affiliations can be maintained"5.

Zubrzycki has formulated two measures to analyse the distribution of migrants and in comparing the different national groups. These measures are the index of metropolitan concentration and the index of metropolitan segregation. The Index of Concentration is a measure of the degree of correspondence between population units and area. If the population is distributed evenly throughout the city, each areal division will have a population in exact proportion to its area, and the Index of Concentration will be zero. Concentration of the population into a very small area will give a value approaching 100.

The Index of Segregation shows the extent to which an individual national group is residentially segregated from the rest of the population. Unlike the Index of Concentration it is independent of area, and is a more direct measure of the isolation of an ethnic group.

iii) Initial Residence - integration is also affected by the ethnicity of the neighbourhood of first residence. Heiss (1967) in his study of Italians in Perth, Western Australia, found that those who first lived in an Italian area are least assimilated, and those who lived in an Australian area are most
iv) Length of Residence in Australia - Length of residence in Australia is very closely related by many authors to residential concentration. Jones (1967), considers the question of whether difference in the degree of residential concentration can be explained in terms of length of residence in Australia. In his study in Melbourne, he found that the most concentrated groups tended also to be the most recently arrived groups.

A recent immigrant is unlikely to have achieved a level of integration the same as that of a less recent arrival regardless of other factors.

v) Naturalisation - Naturalisation is used by many authors, Price (1960), Zubrzycki (1964, 1966), Johnston (1963), Jones (1967), Taft (1966), Borrie (1954), Masero (1960), Martin (1965), as a measure of integration. According to Jones "it is a reasonable assumption that the naturalisation of a non-British subject, involving a change in political allegiance and national identification, indicates that at least a minimal amount of integration has occurred".

However, naturalisation as a measure of assimilation is deceptive. This is partly due to the fact that it involves primarily a politico-legal action which has different implications for each alien group; and partly because it requires a five year residence qualification. It also is deceptive in that many immigrants accept Australian nationality for practical reasons, such as to receive an old age pension. This type of person, although naturalised cannot be taken as being more assimilated than a person who has as yet not become naturalised.

vi) Intermarriage - Timms (1960), states that "the existence of full marital assimilation is a sine qua non for the disappearance of dissimilarity between migrant host populations". As Gordon (1964) argues"once marital assimilation ..... takes place fully, the minority group loses its ethnic identity in the larger host or core society and identificational assimilation takes place".
It appears that there is a close relationship between the degree of marital assimilation exhibited by a given group and the extent to which that group is perceived as being 'different by members of the host society'.

Interruption like naturalisation as a measure of integration is deceptive.

7. Level of Education

The level of education of a migrant influences his integration. Hempel (1959), in his study of Italians in Queensland found that educated migrants as a rule assimilate more quickly and thoroughly than the uneducated migrant.

8. Ethnic Association

A great deal of controversy exists on the role which the ethnic association is supposed to exercise on the assimilation or integration of immigrants. Some writers believe that the ethnic association hinders the integration of immigrants (Horobin (1957), Borrie (1959), Zubrzycki (1959)). Others maintain that the ethnic association enhances the integration of its members (Longrod Thomas (1959), Zubrzycki (1966), Price (1968)).

Those who accuse the ethnic association of having a negative influence on integration base their opinions on the nature of the associations activities. For example, language used, matters discussed, observance of ethnic national days, characters of leisure activities pursued. These activities exclude the presence of host members, thus restricting mutual contacts and minimising the possibilities of integration.

A beneficial influence on integration is explained on the grounds that leaders of such organisations are usually well integrated immigrants who channel information from the host community to the immigrant group. These people pave the way for a speedy assimilation.

Johnston (1967), tested the hypothesis "that those immigrants who are members of an ethnic association assimilate less than those who are not
members of such organisations. However, the hypothesis had to be rejected as there was no significant difference in the rate of assimilation between these two types of immigrants.

B. THE USE OF CLASSICAL MEASURES AS INDICATORS OF THE DEGREE OF INTEGRATION OF GREEKS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.

Several problems arise when it comes to measuring the degree of integration of Greek immigrants. The first of these is the difficulty of establishing "Australian behaviour or opinion norms" with which to compare those of immigrants. Secondly, a considerable variation in opinion norms exist among Greeks themselves since they originate from such different backgrounds.

Since the major concentrations of Greeks occur in Cringila and Primbee it is expected that the residents of these two areas will be less integrated than the residents of the northern suburbs and Wollongong.

It is hypothesised that "the greater the peripheral residential location (from the Greek ethnic areas) the greater the integration or assimilation".

i) Mastery of the English Language

The majority (88%) of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area are able to speak English even though they are not fluent. There is not a great distinction between the Greek males, over 90% speak English in all four areas. Therefore, residential location plays no role in the ability to speak English of male Greek migrants. However, differences emerge between the four areas in the ability to speak English fluently. In the northern suburbs, Wollongong and Primbee over 50% of the male Greek migrants speak English fluently, (Table 4.1) in Cringila the percentage is much lower (28%). The two most likely reasons are the more recent arrivals in Cringila and the residential location.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Act. %</td>
<td>Female Act. %</td>
<td>Male Act. %</td>
<td>Female Act. %</td>
<td>Male Act. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluent</td>
<td>11 28.2</td>
<td>3 7.5</td>
<td>13 56.5</td>
<td>5 20.0</td>
<td>9 60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken English</td>
<td>26 66.7</td>
<td>29 72.5</td>
<td>8 34.8</td>
<td>14 56.0</td>
<td>5 33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No English</td>
<td>2 5.1</td>
<td>8 20.0</td>
<td>2 8.7</td>
<td>6 24.4</td>
<td>1 6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39 100.0</td>
<td>40 100.0</td>
<td>23 100.0</td>
<td>25 100.0</td>
<td>15 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Striking differences occur between the Greek females in the four areas. Greek females in the northern suburbs and Wollongong have a greater ability to speak English than the Greek females in Cringila and Primbee. Further, a greater percentage of Greek females in the northern suburbs and Wollongong speak English fluently (33% and 46% respectively) than in Cringila and Primbee (7.5% and 20% respectively). Cringila and Primbee also have the highest figures for females that speak no English (Table 4.1).

The reason for this difference in areas is quite easily explained. In Cringila and Primbee where the number of Greeks is the highest the Greek women associate with their fellow countrywomen and find no need to communicate with women of other nationalities. Also in Cringila, the presence of many Greek shops eliminates the need to speak English. In Wollongong and the northern suburbs the situation is reversed, the presence of very few Greek families makes it necessary for the Greek woman to communicate with Australians and other nationalities.

