

THE SETTLEMENT OF GREEK-CYPRIOT MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA: 1945-1980

Submitted by

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A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctorate of Philosophy

School of Humanities

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Flinders University, South Australia, Australia
June 2015

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ABBREVIATIONS

ALP	Australian Labor Party
A&CG	Arts & Culture Group of the Cyprus Community of South Australia
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
CALD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CAPA	Cypriot Aged & Pensioners Association of South Australia Inc.
CCSA	Cyprus Community of South Australia
EOKA	National Organisation of Cypriot Struggle (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston)
EU	European Union
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
POW	Prisoner of War
SA	South Australia
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNFICYP	UN Peace-Keeping Force of Cyprus
UNSG	UN Secretary-General
US	United States

ABSTRACT

The turbulent post-WWII period saw the onset of mass migration waves to Australia. This also saw the migration of Greek-Cypriots, whose migration patterns differed from any other migrant group.

The thesis investigates the settlement of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees in South Australia between 1945 till 1980. The research focusses on this topic because there is no previous systematic research conducted in South Australia regarding the Greek-Cypriot migration, and there is an impending threat of losing undocumented historical events. Furthermore, the Greek-Cypriot settlement in South Australia, and in general Australia, is uniquely significant in a historical context. Also, it encompasses a period of time which saw Cyprus transition from a British colony to an independent country and then encountered an illegal invasion, which resulted in a constant mass exodus of its people.

The method utilised in this thesis is

- a) extended literature review,
- b) oral history methodology,
- c) original and archival material, and
- d) oral history interviews with Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees in South Australia.

Chapter 1 introduces the research topic, outlines the research methodology undertaken, and highlights the significance of the research. Following the Introduction, Chapter 2 establishes the background knowledge and literature review, highlighting previous studies and understandings of the Greek-Cypriot migration around the world, Australia and South Australia, to distinguish the gaps for further research to be conducted.

Then, the research examines numerous migration waves and settlement patterns of Greek-Cypriots through three distinctive periods:

- a) the first being 1945-1959,
- b) the second from 1960-1973, and
- c) the third from 1974-1980.

Chapter 3 explores the first wave (1945-1959), investigating migrants who mainly departed Cyprus to find work, better future prospects and wanting to leave their troubled country (1955-1959: the fight of independence from British rule). Chapter 4 focusses on the second wave (1960-1973), where migrants arrived in Adelaide due to political unsettlement in the newly independent Cyprus. Whilst Chapter 5 investigates the third wave (1974-1980), which encompasses refugees and political migrants, who mainly migrated in search of refuge due to the invasion.

With the focus of these three significant migration waves, Chapter 6 explores the Greek-Cypriot settlement in South Australia, which raises cultural issues regarding identity, belonging, integration and repatriation. Then, Chapter 7 investigates established groups in the Greek-Cypriot community, to bring an understanding of the social structures and mechanisms that helped migrants and refugees settle into an Anglo dominated – multicultural society.

The findings highlighted similarities between the three migration waves. However, the results also illustrated that there were some distinct difference between earlier Greek-Cypriot settlers than those who arrived in the later period.

The significance of this research is due to its originality, the documentation of undocumented oral history accounts, the progression of knowledge and filling in gaps to Australian history. This research will be a useful resource for future studies in the field, not only in the way people will understand the Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement patterns, but also in the preservation of Cypriot and Australian cultural and historical events.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any University; and that to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any materials previously publicised or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Maria Shialis', written in a cursive style.

Maria Shialis

2015

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank and acknowledge my supervisor, Professor Michael Tsianikas, and co-supervisor, Dr Maria Palaktsoglou, both from the School of Humanities, Department of Languages and Applied Linguistics – Modern Greek Section, Flinders University.

I dearly thank the people who took the time to take part in the interviews and assisted with the research. Also, I am very grateful to those who have supplied photographs and various other documents. Without this help, the thesis would have not been complete.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research topic

This thesis will examine the settlement of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees in South Australia between 1945 till 1980.

Through oral history testimonies, this research captures undocumented authentic experiences over three distinctively significant migration waves; the first wave (Wave A: 1945-1959), the second wave (Wave B: 1960-1973) and the third wave (Wave C: 1974-1980)¹. Also, the community's establishment will be examined in order to provide an understanding of its significance. This research is uniquely significant to the Greek-Cypriot and South Australian history respectively; it also adds to the preservation of undocumented historical events and accomplishments.

Although, the study can encompass both "Greek-" and "Turkish-" Cypriots, I will only be focussing on Greek-Cypriots because of the comprehensive detail and depth necessary in researching the topic.

1.2 Research Process

1.2.1 Specific Aim of the Research

The thesis will utilise first hand experiences to document individual and group accounts, which otherwise would be lost. By documenting these accounts, this research will be a useful resource for future studies conducted on Greek-Cypriots, but also fill in gaps to Cypriot, South Australian and Australian history. The aim of the research is to:

- investigate the experiences of migration and settlement patterns of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees through three waves,
- examine established Greek-Cypriot community groups, and
- obtain an understanding of the social structures and the mechanisms that facilitated in the Greek-Cypriot migrant and refugee settlement in an Anglo-Australian society.

¹ Throughout the thesis the three waves of Greek-Cypriot Migration will also be referred to as: Wave A (First wave: 1945-1959), Wave B (Second wave: 1960-1973) and Wave C (Third wave: 1974-1980).

1.2.2 Research Methodology

The thesis is a qualitative research project conducted in South Australia. The primary research was conducted through oral history interviews with Greek-Cypriot individuals, and established cultural and social groups in South Australia. In depth interviews of first hand experiences from Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees will provide a comprehensive understanding to their establishment and settlement. Furthermore, the utilisation of archival materials, books, journal articles, parliamentary papers, and newspaper articles, will contribute to the theoretical framework and analysis towards an understanding of this minority group.

As previously mentioned, the research distinguishes three main waves to give a greater understanding of migration and settlement patterns. The first wave (1945-1959) was after WWII when mass migration waves were arriving in Australia, while Cyprus was in pursuit of self-determination to unite with Greece between 1955 and 1959. The second wave (1960-1973) was when Cyprus gained independence, but soon after intercommunal clashes and hostilities were taking place on the island. The third wave (1974-1980) was after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, which left many people displaced, under hardship or destitute, and/or looking for a safe and secure future. Therefore, the implementation of these three waves forms the main structure of the thesis.

Prior to the research being conducted, it must be noted that ethics approval was obtained by the Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) of Flinders University in July 2010. All participants in the research were given a random alias name, to comply with the anonymity and confidentiality clause of the SBREC ethics approval. Therefore, as the research is categorised into three waves, the identification of each participant is as follows:

- the first migration wave (1945-1959) participants were given alias identifications of A1 – A10,
- the second migration wave (1960-1973) participants were given alias identifications of B1 – B10, and
- the third migration wave (1974-1980) participants were given alias identification of C1 – C10.

Each wave comprised of ten participants, with an overall total of 30. Interviews were conducted with Greek-Cypriot individuals, randomly selected with the criteria in accordance with their place of birth being Cyprus, being Greek-Cypriot and their

year of arrival between 1945 till 1980. Interview candidates were recruited from the Cyprus Community of South Australia and its sub-groups, and from snowballing. The individuals who participated in the study were from different genders and backgrounds, such as education, work, and marital status. Individual candidates participated in a semi-structured interview and were given the ability to express themselves freely. Questions were comprised of:

- pre migration experiences, such as
 - their background (and younger years),
 - the reason for migration, and
 - experience and process of migration; and
- post migration experiences, such as
 - impressions of Australia,
 - employment
 - housing and living standards,
 - family establishment,
 - language,
 - social life and leisure,
 - integration and community involvement,
 - identity and belonging, and
 - citizenship and repatriation.

Also, there were numerous interviews conducted with members from the established Greek-Cypriot Community groups supporting and representing the Greek-Cypriot population. Candidates representing established groups were asked questions comprised on:

- background knowledge of the group,
- activities conducted by the group,
- their participation in the group,
- the group's involvement in the community,
- the successful establishment of the group, and
- its future.

Moreover, interviews were conducted through audio recordings with the utilisation of oral history methodology. This methodology was best suited to this research because it allowed candidates to express themselves freely and to provide raw material. The oral history methodology is discussed further down.

1.2.3 Theoretical Underpinnings

1.2.3.1 History through Oral History

History is a turning point in the past, which would alter the future. It is a significant event, which has the power to change things to come. Otherwise it would not have any significance and consequently it would not be history.

History can be an interpretation and/or a recollection of the past through personal commentaries, books, archives, artefacts, photographs or video recordings. “The scope of historical writing itself is enlarged and enriched; and at the same time its social message changes. History becomes, to put it simply, more democratic.”² Oral history has “emerged in recent years as a method of historical research,”³ and now it has evolved as a discipline in its own right. The recollection of personal experiences is not an innovative practice, as this can be traced back in the ancient times; however it has become a vital research tool for many. Utilising oral history methodology as a research tool will enable the events of history to talk for itself in the rawest form. It is necessary to capture the stories of the past because ultimately time is of the essence. One of the biggest threats to oral history and studies including human subjects is memory loss, especially for those who are of old age.

1.2.3.2 Oral History Definition

There are many definitions to the meaning of oral history. As mentioned in the previously, “memory is the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved. Simply put, oral history collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews.”⁴ “It is a picture of the past in people’s own words.”⁵ “Oral history is a history built around people... [to bring an] understanding between social classes, and between generations,”⁶ whether the topic is of life experiences and memories. According to Hoffman, “oral history may be defined as a process of collecting, usually by means of a tape-recorded interview, reminiscences, accounts, and interpretations of events from the

² Thompson, P., (2000) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, UK: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition, p9

³ Shopes, L., (1984) “Using Oral History for a Family History Project,” In D. Dunaway and W. Baum (eds.) *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, p239

⁴ Ritchie, D.A., (2003) *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, p19

⁵ Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, Adelaide: National Committee of the Oral History Association of Australia, 3rd edition, p2

⁶ Thompson, P., (2000) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, *op. cit.*, p23

recent past which are of historical significance.”⁷ Whilst Perks believes “oral history is spoken history [and is defined by] the recording of people’s unique memories and life stories.”⁸

Furthermore, Baum, states that oral history can be defined through five points. The first one is “a tape-recorded interview, or interviews, in question-and answer format. [Secondly, it is] conducted by an interviewer who has some knowledge of the subject to be discussed. Thirdly, [it is] with a knowledgeable interviewee speaking from personal participation or observation. Fourthly, [it is] on subjects of historical interest, and finally, accessible on tapes and/or transcripts to a broad spectrum of researchers.”⁹

Even though, “oral history is the newest form of history because it uses modern technology, the tape recorder, there is nothing new about talking to older people about the past, especially when written sources were absent or inadequate.”¹⁰ From these oral history explanations, it must also be taken into account the way it is utilised and its overall influence on history. “Oral history is not necessarily an instrument for change; it depends upon the spirit in which it is used. Nevertheless, oral history certainly can be a means for transforming both the content and the purpose of history. It can be used to change the focus of history itself, and open up new areas of inquiry; it can break down barriers between teachers and students, between generations, between educational institutions and the world outside; and in the writing of history – whether in books, or museums, or radio and film – it can give back to the people who made and experienced history, through their own words, a central place.”¹¹ It must be understood that without this form of inquiry into our history, the knowledge that we have accumulated over the centuries, would have not evolved to the extent it is today. Therefore it is important to have oral history as a research tool for “the people’s history.”¹²

⁷ Hoffman, A., (1984) “Reliability and Validity,” in David Dunaway & Willa Baum (eds.) *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, p69

⁸ Perks, R., (1992) *Oral History: Talking About the Past*, London: The Historical Association, pp5,8

⁹ Baum, W., (1984) “The Expanding Role of the Librarian in Oral History,” In D. Dunaway and W. Baum (eds.) *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, pp389-90

¹⁰ Perks, R., (1992) *Oral History: Talking About the Past*, London: The Historical Association, pp5,8

¹¹ Thompson, P., (2000) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History, opt. cit.*, p3

¹² Douglas, L., Roberts, A., and Thompson, R., (1988) *Oral History: A Handbook*, North Sydney: Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, p8

1.2.3.3 Significance of Oral History

The importance of oral history covers the scope from the preservation of the past, to a sense of identity and social benefit. “In some fields, oral history can result not merely in a shift in focus, but also in the opening up of important new areas of inquiry.”¹³ “Oral history is a vital research technique in the study of women’s history, migrants, Aboriginal experiences, homosexuality and many other minority cultural and political groups. Oral history has also influenced the way in which more traditional research topics, such as local, family and institutional histories, are approached.”¹⁴ Furthermore, it must be considered that it is a valuable social benefit in the means of “it brings history into, and out of, the community, [but it also an] understanding between social classes and between generations.”¹⁵ In result, it can also “enhance one’s own sense of identity, by tying together the strands of the family history and trying to understand the meaning of individual lives in relation to the social and historical context within which they were lived.”¹⁶ Therefore by having oral history in our society it has contributed to the meaning of history due to its valuable material obtained.

It is imperative that records are preserved, whether they are documents, photographs or interviews, as it is valuable raw material of the past. Oral history is something that cannot be recovered once it is lost. Therefore careful documentation of the past is necessary to appreciate the hardship, journeys and experiences to pass on to future generations. Furthermore, a sense of admiration, appreciation, respect and awareness is formed by people who come across oral history. “At its best, oral history can provide completely new information about whole areas of our past which is unavailable from written or printed sources. Oral history personalises, colours and enlivens”¹⁷ the past. Overall, there is a duty of care and responsibility that must be served towards the maintenance of historically significant points.

1.2.3.4 Conduct and approach of Oral History

One can go ahead and start recording oral narratives, but this is not always the best case scenario. It is stated among well-known historians that “there is no one method for best creating this new source or for best processing raw materials. Each of us

¹³ Thompson, P., (2000) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, *opt. cit.*, p7

¹⁴ Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p3

¹⁵ Thompson, P., (2000) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, *op. cit.*, p23

¹⁶ Shopes, L., (1984) “Using Oral History for a Family History Project,” *op. cit.*, p239

¹⁷ Perks, R., (1992) *Oral History: Talking About the Past*, *op. cit.*, p5

must develop the style that best suits the interview.”¹⁸ When approaching an oral history interview, it is vital to gather background information before starting the interviewing process. The topic must be extensively researched, as it will assist in

*“finding any other available sources, including any other existing oral history interviews. In the case of an organisation’s history, for example, minute books, annual reports, correspondence files and newspaper clippings will provide useful information. Included in this [process], are the familiarisation and understanding of specified language and words [utilised]. Background research also provides you with the knowledge and confidence to ask unprepared questions as the interview proceeds.”*¹⁹

In addition to this, listening and studying other interviews prior to the commencement of an interview, provides different approaches to asking questions and interviewing styles.

When selecting candidates to interview for oral history, one must look for people who are interested and have a first-hand experience of the topic being researched. Elderly people should not only be the ones interviewed, but also people from various age groups and genders. People can be located through family, friends, social groups, organisations and public advertisements either through radio or newspapers. “Sometimes preliminary group interviews can be the best way of breaking the ice and stimulating memories. However, it is generally recommended to follow this by interviewing no more than one person at a time.”²⁰ In addition to this, it is also recommended that the person conducting the interview should organise more than one meeting, to make the interviewee feel comfortable and familiarised with the subject and the interviewer. Furthermore, it is absolutely essential for the interviewer to be culturally connected and to utilise the language that the interviewee feels comfortable with. This, in result, will help the interviewee open up on various issues.

To benefit the interviewer, photographs and material objects can be helpful in

¹⁸ Gluck, S., (1984) “Women’s Oral History,” In D. Dunaway and W. Baum (eds.) *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, p 236

¹⁹ Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p8

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p12

illustrating the past, but are also “useful memory jogs,”²¹ especially for the interviewee to produce a more in-depth recollection of the past. However, in the instance where the researcher would like to collect photographs, documents and/or artefacts for their documentation, it is important that the researcher only makes a copy of the material instead of taking the objects away from the interviewee. This is in the best interest of the interviewee as it will allow them to continue to hold onto that historical material, which would potential be passed onto the following generation of family members. Also, “with older people it is important to be sensitive of tiredness and the need for a break.”²² It must be considered, when conducting an interview, the body language, tone of voice and the language that is utilised. This is important because it establishes the feelings and the context of the topic being discussed. Active listening provides the key to retracting key information from the interview. Minor details, such as fidgeting, eye contact and the tone, would reveal substantial information and depth to the interview.

It is highly recommended and beneficial that the interview is recorded, either by tape or video, because it is “the initial product. [Due to] an important primary document being created, it is important to take measures both to protect it and, at the same time, to make it accessible to others.”²³ Producing a transcript from the recorded data is valuable on the grounds of utilising the information in a written context, but also retrieving the information in the future.

Although, when conducting oral history interviews, not only should ethical and moral responsibilities be considered, one must also “consider legal issues relating to oral history, particularly defamation and copyright. It has been argued that an interviewer’s words need to be transcribed before they can be protected by copyright. Some interviewers, employers, funding bodies and repositories require – or at least prefer – interviewees to assign copyright to them in a written agreement to avoid possible complications in the future use of material.”²⁴

1.2.3.5 Interpreting Oral History

Some of the things to consider when interpreting oral history include, “the reliability of the original observations, correct recall of those observations, background knowledge of the subject, the reporter’s own biases, editorial policy, and the

²¹ Shopes, L., (1984) “Using Oral History for a Family History Project,” *op. cit.*, p242

²² Perks, R., (1992) *Oral History: Talking About the Past*, *op. cit.*, p19

²³ Gluck, S., (1984) “Women’s Oral History,” *op. cit.*, p234

²⁴ Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p12

preferences of readers.”²⁵ In respect to these six ways of interpreting oral history, it can be understood that a conflict of interest and observations based on prior knowledge is a dynamic factor, either by the interviewer or interviewee. “Oral history reminds us that history is made up of individuals with unique experiences and infinitely different ways of living their lives.”²⁶ It is human nature that people “are likely to be more spontaneous in talking about our feelings than in writing about them.”²⁷ Therefore “oral evidence, by transforming the ‘objects’ of study into ‘subjects’, makes for a history which is not just richer, more vivid, and heart-rending, but *true*.”²⁸

There are two aspects that must be taken into consideration when interpreting oral history. This is the reliability and validity of the information gathered. “Reliability can be defined as the consistency with which an individual will tell the same story about the same event on a number of different occasions. Validity refers to the degree of conformity between the reports of the event and the event itself as recorded by other primary resource material such as documents, photographs, diaries, and letters. Now, while it is conceivable that an oral report might be at true description of an event, its validity cannot really be tested unless it can be measured against some [form] of evidence. Without such evidence, an events worth cannot be properly evaluated.”²⁹ This is important when interpreting oral history because “oral testimony, like any other historical source, needs to be evaluated both for its factual accuracy and for what it reveals about the attitudes and values of the interviewee.”³⁰ Therefore cross-referencing in effect is valuable in collating the full picture. “Historians should look for underlying truths contained in values, attitudes, beliefs, and feelings as expressed orally in exaggerations, distortions, and seeming contradictions of historical fact.”³¹

1.2.3.6 Limitations to Oral History

Through the oral history discipline, there are numerous limitations that are faced in

²⁵ Douglas, L., Roberts, A., and Thompson, R., (1988) *Oral History: A Handbook*, *op. cit.*, pp21-22

²⁶ Perks, R., (1992) *Oral History: Talking About the Past*, *op. cit.*, p31

²⁷ Hoopes, J., (1979) *Oral History: An Introduction for Students*, USA: The University of North California Press, p17

²⁸ Thompson, P., (2000) *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, *op. cit.*, p117

²⁹ Hoffman, A., (1984) “Reliability and Validity,” *op. cit.*, pp69-70

³⁰ Shopes, L., (1984) “Using Oral History for a Family History Project,” *op. cit.*, p245

³¹ Allen, B., and Montell, L., (1984) “From Memory to History: Using Oral Sources in Local Historical Research Nashville,” In D. Dunaway and W. Baum (eds.) *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, p89

this form of study. Some of these include memory loss, resources, funding, ethical and moral responsibilities, sensitive topics and speaking candidly. “The validity of oral history is sometimes questioned because it relies on human memory, which maybe faulty and prone to fabrication. People remember most accurately what has been particularly interesting or important to them.”³² “Memory does not provide us with the kind of pinpoint accuracy found in documentary evidence. [Therefore it is] necessity for cross-examination, digging for details, and even confronting an interviewee with contradictory evidence.”³³ Furthermore, “memories do fade over the years, and it is difficult for most people to be objective about their own experiences,”³⁴ and therefore “the biggest enemy faced by oral historians is the passing of time.”³⁵

For oral history to be conducted there must be funding and/or donations to support the research being carried out. Funding would help the interviewer have the resources and equipment that is required, such as tapes, video or tape recorder, obtaining and making copies of official documents, and various other duties consisted in conducting oral history. One of the limitations in this case is the “limited resources and [funding in which] not everyone suggested will be interviewed.”³⁶ Oral history interviews are a lengthy process, where corners should not be cut. Furthermore, this may cause a biased view through the oral history research project due to affiliations and loyalties towards organisations and groups that the interviewer may have. “The ethical and moral responsibilities involved in oral history are often overlooked but the practice of oral history places many obligations on the interviewer: to interviewees, to employers or funding bodies, and to future researchers.”³⁷ Therefore, the interviewer has numerous responsibilities and it is to conduct an unbiased, moral and ethical research project.

Another issue involved with oral history is in the manner the interview is conducted, whether participants are interviewed either as a group or as a single individual at one time. There is no wrong or right way; they are both satisfactory methods depending on the dynamic the researcher is aiming for. Although, the main problems of group interviews are dominate personalities, an unstructured interview,

³² Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p4

³³ Friedlander, P., (1984) “Theory, Method, and Oral History,” In D. Dunaway and W. Baum (eds.) *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Tennessee: The American Association for State and Local History, p135

³⁴ Shopes, L., (1984) “Using Oral History for a Family History Project,” *op. cit.*, p245

³⁵ Douglas, L., Roberts, A., and Thompson, R., (1988) *Oral History: A Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p6

³⁶ Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p8

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p12

and confusion of voices if it is tape-recorded. These limitations can be prevented by either video recording the interview, having an outline of issues to discuss and to curb the conversation if it progresses on a tangent. Then the next beneficial step would be to undertake individual interviews with the people that participated in the group interview. This will therefore help individuals to speak candidly of their interpretations and experiences, without any pressure or disturbance. It will also assist the interviewee to open up to the researcher because they would have already met.

Speaking candidly is a key limitation to this methodology. There are levels of speaking candidly in terms of the way the interview is being recorded, which would alter the interpretation of the various forms of oral history documentation. "Transcripts, audio recordings, and videos all impart the same basic information, but video provides an extra dimension to oral history interviews. Transcripts reduce language to written symbols. Audio recordings convey tone, rhythm, volume, and speech patterns. But the facial expressions and body language captured by video reveal even more of an interviewee's personality. People might not warm up quickly to camera, and might become more self-conscious, and might have more trouble speaking candidly."³⁸ Also, there is the potential for the interviewee to be worried about self-reflection. For example, this is evident "in some interviewing programs dealing with sensitive topics (such as abortion, gaol experiences, political persecution or racial discrimination), where people may be unwilling to participate under their own names."³⁹ It is also understood that "others are simply unwilling to speak candidly about what they feel is personal, and therefore, private. Pain over a deceased relative, embarrassment at a youthful indiscretion, efforts by estranged relatives to get to the interviewer 'on their side', and attempts by an interviewee to present only 'the good side' of the family history"⁴⁰ maybe encountered through the interview. Therefore, it is vital to have an understanding of these limitations, and to carefully undertake and interpret oral history. Thus potentially would conceive the best results from the raw form of historical material.

1.2.3.7 Off The Record

To ensure confidentiality and anonymity of the interview candidates, some evidence cannot be fully disclosed on the record.

³⁸ Ritchie, D.A., (2003) *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide*, *op. cit.*, p135

³⁹ Robertson, B.M., (1995) *Oral History Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p14

⁴⁰ Shopes, L., (1984) "Using Oral History for a Family History Project," *op. cit.*, p245

Firstly, there was a confession of physical abuse from a spouse with a continual gambling addiction. A close family member of theirs believed the victim should not talk about these taboo issues. There was a perception that it was not right for the victim to speak about the life long battle with the spouse, which whom he/she is still married until today. Victims of abuse endure pressure from the surrounding nuclear family unit, in addition to sustain the best outcome for their children. Unfortunately, this victim endured an awful lot of heartache and distress. Now in this individuals later years of life, and reflecting on their life's journey, they could not understand how much they tolerated and why they did not separate. One could see the hurt in the eyes of the interviewee, who has been seeking psychological assistance. The participant wanted their voice heard for the people to understand that life back then was not easy in many respects. It is evident that physical abuse does not discriminate between gender, age or ethnicity. Similarly to Italians, "It was not greatly different in the Australian society of the 1950s in which 'women in unhappy marriages, suffering domestic violence or abuse, were expected to keep quiet and put up with it' (Alexander 2001: 190)."⁴¹ Therefore, one can assume that this still is a possible issue for all migrant groups, who heavily rely on the family unit and do not know where to turn to in the new country, allowing fear and shame to take control of their lives.