Although the ability to speak English was very similar for all Greek males in the Wollongong Local Government Area differences did occur between the Greek females. These differences did occur between the Greek females as was expected. The areas of high Greek concentrations have a lower ability to speak English than the areas of lesser Greek concentrations. Therefore, in terms of this measure Greek females in Cringila and Primbee are less integrated than the Greek females in the northern suburbs and Wollongong.

Closely associated with the above measure is the ability of Greek children (both the Greek-born and Australian-born with Greek parents) to speak Greek and their attendance at Greek School. All the Greek children interviewed were able to speak Greek, even though the majority spoke Greek only to their parents.

With Greek school attendance it was expected that Cringila and Primbee would have a greater attendance than the northern suburbs and Wollongong. However, the results showed that this hypothesis had to be rejected.
Greek children in the northern suburbs and Wollongong and Cringila had a higher attendance at Greek school than children in Primbee. There is no possible explanation for this other than the fact that Primbee (lowest attendance figure) has no Greek school and pupils have to travel to Port Kembla to attend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ATTENDANCE</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N.SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend</td>
<td>3 27.0</td>
<td>21 87.5</td>
<td>5 83.0</td>
<td>10 100.0</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Attend</td>
<td>8 73.0</td>
<td>3 12.5</td>
<td>1 16.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eligible To Attend</td>
<td>11 100.0</td>
<td>24 100.0</td>
<td>6 100.0</td>
<td>10 100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Greek parents were asked the reason for their children's attendance to Greek school the majority (85%) responded "to be able to communicate in Greek". One can therefore conclude that Greek parents feel that it is necessary for their children to be able to speak Greek, but not for themselves to be able to speak English.

ii) Length of Residence in Australia

Length of residence in Australia should be very closely associated to residential segregation. 'Old' migrants (people with longer length of residence in Australia) might be expected to live in the northern suburbs and Wollongong whilst 'new' migrants might be expected to live in Cringila and Primbee which have high Greek concentrations.
The majority (over 50%) of the Greek migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area have resided in Australia 16 or more years. (Table 2.5). However, a greater percentage of males in the northern suburbs (75%) and Wollongong (73%) have resided in Australia for 16 or more years compared to the percentage in Cringila and Primbee (51% and 65% respectively). The results for the Greek female migrants were similar. In all suburbs other than Cringila (37.5%) more than 50% of the females were residents of Australia for sixteen or more years.

Cringila and to some extent Primbee have a higher percentage of new arrivals. This is in agreement to what was hypothesised, that areas of Greek concentration will have a greater number of recent arrivals. The reason for this is that these areas provide the immigrant with his first port of call after arrival in this country. But once the immigrant has learned to speak English and has assimilated a little into the Australian way of life he will be ready to venture outside these areas. Also, many Greeks use Cringila and to a lesser extent Primbee as a staging post, and having accumulated savings buy a home in Wollongong or the northern suburbs in order to bring out a bride from Greece.

iii) Naturalisation

Approximately 65% of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area were naturalised and the majority (32.8%) were naturalised as soon as they qualified.10 The northern suburbs and Wollongong are expected to have a greater percentage of Greeks naturalised than Cringila and Primbee. However, Primbee and the Northern Suburbs had a greater than normal percentage naturalised for both males and females (Table 4.3). No explanation can be given for the low rates in Wollongong.

Even though low rates were expected in Cringila, the percentages (64% for the males and 52%) were not as low as expected, and if the three people that did not qualify for naturalisation were naturalised the percentage would have been much higher.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Naturalisation of the Greeks in the Wollongong local government area.
Therefore, residential location has no effect upon the naturalisation of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

Many of the Greeks interviewed gave no clear-cut reason for becoming naturalised, 16.4% gave "thought it would help occupationally" as their reason for becoming naturalised, 5.7% gave "so that children could apply for scholarships", 7.4% because "other members of family are", 10.7% because of other reasons - in this category the most common reason was to get an old age pension. The majority (59%) become naturalised for no apparent reason at all, when interviewed the most common reply was "might as well be Australian citizens since we are living in Australia".

As shown above their is no motivating force behind the Greeks to become naturalised. Also of significance is that, even though Greek migrants do become naturalised their political allegiance is still to Greece, they still consider themselves Greek citizens rather than Australian citizens.

On this basis, naturalisation as a measure of integration is deceptive. One cannot therefore assume that the Greeks in the northern suburbs and Primbee are more integrated (because of the higher percentage naturalised) than the Greeks in Wollongong and Cringila.

4. Intermarriage

Intermarriage is very closely related to integration. The higher the intermarriage rate the higher the integration. It is expected that the northern suburbs and Wollongong will have a higher intermarriage figure than Cringila and Primbee.

In the Wollongong Local Government Area 56 marriages out of the hundred interviewed have taken place in Australia, and only 7 have a non-Greek partner. Table 4.4 shows intermarriage is quite low. Of these 7 marriages, 4 have an Australian partner and 3 have a European partner (2 Bulgarian and 1 Ukrainian).

The highest intermarriage figure occurred in Primbee - 25%, Wollongong and the northern suburbs had lower figures - 17% and 10%.
respectively. No intermarriages occurred in Cringila (Table 4.4). The results are therefore not as expected, only Cringila, is in agreement with what was expected. On the basis of intermarriage one cannot say that an area is more integrated than another. Notice should be given when determining integration to the nationality of the marriage partner, for example, out of the 4 intermarriages in Primbee 3 have taken place with Europeans. These people are not any more integrated with the Australian way of life than the Greeks themselves.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTNER</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>18 100.0</td>
<td>12 75.0</td>
<td>10 83.0</td>
<td>9 90.0</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>1 6.3</td>
<td>2 16.7</td>
<td>1 10.0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3 18.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why is the intermarriage rate so low with the Greeks? The reason for this is that the Greeks prefer their own countrymen to anyone else since they have the same language and background. A further reason is that Greek girls are not allowed out unescorted, so a Greek girl has no chance of meeting a Greek boy let alone a 'foreigner'. Their marriage partners are usually chosen by the parents, or if the girl finds her own husband he has to be approved by her parents. This custom makes it very hard for a girl to marry outside her community. Even though, Greek parents are more lenient with their sons, Greek boys still tend to marry Greek girls rather than an Australian girl or girls of other nationalities.

When asked the reason for their marriage to a Greek, the majority (75.5%) of those interviewed gave as their reply because of the same background.
Interruption is deceptive as a measure of integration because Greeks tend to adopt Australian speech and customs relatively quickly and, if given the change make friends with Australians relatively easily. But, they do, however, tend to refrain from intermarriage, partly because of their custom of arranging marriages with families well-known to them, and, partly because they tend to see the family as the citadel of all they value in old-world customs and traditions. Another very important reason for the Greeks is their desire to marry persons who are also members of the Greek Orthodox Church.

5. Ethnic Association

Membership to ethnic associations is closely related to integration. Attendance to Greek social activities means a low integration and attendance to Australian social activities means a high level of integration. It is expected that the northern suburbs and Wollongong will have a low attendance to Greek social activities and a high attendance to Australian social activities. Cringila and Primbee might be expected to have a high attendance to the Greek social activities and a low attendance to the Australian social activities.

The results showed that 77 out of the 100 Greek families interviewed attended Greek social activities. The northern suburbs and Wollongong have a higher attendance to Greek social activities (89% and 93% respectively) than Cringila and Primbee (67.5% and 74% respectively). These results are completely contradictory to what was expected. The only possible explanation for this is that Greek social activities are only offered by the two Greek churches and since the Greek churches are both located in Wollongong, it is quite reasonable to suppose that the Wollongong residents attend more than residents of other areas. Also, Cringila and Primbee have a greater number of recent arrivals than the other two areas, and these migrants cannot afford to attend Greek social functions.

The reasons given for attendance were mainly "To enjoy oneself the Greek way" (78%) and to "meet other Greeks" (9%). To "help the church financially" was another reason given for attending the Greek social activities.
TABLE 4.5 - ATTENDANCE TO GREEK SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GREEKS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attend
27 67.5 20 74.0 14 93.0 16 89.0 77.0

Don't Attend
13 32.5 7 26.0 1 7.0 2 11.0 23.0

TOTAL
40 27 15 18 100.0

When asked the frequency of their attendance the majority (65%) said they attended 'occasionally', while 16% said they attended 'every time'.

Attendance to the Australian social activities is quite low. Only 29% of the one hundred Greek families interviewed attended Australian social activities, compared to the 77% of them that attended Greek social activities. The northern suburbs and Wollongong had a higher percentage attending the Australian social activities than Cringila and Primbee (Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.6 - ATTENDANCE TO AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GREEKS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>N. SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male Act. %</td>
<td>Female Act. %</td>
<td>Male Act. %</td>
<td>Female Act. %</td>
<td>Male Act. %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Attend
13 33 9 23 4 15 2 7 8 53 6 43 9 53 6 33 29

Do Not Attend
26 67 31 77 23 85 25 93 7 47 8 57 8 47 12 67 71
Differences occur in the attendance to Australian social activities between the Greek males and females. Males showed a higher attendance than the females in all four areas. The reason for this being that the Greek males go to the Australian Clubs with their 'mates' after work to have a beer. They don't go out with their wives as they do to Greek social activities. Further, the frequency of attendance to Australian social activities is not as high as the frequency of attendance to Greek social activities. However, the reason for attending the social activities is simulation, the majority (65%) gave as their reason for attending 'because enjoy going'.

The families interviewed were also asked to answer the question, "do you prefer Greek or Australian social activities?", 87% said they preferred the Greek, while only 13% said they preferred the Australian (Table 4.7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4.7 - PREFERENCE OF GREEK OR AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE GREEKS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRINGILA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This measure showed that the Greeks are a socially cohesive group. However, the Greeks in the northern suburbs and Wollongong are more integrated than the Greeks in Cringila and Primbee.

6. Education

It is generally believed (Hempel, Taft) that the higher the educational standards the higher the level of integration of the migrant. On this basis it is expected that the northern suburbs and Wollongong will have a
higher level of education than Cringila and Primbee.

The majority (78%) had only a public school education. Taking this figure, it can be said that the Greeks are not integrated to a large extent within the host society.

### Table 4.8 - Level of Education of Greek Migrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Cringila Male</th>
<th>Cringila Female</th>
<th>Primbee Male</th>
<th>Primbee Female</th>
<th>Wollongong Male</th>
<th>Wollongong Female</th>
<th>N. Suburbs Male</th>
<th>N. Suburbs Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public School</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech. College</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.8 supports the hypothesis, and therefore on the basis of this measure one can only say that the Greek migrants in the northern suburbs and Wollongong are more integrated than those in Cringila and Primbee.

vii) **Religious Affiliation**

All of the Greeks interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area are members of the Greek Orthodox Church. This in itself is a very important fact in influencing the integration of the Greek migrants. Whereas, with Italian, Maltese and Spanish migrants the problem is that of integrating migrants into a well established Australian church, with Greek Orthodoxy it is basically a matter of integrating an alien church into the life and culture of the host society. Here the Greek church, though it co-operates with others in the Australian Council of Churches, still feels it has a sacred duty to preserv
its liturgies and to keep its flock firmly grounded in the positive values of Greek life.

Closely associated with the Greek church is the 'Greek community'. The aims of the Greek community as outlined by Tsounis, are "to provide the means for the instruction of the Greek Orthodox faith and the Greek languages, to observe national anniversaries and to promote charitable deeds". Hence, the community plays a major role in maintaining traditional customs and attitudes and in providing basic cohesive forces for keeping the community together as a distinct unit, apart from the general Australian community.

SUMMARY:

Five of the classical measures of integration (residential concentration, intermarriage, attendance to Greek and/or Australian activities, education and religious affiliation) indicated that the Greek migrants of the Wollongong Local Government Area were not very well integrated into the host society, however, the other three measures used (naturalisation, length of residence in Australia and mastery of the English language) indicated that the Greek immigrants in the study area were fairly well integrated into the host society.

Classical measures of integration were also used to test the hypothesis 'that the greater the peripheral residential location (from the Greek ethnic areas) the greater the integration or assimilation'. In this study four of the measures (mastery of the English language, length of residence in Australia, attendance to Australian social activities and level of education) supported the hypothesis while the other measures (naturalisation, attendance to Greek social activities and intermarriage) did not support it.

In Chapter Five a new measure of integration will be used to study the same problems. This new measure is visitation patterns. If the use of this measure gives similar findings then it can be concluded that even though the Greek immigrants in the northern suburbs and Wollongong are more integrated than the immigrants in Cringila and Primbee, overall the Greeks are still not assimilated into the host society.
FOOTNOTES:


6 Ibid. PP. 420-421.


10 In order to qualify for naturalisation a 5 year period of residence in Australia is necessary.

11 Strictly used, the term "Greek community" refers to an organisation which has a well defined constitution, a membership usually limited to the Greek male and has a democratically elected committee to manage its affairs.