Secondly, there are small enclaves of migrants, who have encountered problems with gambling. Many lost significant amounts of money, resulting in struggle and hardship for themselves and their family whilst residing in SA, Australia and around the world. It must be noted that there were people in the South Australian Greek and Cypriot community, who had gambling problems.

1.2.4 The Limitation in the Research

The limitations in the research are two fold; firstly, undertaking oral history with Greek-Cypriots, and secondly, the availability of existing knowledge and documentation.

Although, Greek-Cypriot migrants, political migrants and refugees are hospitable, kind and are willing to help in any way possible, there are still several challenges

⁴¹ Alexander, A., (2001) *A Wealth of Women: Australian Women's Lives from 1788 to the Present*, Sydney: Duffy and Snellgrove, p190; Ricatti, F., (2011) *Embodying Migrants: Italians in Post-war Australia*, Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang AG, International Academic Publishers, p104

within the research topic. It is well known that the utilisation of a video recorder for oral history provides a dynamic expression that a voice recorder cannot capture. However, it was beneficial for this study for the interviews to be voice recorded. This decision was purely derived on the grounds to recruit as many people as possible, as many had negative feelings towards being video recorded whilst opening up about their life experiences. Some felt it was not necessary to talk about one's own life whilst others were sceptical. This can be narrowed down to the following two aspects. Firstly, individuals can draw inwards and stop short of what they want to say due to shyness, in particular for refugees, who have encountered traumatic events and can distress individuals in their recollection of events. Secondly, some prefer to remain anonymous, without something that connects their voice to their face and name. Digital initiatives have the potential for providing sophistication in the developing world; however it is not always the best approach. Therefore, when attempting to achieve the best overall oral testimony for this thesis, due to various reasons, it was best to create an audio recording.

Secondly, some other difficulties and challenges were also faced from memory loss, displacement and preservation of documents. Not only is it important for the documentation of each migrant's journey to South Australia, but also the history of the community as a whole. The benefits extend beyond the thesis, as it would provide a greater understanding for future studies whilst preserving our past.

Furthermore, through preliminary research on the Greek-Cypriot migrant and refugee population settlement in South Australia, it is evident that there has been no previous systematic research conducted purely dedicated to this topic as a whole. Although, there is some information available, it is often brief and/or a few lines sporadically intertwined within other studies. This demonstrates a "gap" in the field of Greek-Cypriot migration to South Australia. Further limitations within the literature are specified in **Chapter 2 – Literature Review**.

1.3 Methodology of Chapters

Chapter 1 aspires to establish an introduction to the research topic. This chapter also includes a theoretical framework and understanding of oral history, which encompasses strategies to undertaking this form of research and the limitations faced. One of the benefits of documenting oral history is to give future generations an understanding of historical and social contexts from the collection of individual interpretations and experiences. While, oral history is still a young research method, there has been a substantial amount of studies in the field.

Chapter 2 provides the background knowledge and history of Cyprus, which includes the Cypriot migration waves around the world, Australia and South Australia. The literature review will highlight the significance and the “gap” for further research to be undertaken in the field.

Chapter 3, the first wave (Wave A: 1945-1959), was a time for prosperity, especially in Australia, the “land of opportunities”; however it was also difficult times for migrants. This chapter will at first highlight Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots during this period before proceeding onto analysing the experiences of Greek-Cypriots, who migrated and settled in SA during 1945 and 1959.

Chapter 4, the second wave (Wave B: 1960-1973), was a time when Cyprus became an Independent country and then in the 1960s endured and battled civil unrest which lead to the 1974 invasion. This chapter will commence by distinguishing the Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots, which will then follow onto an examination of oral history interviews of Greek-Cypriots, who arrived between 1960 and 1973.

Chapter 5, the third wave (Wave C: 1974-1980), encapsulates the time when the island was divided and many people were internally displaced, missing, and/or seeking refuge in a different country. Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots will be investigated at first, before continuing onto an analysis of the migrant and refugee interviews of individuals who arrived between 1974 and 1980.

Furthermore, through **Chapter 3**, **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5**, the experiences and settlement patterns of migrants and refugees would demonstrate similarities and differences from those who arrived in SA in the earlier and those who arrived in later years. The utilisation of original archival material and personal experiences will provide an insight into undocumented historical events. In these three chapters, the

migrants and refugees experience through their personal testimonies will be captured and explored. Their migration journey by boat for some and others by plane, will represent the journey to a new life in a new land. Many young in age, some single, some with a young family, the journey was never easy to take. Upon the migrants and refugees arrival, the challenge of settlement is examined in these three chapters. The acquisition of a job was easy for some, whilst others struggled with language barriers. Education and gender roles were significant in the manner of settlement and experiences.

Chapter 6 will bring an understanding to the meaning of identity of both migrant and refugee. This is a complex and intricate topic, as it will take into consideration each participants gender, age, education and background. There are some interesting explanations and justifications for their feeling of belonging. The chapter will also provide a break down and analyse the concept of citizenship and involvement in the Australian community. Through the personal experiences and challenges, faced by the Greek-Cypriots, it will reveal some interesting patterns.

Chapter 7 will analyse how the Cyprus Community of South Australia and many other groups facilitated in their settlement. Community involvement also impacted individuals in their settlement. Social gatherings are important to one's own emotional and self being. In addition to this, another area of investigation is whether there was any support from the local government for the Greek-Cypriot settlement. This is crucial in understanding the dynamics of settlement, because without support and gratitude from a member in the sphere of the political eye, the settlement of Greek-Cypriots would have been different.

Chapter 8 will conclude the research findings on the Greek-Cypriot migration and settlement in South Australia from 1945 till 1980.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE

2.1 Brief History of Cyprus

Cyprus is a vibrant destination with spectacular sceneries, rich history and archaeological sites, a haven for tourists in the summer months. Cyprus, also known to some as Aphrodite's Island, is nestled in the basin of the Mediterranean Sea. After Sicily and Sardinia, Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean Sea. Its strategic location (**Map 1 - Map 2**)⁴², south of Turkey and north of Egypt, this country provides a gateway into both Europe and the Middle East. The capital city, Nicosia, is the last city in the world to still be divided.

⁴² "Cyprus", *CIA World Fact Book*, <<<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cy.html>>>, Date accessed: 12/01/2013



Map 1: Location of Cyprus in the World



Map 2: Map of Cyprus after 1974

To understand some of the reasons for migration, a brief description of the historical background of Cyprus must be considered. Throughout the ages, Cyprus was occupied by many, constantly being pulled from the East and the West, being ruled by “Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Macedonians, Romans, Byzantines, French, Venetians, Turks and British.”⁴³ Cyprus has had a very rich historical background from the earliest settlement of civilisation in the Neolithic Age in 7000BC. The British took over the island’s administration in 1878. The island was refused self-rule by Britain⁴⁴ because the British wanted to secure a strategic outpost in the Middle East. From 1955, the island commenced a national liberation struggle against the British colonial rule and wanted “Enosis”, union with Greece,⁴⁵ which included the formation of the National Organisation of Cypriot Struggle (Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston; EOKA). The island encountered violence and inter-communal clashes between 1955 and 1959.⁴⁶

In 1959, Britain renounced its authority of the island on the terms it would hold the Sovereign Bases of Dhekelia and Akrotiri, and in December, Archbishop Makarios was elected president and Dr Fazil Küçük vice president.⁴⁷ On 16th August 1960,⁴⁸ Cyprus was proclaimed as an independent republic, after the Greek and Turkish communities reached an agreement on the Constitution. The Treaty of Guarantee gave Britain, Greece and Turkey the right to intervene. It also became a member of the United Nations, the European Council, the British Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement. In 1963, when President Makarios proposed a revision of the Constitution, the Turkish side rejected it, and withdrew from power-sharing. The

⁴³ Panteli, S., (1990) *The Making of Modern Cyprus: From Obscurity to Statehood*, Introduced by R. Browning, New Barnet, England: Interworld Publicatons.

⁴⁴ Stefanidis, I.D., (1999) *Isle of Discord: Nationalism, Imperialism and the Making of the Cyprus Problem*, London: Hurst & Company.

⁴⁵ Vanezis, P.N., (1997) *Cyprus: Crime without Punishment*, Foreword by S. Ramphal, Hong Kong: Regal Printing Ltd, pp7-8; Hatzivassiliou, E., (1997) *Britain and the International Status of Cyprus, 1955-59*, Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs, USA: University of Minnesota, No. 6.

⁴⁶ Attalides, M.A., (1979) *Cyprus: Nationalism and International Politics*, Edinburgh: Q Press.; Crawshaw, N., (1978) *The Cyprus Revolt: An Account of the Struggle for Union with Greece*, London: Boston: G. Allen & Unwin.; Hatzivassiliou, E., (2002) *The Cyprus Question, 1878-1960: The Constitutional Aspect*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.; Holland, R., and Markides, D., (2006) *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1850-1960*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.; Xydis, S.G., (1967) *Cyprus: Conflict and Conciliation, 1954-1958*, Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

⁴⁷ Johnson, E., (2005) “British Strategic Interests and Enosis in Colonial Cyprus,” In M.S. Michael and A.M. Tamis (eds.), *Cyprus in the Modern World*, Thessaloniki: Vantias Publishing House, p22

⁴⁸ On the 16th August 1960, Cyprus signed several Treaties, such as the Treaty concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, the Treaty of Guarantee, and the Treaty of Alliance. For further information on other Treaties Cyprus has signed, see: Republic of Cyprus, (2004) *Index of Treaties: 1960-2004*, Nicosia: Office of the Law Commissioner.

Turkish-Cypriot ministers withdrew from the cabinet, and the public servants stopped attending their work place. As a result, there were growing differences and violence erupting between the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus, and also Turkish threats to invade. Due to an uprise in inter-communal clashes, the UN Peace-Keeping Force (UNFICYP) was sent into Cyprus as a mediator in 1964, but also Britain had taken its own actions in an attempt to settle the situation.⁴⁹ Furthermore, to the assistance of UNFICYP, the UN Secretary-General (UNSG) in 1966 appointed Special Representatives to implement the 'Mission of Good Offices.' "The Cypriot Government did all that was in its power to restore the situation to normality and, in 1968, inter-communal talks began for a negotiated agreement on a new constitutional system. Despite the support given by the Turkish-Cypriot leadership to Turkey's partition of Cyprus, some progress was achieved during these talks."⁵⁰

In 1974, Turkey utilised the military junta of Greece staged coup to overthrow the elected Government of Cyprus, as a reason to invade the island.⁵¹ Turkey controlled 37% of the northern half of Cyprus, which was condemned as an infringement of international law and the UN Charter. "It was viewed as an enormous disaster because the 200,000 Greek Cypriots, who then lived in the northern part of Cyprus, were caught up in the onslaught and killed; most were evacuated or fled south to what remained of the Republic of Cyprus."⁵² Similarly, Turkish-Cypriots were evacuated, or fled, to Northern Cyprus because of the situation. Not only was there a movement of people from inside Cyprus, but also the illegal importation of 115,000 Turks from Turkey to the occupied area. Another consequence from the invasion was the down turn of economic stability, which included the tourist infrastructure, rich soil and land utilisation, citrus industry and two major towns. The invasion caused unbearable living conditions for enclaved Greek-Cypriots in the north,⁵³

⁴⁹ Packard, M., (2008) *Getting it Wrong: Fragments from a Cyprus Diary 1964*, Milton Keynes: AurthorHouse.

⁵⁰ Embassy of Greece, (2005)

<http://www.greekembassy.org/Embassy/content/en/Article.aspx?office=1&folder=44&article=86>, Date accessed: 22/05/2009

⁵¹ Coufoudakis, V., (2007) *Cyprus and International Politics*, Nicosia: Intercollege Press.; Hitchens, C., (2002) *The Trial of Henry Kissinger*, London and New York: Verso.; Ioannides, C.P., (1991) *In Turkey's Image: The Transformation of Occupied Cyprus into a Turkish Province*, New Rochelle, N.Y.: A.D. Caratzas.; Mallinson, W., (2010) *Partition through Foreign Aggression: The Case of Turkey in Cyprus*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.; O'Malley, B., and Craig, I., (2007) *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage and the Turkish Invasion*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

⁵² Cyprus, Lonely Planet, (2009) <<<http://www.lonelyplanet.com/cyprus/history>>>, Date accessed: 24/05/2009

⁵³ Matsoukaris, A., (1976) "Background Paper on the Expulsion of Enclaved Greek Cypriots

whilst many refugees fled to other countries for survival. Until today, an agreement cannot be met on the Cyprus problem and the island still remains divided. In April 2003 the green-line was opened and in 2004 Cyprus joined the European Union, but did not include the Turkish occupied side.

Even though the Green Line has been open since 2003 and people are free to cross by passing through a check point, some migrants and refugees still find it difficult to visit the occupied area. Ever since the invasion occurred, a small enclave of Greek-Cypriots stayed back and defended their homes. These individuals (who are now elderly) and their families still continue living in the occupied area. The UN still continues to bring food rations, medication and gas bottles for the Greek-Cypriots on a weekly basis, as seen below in **Picture 1 – Picture 7**. These pictures are of my recent visit in September 2014 to the occupied area. In discussion with a UN Peace-Keeping Police officer on the day, when the rations were being delivered, she stated that it was important for the Greek-Cypriots to distribute the goods themselves because they knew each resident, the process was more organised and it gave them a sense of dignity. She also claimed that a most recent population count months earlier established that there were 347 Greek-Cypriots still residing in the occupied area. She added that there are also still 15 Australian UN Peace-Keeping Police personnel on the island.



Picture 1: The UN bringing supplies to Greek-Cypriots residing in the Karpasi region

from the Occupied Areas,” *Kypriakos Logos*, Vol. 8, Issue. 46-47, p205



Picture 2: The UN bringing gas bottle supplies for Greek-Cypriots



Picture 3: Food rations being distributed



Picture 4: An elderly Greek-Cypriot lady collecting her rations



Picture 5: Some of the contents in the rations



Picture 6: Everyone helping in collecting the rations



Picture 7: Crates are filled with non-perishable goods and fresh fruit and vegetables

After more than 40 years of division, Cyprus has encountered several milestones leading towards the reunification of the island, such as projects involving both Greek and Turkish communities, peace talks, and agreements. Adelaide's own Alexander Downer was the UN's Special Advisor to the Secretary-General in Cyprus up until February 2014. Talks are still undertaken to resolve the Cyprus problem. However, through the academic literature, have highlighted that each side is very passionate and have a close emotional connection, thus making it complicated to solve. In comparison to these views, a recent news poll taken by Al Jazeera in 2014, surveyed both Greek and Turkish communities on their views for reunification. According to the poll, 58% of residents in the south and 48% of residents in the north viewed that Cyprus would not be reunited in their lifetime.⁵⁴ Additionally, 74% of resident in the south and 60% of residents in the north believed that the talks recently undertaken in 2014, between the Greek and Turkish leaders would not be successful.⁵⁵ There were more results, but an overall conclusion established that the results were contributed by the "little faith in politicians [and] overcoming 40 years of division and mutual lack of trust remains an enormous challenge."⁵⁶

In addition to reunification, the Easter of 2014 was also a historic moment. It was the first time in 57 years since the 14th Century St. George Extorinos church in Famagusta commemorated Good Friday with more than 4,000 Greek Orthodox pilgrims, whom were exiled 40 years ago.⁵⁷ The Good Friday service incorporated "the traditional procession of an icon of Jesus, which would normally be openly paraded through the streets of a Greek neighbourhood, was limited to the church grounds for security reasons and guarded by a strong police presence."⁵⁸ The service had brought up emotional and strong feelings amongst those who attended the service as they returned to the part of the island, which is Turkish occupied. This was a landmark moment in history; however, Cyprus is still challenged by basic human rights issues. In June 2014, only 2 months after Easter, the Turkish-Cypriot side declined the proposal for services to be held at 4 churches in Northern Cyprus, which were Profitis Elias and Ayia Marina churches in Tymbou, the Ayia Paraskevi

⁵⁴ "Cyprus' Future: Unity or Division?," (19 July 2014) *Al Jazeera website*, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2014/07/cyprus-future-unity-division-20147198124976694.html>, Date accessed: 20/8/2014

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ "Greek Christians Mark Rare Good Friday in North Cyprus," (2014) *Ekathimerini website*, ekathimerini.com, Date accessed: 21/4/2014; Psillides, C., (2014) "Protest Over North's Refusal for Church Service," *Cyprus-mail website*, cyprus-mail.com, Date accessed: 12/06/2014

⁵⁸ "Greek Christians Mark Rare Good Friday in North Cyprus," (2014) *op. cit.*

church in Ayios Theodoros and the Ayia Marina church in Kythrea.⁵⁹ The Foreign Ministry opposed the Turkish-Cypriots response, claiming it should review its decision because it denies the right of individuals to worship, and is not an encouraging approach in the resolution for the Cyprus problem.⁶⁰ Even though, in the meantime, a service has taken place at the Monastery of Apostlos Varnavas in Famagusta, where an estimated 200 people attended.⁶¹

Furthermore, the economic situation in Cyprus has consequently resulted in many Cypriots unemployed or with minimal wages. The income cannot cover the high cost of living; therefore many are forced to live on strict budgets. It has also forced many to reconsider their future prospects in Cyprus, thus reigniting social networks and capital across the globe for assistance in migration. Although, the face of migration to Australia has changed since the post-WWII period, the economic crisis in Cyprus could potentially replenish the Cypriot numbers in Australia, pulling in individuals with employment opportunities. As some have already made their way to Australia, further intake would be required to sustain the Cypriot presence in Australia, and in particular for South Australia.

2.2 Migration Movements

The Greek-Cypriot migration waves were at various times throughout history, not only towards destinations around the world, but also to South Australia. The majority of migrants went to British colonised countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and South Africa, potentially because these individuals had British subject status up until 1960.

⁵⁹ Psillides, C., (2014) "Protest Over North's Refusal for Church Service," (2014) *op cit.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

2.2.1 Cypriot Migration Movements around the World

During the 1950s in Cyprus, there was a sense on prosperity; however this was not the general consensus. This was mainly due to the British presences in Cyprus. Whereas those who were in the general public had struggled to find employment, especially those who went to England to study and upon return to the mother country were not able to find employment. According to Solsten,

“The periods of greatest emigration were 1955-59, the 1960s, and 1974-79, times of political instability and socioeconomic insecurity when future prospects appeared bleak and unpromising. Between 1955 in 1959, the period of anticolonial struggle, 29,000 Cypriots, 5 percent of the population, left the island. In the 1960s, there were periods of economic recession and intercommunal strife, and net emigration has been estimated at about 50,000, or 8.5 percent of the island’s 1970 population. Most of these emigrants were young males from rural areas and usually unemployed. Some 5 percent were factory workers, and only 5 percent were university graduates. Britain headed the list of destinations, taking more than 75 percent of emigrants in 1953-73; another 8 to 10 percent went to Australia, and about 5 percent in North America.”⁶²

In the early 1970s, Cyprus experienced a slowing of emigration because the island was undergoing “economic development, social progress, and relative political stability.”⁶³ Once the invasion occurred, there was a spike in emigration in between 1974 and 1979, as “51,500 persons left as emigrants, and another 15,000 became temporary workers abroad.”⁶⁴

By the late 1980s “an estimated 300,000 Cypriots (a number equivalent to 60 percent of the population of the Republic of Cyprus) resided in seven foreign countries.”⁶⁵ As shown below (**Figure 1**)⁶⁶ we find Cypriots have travelled and are located all around the world today.

⁶² Solsten, E., and U.S. Library of Congress, (1993) “Cyprus: A Country Study,” Eric Solsten (ed.), Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 4th edition., p60

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p61

⁶⁶ “Distribution of Overseas Cypriots around the world,” (3 October 2014) Maps, Republic of Cyprus, *Ministry of Foreign Affairs website*, <http://www.mfa.gov.cy/mfa/mfa2006.nsf/All/C0085E199E4567DBC22571A4002A8B15?OpenDocument>, Date accessed: 1/06/2015

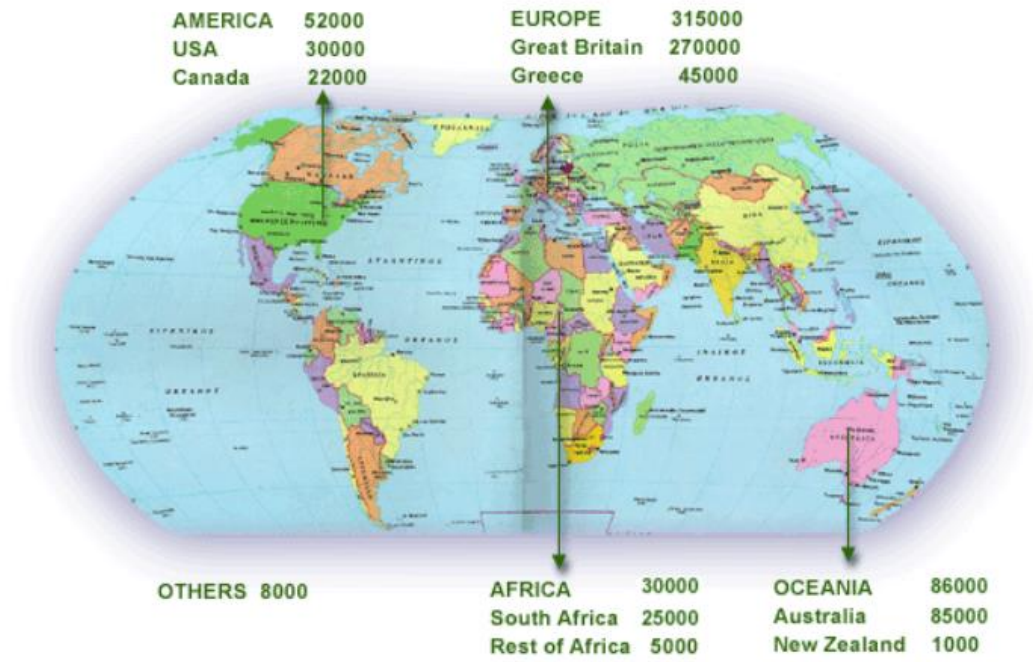


Figure 1: Distribution of Overseas Cypriots around the World

Interestingly, the migration records retrieved from the Statistical Service of Cyprus demonstrated that there were significant numbers departing Cyprus. According to the Department, the statistics as shown in **Table 1**⁶⁷ are the numbers of people departing Cyprus between 1961 till 1983. However, these numbers are not classified as valid because the statistics were not reviewed. Therefore, they can only be interpreted as an estimate. It must be added that these figures are not published online and only can be retrieved upon request.