CHAPTER FIVE.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND SOCIAL COHESION

II. VISITATION PATTERNS AS AN INDEX OF COHESION.

As seen in Chapter Four, the Greeks are a relatively cohesive group. A new measure of the social cohesion of immigrants is their visitation patterns. The visitation patterns and their frequency give a fairly accurate idea of the cohesion or integration of immigrants. It is hypothesised that the greater the number of visits to members of their own ethnic group, the lower the integration, and the greater the number of visits to members of the host society the higher the integration.

VISITATION PATTERNS.

i) Visits to Relatives.

In common with other peasant societies, the social relationships and associated loyalties and obligations of the Greek peasantry are extremely complex. The individual has responsibilities to the nucleus family, to consanguine affinal relations and god-parents. The god-parental relationship between two individuals automatically places not only the individuals concerned, but also their elementary families into close kin relations.

The majority of the Greek immigrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area, had relatives in Australia. As Burnley² states this is most probably due to the process of chain migration (Table 5.1).

Approximately 71% had relatives in the Wollongong Local Government Area, 24% had relatives in Sydney, 0.8% in the rest of New South Wales and 3.8% had relatives Interstate (Table 5.1).
VISITATION PATTERNS TO RELATIVES

NORTHERN SUBURBS RESIDENTS

WOLLONGONG RESIDENTS

CRINGILA RESIDENTS

PRIMBEE RESIDENTS

LEGEND

0 - 2 VISITS
3 - 5 VISITS
6 - 10 VISITS
11 - 15 VISITS

> 21 VISITS
16 - 20 VISITS
12 - 15 VISITS

SCALE

2
4 Miles
TABLE 5.1: LOCATION OF RELATIVES IN AUSTRALIA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>NORTHERN SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>しっかり</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
<td>M F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act % Act %</td>
<td>Act % Act %</td>
<td>Act % Act %</td>
<td>Act % Act %</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollongong L.G.A.</td>
<td>17 65</td>
<td>16 69</td>
<td>14 78</td>
<td>14 82</td>
<td>9 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>7 27</td>
<td>5 22</td>
<td>4 22</td>
<td>2 12</td>
<td>4 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other N.S.W.</td>
<td>1 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter state</td>
<td>2 8</td>
<td>2 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatives in Aust.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No relat. in Aust.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Place of Residence of the Relatives in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

The majority of the Greeks interviewed had relatives residing in the Wollongong Local Government Area (Table 5.1). Of these 71%, 33% had a relative residing in the same suburb, 18.5% had a relative residing in a suburb less than two miles away from their place of residence and 19% had a relative residing in a suburb more than two miles away from them but still in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

The two areas with the greatest percentage of relatives residing in the Wollongong Local Government Area were Primbee and Wollongong, 78% of the males and 82% of the females in Primbee and 69% of the males and 80% of the females in Wollongong had a relative residing in the Wollongong Local Government Area (Table 5.1).

Figure 5.1 and Table 5.2 show that the Greek immigrants of Cringila and Primbee and their relatives tend to cluster together in a residential area. For example, approximately 47% of the relatives of the Cringila Greeks lived
in the same suburb, 10.2% lived in a suburb less than two miles away and 43% in a suburb more than two miles away in the Wollongong Local Government Area. For the Primbee Greeks, 47% of the relatives lived in the same suburb, 37% in a suburb less than two miles away and 16% in a suburb more than two miles away. But the relatives of the Greeks in Wollongong and northern suburbs were quite dispersed over the entire study area (Fig. 5.1). Only 18.5% of the relatives of the Wollongong Greeks lived in the same suburb, while 55.5% lived in a suburb less than two miles away and 26% in a suburb more than two miles away. The relatives of the Greeks in the northern suburbs were even more dispersed, for example only 16.7% of the relatives lived in the same suburb, 21% in a suburb less than two miles away and 62.5% in a suburb more than two miles away but still in the Wollongong Local Government Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>NORTHERN SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same Suburb</td>
<td>23 47</td>
<td>32 47</td>
<td>5 18.5</td>
<td>4 16.7</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb less than 2 miles</td>
<td>5 10</td>
<td>25 36.7</td>
<td>15 55.5</td>
<td>5 20.8</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb more than 2 miles</td>
<td>21 42.8</td>
<td>11 16.2</td>
<td>7 26</td>
<td>15 62.5</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) Visits to Greek Friends

The hypothesis tested in this section is, Greek residents of the northern suburbs and Wollongong will visit Greek friends less than the Greeks in Cringila and Primbee. This hypothesis suggests that the Greeks in Cringila and Primbee are more socially cohesive than the Greeks in Wollongong and the northern suburbs. Of the Greeks interviewed 81% visit Greek friends in the Wollongong Local Government Area (Table 5.3). This figure in itself, indicates the social cohesiveness of the Greeks in the area.
**VISITATION PATTERNS TO GREEK FRIENDS**

**NORTHERN SUBURBS RESIDENTS**

**WOLLONGONG RESIDENTS**

**CRINGILA RESIDENTS**

**PRIMBEE RESIDENTS**

**LEGEND**

- 0-2 VISITS
- 3-5 VISITS
- 6-10 VISITS
- 11-15 VISITS
- >15 VISITS

**SCALE**

0-2 4 Miles
The above results (Table 5.3) indicate that Greek immigrants in Wollongong and the northern suburbs visit Greek friends more than the Greeks in Cringila and Primbee. Therefore the hypothesis has to be rejected.

**Place of Residence of Greek Friends.**

Greek friends of the migrants interviewed were dispersed over the Wollongong Local Government Area. Thirty-three percent lived in the same suburb, 22% lived in a suburb less than two miles away, and 45% in a suburb more than two miles away (Table 5.4). But the pattern for Cringila Greeks is very different as Figure 2 indicates. The majority of the friends of Greeks in Cringila live in the same suburb.

**Table 5.3: Number of Greeks That Visit Greek Friends in the Wollongong Local Government Area.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cringila</th>
<th>Primbee</th>
<th>Wollongong</th>
<th>Northern Suburbs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visit</td>
<td>27 67.5</td>
<td>22 81.5</td>
<td>15 100</td>
<td>17 94.4</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't visit</td>
<td>13 32.5</td>
<td>5 18.5</td>
<td>1 5.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.4: Number and Place of Residence of Greek Friends in the Wollongong Local Government Area.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Cringila</th>
<th>Primbee</th>
<th>Wollongong</th>
<th>Northern Suburbs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same Suburb</td>
<td>32 48.5</td>
<td>13 31.7</td>
<td>10 35.7</td>
<td>5 10.9</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb less than 2 miles</td>
<td>6 9.0</td>
<td>14 34.1</td>
<td>8 28.6</td>
<td>12 26.0</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb more than 2 miles</td>
<td>28 42.4</td>
<td>14 34.1</td>
<td>10 35.7</td>
<td>29 63.0</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Greek friends of the residents of Primbee and Wollongong are spread more evenly over the Wollongong Local Government Area (Table 5.4 and Fig. 5.2). For the northern suburbs a different pattern emerges (Figure 5.2). The majority of the Greek friends of the Greek immigrants in the northern suburbs were residing in a suburb more than two miles away. The tendency for the northern suburbs Greeks to move greater distances to visit Greek friends might be related to the greater percentage of Greeks in this area who are car owners thus able to travel greater distances, and also to the fact that the northern suburbs have only a few Greeks, thus forcing northern suburb Greeks to travel to the Greek 'core' areas where many of their friends live.

iii) Visits to Australian Friends.