⁶⁷ *Statistical Service of Cyprus*, Table 105, Emigrants by Sex, 1961-1983

Table 1: Number of Persons Departing Cyprus between 1961 till 1983

NUMBERS			YEAR	PERCENTAGES		
TOTAL	Females	Males		Males	Females	TOTAL
13,489	5,951	7,538	1961	55.9	44.1	100
6,277	2,956	3,321	1962	52.9	47.1	100
2,933	1,495	1,438	1963	49.1	50.9	100
5,081	2,617	2,464	1964	48.5	51.5	100
2,967	1,714	1,253	1965	42.3	57.7	100
3,408	1,837	1,571	1966	46.1	53.9	100
3,470	1,892	1,578	1967	45.5	54.5	100
2,676	1,388	1,288	1968	48.1	51.9	100
2,378	1,216	1,162	1969	48.9	51.1	100
2,318	1,182	1,136	1970	49.0	51.0	100
2,271	1,224	1,047	1971	46.1	53.9	100
1,318	713	605	1972	45.9	54.1	100
1,312	713	599	1973	45.6	54.4	100
3,346	1,823	1,523	1974	45.5	54.5	100
5,454	2,874	2,580	1975	47.3	52.7	100
5,647	3,030	2,617	1976	46.3	53.7	100
3,689	1,948	1,741	1977	47.2	52.8	100
1,835	933	902	1978	49.2	50.8	100
1,087	570	517	1979	47.6	52.4	100
525	307	218	1980	41.5	58.5	100
192	96	96	1981	50.0	50.0	100
204	88	116	1982	56.9	43.1	100
87	45	42	1983	48.3	51.7	100

2.2.2 Cypriot Migration Movements to Australia

In Australia, the earliest known Greek-Cypriot migrants arrived in the 1850s, due to the gold rush. Anotonis Giovanni Meringas, who arrived in December 1954 was the first known Greek-Cypriot, and also around the same time another Greek-Cypriot, Yioryis Kalenithidis.⁶⁸ They were drawn towards Ballarat and Daylesford, in Victoria, which were the gold townships at the time. Over the years, the number of Cypriots in Australia had slowly and gradually increased, recording “four in 1881, 17 in 1901, 26 in 1911, 40 in 1921, 502 in 1933, 681 in 1947 and 5,773 in 19540.”⁶⁹ Then, due to the political instability and crisis in Cyprus “nearly half the population was displaced, with a consequent increase in the Australian Cypriot population from 8,576 in 1961,

⁶⁸ Kanarakis, G., (2003) George Nicolaides: A Cypriot Page in Australian Hellenism, Nicosia: Presidential Commissioner’s Office of Cyprus Publications, pp27-29

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p31; Price, C.A., (1990) “Cypriots in Australia: Demography,” [Duplicated copy of a paper delivered at the Fifth Symposium of Oral History “Greek Cypriots in Victoria,” organised by the Division of Modern Greek Studies, Phillip Institute of Technology (RMIT), Melbourne, 11-12 July 1990].

to 23,000 in 1981 and 24,000 in 1986.”⁷⁰

According to the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, the 1981 Census data on Cypriot-born residents in Australia were 23,332,⁷¹ with a male/female ratio of 51:49.⁷² “Almost 94% are concentrated in the 12 urban centres examined. The largest proportions were counted in Melbourne (43%) and Sydney (35%), representing 0.4% and 0.3% of the total [Australian] population of each centre.”⁷³

There was “19,482 Cypriot-born residing in Australia in 2001. In 2006, there was 18,381 Cypriot-born residing in Australia.”⁷⁴ Consequently there has been a decrease in the number of Cypriot-born people residing in Australia over the past decade. According to the 2006 Census record from the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, there was the largest amount of Cypriot-born residence in “Victoria of 8,400 people, whilst Tasmania had the least amount with 50 people. South Australia had 1,380 of Cypriot-born people [as shown in **Figure 2** below].”⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Jupp, J. (ed.), (2001) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Oakley, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, p419

⁷¹ Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, (1984) “Profile ’81: 1981 Census Data on Persons Born in Cyprus,” *1981 Census of Population and Housing*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, p6; It can be assumed the majority of this number are Greek-Cypriots because “almost 77% of persons stated their religion to be Christian, and 15% Muslim.” *Ibid.*, p6

⁷² *Ibid.*, p6

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ 2008 Census, Department of Immigration and Citizenship

⁷⁵ *Cyprus-born Community Information Summary*, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2006

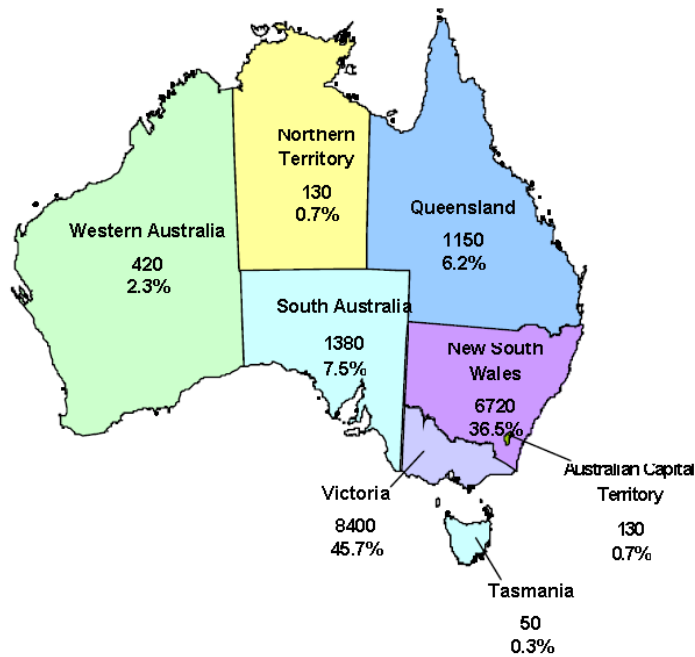


Figure 2: Greek-Cypriot Born Population in Australia - 2006 Census

2.2.3 Cypriot Migration Movements to South Australia

The migration movements of Greek-Cypriots to South Australia began when the first known Greek-Cypriot to have come to South Australia arrived in 1893; a “native of Cyprus in Turkey” named David Kitovich. Over the following years, numerous others migrated following his lead. In 1900, there were approximately eight Greek-Cypriots living in Adelaide. Between the period of 1916 and 1929 a large group arrived, and in the mid-1920s about 20 Cypriots arrived from the Aradippou and Rizokarpaso regions. Port Pirie was a favourable destination for migrants who arrived during the 1920s and 1930s. These people worked in the BHP smelters, coffee shops, delicatessens or fish shops. By 1947 there were approximately 105 Cypriots in South Australia. A large influx of Cypriots arrived in South Australia during the 1950s and the 1960s. It was relatively easy for Cypriots to enter Australia because both countries were part of the British Commonwealth. In 1961 there were approximately 876 Cypriots in South Australia and this further increased to 1,119 by 1966. Migrants worked at Chrysler, Holden, Coober Pedy opal fields, defence projects in Woomera, and shops. Due to the 1974 political crisis in Cyprus, an insignificant

number of people arrived around this time. In general, the people who arrived in Australia around this time came as refugees under the United Nations and Australian government immigration policies.⁷⁶

According to the 1981 Cyprus Profile Data from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, the Greek-Cypriot mass migration arrivals to South Australia were at a peak between 1945-1950 and 1970-1975, as referred to below in **Figure 3**.⁷⁷

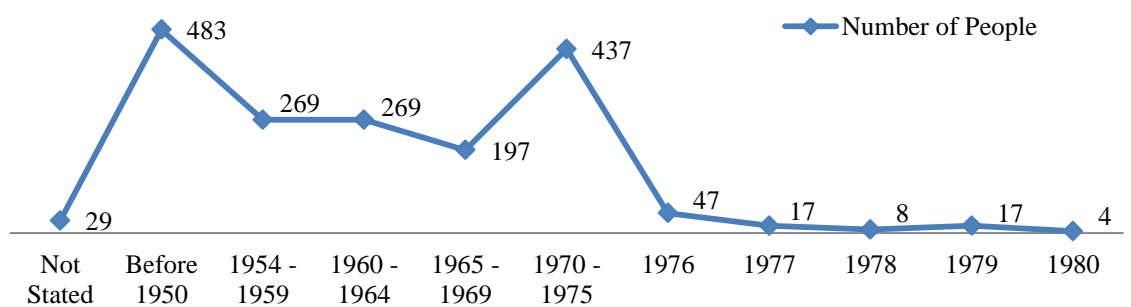


Figure 3: The Greek-Cypriot Born Population Period of Arrival in SA (1981 Census)

On the contrary, one cannot go past the initial mass migration wave of Greeks to Australia after 1945, which was due to the Second World War and the demand of workers. The continual influx of migrants was apparent, as report in *The Advertiser* newspaper in March 1952 stating “the rise of migrants in South Australia was 1 in 15 people.”⁷⁸ According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics, as referred to below in **Figure 4**, in 1947 South Australia had an estimated “105 Greek-Cypriots compared to 1,024 Greeks. In 1954 there were 665 Greek-Cypriots and 2,809 Greeks. Then, the 1961 Census revealed there were 876 Greek-Cypriots and 9,528 Greeks.”⁷⁹ As we can see there is a significant difference in numbers between Greeks and Greek-Cypriots.

⁷⁶ This paragraph is paraphrased from the migration museum leaflet on the Greek-Cypriot migration. *Cyprus*, Migration Museum, Adelaide, 2003

⁷⁷ Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, (1984) “Profile ’81: 1981 Census Data on Persons Born in Cyprus,” op cit., p13

⁷⁸ “Migrants Now 1 in 15 of S.A. Population,” (15 March 1952) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p1

⁷⁹ “Country of Birth (Population(a), sex and country of birth(b), state and territories(c)) 1846-2006 Census,” *Australian Historical Population Statistics*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008

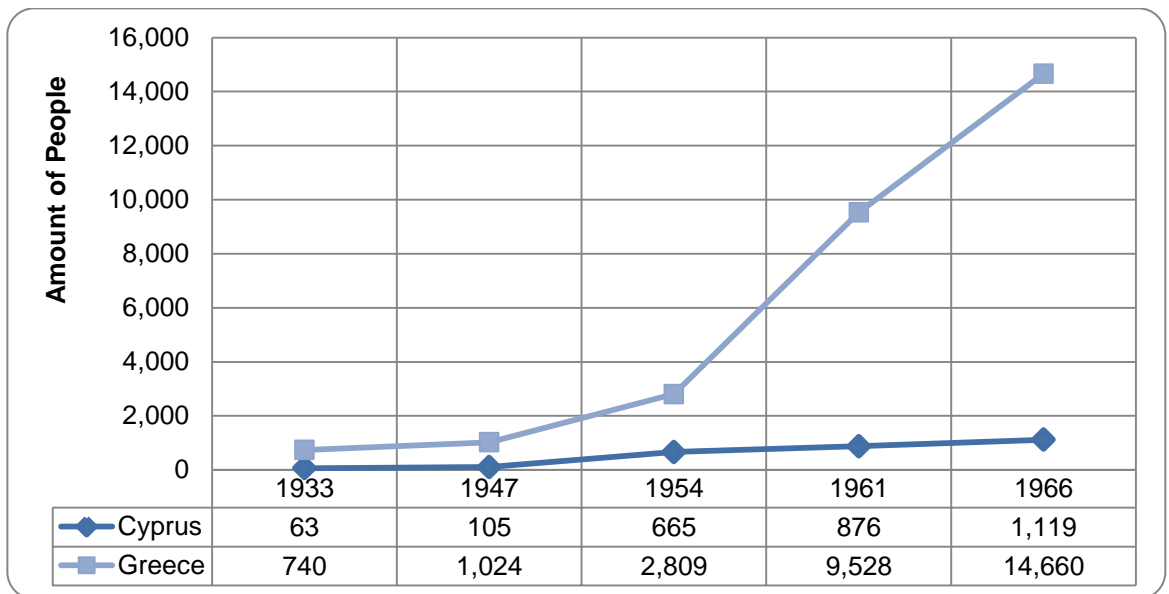


Figure 4: Population Census of Cyriots and Greeks in South Australia: 1933–1966

It must be noted there are limitations to the statistics presented on various levels. Firstly, the Census was only compulsory to fill out from 1961, which one may interpret the data to have somewhat validity. Therefore, the numbers are more so estimates rather than approximates. Furthermore, numbers maybe more or less, because Greek-Cypriot information maybe intertwined with that of Greeks. Also, it may not distinguish whether Cypriots are either Greek or Turkish. They are two different sub-groups.

Currently, the number of Cypriot-born individuals is diminishing in South Australia and Australia wide. This is evident through statistical data, which will be examined in the following sub-heading.

2.2.4 The Future & Statistical Challenges

2.2.4.1 First-Generation Cypriots in Australia

The decline and survival of the Hellenic culture had been addressed by many, such as Ganzis' (1999) journal article *Hellenism in South Australia: Decline or Survival*, and yet 16 years on, the Greek- and the Cypriot population in South Australia is still in jeopardy. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2011 Census statistics indicate that there were 18,070 Cypriot-born⁸⁰ people in Australia. This number is divided between the states, as shown below in **Table 2**⁸¹; New South Wales has the highest number with 6,589 Cyprus-born people, whilst Tasmania has the least with 56 people.

Table 2: 2011 ABS Census of Cyprus-born People, by State and Gender

State	Gender	Cyprus	Total
New South Wales	Male	3245	6589
	Female	3344	
Victoria	Male	3915	8176
	Female	4261	
Queensland	Male	622	1213
	Female	591	
South Australia	Male	664	1333
	Female	669	
Western Australia	Male	229	443
	Female	214	
Tasmania	Male	27	56
	Female	29	
Northern Territory	Male	69	133
	Female	64	
Australian Capital Territory	Male	67	127
	Female	60	
Other Territories	Male	0	0
	Female	0	
Total	Male	8838	18070
	Female	9232	

⁸⁰ The term "Cypriot-born" refers to the individuals who are born in Cyprus. The term "Cypriot" classifies Greek-Cypriots, Turkish-Cypriots and other minority groups as one identity. The ABS does not distinguish between these ethnic groups.

⁸¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) Census of Population and Housing, Cyprus-born by State and Sex

The statistics for the Cypriot-born population in each state and as Australia as a whole is concerning, considering there is more than 23 million people in Australia. Additionally, there is a greater underlying concern regarding the Cyprus-born statistics as they have been declining every year since 1981, as shown below in **Table 3**⁸².

Table 3: 1981-2011 ABS Census of Cypriot-born Individuals in Australia and South Australia

Census Year	Cypriot-born in Australia	Cypriot-born in South Australia
1981	23,332	1,788
1986	23,643	1,770
1991	22,153	1,633
1996	20,667	1,553
2001	19,482	1,463
2006	18,382	1,379
2011	18,073	1,333

⁸² This table was compiled from a collection of ABS statistical tables.

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1981) Census of Population and Housing: Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings for Australia and South Australia, Birthplace (Countries) by Sex, Table 8; AUSTRALIA - Males: 11,979; Females: 11,353; TOTAL: 23,332; 1976 Census Males: 11,267; Females: 10,362; TOTAL: 21,629;

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1986) Census of Population and Housing: Summary of Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings for Australia and South Australia, Birthplace (Countries) by Sex, Table 7;

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1991) Census of Population and Housing: Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings for Australia and South Australia, Birthplace (Countries) by Sex, Table 7; SOUTH AUSTRALIA – Males: 862; Females: 771; TOTAL: 1,633; AUSTRALIA – Males: 11,328; Females: 10,825; TOTAL: 22,153;

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1996) Census of Population and Housing: Expanded Community Profile for Australia and South Australia, Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex, Place of Usual Residence – Count of Persons;

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2001) Census of Population and Housing: Expanded Community Profile for Australia and South Australia, Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex, Place of Usual Residence – Count of Persons;

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2006) Census of Population and Housing: Expanded Community Profile for Australia and South Australia, Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex, Place of Usual Residence – Count of Persons; and

Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) Census of Population and Housing: Expanded Community Profile for Australia and South Australia, Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex, Place of Usual Residence – Count of Persons.

As shown in the above table, the Cypriot-born statistics indicated that Australia had 23,332 in 1981,⁸³ 18,382 in 2006⁸⁴ and 18,073 in 2011.⁸⁵ Whilst, South Australian statistics indicated that there were 1,788 in 1981,⁸⁶ 1,379 in 2006⁸⁷ and 1,333 in 2011.⁸⁸ Therefore, the number of Cypriot-born people in Australia has been gradually declining over the last 35 years. The Cypriot-born population in Australia has declined by 22.54%, and will continue to decline unless these numbers are renewed with a significant intake of new migrants. The implication of this diminishing ethnic group would mean the extinction of a uniquely distinctive cultural and linguistic entity in Australia, as a whole.

Furthermore, in the race against time, the topic of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugee settlement in South Australia and Australia as a whole is highly important because these oral history testimonies need to be captured. Time has passed and the first generation is getting older. It is of utmost importance that as much information as possible is collected before it is too late and the stories disappear with the individuals. Such things like oral history testimonies, documentation, pictures, videos, artefacts and memorabilia will provide a greater understand for future generations and form a historical foundation. This will require funding and support from the community and governmental organisations. Essentially, the best way to carry out this research, and to combine previous research already conducted, would be to combine an archival database that could be accessed at the Cyprus Community of SA (CCSA). Potentially, this will enable for future generations to have easy access to ancestral documentation and history.

Additionally, the Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees are/have now entered into their senior years in Australia. Consequently, these migrants, and including other

⁸³ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1981) Census of Population and Housing: Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings for Australia and South Australia, Birthplace (Countries) by Sex;

⁸⁴ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2006) Census of Population and Housing, Australia – Country of Birth of Person by Age by Sex, Expanded Community Profile, Count of Persons – Based on Place of Usual Residence

⁸⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) Census of Population and Housing, Australia – Country of Birth of Person by Age by Sex, Expanded Community Profile, Count of Persons – Based on Place of Usual Residence

⁸⁶ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (1981) Census of Population and Housing: Summary Characteristics of Persons and Dwellings for Australia and South Australia, Birthplace (Countries) by Sex;

⁸⁷ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2006) Census of Population and Housing: Expanded Community Profile for Australia and South Australia, Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex, Place of Usual Residence – Count of Persons

⁸⁸ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) Census of Population and Housing: Expanded Community Profile for Australia and South Australia, Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex, Place of Usual Residence – Count of Persons

CALD background groups need culturally specific services for them to actively and positively age. It is well known that migrants revert back to their first language in the elderly years. Therefore, service providers will need to consider how Greek-Cypriots could positively age in a foreign land.

2.2.4.2 Second-Generation Cypriots in Australia

In comparison to their Greek counterparts, who according to the 2011 Census have an ancestry number in Australia of 378,265,⁸⁹ the number of people with Cypriot ancestry is inconsistent and raises concerns whether the figures are accurate. According to the ABS 2006 Census (as seen below **Table 4**), there were 8,209 Ansetry1 responses and 2,512 Ancestry2 responses, which equals to 10,721 people of Cypriot ancestry.⁹⁰ Then according to the recent 2011 Census data, there were 18,479 Ancestry1 responses and 4,202 Ancestry2 responses, which equates to 22,681 people with Cypriot ancestry in Australia.⁹¹

Table 4: 2006-2011 ABS Census of Individuals with Cypriot Ancestry in Australia

Census Year	Ancestry 1	Ancestry 2	Ancestry Total
2006	8,209	2,512	10,721
2011	18,479	4,202	22,681

Although, the 2011 Census numbers have increased by 111.55% (11,960 people) and appears encouraging, the main concern is the number itself. If the data indicates that there are 18,073 Cypriot-born people in Australia, therefore the number of people with Cypriot ancestry should be doubled and/or substantially more

⁸⁹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) Census of Population and Housing, Australia – Ancestry by Birthplace of Parents, Basic Community Profile, Count of Persons – Based on Place of Usual Residence

⁹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2006) Census of Population and Housing, Australia – Ancestry 1 and Ancestry 2 Responses by Country (Cypriot), ABS Table Builder, Count of Persons – Based on Place of Usual Residence

⁹¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) Census of Population and Housing, Australia – Ancestry 1 and Ancestry 2 Responses by Country (Cypriot), ABS Table Builder, Count of Persons – Based on Place of Usual Residence

than the Cypriot-born. The 2011 statistic of 22,681 does not add up; let alone the 10,721 total from the 2006 Census. It is impossible these numbers represent the Cypriot ancestry in Australia, as a whole. It also raises questions, firstly, whether people classify themselves as “Cypriot” or a different nationality such as Greek or Turkish even though they are from Cyprus; and secondly, respondents complete the Census form by filling in more than two ancestries, but “only two are processed.”⁹² Consequently, the data does not give a precise indication of people with a Cypriot background. Therefore, it is evident that there is an inconsistency in the data, and the issues of identity and belonging serve a complexion in the results, thus overshadowing the real numbers. It is vital to recognize the statistics of second- and third- generation because it highlights the impending decline of Cypriots in Australia as a whole. The effect of this will result in the extinction of the unique rich Cypriot cultural, tradition and linguistic existence.

Overall, through the analysis of the Cypriot population statistics in South Australia and Australia, it has distinguished that there is a need for the preservation and maintenance of the culture. First-generation Cypriots in Australia and in particular for South Australia has been on a continual decline since the 1990s. Whilst there is only 1,333 Cypriot-born people in South Australia (according to 2011 ABS Census), Greek-Cypriot culture and heritage will soon be in crisis as the first arrivals, who are now elderly are passing away. Unless the State and Federal Governments support a new influx of Cypriots in Australia, the future of this unique cultural and linguistic ethnic group lies with the second- and third-generations to keep the Greek-Cypriot spirit alive in South Australia. However, questions are raised to how younger Cypriots association their identity, as the statistics seem to be inconsistent. Further research needs to be undertaken to enable a greater understanding of the younger Greek-Cypriot generations in Australia.

⁹² Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2011) “Glossary: Ancestry,” *2011 Census Dictionary*, Accessed online <<<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/2901.0Chapter20802011>>>, Date accessed: 5/5/2013

QUOTE from the above source: “For the 2011 Census, as with 2006, two variables, Ancestry 1st Response (ANC1P) and Ancestry 2nd Response (ANC2P), will be used to record responses separately. The basis for allocating ancestries to the variables Ancestry 1st Response and Ancestry 2nd Response is administrative only and is based solely on the order in which they are processed. Where respondents report more than two ancestries, only two are processed.”

2.3 Literature Review

2.3.1 Aim of Literature Review

The literature review was conducted to establish whether previous information and research has been carried out on Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees in South Australia. The aim of the review was to establish any previous knowledge in the field that is already known on the Greek-Cypriot migration to South Australia and to highlight the “gap”.

2.3.2 The Method the Review was Conducted

The method undertaken to research the topic was done so through a range of avenues. The main research tool was conducted through an academic database. From this search, there were numerous relevant topics, such as migration movements, previous Greek-Cypriot studies, and issues relevant towards Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees. Furthermore, a similar search was conducted for books; however the most popular topic that arose was Greeks in Australia.

Through the database, the key word searches included:

- Greek-Cypriot migrants
- Greek-Cypriot refugees/displaced
- Migration movements
- Repatriation
- Assimilation / Acculturation
- Historical background on Cyprus, Australia, and South Australia
- Ethnic minority groups
- Multiculturalism
- South Australian immigration
- Hellenism/Greeks in Australia/S.A.
- Cultural identity
- Greek-Cypriot Diasporas
- Cypriots in Britain / overseas / abroad
- Cyprus / Cypriot studies

2.3.3 Limitation to the Review

The limitations to the literature review were evident because the majority of resources were out-dated and/or not specifically on the Greek-Cypriot population. It is essential for further research to be carried out because there is no current systematic research conducted on the Greek-Cypriots of South Australia.

Furthermore, when looking into Greek-Cypriot information, it must be understood that there are limitations. The first limitation is whether the source has defined Cypriot migrants as either “Greek” or “Turkish” – these are two different groups that need to be specified – unless the topic is inclusive of both groups, then the term “Cypriot” can be utilised. For this reason, throughout the thesis the term “Greek-Cypriot” will be utilised to distinguish Cypriot individuals whom are culturally and linguistically defined Greek. Secondly, the data of Greek-Cypriots, in some instances, is combined with that of Greeks. Therefore, there must be an understanding that information on Greek-Cypriots is challenging to research because it is intertwined and possibly not accurate.

2.4 Literature Findings

Due to the exact research topic not having any systematic resources, the literature review includes relevant source of which exhibits a commonality towards the study. The literature review was separated into four sections: the Greek-Cypriot Migrants around the World, the Greek-Cypriot Migrant Population in Australia, the Greek-Cypriot Migrant Population in South Australia, and the Settlement of the Greek-Cypriot Refugee Population.

2.4.1 Literature on the Greek-Cypriot Migrants around the World

By looking at Greek-Cypriots in other countries, the information will be utilised as a comparison to the research project. Essentially, this will give an edge to the research by presenting dynamics in areas of experiences, settlement, integration, assimilation, and identity, to name a few. Through the literature search on the Greek-Cypriot migrants around the world, the results produced literature on

research conducted in Britain. There are various authors such as Anthias, Burrell (2005, 2006), Oakley (1970, 1979), Constantinides (1977), Panayi (1993) and Constantinos (2002). For example, Anthias has written a few articles on the Greek-Cypriots in Britain, but the most relevant publication to this research is her 1992 book called "Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration: Greek-Cypriots in Britain." The aim of the book was to "provide an analysis of a settler population from a colonial region in the light of central theoretical and political debates relating to ethnicity, class, gender and cultural identity."⁹³ She discusses issues on opportunities, class/gender discrimination, cultural identity, ethnic identity and generational differences. Although, Anthias discusses political attributes, this research project is not aimed to focus mainly on the political dynamics.

It must be taken into consideration that there are studies conducted on second-generation Greek-Cypriots in the United Kingdom (UK), by authors such as, Teerling (2011), Anthias (2002), and King, Christou & Teerling (2010). Cylwik (2002) has also written about the second-generation but through the parent's perspective. The study explored the inter-generational expectations of first-generation Greek-Cypriots and second-generation children in London.

When searching for literature on the Greek-Cypriot migrants residing around the world, there were restrictions in two areas. Firstly, the search for studies conducted on Greek-Cypriots residing in other countries presented no database records registering any results, other than Britain. Secondly, the records showed a significant amount of research conducted on the Greek-Cypriot wellbeing and health issues of those living in Britain. In regards to the thesis topic this is not relevant. However, overall this literature search established familiarity with any previous/prior knowledge and the "gap" in the field.

2.4.2 Literature on the Greek-Cypriot Migrant Population in Australia

Literature on the Greek-Cypriot migrant population of Australia has resulted with a handful of material. It has been a rigorous search because information is intertwined with that of Greeks due to their similar cultural and linguistic background. This meant that Greek migrant literature also needed to be reviewed, making this a lengthy and

⁹³ Anthias, F., (1992) *Ethnicity, Class, Gender and Migration: Greek-Cypriots in Britain*, Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, p1

complicated task to undertake.

Within this stream of the literature topic regarding Greek-Cypriots in Australia, Jupp (2001), who is best known for "The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins," writes briefly on the Greek-Cypriot migration. Whilst, Tamis (2005) most recent publication, "The Greeks in Australia," gives an in-depth as possible illustration of Greek migration and settlement, with some attempt made to recognise the Greek-Cypriot settlement as well. This demonstrates that little knowledge is thus far acquired on Greek-Cypriots in Australia, and that there is a demand in the literature.

Furthermore, Appleyard and Yiannakis (2002) "Greek Pioneers in Western Australia", and Yiannakis (2009) "Odysseus in the Golden West" writes about Greek migration, settlement and adaptation in Western Australia, through the use of community records, oral history and social science analysis. He very briefly touches on the Greek-Cypriots and their settlement behaviours.