It is expected that the Greek immigrants of the northern suburbs and Wollongong will visit Australians more than the Greek immigrants in Cringila and Primbee. This is because of the greater number of Australians that reside in these areas, thus increasing the chance of the Greeks in these two areas of having Australian friends. Only 42% of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area visit Australians compared to the 81% that visit Greek friends (Tables 5.3, 5.5). These figures indicate that the Greeks are a socially cohesive group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.5 : NUMBER OF GREEKS THAT VISIT AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CRINGILA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't visit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VISITATION PATTERNS TO AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS

NORTHERN SUBURBS
RESIDENTS

WOLLONGONG
RESIDENTS

CRINGILA RESIDENTS

PRIMBEE RESIDENTS

LEGEND

0-2 VISITS
3-5 VISITS
6-10 VISITS
11-15 VISITS

>21 VISITS
16-21 VISITS
12-15 VISITS

SCALE

0 2 4 Miles
Table 5.5 also shows that the Greek residents of Wollongong visit Australians more than the Greeks elsewhere. On these grounds the hypothesis is partially true and maybe modified to say that the Greeks in Wollongong will visit Australians more than the Greeks in Cringila, Primbee and the northern suburbs.

Place of Residence of Australian Friends.

The majority of Australian friends of the Greek immigrants live in suburbs which are more than two miles from Greek concentrations (Table 5.6). This may be because Australian friends may be working colleagues, who may be living in the suburbs of their own choice and their residential location may be determined by a very different set of social and economic factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>CRINGILA</th>
<th>PRIMBEE</th>
<th>WOLLONGONG</th>
<th>NORTHERN SUBURBS</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same suburb</td>
<td>5 15.6</td>
<td>8 66.7</td>
<td>6 37.5</td>
<td>3 20</td>
<td>30.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb less than 2 miles</td>
<td>2 6.3</td>
<td>1 8.3</td>
<td>4 25.0</td>
<td>3 20</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburb more than 2 miles</td>
<td>25 78.1</td>
<td>3 25.0</td>
<td>6 37.5</td>
<td>9 60</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the Cringila Greeks and the northern suburb Greeks the results indicated a similar trend. The majority visited Australian friends living in suburbs more than two miles away (Table 5.6, Figure 5.3). However, the Australian friends of the Wollongong Greeks are scattered evenly over the whole of the Wollongong Local Government Area as Figure 5.3 and Table 5.6 indicate.

The opposite trend is evident for the Primbee Greeks, the majority of their Australian friends live in the same suburb as them (Figure 5.3). The reason for this result is that many of their Australian friends are neighbours.
The distance between the residential location of the Greeks interviewed and that of their Australian friends is influenced by the place of first meeting, if the Australian friends are neighbours the distance involved will be minimum (in the same suburb). If the Australian friends were met at work, school or at clubs the distance will be greater. Primbee that had the greatest percentage of Australian friends living in the same suburb, also had the greatest percentage of Australian first met as neighbours (Table 5.7).

### Table 5.7: Place of First Meeting of Australian Friends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cringila</th>
<th>Primbee</th>
<th>Wollongong</th>
<th>Northern Suburbs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act. %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbours</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summarising, the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area are a socially cohesive group. Only 42% visit Australians compared to the 81% that visit Greek friends. What is the reason or reasons for the lack of integration of Greek immigrants?

Zubrzycki states, "possibilities for communication and social participation outside the immigrants ethnic group are affected by knowledge of languages". It is evident, therefore, why the groups with a poor standard of English have most of their ties within their national group. Even though, the majority (88%) of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area speak English, many of them (66%) are not fluent. Their English is limited to the knowledge of words for their work and business in the case of the males and for the shopping in the case of the females. Wollongong, that had a greater rate of fluency (60% of the males and 46% of the females) also had a greater percentage (73%) of Greeks visiting Australian friends (Table 5.5).
Next, the length of residence is an important factor in determining the extent of social participation outside the immigrants ethnic group. A recently arrived immigrant has a greater tendency to choose his friends for the purpose of visiting and engaging together in leisure pursuits from among his compatriots than one who has been in Australia for some time. In the Wollongong Local Government Area many of the Greek immigrants (55%) have resided in Australia for sixteen or more years. However, there is a greater percentage of Greeks in the northern suburbs and Wollongong who have resided in Australia for sixteen or more years than in Cringila and Primbee (Table 2.5). Since, Wollongong has the greatest percentage of Greeks visiting Australians there might be some relationship between length of residence and visitation of Australians.

FREQUENCY OF VISITS

Social cohesion is further measured by the frequency of visits to relatives, to Greek friends and to Australian friends. If an ethnic group is well integrated with the host society, their frequency of visiting friends of their own ethnic group and friends of the host society will be similar. However, if the ethnic group is socially cohesive, their frequency of visits to Greek friends will be greater than the frequency of visits to Australian friends.

So far, the measures of social cohesion and integration indicate that the Greeks are a fairly socially cohesive group. Therefore it is expected that they will visit their relatives and Greek friends more than their Australian friends.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RELATIVES</th>
<th>GREEK FRIENDS</th>
<th>AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortnightly</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>61.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 5.5

FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO RELATIVES
Fig. 5.6
FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO GREEK FRIENDS

Fig. 5.7
FREQUENCY OF VISITS TO AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS
Table 5.8 and Figure 5.4 indicate that the Greeks interviewed in the Wollongong Local Government Area visit their relatives more frequently than what they visit their Greek and Australian friends. The results therefore show that the above hypothesis has to be accepted.

**Relationship between Residential Location and Frequency of Visits.**

Two hypothesis are put forward in this section:

1) That the Greek immigrants of Wollongong and the northern suburbs will visit their relatives and Greek friends less regularly than the Greeks in Cringila and Primbee.

2) That the Greek immigrants of Wollongong and the northern suburbs will visit Australian friends more frequently than the Greeks in Cringila and Primbee.

i) Frequency of Visits to Relatives.

Greek immigrants visit their relatives quite frequently. Of the Greeks interviewed 49% visit their relatives daily, while 50% visit them weekly and only 1.2% visit them monthly.

Greek residents of Wollongong and Cringila visit their relatives more frequently than the Greeks in the northern suburbs and Primbee (Figure 5.5); 56% of the Greeks in Wollongong and 51% of those in Cringila visit their relatives daily compared to 46% of the Greeks of both the northern suburbs and Primbee. Since the difference between these figures is small, it can be said that the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area visit their relatives quite frequently regardless of place of residence. The high frequency of visits can be explained by the close ties that exist between relatives in most peasant societies.

ii) Frequency of Visits to Greek Friends.

Greek immigrants tend to visit their relatives more frequently than what they visit their Greek friends (Figure 5.4). Figure 5.6 shows that only 15% visit their Greek friends daily, 24% weekly, 15% fortnightly and 46% monthly.
Figure 5.6 also shows that the Greek residents of Wollongong and Cringila visit their Greek friends more frequently than do the Greeks in Primbee and the northern suburbs. This can be explained by the location of the Greek friends (Figure 5.2). Many of the friends of the Cringila and Wollongong residents live in the same suburb whilst many of the friends of the Primbee and northern suburbs Greeks live in other suburbs. In this case, distance is a significant factor in influencing frequency of visits.

iii) Frequency of Visits to Australian Friends.

Results indicate that the frequency of visits of Greek immigrants to their Australian friends is much lower than the frequency of visits to their Greek friends and relatives (Figure 5.4). Nine percent of the Greeks interviewed visit their Australian friends daily, 27% weekly, 3% fortnightly, and 61% monthly.

Figure 5.7 shows that the Greek residents of Primbee and the northern suburbs visit their Australian friends more frequently than do the Greek residents of Cringila and Wollongong. Sixty-seven percent and 60% of the Greek residents of Primbee and the northern suburbs respectively, visit their Australian friends at least once a week compared to 25% and 13% for Cringila and Wollongong respectively. An explanation for the Primbee results—the majority of their Australian friends live in the same suburb, and many are neighbours. These two factors play a significant role in influencing the frequency of visits. No explanation can be given for the northern suburbs result as the majority of their Australian friends live in suburbs more than two miles away and were met at work.

On the basis of these results the above two hypothesis have to be rejected. The first, because the Greeks interviewed in Wollongong and Cringila visit their relatives and Greek friends more frequently than the Greeks interviewed in the northern suburbs and Primbee. The second, because the Greeks in Primbee and the northern suburbs visit their Australian friends more frequently than the Greeks in Cringila and Wollongong.
Of the Greeks interviewed, the results indicate that the majority tend to visit their relatives more frequently than they do their Greek and Australian friends. The figures and tables showing 'The Location of Relatives, Greek and Australian Friends' (Tables 5.2, 5.4, 5.6 and Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3) indicate that the majority (68%) of the relatives live in the same suburb or in a suburb less than two miles away, compared to the majority of the Greek (45%) and Australian (58%) friends who live in a suburb more than two miles away. Therefore, the distance factor should be emphasised as it plays an important role in influencing the frequency of visits. Generally, frequency of visits decreases with increasing distances.

FOOTNOTES:

1 In this study the term 'relatives' applies only to parents, brothers, sisters, daughters and sons. If cousins, aunts, uncles, nephews and nieces are included it becomes too complicated.


CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS

The Urban Illawarra is an area with one of the most intense concentrations of immigrants in Australia. There has been a rapid population increase in the area, through immigration in the post-war period, however, this increase has been slowing down through the 1960's. Although the Greek-born population in 1971 for the Wollongong Local Government Area was only 1684 (or 1.1% of the total population) the total population which might be considered "Greek" is much larger if the Australian born children of Greek parents are considered. In this thesis attention has been focussed on the analysis of the distribution patterns of Greek immigrants in the Wollongong Local Government Area, and on the relationships between residence - residential location and mobility - and the degree of integration of the ethnic group with the host community and a number of specific hypothesis have been tested.

In terms of the general distributional patterns of Greek-born population within the area have undergone gradual changes throughout the post-war period. Although areas of major Greek concentrations still occur, their order has changed - Cringila still remains the nucleus but over the period it has lost some of its importance as a 'Greek area'. The Wollongong-Coniston area has become increasingly important, but there has been a tendency in the later years 1966-1971 for Greek immigrants to move away from areas of major Greek concentrations to areas of minor concentration (Corrimal, Towradgi, Fairy Meadow, Gwynneville). Even from the aggregate Census data it is apparent that a dispersal of Greeks throughout the Wollongong Local Government Area has occurred, with increasing concentration in the central and northern suburbs and away from the southern suburbs.

This diffusion throughout the urban area reflects both the general trend towards the suburbanization of the population and the loosening of ethnic ties over time. In Chapter Three the reasons for the choice of residential location were examined more carefully. It appeared that the most important reasons given were accessibility to work, economic and "liking
the area", in that order. Personal and social reasons, such as the desire to be near relatives and other Greeks, Greek shops, schools, and churches, emerged as factors of much lesser importance, though the analysis of the mobility patterns suggested that a high proportion of the re-locations were within the Greek core-areas.

The study found that the majority (61%) of the Greeks interviewed had made between two and four moves in their period of residence in Australia, while only 10% had made more than four moves. The study also revealed that the frequency of moves decreased with increasing period of residence in Australia. Approximately 41% of the moves were made within the first three years in Australia, 17.7% were made between the 3rd and 5th year, 21.5% between the 6th and 10th year, and 19.9% in the over 10 year period of residence in Australia.

It should be emphasised that the majority of the moves, other than the first move, of the Greek migrants in this area are within the one suburb and in some cases within the one street regardless of the length of residence in Australia. The reason for the first move being the longest is that many of these migrants were assisted and their initial place of residence in Australia was Bonegilla Hostel in South Australia from where they were transferred to the Wollongong area. This finding and the others stated above are quite different from findings of other studies on migrant residential mobility as in most other studies the distance of movement increases with increasing length of residence in Australia. The within suburb movement of the Greeks may be explained by the attraction of the known. People have their own unique mental maps or perception surfaces of an area of a city based largely on ones movement patterns. Familiar places where one has contacts and friends are thus clearly focussed while less known areas are indistinct. The 'within suburb' movement may also be explained by the fact that the type of housing in a particular suburb continues to meet their requirements. This 'within suburb' movement also suggests a very strong tendency for the Greek migrants to remain in a restricted area.
The most important factors given for changing residence were 'bought own home', 'employment reasons' and 'economic reasons'. Moreover, the importance of these factors changed over time. Employment, 'bought own home', economic and personal reasons were of major importance in causing the first move, while, by the fifth move all reasons except economic had lost their importance in the location decision.