Kalivas (2009) has conducted an oral history project purely on Greek-Cypriot domestic food culture. She encapsulates their experiences of assimilation and maintenance of their heritage through food. This study is beneficial to bring an understanding on some of the issues surrounding the topic, even though the candidate pool was of individuals who were residing in Melbourne between 1947 and 2003.

In an attempt to investigate the link of identity, Brockhall and Liu (2011) article titled Identity (Re)construction of Long-Term Immigrants in Australia, in the China Media Research Journal, was the most recent study in Australia on both Greeks and Cypriots. This article provides results and analysis from research conducted in Brisbane and Melbourne with 28 participants, "primarily first-generation immigrants (79%), as well as some second (14%) and third (7%) generation."⁹⁴ Furthermore, this paper "argues that immigrants' identity is an open-ended process that is the process of becoming. Not only new arrivals but also long-term settlers need to continuously reconstruct as they try to live up to the expectations and changes of their host country."⁹⁵ In addition to this, Brockhall (2009) submitted a thesis on a similar topic. For those in South Australia, further investigation is required to acquire

⁹⁴ Brockhall, F.J, & Liu, S., (2011) "Performing New Australians: Identity (Re)Construction of Long-term Greek and Cypriot Immigrants in Australia," *China Media Research*, Vol. 7, No. 1, p18

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p16

knowledge surrounding identity and acculturation. Although, this seemed to be published in the unlikeliest journals in respect to the researched European ethnic group, it does however deliver valuable content and framework. The literature review recognises that this article is possibly one of the only piece that has capsulated the Australian-Greek-Cypriot identity and cultural assimilation, even though it is combined with Greek settlers.

Kanaraki's research field includes Greek⁹⁶ and Cypriot diaspora groups. Kanarakis (2003) examines pioneering figure George Nicolaides's life journey and the endeavours he took. Nicolaides was a Cypriot that travelled via Egypt before settling in Australia in 1913. The book begins with a general knowledge of Cypriot migration before focussing in-depth on Nicolaides. It is written in both English and Greek, and includes a selection of photographs.

Furthermore, there are several individuals, such as Dawson (2011), Brockhall (2009), Andreou (2002) and Papisavvas (1998), who have all researched the Greek-Cypriot immigration to Australia for the fulfilment of either a PhD or Master degree. Dawson's research focusses on the Greek-Cypriot women of the town Deryneia in Cyprus and Melbourne, whilst Brockhall undertakes a case study on Greek and Cypriot migrants' transnationalism experiences in Brisbane and Melbourne, with first-, second- and third-generation individuals. Andreou and Papisavvas both undertook their research on the Cypriot migration and settlement in Australia, with Andreou mainly examines the Cypriot Communities in Melbourne, Sunshine Coast, New South Wales, Canberra and Northern Territories; whilst Papisavvas concentrates on Melbourne and Sydney. Therefore, this highlights that over the years the majority of research undertaken on the Greek-Cypriot population has been in Melbourne.

2.4.3 Literature on the Greek-Cypriot Migrant Population in South Australia

Through an intensive search on the Greek-Cypriot migrant population in South Australia, it is evident that there are only two main key authors on this topic. These authors are Michael Peter Tsounis and Nicholas Ganzis.

⁹⁶ Kanarakis, G., (1997) "Patterns of 'Greekness' in Diaspora Literature: The Australian Experience," In C.P. Ioannides (ed.) *Greeks in English-Speaking Countries: Culture, Identity, Politics*, New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas.

Tsounis has written three relevant articles on the topic of Greeks in Australia. His most significant piece of work was titled “Greeks in South Australia” in 1963. Although, this resource is limited to the Greek population up until 1961, the thesis intends to build upon this. He writes about contributing factors and patterns of the Greek migrant settlement to South Australia. This paper also included a small subtopic as he recognises the Cypriot Society of SA as an accompanying community group with other main Greek Community groups. Throughout, the thesis presents migrant issues relevant to SA, such as assimilation, population distribution and patterns within the State, the role of the Greek Orthodox Community groups within SA and various influential social-cultural factors (e.g. Greek Orthodox Church, regional societies, *caffenia*, newspapers). Therefore, my research will contribute to this field by gaining knowledge and patterns on the Greek-Cypriot population settlement in SA, specifically between 1945 till 1980.

Ganzis (1999) wrote an article in the *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, titled “Hellenism in South Australia: Decline or Survival?”. Even though this literature is more focused on the Greek population in South Australia, he does recognise the Greek-Cypriot population in his research. This journal article focuses on the “developments that have threatened and continue to threaten the survival of Hellenism in this State.”⁹⁷ Ganzis states that there is a different sense of identity and allegiance towards Hellenic ethnicity established amongst first, second and third generations. Contributing factors are closely analysed in aspects of culture, language, civilisation and assimilation. His research includes a range of statistics from 1901 onwards. However, in relation to the Greek-Cypriot population his statistics only begin from 1976 onwards. Interestingly enough, this may seem a limitation to his research, nevertheless it gives my research an aspect for further enquiry. Furthermore, as Ganzis’ research is based predominantly on the Greek population, my research will be an in-depth analysis of the Greek-Cypriot population from a period of time which this author did not cover.

Furthermore, it must be noted, prior to Ganzis passing away, he had embarked on researching the Greek-Cypriot community in South Australia. Ganzis’s (2005) article “The Anglo-Australia Sweet Company: A Sweet Cypriot-Australian Success Story a Contribution to a New Approach to the History of the Greek Communities of Australia,” was reveals vital information which provides beneficial background

⁹⁷ Ganzis, N., (1999) “Hellenism in South Australia: Decline or Survival,” *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 27, p77

knowledge. The article itself is on a particular family's migration and settlement experience, and their contribution to the state. This is only the beginning as he scrapes the surface on the topic, which will require further research to get an in-depth analysis. It also illustrates the environment and conditions predominately of the early days from around the 1920s.

2.4.4 Literature on the Greek-Cypriot Refugee Population Settlement

One of the main pieces of literature that will be addressed in this section, is a journal article from Zetter called the "The Greek-Cypriot Refugees: Perception of Return under Conditions of Protracted Exile," published in 1994 summer issue of the *International Migration Review*. The data collected for this article was done "from ethnographies derived from in-depth interviews and observations of a small sample of refugee households conducted ten to twelve years after exile, supplemented by less intensive observations and interviews with refugee households and organisations in the ensuing seven years."⁹⁸ In this literature he highlights in agreement with my view that a technicality may have been overseen for the term "refugee", which will be further examined in **Chapter 6**.

The article touches upon issues, such as refugee character description of antitrust for hosts, resistance to build relationships and a home, anticipation of return, restoring cultural identity, to name a few. There also may be a stigma carried with the status "refugee." A new concept is drawn upon known as "socio-cultural stress." This is where a community draws inwards and distancing themselves. The question is whether migrants and refugees in SA ever went through these symptoms. Furthermore, Zetter goes onto talk about repatriation issues. In regards to the thesis it will explore whether it is simply a utopian idea. This could be because it has taken too long to sort out the Cyprus issue and therefore in result, from temporary displacement has formed to permanent displacement. This article fits into the thesis by presenting socio-cultural issues that may be faced when settling into South Australia. Even though, the literature explains the theory behind protracted exile and repatriation, the question is whether this theory is relevant to the minority group that settled in South Australia.

⁹⁸ Zetter, R., (1994) "The Greek-Cypriot Refugees: Perception of Return under Conditions of Protracted Exile," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Summer, p308

Furthermore, another author who has conducted extensive research on Cypriot reactions and especially on refugees is Loizos. In the 1977 *Disasters* journal, his article titled “A Struggle for Meaning: Reactions to Disaster Amongst Cypriot Refugees,” is specifically focused on the village of Argaki. Interestingly, there is a similarity with Zetter’s concept of “social-cultural stress.” Loizos states refugees are not “defined by the fact that they have lost property... [but they were] mourning for possessions, places, a way of life and a structure of meaning.”⁹⁹ This in effect, transmits over to areas of social cultural identity and their ability for future settlement including that of the home, small businesses, and social life. Overall, Zetter and Loizos will be the main authors utilised to grasp a wider understanding of refugee identity and their settlement. As this is aimed to be a historical text, I will build upon their knowledge by establishing whether refugees who settled outside Cyprus experienced similar attributes as those Zetter and Loizos address. This will also contribute to analysing whether there were different mechanisms for migrants and refugees to settle into an Anglo society rather than a heavily dense Greek-Cypriot populated area.

The most recent study surrounding Greek-Cypriot refugees in Cyprus on an overall scale is Georgiades (2009). His article title “Greek-Cypriot Refugees’ Welfare a Third of a Century Following Their Expatriation: Implications for Local and International Policy,” in the *Journal of Immigration and Refugee Studies*, was one of the most recent and extensive research, which provided light to some of the current issues faced in Cyprus. In contrast to other works, this is not the first time welfare of Greek-Cypriots has been considered. Matsoukaris (1976) had reported on the situation in Northern Cyprus, just two years after the invasion. The paper exposes the Turks, who fundamentally violated UN, Geneva Convention and human rights laws towards the Greeks. Matsoukaris and Georgiades provide background knowledge on refugee welfare issues, which is beneficial in understanding and arguing the vision/impact of settlement.

In a more recent study, Dikomitis (2012) gives an interesting viewpoint on the “place of desire,” which is defined throughout the book as the beloved village known as home. It gives perspectives of Greek-Cypriot refugees who were displaced from their village of *Larnakas tis Lapithou* and the perspective of Turkish-Cypriot refugees residing in that same village in northern Cyprus. Her years of fieldwork involved her

⁹⁹ Loizos, P., (1977) “A Struggle for Meaning: Reactions to Disasters Amongst Cypriot Refugees,” *Disasters*, Vol. 1, No. 3, p234

spending time with both communities to gather information, which otherwise was unobtainable prior to the Green Line opening in 2003. She analyses and extensively contends with the term of identity and their place of belonging. This is a beneficial resource, and provides vital information on those currently in Cyprus. Bryant's (2010) recent publication "The Past in Pieces: Belonging in the New Cyprus," also deals with re-imaging belonging and the impact of opening the border. Like Dikomitis, she too examines Lapithos and gives the refugees experience and perspective. They are similar to each other, trying to give an unbiased view as the researcher.

Some of the issues surrounding the return of refugees to their homes are explored by numerous authors, such as Loizides & Antoniadis (2009). This is an important topic, which is also touched up by Zetter. However, these two authors focus on the "right of return" in an aim to 'resolve tensions between human rights issues and security concerns.'¹⁰⁰ They give alternative options, considering both positions of Turkish-Cypriots and Greek-Cypriots, for an incentive to proceed with the reunification of the island. Similarly, Webb & Groom (2009) also analyse the settlement of both communities on the island since the invasion. They highlight the problems that would be encountered in the future regarding the settlement of the Cyprus problem. These articles will contribute to the enhancement of a political edge regarding refugees.

Issues surrounding refugees is well documented by Price (1981), Van Hear (2011), Wright (1981), Jaeger (1981), Harrell-Bond (1989), Boyd (1989), Marfleet (2007), and Rahman & Schendel (2003) to name a few. Also, authors such as Brubaker, Safran, Sassen (2005), Benhabib (2004) and many others have written extensively on issues of identity, citizenship, nationality and diaspora discourse. Safran (1991) believes that there are six guidelines to understand the concept of orientation to the homeland. Whist Brubaker (2005) in response has analysed these theories. Therefore the theories of belonging and refugee discourses from various authors will also provide a framework for analysis to challenge and/or compare findings towards the primary research.

¹⁰⁰ Loizides, N.G., and Antoniadis, M.A., (2009) "Negotiating the Right of Return," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 46, Issue 5, p611

2.5 Missing Knowledge

Through the Literature Review, there is evidence of research studies conducted on the Greek-Cypriot populations, mainly in England, however, there is minimal activity on this topic in Australia and in particular South Australia. The missing knowledge is clearly highlighted when seeking out academic resources. Besides a hand full of relevant sources that provide a foundation and comparisons to contribute as examples towards the research topic, there is essentially a necessity for enquiry into the Greek-Cypriot population of South Australia.

This research will fill the “gap” by exploring the social structure and mechanisms that facilitated in the settlement of the Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees. It is important to examine this “gap” because very little is known about the Greek-Cypriot population of South Australia, in particular during the period of 1945 till 1980.

CHAPTER 3

1945 – 1959: THE FIRST MIGRATION WAVE

From 1945 till 1959, was a distinctive period of time due to the circumstances people faced in Cyprus, in particular the people's plight for self-determination to unite with Greece and future prospects. **Chapter 3** will commence by highlighting the Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots, and will then proceed to analyse migration and settlement patterns and experiences of those who arrived in South Australia between 1945 and 1959.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Note: Some of the findings in this chapter have been published in Shialis, M., (2012) "The Greek-Cypriot Settlement in South Australia during the 1950s," In E. Kefallinos & Modern Greek Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand (eds.), *Thinking Diversely: Hellenism and the Challenge of Globalism*, Sydney: NSW University of Sydney, Department of Modern Greek, pp123-132

3.1 Immigration Policy Relating to Cypriots

Prior to examining the first migration wave (1945-1959), it is important to explore previous immigration policy relating to Cypriots.

3.1.1 Pre-1945

Cypriots were migrating mainly in two distinctive waves, as previously mentioned in **Chapter 2**, however there were other stages through history that discussed and encouraged Cypriot emigration. In 1916, Caruana Fils, a well-known agent for steamships operating from Limassol, sent a letter to The Official Secretary to H.E. The High Commissioner of Australia in the UK dated the 24th September 1916, (and was also forwarded onto the Department of External Affairs, Commonwealth of Australia, Melbourne, on the 30th October 1916) emphasizing and encouraging emigration of Cypriots to Australia. The letter acknowledges that the USA has been generally prime destination for Cypriots and only in recent times Marseilles. The firm proposes that they

“should be able to divert the stream of Emigration to Australia, if the Cypriot emigrants were offered the advantages of those Australian States which have vigorous immigration policies, viz; greatly reduced fares to Australia, good wages under agreements approved by the Government before landing to prevent them being misled, through ignorance of local conditions, into accepting wages lower than those current in the locality where they are to work; reception on arrival; free visits of inspection; financial assistance to approved settlers, etc. etc.”¹⁰²

The letter progressed to state that the Cypriots would be beneficial to have because “Cyprus is an eminently agricultural country and the majority of the emigrants are agriculturists, rural workers, farm labourers and domestic servants – the very class of immigrants principally required in Australia.”¹⁰³ Not only this they were described to be “all of White Race and should make energetic, hardworking and sober Australian citizens.”¹⁰⁴

In support of the letter, Caruana Fils had also attached a copy of a letter that was sent to several Immigration and Labour Departments in the USA, which refers to Cypriot aptitudes and qualifications, and discusses the emigration of Cypriots to

¹⁰² “Caruana Fils – Representations re Emigration from Cyprus to Aust.” (Contents date range: 1916), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1, Barcode: 35184, Location: Canberra, p3

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

America. This letter reported that the last two years migration to America had been increasing greatly with the understanding wages were higher.¹⁰⁵ The letter included a description of the Cypriot character detailing

*“most of the emigrants belong to the Greek Orthodox Church and to the working classes, and are, by profession in their own country, mainly farmers and artisans. Generally speaking, the Cypriot is sober, law-abiding, of strong physique, and turns out to make an excellent labourer, hard-working, smart, intelligent, willing and steady, and, as regards general conduct and behaviour, he may be said to be above the average wage-earner in other places. He is characteristically quick in picking up any manual work he is shown or taught, and fond of improving his knowledge in what-ever capacity he may find himself.”*¹⁰⁶

Interestingly, this part specifically distinguishes a male gender and quite possible does refer to mostly men who were the bread winners in the day. It continues on to say

*“on the other hand, some emigrants are students of the Pancyriot Gymnasium, or of the English and American Schools, or of the Medresse Turkish School, with a reliable all-round instruction and a fair knowledge of English and French, besides Greek or Turkish, their mother tongue. These should make very good clerks for offices, or Supervisors, or Accountants, or Time-keepers in Factories, etc. and should be suitable for employment superior to that of a labourer. The Cypriot Government Officials enjoy a well-merited reputation for efficiency through-out the British Empire.”*¹⁰⁷

By distinguishing the versatility of these potential Cypriot migrants, it highlighted that they would be beneficial in the host country.

The shipping agents perception was that the Cypriots were desirable candidates for immigration and American employers because they were under British administration and “particularly well fitted, better by far than any other emigrant from the Near East, to adapt himself to his new life in America and to live in terms of peace and harmony with his American fellow-citizens.”¹⁰⁸ They even suggest that it will be profitable for both emigrants and American employers if individuals were

¹⁰⁵ “Caruana Fils – Representations re Emigration from Cyprus to Aust.” (Contents date range: 1916), *op. cit.*, p5

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

assured assistance in securing employment by “a Department or Bureau to find employment, at remunerative wages, on their arrival in the U.S.A.,”¹⁰⁹ which otherwise would result in wasting time and money of these individuals to find employment in a foreign country. The shipping agents also requested that further investigation into appropriate measures are made for young emigrants between the age bracket of 15-20 years old, who are certainly enticed by the prospects available in America, as “permission to emigrate is not apparently granted unless means can be devised for the proper employment and looking after of these lads.”¹¹⁰

The response from the Department of External Affairs on the 14th November 1916 addressed to the Official Secretary in Great Britain of the Commonwealth of Australia and Messrs. Caruana Fils in Nicosia, informing that “the Commonwealth Government will be unable to consider the question of encouraging such emigration until after the close of war.”¹¹¹ This had halted any intention of bringing Cypriots to Australia. Even though Cypriots were British subjects, Australia was not prepared for any significant quantity of Cypriots because it was also still young and dominated by a ‘White Australian’ policy.

However, in spite of this, small numbers of Cypriots were gradually arriving in Australia at this point, even though the immigration system had an apprehensive attitude towards the Cypriots. In 1927-1928 there were concerns amongst government officials whether Cypriots were useful and/or have the ability to be successful migrants. At the time the Commonwealth of Australia Immigration law stated that immigrants could be denied access into Australia on the grounds that they would be a “charge upon the public through insufficiency of means of support or any other cause”, and this would be decided in the opinion of the officer.¹¹² In relation to this all alien immigrants would have to have shown that they have £40 capital in their possession upon arrival or have a landing permit issued based upon maintenance being guaranteed by a relative or friend already in living in Australia.¹¹³ The Governor-General, John Lawrence Baird Stonehaven, on the 4th October 1927 wrote to His Excellency, the Governor of Cyprus, clarifying the immigration process for Cypriots. The Governor-General stated that

¹⁰⁹ “Caruana Fils – Representations re Emigration from Cyprus to Aust.” (Contents date range: 1916), *op. cit.*, p5

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p6

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp7-8

¹¹² “Immigration Restrictions, Cypriots” (Content date range: 1927-1930), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A458, Barcode: 86319, Location: Canberra, p11

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

“Immigration officers concerned have been advised that in the case of a Cypriote who is in possession of a passport showing his national status to be British, the requirement as to landing money need not be strictly enforced if the officer is reasonably of opinion that such migrant is not likely to become a charge upon the public. At the same time, ..., it is considered advisable that passport facilities should not be granted to Cypriotes for travel to Australia unless the intending migrant will have at least £40 landing money on arrival if he is not in possession of a landing permit.”¹¹⁴

Therefore Cypriots wanting to migrate to Australia were required to have a minimum £40 if they did not have a landing permit. It must be noted that £40 capital was a lot of money at the time. Although, he justifies this by commenting that obtaining employment is limited for non-British Europeans and non-fluent English speaking individuals. Therefore, he refers to it as being in the best interest of the migrant that they have funds, particularly if they have nobody in Australia, in which ultimately would give them the ability to support themselves until they are able to establish oneself in the new country. Moreover, he refers back to a previous message on the 12th April 1926, which stated “it is not necessary that a Cypriote should be able to speak English in cases where maintenance has been guaranteed and a landing permit issued in his favour.”¹¹⁵

In response to this despatch, the Governor Ronald Storrs, who was in Nicosia, replied on the 21st November 1927, briefly detailing that although they follow the instructions in the Passport Control Office Circulars in granting visas, it is “impossible to ensure that money produced to the local authorities in Cyprus, before the passport is issued, will be actually in the holder’s possession on his arrival in Australia.”¹¹⁶ He requested that his Government be informed now and again of any Cypriot migrants holding a British Passport that arrive in Australia without a landing permit or insufficient funds. This was followed up Officer Adminstrating the Government, R. Nicholson, in Troodos on the 24th August 1928, on whether the information was available. The Administration in Cyprus was particularly interested on how the Cypriot migration was in Australia, as applications for visas to Australia were increasing. He requested information on “whether past experience has shown that Cypriots have difficulty in making their way in Australia or whether they

¹¹⁴ “Immigration Restrictions, Cypriots” (Content date range: 1927-1930), *op. cit.*, p11-12

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p12

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p10

constitute a useful and successful type of immigrant.”¹¹⁷

In spite of all that, it was evident by late 1928 that there were continuous issues with the immigration process regarding funds and landing permits. A despatch on the 5th December 1928 was issued to the Officer Adminstrating the Government of Cyprus stating that “in the past few months a number of Cypriots have arrived in Australia without Landing Permits and with practically no money.”¹¹⁸ A list of 24 names was given to the Officer, specifying names of individuals who arrived in the month of November, as seen below in **Figure 5**.¹¹⁹ These migrants stated that they had given £50 as a bond prior to receiving their passport.¹²⁰ This raises questions because it is unknown where the money went. Ultimately, this became a turning point in the migration process, as from this point forward, it was declared that a limited number of Greeks¹²¹ be admitted to Australia. Admission could only be obtained for those who had close relatives already residing in Australia and had obtained a landing permit. However, there was an exception to the rule; individuals who had no relatives in Australia but had a “superior standing”, would be considered based on their occupation, financial standing, purpose in coming, and more.¹²² The Australian Government suggested that the Administration of Cyprus take appropriate action in preventing passports being issued for Australia, unless individuals were eligible under the new process.

¹¹⁷ “Immigration Restrictions, Cypriots” (Content date range: 1927-1930), *op. cit.*, p9

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p7

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p8

¹²¹ NOTE: “As these people are of Greek race, and cannot speak English, and as it has been found necessary, owing to the conditions prevailing in Australia.” “Immigration Restrictions, Cypriots” (Content date range: 1927-1930), *op. cit.*, p8

¹²² *Ibid.*

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

TELEPHONE:
GENERAL 5374.
TELEGRAPH ADDRESS:
TERRITORY, MELBOURNE

IN REPLY
PLEASE QUOTE
No. 28/2532.



HOME AND TERRITORIES DEPARTMENT,
61, SPRING STREET,

MELBOURNE.

CANBERRA, 5th December, 1928.



DEC 7 1928

The Secretary,
Prime Minister's Department.

With reference to your minute of the 8th October, W.156/1/279, relative to the question of the migration of Cypriots to Australia, I am directed to request that a letter be sent to the Officer administering the Government of Cyprus in the following terms:-

"With reference to your despatch of the 24th August, 1928, No. 732/17, relative to the question of granting facilities for Cypriots to migrate to Australia, I have the honour to inform you that during the past few months a number of Cypriots have arrived in Australia without Landing Permits and with practically no money. The following are the names of 24 such migrants who arrived in Australia during November, 1928:-

Per s.s. "Commissaire Hamel."

Tzoumaiti, Kyricos Anton
Lauka, Staciris
Soumazi, Andreas C.
Georgiou, Andreas
Petrou, Michael
Nicola, Photias
Kyriaou, Elias
Georgi, Michael
Toouli, Michael
Antoniou, Michael
Michael, Christos
Georgiou, Michael
Philippou, Kyricos
Tserkezou, Sovas G.
Georgiou, Demetris
Arxentios, Panayi
Charalambos, Yianis
Theophanis, Louka
Michael, Haje Gavriel
Miltiatea, Stylianou
Michael, Photiou.

C.S.O.

Per s.s. "Citta di Genova"

Tingiri, Ekaterina H.D.
Tingiri, Christos H.D.
Petni, Artemis.

/When

Figure 5: Names of 24 Cypriots, who arrived in November 1928

Although the new process was implemented, there was still a need to further clarify the immigration restriction of Cypriots. The Australian Prime Minister issued a cablegram on the 9th January 1930 to the British Consul-General in Cairo, Egypt to follow the process of issuing visas to Cypriots, after six Cypriots arrived in Australia with visas issued from their Consulate on the 15th October. He specified that the “Commonwealth Government has understanding with Cyprus Government under which passport facilities for intending Cypriot migrants for Australia are granted only in cases in which they hold Australian landing permits issued after application by close relatives in Australia.”¹²³ Interestingly, not only were Cypriots coming from Cyprus, but also from Egypt. It was made clear that the process needed to be followed as a standard operating procedure, no matter from what country the migrants were departing.