To determine the relationship between the Greek migrants and the members of the host society classical measures of integration were used. The same measures were also used to determine the strength of the relationship among Greek immigrants themselves, in other words their social cohesion. Three of these measures used in this study - naturalisation, length of residence in Australia and mastery of the English language - indicated that the Greeks are fairly well integrated with the host society, whilst the two most important factors - intermarriage and ethnic association (in this is also included attendance at Australian activities) - in measuring the relationship between the Greek migrants and the host society and the relationship amongst the Greek migrants themselves indicated that a weak relationship existed between the Greek migrants and the host society and that a very strong relationship existed amongst the Greeks. It seems apparent from this that even though the Greeks tend to adopt Australian speech and nationality they remain a socially cohesive group.

It was also hypothesised that a relationship exists between residential segregation and the degree of personal integration of the Greeks in the Wollongong Local Government Area, as it was believed that the Greeks that live in a Greek "ethnic area" would be less integrated with the host society than the Greeks that live in other suburbs. The actual hypothesis tested was that the greater the peripheral residential location (from the Greek ethnic areas) the greater the integration or assimilation. Four of the measures used (mastery of the English language, length of residence in Australia, ethnic association and education) supported the hypothesis while two measures (naturalisation and intermarriage) rejected it. These measures
are however, gross measures and as such are not entirely satisfactory. Further testing of the hypothesis was therefore carried out through an analysis of visitation patterns on the assumption that these would be an important indicator of social cohesion.

Three types of visitation patterns were examined – visits to relatives, visits to Greek friends and visits to Australian friends. The results obtained indicated that every Greek family interviewed visited relatives at least once a week and that many, approximately 49%, visited their relatives daily. The results also indicated that only 81% of the Greeks interviewed visited Greek friends and only 42% visited Australian friends. Further, Greek and Australian friends were visited less frequently than relatives, 14% visited Greek friends and 9.3% visited Australian friends daily whilst 48% visited Greek friends and 60% visited Australian friends monthly. These results seem to suggest that visits to relatives mean much more to Greek migrants than visits to Greek and especially Australian friends.

The study did reveal a significantly greater number of visits to Australian friends by Greeks living outside the Greek "core" areas in the Wollongong Local Government Area thus 73% of the Greeks resident in Wollongong visited Australian friends whilst only 40% of the Cringila and 33% of the Primbee Greeks visited Australians. Surprisingly, only 33% of the Greeks in the northern suburbs visited Australian friends. This seems to suggest that the "suburbanized" Greeks in the northern Illawarra still tend to retain close ties with relatives and friends in the Greek core and other areas.

No other Australian study of immigrant groups has examined visitation patterns as an indicator of social cohesion. It is not possible therefore, to make a comparison between Greek patterns in the Illawarra and elsewhere, nor between the Greeks and other ethnic groups. It is clear from this study, however, that the approach offers considerable potential.

The majority (55%) of the Greek-born immigrants in the Illawarra have lived in the area for almost 20 years. The core areas have persisted and have played an important role as 'immigrant receiving areas'. Moreover,
they appear to retain many of the characteristics of ethnic "enclaves" both in Australia and elsewhere in the world. However, younger Greeks are establishing themselves in suburban locations with life-styles similar to those of the host society. Nonetheless, it is clear from this study that strong ethnic and social ties still exist.
APPENDIX A.

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE: SOCIAL COHESION AND SPATIAL PATTERNS:

THE GREEKS IN WOLLONGONG.

Miss Vula Kambesis

Department of Geography

Wollongong University College.

PERSONAL

1. Address .................................

2. Age: Husband ................ Wife ........

Children ...............................

3. How old were you when you left Greece? Husband ........ Wife ........

4. Why did you leave Greece?
   - in search of better opportunities
   - fled to escape persecution
   - because family moved to Australia. other reasons.

5. What part of Greece do you come from?
   Husband ........ Wife ........

6. Did you come to Australia as
   - an assisted migrant (Gov't) with the assistance of relatives.

7. Did your family arrive with you? Yes/No.
   - If No how many years later? ....

8. How many years in Australia? Husband ........ Wife ........

RESIDENTIAL LOCATION DECISION v MOBILITY

1. How long have you been living at your present address? ....
   - Very
   - Fairly
   - Not

2. Why did you choose your present location:
   - economic reasons e.g. cheaper rents
   - personal reasons e.g. relatives nearby
   - accessibility e.g. close to work, shops
   - social reasons e.g. Greek shops, people, etc.
   - liked area
   - liked house
   - other
3. In what residential locations have you lived since your arrival?

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4. Why did you choose your 1st location:

- a) close to relatives
- b) with relatives - arranged before arrived
- c) hostel
- d) because Greeks lived there
- e) only accommodation available
- f) other reasons

5. Why did you move from each location? Move 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

- a) personal reasons:
  - i) moved to live with relatives
  - 2) moved to live near relatives
  - 3) moved away from relative

- b) Social reasons:
  - 1) close to Greek people
  - 2) close to Greek schools
  - 3) close to Greek shops
  - 4) close to Greek churches

- c) Accessibility reasons:
  - 1) close to work
  - 2) close to schools
  - 3) close to shops

- d) Lived in rented house and now moved to own house

- e) wanted a better house

- f) wanted to move into a better area
5. HUSBAND Cont'd.

   g) Employment reasons:
      a) government sponsored move
      b) moved by firm
      c) to another job

   h) Other reasons.

   WIFE.

   a) Personal reasons:
      1) moved to live with relatives
      2) moved to live near relatives
      3) moved away from relatives

   b) Social reasons:
      1) close to Greek people
      2) close to Greek schools
      3) close to Greek shops
      4) close to Greek churches

   c) Accessibility reasons:
      1) close to work
      2) close to schools
      3) close to shops

   d) Lived in rented house and now moved to own house

   e) Wanted a better house

   f) Wanted to move into a better area

   g) Marriage

   h) Other reasons

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

1. What is your occupation?
   a) labourer
   b) technical
      i) electrician, fitter, turner, plumber
      ii) metallurgist, industrial chemist
   c) Shop keeper
      i) fish shop
      ii) fruit and vegs.
      iii) corner grocery store
      iv) other
   d) Clerical/shop assistant
      i) clerk
      ii) shop assistant
   e) Professional/managerial
      i) doctor, teacher, accountant etc.
      ii) manager (other than shop keeper)

2. Where do you work?

3. How do you get to work?
   a) walk
   b) bus
   c) train
   d) car
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS Cont'd

4. Why did you choose this job?
   a) because liked it
   b) only one trained for
   c) only job available at time
   d) other

5. Do a lot of Greeks work with you? Yes/No.

6. Do you like your job? Yes/No.

7. If No, what do you want to do? Why don't you?

8. What kind of training have you got?
   a) none
   b) technical
   c) tertiary

9. Have you had any occupational training in Australia since you arrived? Yes/No.

10. Do you feel that your occupational and economic position in the world has
    a) risen
    b) fallen

11. What kind of job did you do in Greece?

12. Do you own your own home? Yes/No. Any mortgage? Yes/No.

13. Do you have any boarders? Yes/No. How many?.....
    What nationality? 1 ........... 2 ........... 3 ........... 4 ...........