Furthermore, the restricts placed on Cypriots during this period of around 1928, were possibly also influenced by other issues, which may have caused migration officers to be sceptical of Cypriots because of the complications of Greek migrants coming to Australia. For example, the *Barrier Miner* newspaper on 22nd May 1928 published an article asserting that “according to Major G. D. Treloar the influx of Greeks into Australia is actually greater than that of Italians.”¹²⁴ He claims that Australia has now become desirable destination as the Greek immigration quota for the United States has been met, even extending up till the next 15 years. Whilst this was of concern, they were primarily cautious of the Greeks coming to Australia because they were utilising ‘doctored passports’ to come as Albanians and Cypriots.¹²⁵ ‘Doctored passports’ refers to fake passports, which potentially would have been a serious offence as it is today. Not only this, but also Greek migrants were not as accepted as Cypriots; therefore Immigration would have been apprehensive all together. He addressed that “the worst feature of Southern European migration, [...], was that foreigners lived only in the country long enough to accumulate sufficient money so that they could go back to their native land and enjoy it.”¹²⁶ Essentially, this would have given not only the Greek population a negative connotation in Australia, but also the Cypriot population.

¹²³ “Immigration Restrictions, Cypriots” (Content date range: 1927-1930), *op. cit.*, p2

¹²⁴ “Influx of Greeks” (22 May 1928) *Barrier Miner*, p1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article46019639>, Date accessed: 13/08/2012

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

This was the situation up until the Second World War.¹²⁷ Then came the Second World War and there were tensions within Australia. There was an increase in Cypriot numbers arriving in Australia. There was the tension brewing because of WWII and this impacted the residence in Australia. As for the Cypriots in Australia, they did not want any trouble and the way to get around this, was to be recognised by the government as British subjects. For example, on the 27th June 1940, a letter was addressed by Theo Kollekides, in Sydney, on behalf of his fellow Cypriots to the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Menzies, requesting the Australian Government issue certificates stating that all British born Cypriots are recognised by the Government as British born.¹²⁸ In other words, they are Cypriots of British nationality. In the letter he also specifically states “many of us in business who need notices to post on our windows, with the situation abroad likely to pend even more unsettled in the future, the public could mistake us for another nationality, so causing complications which may prove fatal to our businesses.”¹²⁹ The Prime Minister’s Department responded on the 19th August 1940, informing Mr. Kollekides that “the Military Commands in the States have been instructed to deal with any application for such a certificate. In the case of residents in New South Wales, application for a certificate should be made to the General Officer Commanding, Eastern Command, Victoria Barracks, Paddington.”¹³⁰ However, prior to this response being sent, there was correspondence between the Prime Minister’s Department and the Department of the Interior, Canberra, regarding the national status of individuals born in Cyprus. The Department of the Interior’s memorandum responding to the Prime Minister’s Department, written on the 15th August, specified that accordingly under the current Cyprus Annexation Order, individuals were considered to have become British subjects under the following circumstances:

(1) (a) Any Ottoman subject who was ordinarily resident an actually present in Cyprus on 5th November, 1914.

(b) Any Ottoman subject who was ordinarily resident in Cyprus on 5/11/1914, but was absent from Cyprus on that date for the purpose only of education or for some other temporary purpose;

¹²⁷ The search on available and open archival documentation/material in regards to Cypriots admission to Australia revealed a gap between 1930 and 1945.

¹²⁸ “Cyprus Residents in Australia. Issuing of Certificates” (Contents date range: 1940), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A981, Barcode: 174697, Location: Canberra, p4

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p3

(2) Any Ottoman subject who having been born in Cyprus was not ordinarily resident there on 5/11/1914, but who was later granted a Certificate of British nationality by the High Commissioner of Cyprus.

Persons born in Cyprus since 5/11/1914 would also be British subject. Any person who claims to be a British subject virtue of the Cyprus Annexation Order and produces a passport (Commonwealth of Cyprite) or a Certificate of British nationality may be accepted as a British subject. In the absence of any such evidence, however, the case should be referred to this Department.¹³¹

Generally, from this definition, the Annexation Order disadvantaged to some degree the Cypriots. Interestingly, the term Ottoman refers to the people of Cyprus, however the majority of the people on the island were and are of Hellenic background.

3.1.2 Post-1945

After WWII, there was a strong emphasis in (re)building the Australian nation. Arthur Augustus Calwell was appointed Australia's first Minister for Immigration in July 1945. Following this Tasman Hudson Eastwood Heyes was appointed secretary for the Department of Immigration in May 1946, which saw Australia experience an average of 122,100 per annum of permanent and long-term arrivals in the 1950s.¹³² Also, "net migration climbed from 11,200 in 1947 to 89,090 in 1960."¹³³ They both had led the State to broadening the notion of the "White Australia" policy to include a wider group of European migrants, such as eastern and southern Europeans and refugees from Baltic countries, whilst still perpetuating a white Australia by giving preference towards British migrants. Calwell had constructed the term "New Australian" for immigrants. Calwell and Heyes had a strong belief in the concept of assimilation. "In 1957 [Heyes] recommended that non-Europeans who wanted to be naturalised should be made to comply with strict terms of eligibility, including fluency

¹³¹ "Cyprus Residents in Australia. Issuing of Certificates" (Contents date range: 1940), *op. cit.*, p2

¹³² Markus, A., (1996) "Heyes, Sir Tasman Hudson Eastwood (1896–1980)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/heyas-sir-tasman-hudson-eastwood-10497/text18623>, Date accessed: 24/05/2014

¹³³ *Ibid.*

in English and evidence of participation in 'normal Australian life'.¹³⁴

Only newly appointed at the time, Heyes had issued a memorandum on the 18th September 1946 regarding Cypriot migrants. He makes the distinction that Cypriotes are "racially akin to Southern Europeans" even though they are British subjects.¹³⁵ He mentioned the avenue in which an individual would apply for admission to Australia, and this was to be done so by filling in a Form 40, which was for individuals who would be sponsored by relatives.¹³⁶ There were three things potential migrants were subjected to, firstly holding a valid British passport, being in good health and their probability of not being a burden to the State.¹³⁷ Furthermore, Heyes elaborates that if an individual is not being sponsored with the Form 40 that they would need to apply with the Form 47, attached with certificates and photographs, in which a decision could be made.¹³⁸ An example of this form is a Greek-Cypriot Vassos Anastasiou, who arrived in 1947, as shown below in **Figure 6, Figure 7 and Figure 8.**¹³⁹

The migration influx to Australia was evidently strong. According to Tsounis,

*"During the 1946-52 period, only 8962 permanent settlers (the excess of arrivals over departures) came from Greece. Among them were many families of pre-war immigrants from whom they were separated by the war. This is shown by the fact that in the net intake of 1946, 1947 and 1948 Greek females were in the majority. The new Greek migration chains were Cypriot Greeks, of whom 4670 came to settle permanently in the 1947-52 period, and Egypto-Greeks, whose numbers by 1954 had risen to 5988."*¹⁴⁰

According to *The West Australian* newspaper on the 18th October 1951, it stated that there were 876 passengers on the migrant ship *Hellenic Prince*, which included mostly Italians, 174 Greeks, and 82 Cypriots, but only an overall 110 people from

¹³⁴ Markus, A., (1996) "Heyes, Sir Tasman Hudson Eastwood (1896–1980)," *op. cit.*

¹³⁵ "Cypriots – Admission to Australia" (Contents date range: 1948-1952), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: PP6/1, Barcode: 1183809, Location: Perth, p39

¹³⁶ Form 40 is still utilised today, however it has been significantly modified over the years. Interestingly, during this period of time, the Form 40 was the same application form that was also used to control the quota of Jewish refugees to Australia.

¹³⁷ "Cypriots – Admission to Australia" (Contents date range: 1948-1952), *op. cit.*, p39

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ "Vassos Anastasiou [Application for landing permit, form number 47 and 47A][box 3]" (Contents date range: 1947-1947), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: SP248/1, Barcode: 8791643, Location: Sydney, pp1-6

¹⁴⁰ Tsounis, M.P., (1975) "Greek Communities in Australia," In C. Price (ed.) *Greeks in Australia*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, p24; Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, *Demography Bulletins*, 1945-1952.

the ship landed in Fremantle.¹⁴¹ Aboard the ship, the passengers were predominantly men. The newspaper claims “the Cypriots were described as of a higher standard than those who previously migrated to Australia.”¹⁴² Following this, a press release on the 15th December 1951 revealed that the previous day “the largest single batch of migrants ever to leave Cyprus embarked for Australia in two ships,”¹⁴³ the Greek ship *Corsica* and the Italian ship *Ravello*. These migrants, an estimated 1,000 young single Cypriot bachelors, were potentially to be employed as farmers, builders, drivers and artisans.¹⁴⁴ Therefore the Cypriot migrants, in particular young single men, were starting to come in droves to Australia.

Each migrant story is unique in its own right. Masses and masses of migrants were arriving in Australia. A sheer indication and volume of the influx of migrant arrivals, in 1952, there were a total of 35,229 migrants who arrived in Australia between January and March, with a composition of 22,000 men and 13,000 women. Although, during this three month period the majority of the arrivals were British (18,154) but also there were 786 Greek migrants.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ “Migrant Ship With Many Single Men,” (18 October 1951) *The West Australian*, Perth, p8. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article48995244>, Date accessed: 13/08/2012

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ “Cypriots on way,” (15 December 1951) *The Courier-Mail*, Brisbane, p1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50232725>, Date accessed: 13/08/2012

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ “35,000 More Migrants,” (14 July 1952) *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, p1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101624014>, Date accessed: 28/03/2013

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

APPLICATION FOR PERMIT TO ENTER AUSTRALIA.

(Immigration Act, 1901-1935).

Notes.—(1) If the applicant is residing in the British Isles or Europe this form should be forwarded to—

The Official Secretary,
Australia House,
Strand,
London,
England.

If the applicant resides elsewhere the form should be forwarded to—

The Secretary,
Department of Immigration,
Canberra,
Australia.

(2) This Application must be filled up in the English language, and the Certificate from a qualified medical practitioner, police officer or other public official, if not in English, must be accompanied by a certified translation in that language.

Full Name—
Surname to
be stated in
block letters.
Address.

I, Vassos A N A S T A S I O U
of Ayia Trias, Rizocarpasso, Famagusta District, Cyprus do hereby
make application for permission to enter Australia, and in support of the application
submit the following information, which I declare to be true:—

- (1) Full name Vassos A N A S T A S I O U
- (2) Nationality British subject
- (3) Race Greek, Cypriot (State also whether Jewish or not) Not Jewish
- (4) I was born at Ayia Trias, Rizocarpasso on the day of July, 19 1898 50.
- (5) Marital status (single, married, widowed or divorced) married
- (6) I shall be accompanied by the following members of my family:—

If unaccompanied by wife and children state "Travelling Unaccompanied."

	Name	Sex	Date of Birth	Birthplace
Wife	<u>Travelling unaccompanied.</u>			
Children				



- (7) My last place of permanent residence was Ayia Trias, Rizocarpasso Famagusta District, Cyprus
- (8) My present occupation is Farmer
- (9) My proposed occupation in Australia is Farmer

IMMIGRATION
5 DEC 1947
RECEIVED

[P.T.O.]

Figure 6: Form 47 page 1

- (10) I attach certified copies and certified English translations of documents as evidence of my qualifications to follow my proposed occupation.
- (11) The maximum amount of money in Australian currency which I undertake to bring with me to Australia is £.100.0.0..... This money will be my own property and at my free disposal after arrival. It will not include money borrowed by me for the purpose of securing entry into Australia.
- (12) I attach a certificate (Form No. 47A) by a qualified medical practitioner as to the mental and physical health of myself and the members of my family.
- (13) Neither I nor any member of my family has ever been in prison or in a mental hospital.
(To be supported by a certificate from a police officer or other public official.)
- (14) The European languages which I can read and write fluently are... Greek.....
.....
(NOTE.—Yiddish is regarded for this purpose as a European language.)
- (15) The names and addresses of friends and/or relatives in Australia are :—

Full Name	Address	Relationship
Felon P. Mandrou	205 Franklin Str. Adelaide	cousin.
	Australia	

- (16) My intended place of residence in Australia is (if known)... 205 Franklin Str. Adelaide, Australia
- (17) I attach two photographs of myself and of each of the members of my family who will accompany me.
- (18) If your admission into Australia is approved, is it your intention to become naturalized when you are eligible for naturalization?..yes.....
- (19) I UNDERTAKE, if this application should be approved, not to engage in any occupation in Australia, or to employ labour in any business or undertaking carried on by me, at a rate of pay less than the ruling rate, or the rate prescribed by industrial tribunals in Australia.

Signature of Applicant... *Basil Anagnostou*.....

Dated at... *Avia Eries, Rizocarpasso* ... day of... *30th August* 19 *47*

Warning.—Any person whose admission has been authorized may be prevented from landing on arrival or may be required to leave Australia after arrival if it is found that he has given incorrect or misleading information in his application.

Figure 7: Form 47 page 2

MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

(For Persons Seeking Permanent Admission to Australia.)

INSTRUCTIONS TO MEDICAL EXAMINER.

In cases where the Medical Examiner is unable to describe the examinee as being in good health, he should state under "REMARKS" the exact nature of the defect which he finds and whether it is of a permanent or temporary nature.

CERTIFICATE.

Replies by Applicant to Questions.

NAME.....VASSOS ANASTASIQU.....
(Full name in Block capitals.)
 ADDRESS.....RIZOKORPASSO FAMAGUSTA CYPRUS.....

1. Have you or any member of your family included in this application ever had any serious illness or surgical operation?.....operation (Hercia) 2 years ago.....
2. Have you or has any member of your family ever been in a sanatorium or other institution or attended thereat for the treatment of tuberculosis?...../.....
3. Have you or has any member of your family ever suffered from MENTAL DISEASE OR EPILEPSY or been treated in an institution for any kind of these diseases?...../.....

I hereby certify that the information supplied by me to the Medical Examiner is correct in every particular.

Signature of applicant which must be made } Bass Anastasiou
 in the presence of the Medical Examiner }

RESULTS OF MEDICAL EXAMINATION.

NOTE.—This form is adapted to include medical certificate for husband, wife and children (see other side) if travelling together, or for single men or women.

Against the headings A to E, inclusive, state whether normal or give particulars of any departure from normal:—

	Husband, or Single Man	Wife, or Single Woman
A. Heart	<u>Normal</u>
B. Lungs	<u>Normal</u>
C. Nervous and mental condition and intelligence	<u>Normal</u>
D. Hearing	<u>Very Good</u>
E. Sight—		
(a) Without glasses	R..... <u>6/6</u> L..... <u>6/6</u>	R..... L.....
(b) With glasses (if worn)	R..... L.....	R..... L.....
F. Urine—Is there presence of albumen or sugar?	<u>N.P.</u>
Age	<u>49</u>
Height	<u>5' 7"</u>
Weight	<u>11 Stones</u>

REMARKS (include particulars of any departure from normal conditions not fully set out in answers to above questions).....

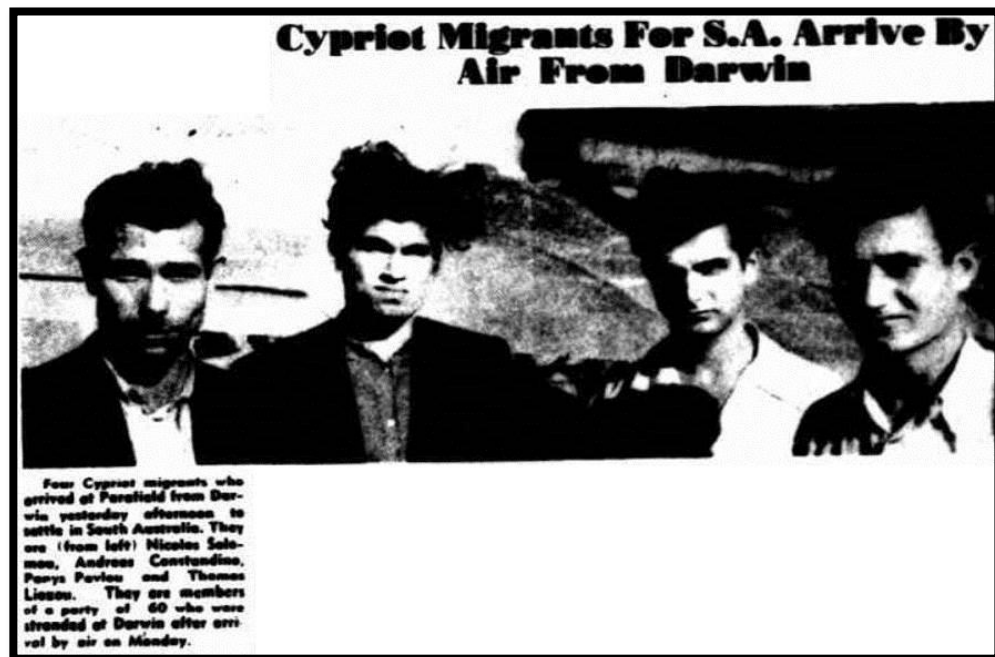
I CERTIFY that I have this day examined the above-named and that the results are as set forth above. I further certify that in my opinion, subject to any special observations under "Remarks", each of the above-named is in good health and of sound constitution, and not suffering from any mental or bodily defect which is likely to render him/her a charge upon the public or to prevent him/her from earning his/her own living.

Date.....18/6/49.....

Signature and Qualification (if any).....
 Address.....Medical Officer.....
Famagusta.....CYPRUS.....

Figure 8: Form 47a Medical Examination

However, the migration journey was not always straight forward. For example, in late December 1949, 60 Cypriot migrants were stranded in Darwin after travelling by aeroplane from Bangkok, where they were held up for 14 days and had spent all their money.¹⁴⁶ According to *The Advertiser* newspaper, these “migrants were stranded in Darwin because they had paid only to come as far as that and [did not have] enough money to continue their journey.”¹⁴⁷ Out of these 60 Cypriot migrants, three flew to Melbourne, whilst only four migrants proceeded to Adelaide by air, as their sponsors provided the funds for them.¹⁴⁸ These four migrants, as shown below in **Picture 8**, were Panys Pavlou, who was a 22-year-old clerk, Andreas Constandino, who was a 20-year-old farmer, Nicolas Solomou, who was a 30-year-old carpenter, and Thomas Loizou, who was 20 years old.¹⁴⁹



Picture 8: Newspaper clipping of the Cypriot migrants, who arrived by air in Adelaide from Darwin¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ “Cypriot Migrants in Adelaide,” (29 December 1949) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page2653177>, Date accessed: 3/07/2014

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ “Cypriot Migrants for S.A. Arrive by Air from Darwin,” (29 December 1949) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page2653177>, Date accessed: 3/07/2014

Apparently, Pavlou was the only one in the group of four, who could speak English. He explained that the problem stemmed back to the agent in Cyprus, commenting “We expected to find everything arranged. ... The agent in Cyprus had told us this would be done. ... Due to a delay in completing arrangements for our permit to land in Darwin we were held up for 14 days in Bangkok, where we spent all our money.”¹⁵¹ Then, when these men reached Adelaide, they were greeted by other Adelaide Cypriots, one of whom was the vice-president of the Cyprian Society, Mr. N. Kleanthi.¹⁵² Mr. Kleanthi was believed this incident represented “his people in a bad light.”¹⁵³

Interestingly, on the same front cover page of the newspaper this article was published, the column prior to it, gave a different spin of events entitled “Stranded Cypriots ‘Rescued’”. It highlighted that the Department of Immigration would take responsibility for the stranded Cypriot migrants, even though their sponsors had failed to do so. This would have given a negative perception of Cypriots, but also, it would have made the Anglo population feel as if these migrants were a burden. The article explained that the men would go by coach to Alice Springs and then by train to Adelaide, whilst the women and children would fly to Adelaide. It emphasized in bold writing that “all fares are being paid by the Department of Immigration.”¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Minister of Immigration, Mr. Harold Holt, said that “the migrants had been warned before they left Cyprus that approval had not been given for their plane to land in Darwin.”¹⁵⁵ With this incident, it was assured by the Minister for Civil Aviation, Mr. T. W. White, “that no further permits would be issued to airliners carrying migrants.”¹⁵⁶

Then, in early January 1950, the remainder of the 60 migrants, including 31 Cypriots, travelled to Adelaide by train. The Department of Immigration provided accommodation during their stay before many proceeding to other states. Whilst only three were remaining in Adelaide, 15 were destined for Sydney and 12 to Melbourne.¹⁵⁷ Out of these 31 Cypriots, there was only one English speaking migrant called Moustafa Torgud Houdaverdi, who was 32 years old and a barber,

¹⁵¹ “Cypriot Migrants in Adelaide,” (29 December 1949) *op. cit.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ “Stranded Cypriots ‘Rescued’,” (29 December 1949) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page2653177>, Date accessed: 3/07/2014

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ “Cypriots Reach Adelaide” (5 January 1950) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p3. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article50204631>, Date accessed: 8/06/2014

destined for Sydney.¹⁵⁸ Houdaverdi “confirmed reports that an international racket in migrants to Australia is operating in the Middle East,”¹⁵⁹ commenting, “many migrants were paying fares to Australia well in advance of their departure. The agents were then making big profits by converting and re-converting the money on free exchange markets in Europe.”¹⁶⁰ In reference to his own situation, he had organised to travel to Australia by ship and paid £118 to a tourist agent in Famagusta in Cyprus. Soon after, he discovered that there was no ship, which meant he had to pay an additional £42 to travel by aeroplane, with an additional £50 for exchange.¹⁶¹

The admission of Cypriots was still restrictive in the following years, complying with distinct boundaries outlined by the Australian Government.

The admission of Cypriots heading into 1951, which saw more and more Cypriots arriving in Australia, drew on further concerns about their admission into the country. For example, a Minute Paper entitled “s.s. ‘Protea’ 21.3.51 – Cypriot Passengers” written by W.A. Byrne, detailed an event involving the arrival of the ship *Protea* at Fremantle and its passengers. The Immigration team had boarded the ship to access the passengers. The first issue encountered was three Cypriot passengers, Georgiou Spyridou Papasava destined for Melbourne and two passengers, Petros Anastasi and Sotirious Lambrou for Sydney, who were detained on the grounds of having unsatisfactory character reports and were detained on the ship.¹⁶² Character reports were a significant aspect of the immigration process. They were issued by the Cyprus Police Force, as seen below in **Figure 9**, which is a pro forma of a character report.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ “Tells of Migrant Racket,” (6 January 1950) *News*, p2. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article130799917>, Date accessed: 8/06/2014

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² “Cypriots – Admission to Australia” (Contents date range: 1948-1952), *op. cit.*, p12

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p11

CYPRUS POLICE FORCE

No. _____

Police Headquarters Nicosia

F.18 No. _____

Date _____

I CERTIFY THAT _____

of _____, whose photograph is attached
below has the following criminal convictions recorded against
him/her in Cyprus :-

<u>C.R.No.</u>	<u>Date.</u>	<u>Offence.</u>	<u>Sentence.</u>
----------------	--------------	-----------------	------------------

N.B. This to certify to the best of my knowledge and belief
the above-named person does not belong to any subvertive
political organisation and does not believe or profess
anarchy

Asst. Commissioner of Police
C.I.D.

* Passport.

Signed Photograph

No. _____

Nationality.

Date. _____

Issued at _____

† C.B.N.No. _____

Assistant Commissioner of Police

Note this Certificate is valid for two months
only from date of issue.

* Fill in particulars of Passport, if any.

† Insert number of Certificate of British
Nationality, if any.

Figure 9: Character Report proforma, which would be issued by the Cyprus Police Force.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁴ "Cyriots - Admission to Australia" (Contents date range: 1948-1952), *op. cit.*, p13

The second issue was the entry documents of passengers. Byrne details:

For Melbourne.

Fifteen (15) Cypriots possessed very limited capital (less than £5.0.0), were without assured accommodation in Melbourne, and had no arrangements made for travel to intended destinations (as far flung as Adelaide, Alice Springs, Darwin and North Queensland).

For Sydney.

5 Cypriots in possession of less than £5 capital.

1 Cypriot without Medical Certificate (Form 47A).

1 Cypriot without Form 47A and Chest X-Ray Film.

1 Cypriot without Chest X-Ray film and Character Report.

2 Cypriots without Character Reports; and

2 Cypriots – Character Reports which were considered unsatisfactory (i.e.

Vasilis PETROU and Mehmet HUDAVERDI).¹⁶⁵

The third issue was in relation to the above two names, Petrou and Hudaverdi. They had detained Petrou because he had served a prison sentence, possibly for burglary, whilst the reason for Hudaverdi was not clear, he was prohibited at Sydney.¹⁶⁶

Overall there were five Cypriots who were prohibited due to their Character Reports being unsatisfactory. Subsequently, Papasava had landed at Melbourne, Lambrou and Hudaverdi landed in Fremantle, whilst Anastasi and Petrou were returned to where they came from by the s.s. *Protea*.¹⁶⁷ The last issue expressing his concern was the “large number of the Cypriot and Lebanese passengers carried by s.s. ‘Protea’ appeared to be persons who would not become assimilated in Australia, and many of them (especially among the Lebanese) were illiterate.”¹⁶⁸

Due to this event, a memorandum was issued by the Department of Trade and Customs on the 18th April 1951, highlighting their concerns, stating that Cypriot migrants,

hold letters authorising their admission to Australia subject to the compliance with certain conditions, among which are the following-

¹⁶⁵ “Cypriots – Admission to Australia” (Contents date range: 1948-1952), *op. cit.*, p12

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p11

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

(a) *Ability to satisfy officers on arrival in Australia that they will not become a charge on the State.*

(b) *The production to officers of a Certificate of Good Character from the local authorities in Cyprus where they have been permanently domiciled.*¹⁶⁹

Officials were finding that these two conditions were not being met by Cypriots. Firstly, migrants were not carrying enough money with them, with the majority of Cypriots having only a few shillings, whilst in most cases less than a pound.¹⁷⁰ This was of concern because there was a fear that these migrants would become a burden on the State. Therefore, a proposed amount of £10 was suggested, even though it was difficult to know if this was a sufficient amount. Secondly, attention was drawn towards the Certificate of Good Character and its reliability. As previously mentioned, this document was issued by police officers highlighting past offences that the individual had committed. Officials found that “these records vary from trifling offences to serious charges such as unlawful wounding. In all cases the records bear a rubber stamp endorsement indicating that the holder is now considered to be a person of good character.”¹⁷¹ This was of great concern because these migrants were approved as “good character”. The integrity of the approval was not valid, thus ultimately making Officials suspicious that the certificate was possibly approved because it meant “the person concerned [was] leaving Cyprus.”¹⁷² Therefore, it was suggested that the migrant’s character be assessed by Australian officials to whether the individual meets the condition of a “good character”.