14. Do you own a car? Yes/No.

15. Do you intend going into business? Yes/No.

16. Why? a) to be independent
    b) make money
    c) other reasons

ASSIMILATION.
A. INTERMARRIAGE

1. Are you married? Yes/No.

2. Did you marry in Greece/Australia. If 'In Australia'

3. Is your wife/husband Greek? Yes/No.
   If 'Yes'

4. a) Did you bring your fiance out from Greece? Yes/No.
   b) Why did you choose a Greek?
      i) same background
      ii) get along with parents
      iii) any nationality would have done just happened to be a Greek
A. INTERMARRIAGE Cont'd.

iv) had to marry a Greek – parental force
v) same religion
vi) other reasons

If 'No'

5. Why didn't you marry a Greek?
   a) wanted to get away from Greeks
   b) happened to fall in love
   c) other reasons

    If 'Not married'

6. Would you prefer to marry a Greek?
7. Why?

B. EDUCATION.

1. What level of schooling did you reach?
   a) nil
   b) public school
   c) high school – how many years
   d) technical college
   e) Uni. or other Tert.

2. Do you speak English?
   a) fluently
   b) broken English
   c) no English

3. Could you
   a) read English easily
   b) read English with difficulty
   c) write English poorly
   d) write English well

4. Do you or did you ever attend the language classes offered by the Education Department in the evenings
   Yes
   No.

5. Did you do any correspondence courses in English?
   Yes
   No.

6. Do your children speak English?
   Yes
   No.

7. Could they speak Greek
   read Greek
   write Greek

8. Do they go to the Greek school on evenings and Saturday morning?
   Yes
   No.

9. Why do you encourage their attendance?
   a) to be able to communicate in Greek
   b) won't forget their ethnic background
   c) other
C. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION & SOCIAL PARTICIPATION.

1. What religion are you?
   a) Greek Orthodox
   b) other

2. How often do you go to church?
   a) weekly
   b) fortnightly
   c) monthly
   d) special occasions
   e) don't go at all.

3. Do you attend the Greek social functions offered by your church? Yes/No

4. How often?
   a) everytime
   b) occasionally
   c) only on special occasions

5. Why do you go?
   a) to meet other Greeks
   b) brings back memories of Greece
   c) the only link with Greece
   d) help the Church financially
   e) enjoy oneself "the Greek way"

6. Why don't you go?
   a) small children
   b) can't afford
   c) don't like Greek functions
   d) other reasons

7. Do you go to Australian clubs? Yes/No

   How often?
   a) weekly
   b) fortnightly
   c) monthly

8. Why do you go?
   a) because nothing else to do
   b) because enjoy going
   c) want to meet Australians
   d) other reasons

9. Do you prefer Greek or Australian social activities? Greek

10. Do you read Australian newspapers? Yes/No

11. How often?
    a) daily
    b) weekly
    c) occasionally

12. Do you read newspapers and books in Greek? Yes/No
13. How often?
   a) daily
   b) fortnightly
   c) occasionally

14. Why do you read them?
   a) enjoy them
   b) only books can read
   c) other reasons

15. What language is spoken at home?
   a) Greek only
   b) Greek and English
   c) English
   d) to parents in Greek but children in English
   e) other language

16. What sport do you play?

17. Do you follow soccer? Yes
    No.

18. Do you go to Australian pictures? Yes
    No

19. How often?
   a) weekly
   b) fortnightly
   c) monthly
   d) rarely

20. Why do you go?

21. Do you go to the Greek pictures? Yes
    No

22. How often?
   a) weekly
   b) fortnightly
   c) monthly
   d) rarely

23. Why do you go?
   a) enjoy Greek films
   b) understand the film
   c) meet other Greeks
   d) other reasons

24. Do you prefer Greek or Australian pictures?
    Greek
    Australian

25. When you first came to Australia did you hope to return home? Yes
    No

26. Would you now want to live in Greece or Australia? Greece
    Australia

D. NATURALIZATION

1. Are you naturalised? Yes
   No

2. How long have you been naturalised?
3. Why did you get naturalised?
   a) help occupationally
   b) child could apply for Scholarship
   c) go back to Greece on Australian passport and reap advantages
   d) because other members of family are
   e) might as well be an Australian citizen
   f) old age pension
   g) other reasons

4. Why are you not naturalised?
   a) prefer to retain Greek citizenship
   b) see no advantages associated with naturalization
   c) other reasons

VISITATION PATTERNS

1. What relatives have you in Australia?

HUSBAND. RESIDENTIAL LOCATION. LENGTH OF TIME IN AUSTRALIA

WIFE.

2. If arrived earlier than you did they
   a) offer financial assistance
   b) arrange for you to live with them (how long)
   c) arrange accommodation elsewhere
   d) sponsors to IDEM

3. If arrived later than you
   a) did they live with you when they first arrived How long.
   b) did you give financial assistance.

4. Are you going to bring anyone else out? Yes No

5. How often do you visit your relatives in this area:
   a) daily
   b) weekly
   c) fortnightly
   d) monthly

6. Do you visit any Greek friends? Yes No
7. Where do they live?
   1.
   2.
   3.

8. How often do you visit them?
   a) daily
   b) weekly
   c) fortnightly
   d) monthly

9. Do you visit any Australians? Yes
   No.

10. Where do they live?
    1.
    2.

11. How often do you visit them?
    a) daily
    b) weekly
    c) fortnightly
    d) monthly

12. Where did you meet them?

13. Do you visit people of other nationalities? Yes
    No.

14. What nationality?

15. How often?
    a) daily
    b) weekly
    c) fortnightly
    d) monthly

16. Why do you visit people other than Greeks?
    a) enjoy their company
    b) good friends
    c) talk about work
    d) no Greeks in area
    e) neighbours
    f) other reasons
## APPENDIX B.

### DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK-BORN IMMIGRANTS IN THE WOLLONGONG LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA 1971

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