Following this memorandum in April, another one was issued in May for the Department of Immigration’s Secretary to take into consideration the recent issues involving Cypriots not meeting the criteria of entry to the State because of insufficient funds and Character Certificates, which was of clear example of s.s. *Protea*. It was

recommended that serious consideration be given to advising overseas representatives to ensure that no travel facilities for Cypriot migrants be granted where the overseas representative is not satisfied that the party concerned would be a desirable migrant from the point of view of character

¹⁶⁹ “Cypriots – Admission to Australia” (Contents date range: 1948-1952), *op. cit.*, p18

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

*and ability to maintain themselves in Australia.*¹⁷³

Also, it was suggested for consideration that those with a previous criminal conviction of a serious nature be barred from entering the country.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore regarding the topic of admission of Cypriots into Australia, there was also consideration of those re-entering the country. This was clarified by a message dated 26th June 1951, which was distributed to numerous officers regarding the re-admission procedures of Cypriots who have been admitted to Australia for residence. There were two procedures implemented, which were:

(a) in any case where a Cypriot has acquired Australian citizenship he may be issued with an Australian passport in accordance with passport instructions;

*(b) a Cypriot who has been admitted for residence and has not acquired Australian Citizenship should be advised to apply to the United Kingdom High Commissioner's Office for a British passport if he does not already hold one. Such passport may, if desired, be endorsed with authority to return to Australia unless there is any reason why such authority should be withheld.*¹⁷⁵

In the later years,¹⁷⁶ following the eruption of hostilities and unsettled conditions on the island, a progress report in March 1956 highlighted that there were some difficulties being experienced by Australian Immigration officers during their visit in Cyprus. It elaborated,

*"The various curfews make pre-medical examinations difficult and presentation conditions far from easy. A complete set of call-in documents disappeared in Cyprus. The situation is being watched and as yet no reason is seen for cancelling Cyprus presentations. Cyprus cases are being cleared without undue delay and no backlog of any magnitude is developing."*¹⁷⁷

No further comment was added to this, until later in time when a backlog developed.

¹⁷³ "Cypriots – Admission to Australia" (Contents date range: 1948-1952), *op. cit.*, p15

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p10

¹⁷⁶ The search on available and open archival documentation/material in regards to Cypriots admission to Australia revealed a gap between 1951 and 1956.

¹⁷⁷ "Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2," (Contents date range: 1956-1970), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A6980, Barcode: 7115263, Location: Canberra, p405

Cypriots during this time continued to be accepted as migrants under the two categories; Form 40, being nominated by a close relative in Australia and complied with health, character and general suitability; and Form 47, being unsponsored.¹⁷⁸ Immigration representatives were following the Overseas Handbook detailing that “applications by residents of Australia for the admission of Cypriots will be treated in the same manner as applications for the entry of non-British Europeans.”¹⁷⁹ Even though Cypriots were British subjects, it was perceived that this was not enough for them to be processed under this group for “the fact that Cypriots do not, as a rule, speak English and that because of this and other factors, they do not assimilate here as quickly as British people from the United Kingdom.”¹⁸⁰

In May 1956, correspondents between the Department of Immigration in Australia and the Australian Embassy in Athens indicated a revised proposal of abolishing the Letter of Authority and to be replaced with a passport endorsement for Cypriot cases.¹⁸¹ Passports were usually added with “a visa Australia to Cypriot British Passports, in addition to the standard procedure of making the Passports valid for travel to Australia (they [were] usually issued valid only for United Kingdom).”¹⁸² It was acknowledged that

*“the practice of endorsing a visa in Cypriot passports was necessary to satisfy the Egyptian Passport Authorities in Cyprus. These officers [would] not issue Egyptian transit visas (a requirement of practically all Cypriot migrants who normally must join Australian bound ships at Port Said) unless an entry visa for a country beyond Egypt has previously been added to the passport.”*¹⁸³

Therefore, it was considered implementing a visa slip system, which Administrative Secretary’s Office could paste into passports for Cypriot cases.¹⁸⁴ These considered paste-in visa slips would include “provisions for the signature of the authorising officer, the Athens file number, the name of the migrant, and the official seal of [the] office could be completed and signed and sealed in Athens and forwarded to the Administrative Secretary’s Office, Nicosia, together with the usual numbered

¹⁷⁸ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970) *op. cit.*, pp400, 402

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p402

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p400

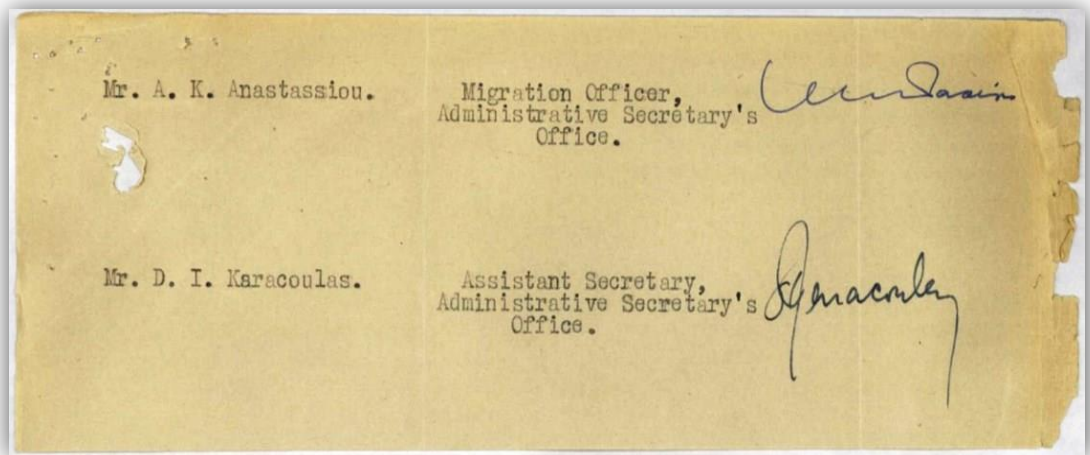
¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp395-396

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p394

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p394

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p394

schedules of approval.”¹⁸⁵ The procedure was revised and effective from the 17th January 1957. The amendment meant that personnel of the Administrative Secretary’s Office in Nicosia now had the authority to sign passport endorsements.¹⁸⁶ There were two authorising officers (as seen in **Picture 9**), whose signatures were distributed to the Department on Immigration for their reference.¹⁸⁷



Picture 9: Passport Endorsing Officers of the Administrative Secretary's Office

In August 1957, the *Daily Mirror* newspaper reported that “Cypriots had been selected for ‘special attention’ and ‘political tests’ by the Department of Immigration.”¹⁸⁸ This came as Ali, who was a British subject born in Cyprus, after a 12 months stay in Australia was being deported as an illegal migrant because “the Government now believed that ‘anyone from Cyprus is rebellious.’”¹⁸⁹ Soon after Ali’s arrival in Australia, he applied for a permit to stay in the country but it was rejected. It was argued that he satisfied “the requirements of the Immigration Act and could speak English better than many non-British migrants. [...] Ali was the

¹⁸⁵ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970) *op. cit.*, p395

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p381

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp381-382

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p377

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p377

victim of a 'political test' which was not among the tests used by the Government for migrants."¹⁹⁰ Mr Holt, Minister for Labor, commented that "the Government had imposed very limiting restrictions to balance migration from Southern Europe."¹⁹¹

Between the months of August and December 1957, correspondents indicated opinions of those supporting and those against the proposal of Cypriots, who reside in the UK for the period of five years, to be processed under the Assisted Passage Scheme.¹⁹² On one hand, it was argued in support for nomination being accepted if there is a "Cypriot with long residence in the United Kingdom provided he is a good type, has a good record, and is able to satisfy the [Chief Migration Officer] London as to his fluency in the English language and that he has adopted the English way of life."¹⁹³ Also, it was suggested that, potentially, Cypriots coming from the UK would assimilate more quickly than Cypriots arriving directly from Cyprus.¹⁹⁴ On the other hand, it was argued that "they were and are not regarded as good migrant material and also in accordance with the policy that limitations should be placed on the entry of persons of Mediterranean races to ensure a better balanced migration intake."¹⁹⁵ Also, "in general, Cypriot stock are not of the standard of average Anglo-Saxon stock."¹⁹⁶ From months of debates on the issue, the Immigration Advisory Council concluded in December that Cypriots "should not be eligible for assisted passages under the Australian-United Kingdom Agreement; [and] should be eligible for admission as unassisted [full-fare] migrants only on the same basis as Cypriots and Maltese resident in other countries."¹⁹⁷

On the 9th October 1958 Clyde Cameron, Member of Australian Parliament, wrote a letter to A.R. Downer, Minister for Immigration, informing him that several Greek and Cypriot Societies are protesting against the discriminatory policy towards Cypriots, who would like to migrate to Australia, and as they are British subjects, "should not

¹⁹⁰ "Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2," (Contents date range: 1956-1970) *op. cit.*, p377; Correspondents between Canberra and London regarding Maltese arriving in Australia without the proper authority with carrier companies, suggested that "the only method open to us at present of preventing such persons from landing would be by application of the dictation test, a device which we have been at pains to avoid using against British people of European race who have nothing specific against them." *Ibid.*, p349. There were also Cypriots progressing to Australia without visas. *Ibid.*, p352. It is uncertain (or not indicated) through the archives what was the outcome, however we can assume it was not desired by authorities.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p377

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp356-376

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p371

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p367

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p374

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p372

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p359

be forced to suffer restrictions which do not apply to certain groups of non-British subjects.”¹⁹⁸ Downer responded to Cameron, informing him that there was no policy discriminating against Cypriots but as they are culturally similar to other Mediterranean and Southern European groups, they are “governed by the immigration policies which apply to the group as a whole.”¹⁹⁹ Further justifying the immigration policy, he stated that several months ago the policy had eased for Southern Europeans but there needed to be a balance between Southern and Northern Europeans “to avoid serious assimilation problems.”²⁰⁰ Interestingly though, Downer adds at the end of his letter “I have a very high regard for the people of Cyprus, many of whom have made admirable settlers in this country. This does not, however, avoid the fact that basically they are non-English speaking and are accustomed to a pattern of life which does create assimilation difficulties here.”²⁰¹ Assimilation was enforced as a key bearing for Australia’s migrant population, and Downer wanted to emphasise this.

In 1959 the immigration policy of Cypriots to enter Australia still continued as unassisted migrants, but also, Australia had no intention of entering into an assisted passage agreement for Cypriots.²⁰² Even Cypriots in the UK were not “eligible for assisted passages under the Australian-United Kingdom Agreement.”²⁰³ The admission of Cypriots, as noted in November 1959, followed the same process of other Southern European and Mediterranean countries, whereby individuals are “nominated by residents of Australia and are the latter’s spouses, fiancées, minor children, parents, adult sons, adult brothers (or dependants of any of these) or are single women aged eighteen to thirty-five years.”²⁰⁴ Then “upon acceptance of any such nomination it is sent to [the] Athens office which periodically sends a team to Cyprus to see the nominees and to authorize their entry to Australia if approved.”²⁰⁵ Although, the upheaval on the island for Enosis disrupted periodical visits for Australian immigration officers, they had recommenced their visits.²⁰⁶

In November 1959, Cameron questioned Downer in Parliament regarding the admission of Cypriots being eased. Downer sent a letter on the 25th November, in

¹⁹⁸ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970) *op. cit.*, p348

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p347

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p347

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p347

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp3331, 333

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p329

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p326

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p326

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p326

response to Cameron's query, explaining that since their previous year's correspondence on the same issue, the processing of Cypriots had widened to include adult sons and adult brothers (with dependents) of residents in Australia.²⁰⁷ "As a result, the rate of nomination of residents of those countries [had] risen from low to a high level, in relation to the extent to which [Australia is] able to accept such people within the overall immigration programme of 125,000 for the financial year."²⁰⁸ Downer adds that even when there were tensions on the island, this did not demand for easing of the immigration policy, nor would it now that the island has resumed normality, for the reasons that he had stated a year ago.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ "Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2," (Contents date range: 1956-1970) *op. cit.*, p324

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p324

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p324

3.2 Introduction to Migrant Portraits: A1 – A10

This section of the chapter will provide basic information on the interview participants who arrived between 1945 and 1959 (as shown in **Table 5**), and will then proceed to give a brief introduction of each person.

Table 5: Basic Information on the Interview Participants who arrived between 1945-1959

Migrants	Gender	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Arrival	Age Upon Arrival
A1	F	1929	Rizokarpaso	1949	20
A2	M	1930	Rizokarpaso	1949	19
A3	M	1932	Rizokarpaso	1951	19
A4	M	1930	Larnaca	1951	20
A5	M	1920	Larnaca	1951	31
A6	M	1934	Kiti	1952	18
A7	F	1944	Famagusta	1954	10
A8	F	1933	Eftakomi	1955	22
A9	M	1926	Aradipou	1956	30
A10	F	1940	Kiti	1958	18

3.2.1 Migrant Portrait: A1

A1 was born in 1929 in Rizokarpaso, where she attended primary school. Her sister's husband came to Adelaide, and years later he invited them both to come. So A1 decided to come and help look after the children. A1, her sister, and her sister's children left Cyprus in 1949, travelling with the ship *Cyrenia*, she experienced a rough journey to Melbourne where she disembarked. She found work easy; however she did not work for long, as she took on the responsibilities of the house. She married in 1951 and soon after she had two children. She had become a citizen around 1976, and since then she has visited Cyprus twice.

3.2.2 Migrant Portrait: A2

A2 was born in Rizokarpaso in 1930, where he went to school and completed up to fifth level. He worked in the fields and with the word getting around that there were plenty of jobs in Australia; he decided to migrate in 1949. He travelled on the *Napoli* ship to Australia, where he disembarked in Melbourne. He worked numerous jobs before embarking on an entrepreneurial endeavour. After being in Australia for nine

years, he married his wife and then had four children. Over the years, he had been an active member of the Cypriot Community.

3.2.3 Migrant Portrait: A3

A3 was born in 1932 in Rizokarpaso. He attended primary and high school up until the fourth level and soon after he wanted to come to Australia. His father was not happy A3 wanted to leave, but allowed him on the condition he would come and be with his nephew in Adelaide. His father borrowed £110 to send A3 to Australia, and upon A3's arrival, he obtained work immediately so he could send money back to his family to repay the debt. He travelled by ship via many destinations to where he disembarked in Melbourne. He got a job at Chrysler and then soon after that at Holden. He got married in 1956 with an Australian and they had four children. Also A3 has been involved with the Cypriot Community committee over the years.

3.2.4 Migrant Portrait: A4

A4 was born in 1930, in Larnaca. He was the eldest of six boys. At the age of 14, he went to work with his father, who was a butcher. He was 20 years old when he decided to come to Australia. This migrant found it a very emotional experience when he left Cyprus because he left on Christmas day in 1950. Upon arrival he could not settle because he found it a strange place. He met his wife in Adelaide, who was also of Greek-Cypriot background, and they had children of their own. He worked in various places, such as Holden, butchery, bakery, and bought his own fruit shops, which he had for 30 years. Although, this man was initially challenged by language (and eventually learnt English), his story is inspiration through his dedication giving back to the community with volunteer work in the local SA council, Good Neighbourhood Centre, and the Cypriot Brotherhood.

3.2.5 Migrant Portrait: A5

A5 was born in 1920 in Larnaca. He went to primary school, before leaving and attending to the fields as a farmer. He married his wife in 1940, and soon after they had some children. Around the age of 31, he decided to travel to Australia, specifically South Australia. Upon his arrival in 1951, with an invitation from his brother-in-law, he gained employment in melting steel (smelter) and in railways. This migrant made the difficult choice to come because he left behind his wife with six children. He worked non-stop to earn enough money to bring his family to South Australia in 1954, where they decided to settle permanently.

3.2.6 Migrant Portrait: A6

A6 was born in 1934 in Kiti, in the region of Larnaca. He attended school and progressed to the American Academy school, where he soon left and went to work. After several jobs, he decided to join his brother in Sydney in 1952. He lived in New South Wales for a while and then decided to go to Darwin for work. After a short period in Darwin, he decided he would travel to Adelaide before returning to Sydney to reunite with his brother. Once he reached Adelaide in 1954, he stayed. His brother and other siblings moved to Adelaide as well to be with him. They owned various shops in Adelaide and were strongly involved in the Greek and Cypriot communities.

3.2.7 Migrant Portrait: A7

A7 was born in 1944 in Famagusta. She was a young girl when she travelled with her mother and two siblings to meet their father, who came 1951 to Adelaide. They travelled with a British ship called the *Strathmore*, which took a month to reach Adelaide. She went to primary school and a few years of high school before finding a job at the Savings Bank of SA. She got married to a Greek in 1969 and had two children. She worked in various jobs throughout her career. She is also a committee member of the Cypriot Community Pensioners group.

3.2.8 Migrant Portrait: A8

A8 was born in Eftakomi in 1933. As a young girl, she would have to do all the house jobs prior to going to school every day. She attended school up until she was 11 years old and then withdrew from school to help out with the family's farming properties. Although, A8 had many friends and cousins who went to England and was invited to go to England, her mother did not allow it. Her mother preferred her to go to Australia, where her brother migrated years earlier. Even though she had been proposed for marriage in Cyprus, she was determined to leave. She travelled with the Italian ship *Castel Bianco* via several ports to Melbourne, where her brother came to pick her up. They came to Adelaide and she worked over the years in different jobs. She got married to a Cypriot and had five children.

3.2.9 Migrant Portrait: A9

A9 was born in Aradipou in 1926, and he left Cyprus at the age of 21 to study Engineering in England in 1947. He met his wife there and nine years later they decided to come to Australia in 1956. A9 was sponsored to come to South Australia by his two sisters, who migrated to Adelaide in the 1930s. Upon arrival they lived

with A9's sister before they bought their own house which was attached to a shop. He found work with General Motors Holden (GMH), where he worked for many years. Also, A9 had played a significant role in the representation of the Cypriot community, assisting the local Greek radio station, a pioneer of the Ridleyton Aged Care Facility, and a President of the Cypriot Community. In his younger years, he was in the British Air Force. A9 has also been awarded an Order of Australia.

3.2.10 Migrant Portrait: A10

A10 was born in 1940 in Kiti. She attended primary school and the American Academy School. Then she went with her parents to England for a couple of years. In 1958, her brothers, who were already in Adelaide, sponsored A10 and her parents to come to Australia. They travelled with the *SS Orion* and she disembarked the ship in Adelaide. She was 18 years old and she knew that they were coming to Australia to settle for good. In 1962 A10 and her family became Australian citizens. Then in 1963, her brother and her went to Cyprus for a holiday and remained there for a couple of years because she met her husband and they got married. In 1968, with a young baby, they decided to reunite with her family in Adelaide, so they packed all their belongings and took the ship *Patris* to Australia. Upon settling in Adelaide she worked for one of her brother's deli shops. She then had another child, and she worked casually from time to time. A10 was also involved with and held the position of president for many years for the Cypriot Community Women's Auxiliary group.

3.3 Reasons for Leaving Cyprus

The research conducted is not only focused on the reasons for the migrant's arrival in Australia, but also is directed towards their establishment and permanency of settlement. The reasons for migration can be narrowed down to essentially four aspects, which are 'social aspects' (i.e. family and friends), 'economic aspects' (i.e. financial and work opportunities), 'environmental' (i.e. climate and living conditions) and 'adventure' (i.e. the idea and determination to leave); as shown in **Figure 10**.

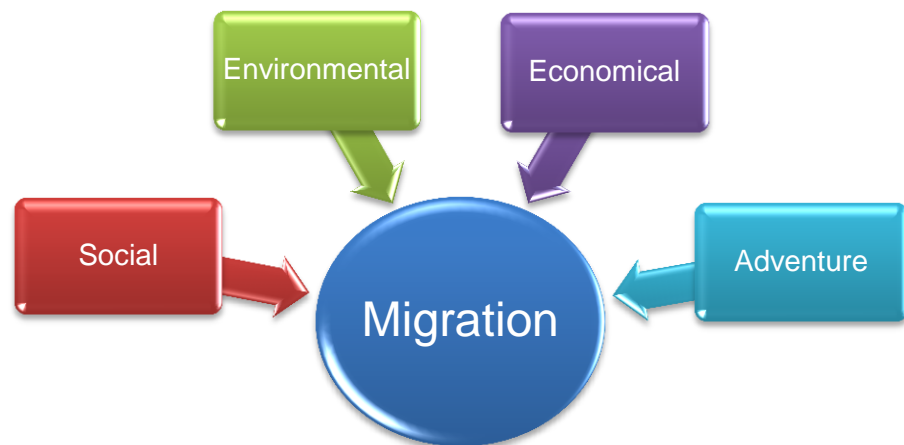


Figure 10: Four Contributing Factors for Migration

$$\text{Social} + \text{Environmental} + \text{Economical} + \text{Adventure} = \text{Migration}$$

All of the four factors contributed to the migration of the Greek-Cypriot interviewee participants, as shown below in **Table 6**. The migrants encompassed either one or more of these four aspects. Evaluating the table, it is clear that there were two dominating reasons, being social and economic reasons. The social aspects were because migrants usually came to be united with other family members who came years earlier to them. While economic aspects were because Australia had a huge demand for workers and the need to gain financial stability. It is evident that females mainly migrated for social reasons, whereas the men mainly migrated for economic. In addition to this, those who came in the earlier years came for economic reasons, in comparison to those who came in the later period, who came due to social aspects. Understandably, in consideration of these findings, although this is a small sample group, it gives an indication of the main influences for migration during this period of time.

Table 6: Reason for Migrating to Australia

Migrants (gender – year of arrival)	Social	Environmental	Economical	Adventure
A1 (F-'49)	✓			
A2 (M-'49)			✓	
A3 (M-'51)		✓	✓	✓
A4 (M-'51)	✓		✓	
A5 (M-'51)		✓	✓	
A6 (M-'52)	✓		✓	
A7 (F-'54)	✓			
A8 (F-'55)	✓			✓
A9 (M-'56)	✓		✓	
A10 (F-'58)	✓			

For example, migrant A3 came from a large family and affordability of daily life was difficult. A3 claims

The reason why I wanted to leave from there, the property that my parents owned wasn't big enough for the six of us to go around and there were no jobs around there to go and work to get any money. And I knew in here Australia there were plenty of jobs and that's why I decided to come here.

Then the adventure aspect for migrating abroad is a unique concept. Being determined to leave the usual place of residence for the reason of 'just because' or 'I want to', stems to one's own psychological perception of living and being. The novelty and determination of going abroad was strongly there for A8, who explained she knew she wanted to leave Cyprus. She had a couple of friends and two of her cousins (female) left and went to England. She also had a cousin (male) in England, who was a tailor, and he sent a letter to her proposing if she would like to come to England that he would sponsor her. Her mother did not like the idea of her going to England, and preferred her to Australia where her brother had settled years earlier. Ever since the idea was in her head to go to Australia, she could not give up on it,

no matter what people would tell her. She stated, “I even had proposals for marriage and so on....but ever since I had the idea to leave, I was going to leave, I’m leaving, I’m leaving, I’m leaving.” To her the proposed bridegrooms were not desirable – one ‘smelt’, the other ‘smelt’, so on and so on – and getting married was not enough of a reason to stay, so she wanted to leave. Although her father was more liberal with his thoughts and gave his blessings to her to leave, her mother did not want her to go because it would mean her other brother would be the only one left in Cyprus. Eventually, she came to Australia to stay with her brother, promising her mother she would return in five years. A8’s story is of particular interest, not just because of the psychological determination to leave Cyprus, but because during the 1950s the family structure was male dominated and quite rigid. It was uncommon for women to travel by themselves, and usually the father would not be accepting of an unmarried daughter to travel by herself.

Subsequently with further analysis, the research findings showed there was a shift in attitudes towards the reason for settlement. The four aspects of migration had diminished into two distinctive groups, social and economic, as shown in **Figure 11**. Furthermore, there was an emphasis on social rather than economic aspects, hence categorizing social as a major influence and economic as a minor influence for settlement.

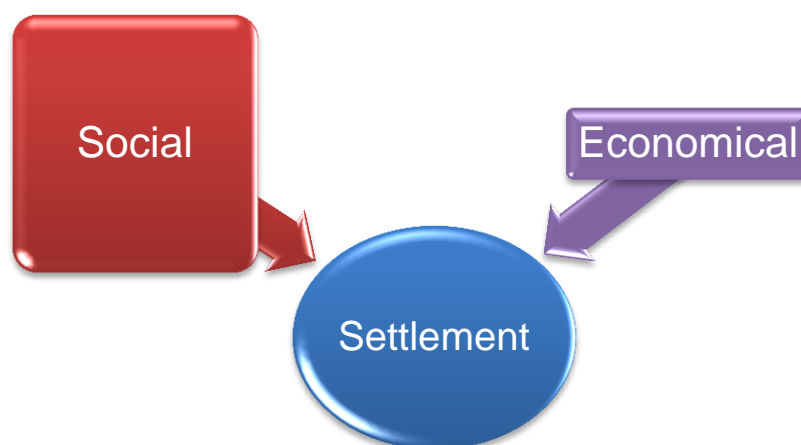


Figure 11: Two Contributing Factors for Settlement - Social (major) & Economical (minor) = Settlement

This was apparent from the interviews, when candidates were asked the reason for staying in Australia; they ranked family and friends (social) higher than economic aspects. The reasons for arrival and the reasons for settling show a transformation of attitudes, which makes an interesting disparity of situations. This is evident from the following patterns. For example, a migrant who arrived in 1950 stated,

I came because there was not much work opportunities for me in the village, so my relative in South Australia sponsored me to come and work ... I settled in South Australia because I met my wife, who is Australian, and we had four children. They grew up, and had children of their own.

He also affirmed that he returned to Cyprus numerous times for holidays years later, but there was not much to go back to because he now considered his family to be in Australia. Whilst, another migrant who arrived in 1959, stated “I came to South Australia because of the weather [the climate, which is similar to that of Cyprus] ... we settled here because it was an ideal place to raise our family and we made a lot of friends.” This may also be interpreted by a “push pull model, [where] less developed state economies push people out, [whilst] those with higher wages and standards of living pull them in.”²¹⁰ In relation to this, where Cyprus had limited job opportunities for Greek-Cypriots and Australia was demanding workers, one should not generalize social aspects as a common denominator for settlement. Reflecting back to interviewee’s experience, one may say that economic aspects are an underlying influence to social aspects. For example, if people migrated in search of a better life for family and friends, this was done with the opportunities and living standards that are in effect financial aspects. Ultimately, to some extent financial aspects are an underling influence to social aspects.

3.4 Experiences coming to Australia

Although, some may have travelled along the same route to Australia, there were different experiences along the way. During this period, the majority of migrants were young and single, similarly to other migrant groups at the time. The participants in this research were all single but two men, one of whom was married with six children (A5), the other (A9) was married, and both were 31 and 30 respectively upon arrival.

²¹⁰ Harzig, C., Hoerder, D., and Gabaccia, D.R., (2009) *What is Migration History?*, Cambridge: Polity, p62

Before embarking on their journey to Australia, Greek-Cypriot migrants had to ensure that they had their paperwork in order. An overall census has been that it was a fairly easy process to organise their migration to Australia, in particular because they were British subjects. Even though they were British subjects, the '£10' fare did not apply to them, which meant Cypriots had to pay full fares. Migrants, in particular those who came from villages, struggled with the expense involved in migrating during this first migration wave period. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are documents in the National Archives of Australia (NAA) detailing that there were concerns surrounding Cypriots arriving in Australia with very minimal funds. It was quite challenging for many to organise the money, and A3 was one of these individuals. A3's father borrowed the money for him to migrate, which meant he needed to send money back to Cyprus to repay the debt. A3 also mentioned that "We paid for the money to come here, £110 and I know, I told you, I didn't have any money to come to Australia. The only money my father gave me was 5 pound and of course I spent it on the ship, how, where, I don't remember."

While many migrants, including A3, claimed that because Cypriots were British subjects there were no issues for them to come to Australia, they still needed to have a significant amount of health examinations conducted prior to travelling in those days. A3 recalls "I've never had an injection put in my arm. When I went, I had to go to Famagusta, not in the village [Rizokarpaso], and the doctor came with the needle, and I turned around and said 'no' and he said 'well you're not going to Australia because you have to have an injection.' I did accept it. Even today I hate injections."

During the post-WWII period, there were times of great difficulty, and the most economic migration voyage that was usually undertaken was by ship. In rare cases, some travelled with an aeroplane, just like "a small party of European migrants who came to Australia [with] the Egyptian [airline] Mist [Air], arriv[ing] in Adelaide by air. They comprised mostly wives and children of Cypriot and Greek market gardeners and farm workers who [had] made homes in South Australia."²¹¹ The participants in this study all travelled by ship from Cyprus, except two individuals (A9 and A10), who travelled by ship from England. A9 and A10 were residing in England for several years before being reunited with their family in Adelaide. Some of the ships the Greek-Cypriots travelled on to Australia were the *Napoli*, *Castel Bianco*,

²¹¹ "S.A. Migrants Arrive by Air," (3 January 1948) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p4. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article43750964>, Date accessed: 13/01/2012

Strathmore, SS Orion and Cyrenia. It was common before embarking on these voyages that emotions ran high. For migrant A4, whose ship embarked on the voyage Christmas day in 1950, asserts “it was very emotional.” Then, although migrant A8 was excited to leave, her mother was not so enthusiastic. A8 stated that when the day came for her to leave Cyprus, her aunty fainted at the harbour, whilst her mother left because she could not watch her leave.

With the hype of traveling to Australia at its peak, these migrants endured a month long voyage on a ship. Migrant A1 had a journey she remembers quiet clearly,

On the 8th June, we got the boat at eight o'clock. Afterwards we went to Beirut, where it loaded up with wheat all day all-night, up until the afternoon of the following day. Afterwards we went to Port Said, where we got Cyrenia.

Our agent, he didn't tell us the boat we caught from Cyprus did not have any food or any rooms for the men, only one room for the women. He didn't tell us, at least we could have taken some food with us.

At Port Said she had boarded the ship *Cyrenia* to Australia. The ship *Cyrenia*, was a Greek liner that was almost 40 years old when it entered the emigrant trade in 1949, which was on its second voyage to Australia²¹² when migrant A1 travelled. She recalled that “When we went on *Cyrenia*, it was eight o'clock at night, but they had the food ready and we ate. We had a good time up until Aden [the Gulf of Aden], where it developed into high seas and we got dizzy, my sister and I. For 20 days we didn't eat or drink. We couldn't.”

The ship A5 travelled with was a military ship, and many people would stay in the one room. During his journey the ship encountered some rough seas and many passengers could not handle it. “The boat would go from side to side. Nearly everybody was sick on the ship. I was lucky....I did not get seasick. I remember on one occasion we went to the restaurant to eat, and there was only about three of us there. A lot of people couldn't handle it, they got seasick.”

Most of the migrants interviewed travelled by themselves, however they mainly met other Cypriots on the ship. Migrant A3 travelled by himself but recollects that there were others from the same village, estimating another 15 of them. Whilst migrant A6 claims that there were an estimated 850 Cypriots on his ship, and remembers

²¹² Plowman, P., (2006) *Australian Migrant Ships 1946-1977*, Dural, NSW: Rosenberg Publishing, p54; The Greek liner *Cyrenia* entered the emigrant trade in 1949 and could hold up to 840 passengers.

announcements being made for people to evenly distribute on the ship because they would gather on one side and there was a fear it would capsize. Then, according to A10, who boarded the ship from England, said that “there were no Cypriots on the ship and if there were any, there would have been very few, but mainly there were British on the ship.”

Travelling by ship became a tiresome journey. The conditions sometimes were not so great. When A3 was travelling and stopped at Darwin for 24 hours, he reminisced “I remember the land since I left Cyprus. I remember all I want is to be warm...because I didn’t like να τρώω spaghetti”, laughingly reminiscing about his experience. A3’s oral testimony was in English but he reverted back to Greek regarding the thing that affected him the most. A5 commented “Every day we ate spaghetti.....every day, every day. It was an Italian cuisine.” The question was raised whether the food was good on this ship, with a response “Yeah, it was nice.....yeah. It was okay,” with a negative tone in his voice. Also, A2 was served spaghetti aboard the ship when he travelled with the *Napoli*, which was used during WWII as a cargo and troopship before being damaged by the Germans in Crete.²¹³

Reflecting on these experiences, the curse of the spaghetti has stayed with some until today. A7’s father, who came out on the ship with A3, also did not like the pasta, and narrated that

“when my father was coming out on the boat, he came out with [A3]. My father was on the bottom bunk and [A3], who was a lot younger, I think he was nineteen at the time, was in the top bunk. Both of them hated the food on the Italian ship, and till this day my father will not eat pasta with sauce because the smell of it has stayed with him forever. And when they reached Colombo, my father bought a whole bunch of bananas, and they didn’t have much fruit on the ship, so he made a pig of himself, he had too many, and became sick from eating too many bananas.”

Food was a constant issue whilst travelling. However, A7 claims the food on the ship *Strathmore*, which she travelled on to Australia, was a lot nicer because they had fresh fruit and they even bought her a birthday cake for her 10th birthday, which she celebrated on the ship. Similarly, A10 enjoyed the food on the ship and had not heard anything negative about the food; however she embarked on the ship from England and the food would have been in accordance with the English cuisine.

²¹³ Plowman, P., (2006) *Australian Migrant Ships 1946-1977*, op. cit., p33

3.5 Settling into a New Home

3.5.1 Impressions of Australia upon Arrival

Upon arrival in Australia, there were mixed feelings amongst the interviewed migrants. A2 liked Australia claiming that “If I didn’t like it, I would have gone back.” A10 stated that “I liked it more than England. The first impressions were good. Naturally, because we were with the family, it was better.”

Likewise to A10, migrant A1 viewed Australia as a nice place, however, they did not feel Australians wanted them because they would be called ‘dago’. Similarly, A5 commented that “At the time I came there were many races. The Australians did not want us the foreigners. When we first came they didn’t even want us. They would verbally abuse us.” Furthermore, when A8 first got off the ship, to her, Australia felt like a black/dark place, because she was upset leaving the family in Cyprus. Only afterwards she felt things got better, even though it was difficult in the first couple of years as she could not find work. However, the people in Australia left an impression on A8, reflecting that “The behaviour/attitude [συμπεριφορά] of the people here...It was not like how we are...so hospitable, so welcoming. It was cold, cold people.” She further added that there would have been 1 Greek for every 5 Australians.

Whilst A4 struggled when he arrived, expressing “...It was something strange here. I couldn't settle down.” The disconnection from Cyprus made an impact on this migrant, to the point he wanted to return soon after. Similarly, A5 also struggled with Australia, expressing “In the beginning I did not like Australia. In the beginning, I wanted to take my tickets and to go back home. Slowly slowly I thought about it and I decided to stay, to bring my family and to build a career here, before I was to go back to Cyprus.” Whilst another migrant, A9, felt that Australia was different from the other places he had been, expressing “... Australia seemed to be 20 years behind Europe in many respects. The area, the mode of dressing and their attitudes. ...and is still behind. But it was different. ... [Although] It was a bit of fresh air to come here from England.” Not only because of the cold climate, but also, in the nine years he lived in England he felt that he was not able to connect with people there. He was only able to make several close friends over the years he lived there. He had also encountered racism in England and to a certain degree in Australia as well, despite the fact that social and political structures, in the latter, promoted anti-racist behaviour.

The atmosphere and surroundings of SA also left impressions on the migrants. A5

expressed “When I came, whenever you were down Hindley Street there was hardly any cars or people. There was really no body. You would see a car every 5 or 10 minutes. Even here there was poverty. We thought that it wasn’t but unfortunately it was. There was a lot of poverty. We struggled through poverty, a lot of poverty. We struggled a lot; we did, for us who came first.” Also, A1 expressed “We didn’t expect that Adelaide would grow so much. It grew.” A1’s husband, who is also a Greek-Cypriot that arrived in the late 1940s, said “We didn’t know much. Whatever we had learnt about Australia at school in Cyprus, was very little. We learnt...I’ll make you laugh now...that there were lots of flies. [laughingly]...big mosquitos, big mosquitos...eee, lots of sheep, hot air, hot air,...you understand, once we arrived we found these things.”

3.5.2 Housing upon Arrival

Greek-Cypriots are hospitable and social, and it is in their nature to offer accommodation to someone in need. Overall, all the migrant interviewees had stayed with someone they knew in Adelaide, whilst they set themselves up. In rare cases, when a migrant did not have somewhere to stay, the Cyprus Community of SA (CCSA), which was established in 1948, assisted in one way or another in accommodation for new migrants, which will be further elaborated on in **Chapter 7**.

Upon arrival in Australia, migrants were greeted by their family member, relative or acquaintance, who was mainly their sponsor. They would then be taken to their house, which was occasionally temporary depending on the situation. The power of social capital proved to be beneficial in finding somewhere to stay. For example, when A1 and her sister came here she stayed with her auntie. A1 would sleep on a mattress in a small room where they would eat. When they would cook and eat, they would sit on the mattress because there was no room for chairs because they had the mattress there for her. Her sister stayed in the shed and she would put the children in the middle with a quilt over them so they would not to get wet because it was winter and there were holes in the roof. For five weeks they could not find a house or a room to stay. Her uncle went to the cafeneio upset and an acquaintance asked him what was wrong. He told him that his nieces had come from Cyprus and that they were not able to find accommodation for five weeks. The acquaintance told him that his house in Norwood would be vacant in two weeks’ time and that they could have the key to the place. He was true to his word and he gave the key to them. A1 then resided with her sister and her family up until she got married.

Likewise, A8 stayed with her brother and it was the first time that she met her sister-in-law, who was a Karpasitisa [a person originating from the Karpasi peninsula in Cyprus]. Then once A8 got married, she moved out. Furthermore, A10 had travelled to Australia with her parents, and was invited by her brothers in SA. Upon arrival, they all stayed together, in a house at Black Forest. She only stayed there a little while before they bought a house at Campbelltown. Her parents and she moved there whilst the siblings still stayed at Black Forest. Then, soon after they had bought the house, her siblings bought a house at Campbelltown as well, so they could stay close by. Overall, she regarded housing in Australia to be good, better than Cyprus's and England's. She elaborated that "everything was bigger, like the rooms and the yards."

However, for some living conditions were not always glamorous, and migrants had to make do with what they had. A3 reminisced on his housing situation, stating

I used to pay £1 to rent but where I used to live, there was no bathroom, if you wanted to wash your face you had to go outside and use the tap, and the toilet outside. If you wanted to have a shower after that, I used to get my clothes and go down to the city showers, where the festival theatre is now, that's where the showers used to be. I put my clothes in my arm, go down there, have a shower, get my dirty clothes, come back and get my clothes washed.

Also, when A5 arrived in Adelaide, he stayed with his sponsor, commenting "Yeah I stayed with my brother-in-law's brother [σύγγαμπος] but I still had to pay. I would work and still pay rent for a room that I shared with four other people. Yeah...There were four people sleeping in that one room." It was common for new migrants to be residing with others in a house.

3.5.3 Employment

In the post-WW2 period, employment was a key element in boosting the prosperity of countries, in particular for Australia. During this period, SA was still young and prospering just like the other states. Not only did employment play a significant role in a migrant's capital but also their settlement experience.

According to 1954 census, it was calculated that the majority of Greek migrants in SA were "employed in unskilled, semi-skilled and low paid work, the more

enterprising saving money to buy their own business; mostly cafes, fruit shops, fish shops, delis and restaurants.”²¹⁴ Similarly, many Greek-Cypriot migrants were able to find work in labouring, factories, shops and/or in the Port Pirie BHP smelters. Work was readily available, especially in automotive production lines; hence many Greek-Cypriot men found worked at Holden or Chrysler. Many of them found work through a ‘friend of a friend’ or a ‘friend’s cousin’s relative’s friend’. People became walking directories. A2’s friend, also a Greek-Cypriot male migrant who arrived in 1948, stated,

I got a job at Holden when I first came...it paid well. We were very hard working. Then I had a few friends and acquaintances, some of whom I may have met once or twice. They were interested in working for Holden. They didn't know any English, so I went and spoke to the boss with a friend, and he got the job. It was really nice...we socialised with our compatriots and we helped one another.

This form of networking was not only a common way for migrants to find assistance in any matter they needed, but it also emerged into the formation of social groups.

Employment was usually sought the next day after arrival in Australia. For example, after a month’s long journey across half the world, A3 arrived in Adelaide and

then the next day, the cousin said I'll go take you to have a look for a job, alright, and he pulled me into the car. We went down to Chrysler, which the main office was in the Le Cornu's now, the main office for Chrysler. But they didn't have a job there, they had a job in Mile End, where there used to be spray painting cars, painting cars. They said 'would you like the job' and I said 'yeah I take job'. Its £4 ½ a week, in wages. I was like 'oow wow', that was a lot of money for me. I was 19. Of course I lied about my age because you had to be 21 to get that pay.

Nodding his head, he continued his story.

And then I left from there and I went to Holden and I also lied there again that I was 21. The money was there. It was about £4 and 50 shillings. But if you were to work on a Saturday or a Sunday, you were getting a little bit more money, and there was a lot of overtime at Holden. I used to work there on a Saturday or a Sunday. Sometimes if you were working afternoon shift,

²¹⁴ Anagnostou, P., (2001) “Greeks in South Australia,” In J. Jupp (ed.) *Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Oakley, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, p402

you would go there on a Sunday, if it was a day shift you would go on the Saturday. Sunday was double pay, as you would know; I don't know what it is now these days. You work on Sunday, you get 16hours, you get 16hours more, and it's another £2½ more in your pocket. It's a lot of money.

Overall, the automotive industry posed great stability and security for migrants. There was plenty of work and the opportunity to earn significant amounts of money by working overtime. In addition, in those days, Holden on Port Road would give £1 - £2 incentive to people who referred an employee to them, because they were in need of workers. So not only did the potential employee benefit but also the referrer.

In those days, there were many factories in Adelaide, which production was in demand, and usually, unskilled individuals would seek employment in a factory as jobs were plentiful. As A6 describes “thousands of people worked in factories. At Holden, there were three shifts and when the shift would finish, the streets would be filled with people.” Out of those interviewed for this research the five out of the six male migrants worked at some stage in the careers in the automotive industry, as show below in **Table 7**. Further to this, many who worked in the automotive industry, and did so for many years, to the point where they retired from there. Whilst others found it was not for them and progressed onto other ventures.

Table 7: Wave A – Interviewees Participation in the Australian Workforce

Migrant	Company	Duration of Service	Reason for Leaving
A1	Sewing shop	2 weeks	Too far away, sister convinced
	Factory (covering shoe boxes)	1 year & 1 month	Got married
	Housewife and mother – looked after the children & family affairs		
A2	Chrysler	2 years	Misunderstanding due to language barrier.
	Fruit picking	2 months	Seasonal work (in Mildura)
	Fruit shop	30+ years	Retired
A3	Chrysler	Several months	Found work at Holden
	Holden	35+ years	Retired
A4	Holden	1 week	Did not like the job because he had to use acid.

	Perry Engineering	4 years	Went to work for his wife's father
	Inglis (Butchery)	5-6 years	Bought the fruit shop
	Fruit shop	1 ½ years	Sold the shop and travelled
	Plati (Continental Bakery)	3 years	Change of ownership of the bakery and he bought another fruit shop
	Fruit shop	30 years	Retired
A5	Smelter	Not long	Every shift he would come out black
	Collecting peas	2 months	Seasonal work (in Port Pirie)
	Water Supplies	3 years	More money at Holden
	Holden	25 years	Retired
A6	Worked in Sydney	1 ½ years	Got a big contract in Darwin painting Government houses
	Painting houses	2 weeks	He could not settle in there – could not sleep because of the mosquitos. So came to Adelaide
	Painting houses & shops	6 months	Bought his first shop
	Fish'n'chips	30+ years	Retired
A7	High School	3 years	Found work at the Savings Bank of SA
	Savings Bank of SA	6 years	Got married and had children
	Housewife and mother – looked after them till they got a bit older		
	Secretary	Several years	Found work in retail
	Retail	2 years	Retired
A8	Grape picking	2 years	Seasonal work (in Reynella)
	She tried to find work but was unemployed for 2 years		
	Babysitting & house cleaning/care	2 years	Found other work
	Tsouvelatiko	2 ½ years	Had children
	Housewife and mother – looked after them till they got a bit older		
	Nursery	3 years	Found work at the Residential Aged Care
	Residential Aged Care	Several years	Retired
A9	Holden	26 years	Retired
A10	Deli	5 years	Returned to Cyprus for a holiday
	She was away for 4 years before returning to Australia		

	Housewife and mother – looked after them till they got a bit older		
	Thebarton Council	2 years	She encountered health issues
	Guide Dogs for the Blind	On & off	Went to work for her son in the factory
	Factory (making Cheesecakes)	Several years	Retired

There many other industries which Cypriots explored. Migrant A4 worked for Perry Engineering, Inglis (butchery) and Plati (continental bakery). A5's first job in Australia was working in a smelter, melting steel and constructing parts, such as taps. Then afterwards he worked in the Water Supplies for about two-three years at Jamestown and Yacka, located in rural SA. Whilst, A8 worked several jobs in her lifetime, such as babysitting and house duties, and a kitchen hand in a residential aged care establishment. It must be acknowledged that the females also took on the responsibility of the household.

In addition, Greek-Cypriots were also business minded, striking their luck in fruit shops, delis and Fish'n'Chip shops. It was not always easy, however they tried their best. Some of the participants in this study had their own store, for example, A2 had a fruit shop, A4 had a fruit shop, A6 had several Fish'n'Chip shops, and A10 worked in the family's deli and her brothers store when required. Interestingly, these were all men, besides A10, who was female. She worked in her brothers business, even though she did not want to because she wanted to continue working as a secretary in Adelaide, which they refused. They provided her with an ultimatum, citing that A10 "either to g work for them or to stay at home with the ladies." So she worked in the deli because she did not like the Fish'n'Chip shop.

Seasonal fruit picking was also a venture some Greek-Cypriots undertook during this period of time. It is widely acknowledged that migrants worked in rural areas of SA in the fruit trade. However, those interviewed seemed to not have stayed there for long. These were A2, A5 and A8. A2 went to Mildura to pick grapes for six weeks before leaving and going to Melbourne for five years, where he met his wife. He freely expressed that "I was single...it didn't bother me, neither to go nor to leave." Whilst A8 also went to pick grapes at Reynella, she asserted "Here to find a job, you needed to know sewing, English, well educated....they wanted educated people, but we didn't know, so for two years I didn't work. I went to pick grapes." She picked grapes but no other fruits nor cherries, because her brother did not want her to.

Ultimately, socio-cultural dynamics and family responsibilities come into play and potentially are the reasons for not persisting longer in this industry.

Fruit picking was also potentially a stepping stone for migrants in their endeavours to acquiring more secure stable employment and their settlement. A5 was one of very few who struggled to obtain work upon arrival in Adelaide, narrating

At the beginning, we struggled. There weren't any jobs. [I had], somewhat, two-three months without work, so I went to work collecting peas at Port Pirie. We used to sleep on the crates. Yeah, yeah. And afterwards, there weren't any peas, and we weren't collecting anything. We would earn £10 a day. It was pounds in those days. It was £10 a day. Afterwards we left Port Pirie and we came back to Adelaide. Afterwards I got a job at Holden and I worked there for 25 years.

He laughed and smiled as he reminisced about sleeping on crates. As A5 progressed with his oral testimony, he explained that he brought out his wife and six children after four years of being in Australia. They struggled, describing “My wife would go and collect onions and potatoes from farms to get a little bit more [money]. It was about £3 a week, for us to live. We were very poor. We struggled with poverty, us, the old ones who were here.” Understandably, there is a limitation to knowing how many and how long Greek-Cypriots were on average in this industry because of two aspects. Firstly, this study’s participants are from central Adelaide, therefore it acknowledges that there are others who may have been excluded. Although, generally speaking, there are very few Cypriots still living in rural areas. Secondly, the industry tended to be seasonal work and was not regulated. Many migrants were coming and going. Further to this, Greek-Cypriots were free migrants and were unrestricted in their settlement and employment status, in comparison to other migrant groups.

3.5.3.1 Challenges

Each migrant faced their own challenges whilst working, with some effects having a higher impact than others. Some of these effects, which are further elaborated below, were social networks, family responsibility, language skills, discrimination and the price of produce.

Social networking can potentially be beneficial to obtaining employment, in particular during the 1950s when social networking was valuable for individuals. It was also, however, not favourable, putting some individuals in awkward positions, potentially

putting politics within the local community. For example, A3 worked hard and was promoted to foreman and general foreman. He found that

Of course, when working at Holden, there were a lot of different people working there; I mean different nationalities, that's right. And even Greek people and sometimes Greek people would come and say I'm Cypriot so I would give them a better job, but that was not on. To me, everyone was the same. And a lot of people that we used to meet in clubs or in weddings, would say 'you're a different man now your here.' 'What do you mean I'm a different man? I'm not different, I work at Holden. Holden is my work, it is not my entertainment. My entertainment is here. There is work.' I mean, if I see you better, and you go up further and say I'm giving this bloke better or giving better than me, and then what am I going to do.

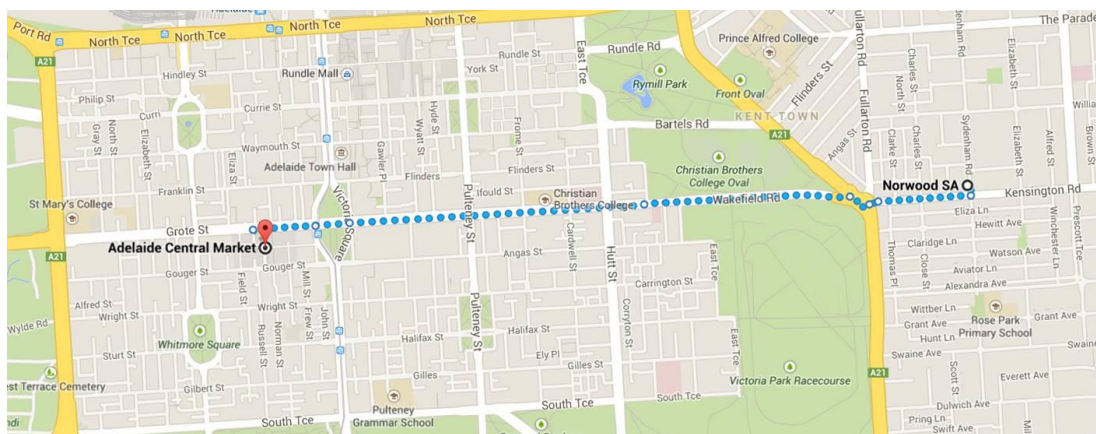
This migrant felt it was not fair the favour one nationality above another, consequently generating awkwardness for him.

Although people were able to obtain work straight away because there were was plenty of jobs in SA, there were challenges, pressures and restrictions from the family unit, in particular for women. A1 was able to obtain work upon arrival, even with minimal language skills, stating,

My aunty took me to a sewing shop, my uncle's wife, and once I went there they took me in. It was there are close to the markets, there are in the city. They would give me £2 ½. And they told me in two to three weeks when you will get settled in, they would give £5 because I would be on the machines. But my sister didn't want me to.

A1's sister did not want her to work there at the shop because she believed the shop was too far away. The shop was located near the markets in the city and they were residing in Norwood, which is estimated three kilometres away, as shown below in the **Map 3**.²¹⁵ So A1's sister convinced her to resign after two weeks of work. Then after some time A1 found work at a factory in Norwood covering shoe boxes with a covering film but only would get paid £1. She worked there just over one year, claiming "It was an easy job. Afterwards, I got married and [my husband] told me not to work. So I stopped working." This would have been common female experience as a key traditional role in the family unit to be raising and taking care of the family.

²¹⁵ "Norwood to Adelaide Central Market," Google Maps, www.google.com.au/maps, Date accessed: 2/07/2014



Map 3: Location of Norwood to Adelaide Central Markets in the Adelaide CBD

Additionally, English language skills were a challenge in the work place. A2, was one of many who faced this challenge, narrating

The worst was...there were three of us working in a factory for the car Chrysler, we were working night shift up until one o'clock...this is a nice bit...the boss came to tell us not to go change our clothes so quickly because we were going early. We didn't understand and we thought he told us that he was going to change our job. Then the next night, we went there again and the boss came and told us to go and see him the next day, for him to pay them and to leave. 'Why?' we asked him...so afterwards they brought us an interpreter. They explained to us this and that is happening, and we hadn't listened and that's why we were made to leave. ...All three of us.

It was a misunderstanding, and it is widely known that this was common issue amongst migrant groups. He highlighted that “these are the stories of life. The language was always a constant burden.” Moreover, language skills posed importance and it will also be touched on further down in this chapter, under the heading **Language**.

A6 faced challenges with work, not only did he face discrimination but also he faced the impact from the price of produce. They purchased their first store on Marion Road, Plympton in 1954. When they first purchased the store it was a grocery, and they transformed it into a Fish'n'Chip store, which it is still today. The grocery store in those days was a suburban store and would deliver the groceries. He narrated,

They would give you a list and then you had to go delivery it to their house. In the meantime, once they saw we were 'New Australians' in those days...because they would leave the list in their letterbox and we would go in the car to go pick it up and then go back to organise it...so we would go to one letterbox and there was no orders, then to the next...no orders. And that is what made us change it and make it a Fish'n'Chip shop.

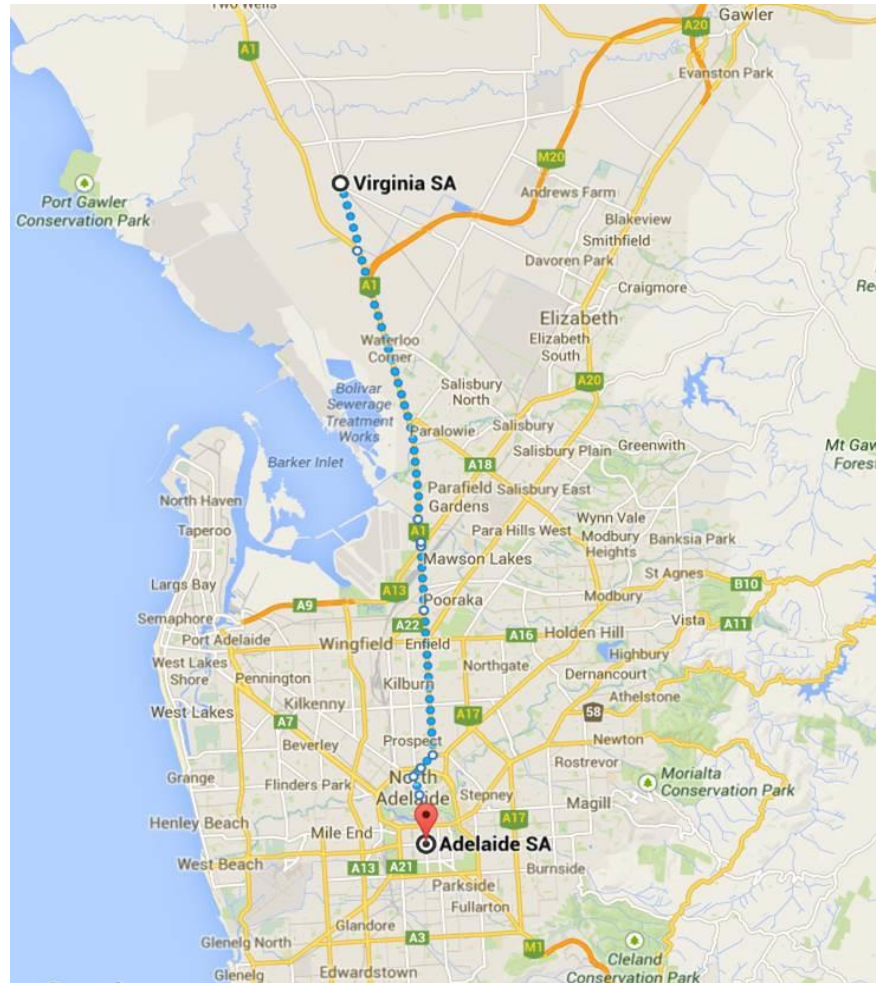
He claims, in those days, if a person was to own their own business, it was highly popular to have a fish shop.

Although, he and many other fish shops in SA found it awfully difficult to operate due to the price of potatoes. In 1956, the potatoes in Adelaide went up to £280 for the ton. This was highly expensive because there were no potatoes, even at the market Australians would buy half a potato. Potatoes were so expensive that it was difficult times for fish shops, to the point they started not to stock chips. A6 claimed "there were no chips, only potato fritters. If you wanted, it was fish and potato fritters. There were no chips." This migrant was one of a very few in Adelaide that stocked chips because the supplier had sympathised him. He states

We told him [the supplier] that we are ready to stop because we don't have any money, because at that time we didn't have any money, since we had the shop and we were in debt, we were ready to close up shop. He told us 'go ahead and I'm behind you.' Eee...so I ask 'when will you get paid?' and he said 'whenever you get money, you can pay me.' And that is how it happened, and if I remember correctly it was October up until the first week in December.

Apparently, Virginia, which is located 31 kilometres away from central Adelaide in rural SA (as shown below in **Map 4**²¹⁶), started to produce potatoes and the price started to decrease, and they were able to pay off their debt to their supplier, and they were even able to buy their first home with the money they had made. Over time the price of potatoes had dropped to about £4 – 5 – 6 pounds. They always had a queue outside their shop and they would work up until midnight. The shop was worked by A6, his brother and the youngest brother, who came a few years later after A6.

²¹⁶ "Virginia to Adelaide CBD," Google Maps, www.google.com.au/maps, Date accessed: 2/07/2014



Map 4: Location of Virginia from central Adelaide, SA

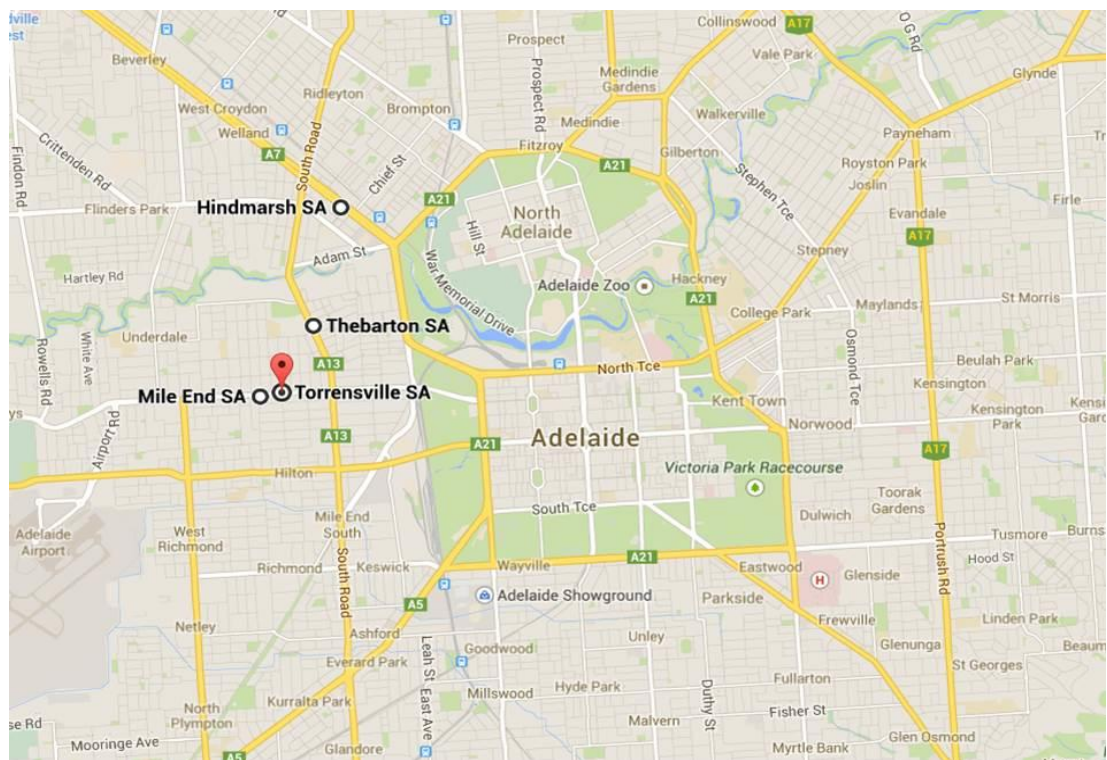
3.5.4 Living Standards

Through the period of 1945-1959, the living conditions were simple. Some of the conditions, such as housing, transport and shops were discussed amongst the interviewees.

It is known that Greek-Cypriots settled in more concentrated Greek populated areas in Adelaide, of surrounding city suburbs such as like Mile End, Torrensville, Thebarton, and Hindmarsh, as shown below in **Map 5**.²¹⁷ It is widely known that housing in SA was relatively cheap during 1945-1959. All participants in this migration wave had purchased their own home, at some stage through their settlement. Renting was perceived as temporary, so once migrants were able to

²¹⁷ "Torrensville," Google Maps, www.google.com.au/maps, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

support one-self and started to establish a family, they would go ahead and purchase their house. Just like A5, who had lived with four other people in one room, and once he saved enough money, he brought out the rest of his family. He noted “Then afterwards when I brought my family, slowly slowly I started to rent a house. So we stayed in a house. And then afterwards we bought a house.” Through his experience, he found it more challenging because he had to support his wife and six children. Whereas A2 commented “You would get £5 wage a week, you would pay £1 rent a week, and you could buy a house for £3,000.” So years after arriving, in 1954 he bought his shop at Prospect for £750. It was a shop and it also had rooms. This is where they stayed and he would pay £4.5 rent per month.



Map 5: Adelaide Surrounding Suburbs

Some migrants had purchased several houses in their lifetime, depending on individual circumstances. For example, A1 initially lived in Norwood, as shown below in **Map 6**²¹⁸ of the places A1 resided. She told of when she and her husband first got married they rented a room of a house for 30 schillings a week. There were three families staying in the one house, themselves, her brother, and his sister-in-law. She explained that, even though they resided in the one room, it was quite large and

²¹⁸ “West Beach,” Google Maps, www.google.com.au/maps, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

slightly narrow and they could fit their furniture in it. Just like A10's previous comment regarding housing upon arrival, A1 reiterated that in those days the houses had big rooms. Then, in May 1952 A1 and her husband bought their first home on Chapel Street, in Thebarton. They stayed there for four-five years before buying the new house at Torrensville. Afterwards, they bought the fish shop at Findon on Grange Road, and they bought a house opposite they shop. They lived there three years. Then from there, they bought their fourth home at West Beach, which they currently reside in. Overall, whilst some migrants were able to purchase several properties, they all mostly purchased their first property when they would get married.



Map 6: A1's Places of Residence

As Adelaide was still in the progress of booming, and public transport was usually available, except on a Sunday in the earlier years. Even though SA had a booming car industry, A1's husband claimed that to get a new car from the dealer you had to wait one year. They bought their car in 1960 and had it for 18 years. Otherwise they would get around by bus and he would get around with a bicycle. He mainly did this was for 12 years. He would go from Norwood to Thebarton. He was not the only one; many other Greek-Cypriots would get around with a bike. Usually, migrants waited several years before purchasing a car.

Naturally, all men learnt or knew how to drive, whereas two of the four female migrants learnt, being A7 and A10. This is because they both mainly grew up in an Anglo environment. A10 explained how she got her driver's licence at the age of 18, "To get a permit in those days all you had to do was go to the police station and they would give you a form to fill in and then he would get your permit. It was very easy. ...But then you had to learn afterwards." Laughingly she reminisced about her experience. However, for A1 and A8 they utilised public transport, and once their

husbands purchased a car they would get around with this mode.

A transport restricted on a Sunday, in the earlier period of time, people had to usually be prepared for this. A3 reflected on the Adelaide lifestyle,

Of course in those days, on Sundays if you didn't work, there was absolutely nothing on Sundays, Adelaide was dead. No theatres, no coffee clubs, no restaurants, no nothing.....it was dead. Until one long afternoon, the buses started running, but not many of them, if you wanted to go somewhere. And because I didn't have any place to cook, a lot of the times, I went to bed hungry. It's not because I didn't have money, I couldn't go anywhere to buy anything some days. You know. A lot of the time I used to think, '[A3] you should go buy some biscuits of a loaf of bread or something to keep under your bed or something.' You know. I did that a lot of times, some biscuits or bread or something that I used to like, either fruit or whatever, and keep it home to eat it there.

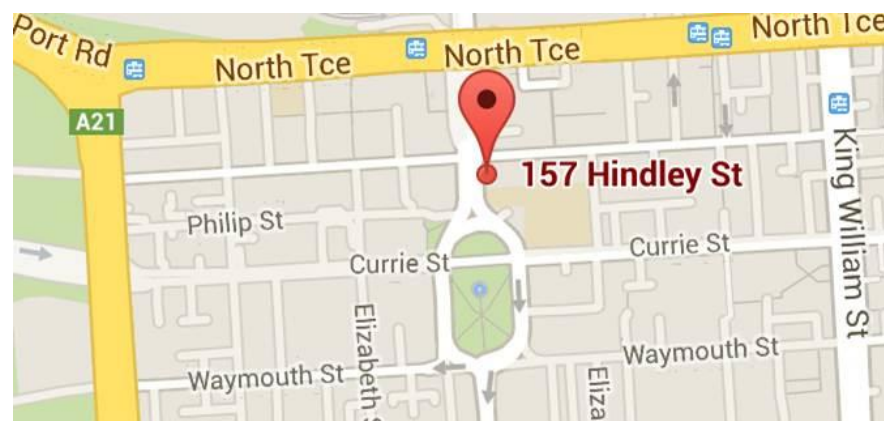
There were no supermarkets in the day, mainly delis and small stores. During this period, many would go to the markets, small stores or Star Grocery. A1 explained where they would go to do their weekly shopping, clarifying "There was a Star Grocery there on Hindley Street, a Greek had it called Cratsis. We didn't go there often. An uncle had a shop on Franklin Street and we would go shop from there... [we would buy] the things he had and other [goods] from the shops like the butchery, yeah." To further elaborate on this, A1's husband would go once a week to the shop riding his bike. Ten schillings would get him meat, fruit and vegetables at the market and he would have change left over. Also 1 penny got them bread and 2 ½ pennies got a quarter lamb.

There were a few places people would go shopping, and one of these was Star Grocery, which was located on the corner of Hindley Street and Morphett Street, in the Adelaide CBD, as shown below in **Map 7**²¹⁹ and **Picture 10**.²²⁰ Star Grocery was the most popular amongst the migrant population, as A6 commented that "on a Saturday there was a queue outside the shop." Many did their weekly shopping there and in particular on the Saturday because they were working during the week. At the time, it was one of a very few stores in Adelaide to stock European products, specifically Greek. This is because the shop was purchased in February 1947 by

²¹⁹ "157 Hindley Street, Adelaide CBD," Google Maps, www.google.com.au/maps, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

²²⁰ "Star Grocery, Hindley Street," *State Library of South Australia*, B12468, Photograph taken 31 December 1952, Date accessed: 9/07/2014

Stavros Cratsis, who was Greek (from Castellorizo). According to the 1947 Police Gazette, in the same year, his house got broken into and his wife's handbag was stolen. They offered a reward upon its return. Then the following year, unfortunately, Mr Cratsis passed away on the 31st March 1948 according to *The Advertiser*. Cratsis was well known in the Greek and Greek-Cypriot community. "In addition the building has long been associated with the Hellas Club, the Greek men's club, probably since its acquisition by the Cratsis family."²²¹ The grocery store continued to operate and was very well known. Upon interviews with Greek-Cypriots and when asked of their everyday life, they all mentioned Star Grocery.



Map 7: Location of Star Grocery on the Corner of Hindley Street & Morphett Street



Picture 10: Star Grocery in 1952

²²¹ "Star Grocery," *Adelaide City Heritage Website*, National Trust of South Australia, <http://www.adelaideheritage.net.au/all-site-profiles/star-grocery/>, Date accessed: 14/07/2014

Furthermore, food was a constant reminder they were now in Australia. For example, one of the hardest things A1 experienced, besides the language, was the food. According to her, in Australia there was plenty of food, meats, etc., but not the Cypriot or European foods, emphasising “foods you couldn’t find were, legumes, beans, lentils, sesame seeds, ...and my mother in Cyprus would send sesame seeds so we could do our Easter baking.” The traditional foods were missed by many as it connected them to the place of origins. Whilst all adapted their cooking styles along the years to be multicultural, they all still love to cook and eat the traditional Cypriot cuisine. Furthermore, in order to eat like they did in Cyprus, all interviewees had and still do today have their own vegetable patch, where they grow their own produce such as cucumbers, tomatoes, taro [κολοκάσι] and much more. The connection of food and belong is significant and is further elaborated on in **Chapter 6**.

3.5.5 Marriage/Family Life & Traditions/Customs

During this migration wave, marriage and family life was predominantly kept traditional. Interviewees were all in their 20s when they got married and did so on about an average of six and a half years after arrival in Australia (besides the two who were already married prior to arrival). It must be noted, there were individuals such as A1 who got married two years after arrival, whereas there were others who married many years later, like A2. It depended on individual circumstances.

In most cases, Greek-Cypriots married other Greek-Cypriots, however very few married outside the Cypriot or Greek community. Cypriots, just like the Greeks “do not lightly marry outside the Greek community.”²²² Migrant A3 was one of these exceptions. When he saw a young Australian girl across the room, he fell in love with her and they married in 1956, reminiscing,

I said ‘that’s a nice girl’ and I liked the girl. And I used to go dancing and she was there with her mother. I asked her to dance with me and from there on we got friendly. We used to go dancing a lot. But we found our problems after. Like I said, Greeks, Cypriots should not marry Australians. That was a crime. A big crime. And especially if other people say ‘oh, you should write to your family and tell them the person your marrying is a Turk.’ “Turk”, I’m not

²²² Price, C., (1975) “Introduction,” In C. Price (ed.) *Greeks in Australia*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, p13

marrying a “Turk”. That was a big crime. Yeah, I can understand that, but now I can’t understand if that was my son, I would have been upset too. But in those days love δεν είχεν μάτια.

They found it difficult at times. The integration and socialising of Greeks/Cypriots and Australians did not work in the day, as per A3’s wife found that “You’d invite them all over to the house and one lot would sit in one corner and the other lot would sit in the other corner. They would all talk, and have their own thing. So it really didn’t work. So we mainly went the Cypriot way.” The segregation of the groups was difficult for them and others who had interracial marriages. It must not be forgotten that multiculturalism was still in the early years and only in the later years, social acceptance and integration was evident.

All interviewees had children; some were born in Cyprus whereas others were born in Australia. In Cyprus, traditionally, a family comprised of many children, between four, six or even eight children the most. And this can be further reflected upon by all the interviewees because they all had a handful of siblings each. Interestingly, though, this was not the case for all the Greek-Cypriots who migrated and had children in Australia. From the interviewees, it was calculated that there was an average of three children, based upon six individuals having two children, two having four children, one having five and the other six children.

The children were then raised with the Cypriot customs and traditions, and they all knew about Cyprus. Additionally, all the participants’ children knew how to speak Greek well/very well, with some going to Greek school at some point or another. As A10 mentioned the traditions and customs were passed on, and “the children [also] went to Greek school after hours at Paradise Primary School, which was created for primary level. They then went to Adelaide High School and did it as a subject for their SACE certificate.” However, A7 conveyed that it was challenging to raise the children with the Greek culture. She expressed “I found it was difficult to teach the children the Greek culture, the customs, Greek religion because they were aware of different things while they were at school. And so, we were living in two cultures and the children were rebelling quite a lot.” Correspondingly, as previously mentioned, A3 was in a mixed marriage and he explained that the “four children went to Greek school but never completed. However, they all know the customs, how to Greek dance, the anthems and would attend Church.” Therefore, even though, it was challenging to raise the children in an Anglo society, they did their best to do so.

3.5.6 Language

Consequently, with the mass migration wave after WWII, there were many non-English speaking individuals who struggled to settle in Australia due to the language. Migrants generally managed in one way or another, whether relying on their family, friends, acquaintances or children. The government recognised that something needed to be done to combat the language barrier. One of the initiatives put into action was the South Australia Good Neighbour Council, which was a volunteer organisation, formally launched by the Federal Government in January 1950. Its aim was to help immigrants to assimilate into society by adopting Australian traits. One of their programs, in 1958 was that “new migrants” would have the opportunity to learn English through an initiative from the Good Neighbour Council. The program according to *The Advertiser* was intended “to give simple training in technical phrases used in workshops and trades with minimum of basic grammar taught with a ‘sugar coating’.”²²³ Even though, the migrants who arrived prior to 1958 did not benefit from this initiative, the migrants who arrived after 1958 may have. As one migrant mentioned,

I eventually learnt a bit of English at work because we were all mixed there. Otherwise I don't think I would have learnt. I didn't know English when I came to Australia, but slowly slowly I picked up words ... Thinking about it, we didn't consider going to English classes either, at that time.

Likewise, the magnitude of this initiative was not as successful in the Greek-Cypriot migrant population, because they did not turn to the government for assistance because it was more in their nature to request help from family members, friends or people within their community.

Through interviews with various migrants, they all expressed it was difficult upon arrival for them to learn English, except those who had previously were exposed to the language when they were younger. As show in **Table 8**, the majority of participants only had primary level education²²⁴ prior to arrival, and had acquired either none or some English knowledge. Whereas, A9 and A10 had both completed college and university in England, and found the English language not to be problematic, with the exception of Australian slang.

²²³ “S.A. Language Plan for Migrants,” (29 December 1958) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p6

²²⁴ It must be noted, even though Cyprus was under British rule, it was compulsory for children to attend primary school.

Table 8: Wave A – Interviewees English Knowledge & Education

Migrant	Education Level	English Knowledge upon Arrival	How They Mainly Learnt English in Australia
A1	Primary School	A few words	Watching TV & children
A2	Primary School	None	Work & through life
A3	some High Schooling	Some	Work, wife & family
A4	Primary School	None	Work & everyday life
A5	Primary School	None	Work & everyday life
A6	some High Schooling	Some	Work & everyday life
A7	Primary School	None	Schooling in Australia
A8	Primary School	A few words	Work, children & everyday life
A9	University in England	Very good	-
A10	College in England	Very good	-

These Greek-Cypriot migrants, who had no prior knowledge, were only able to pick up a few words here and there through work, media, and interaction with their children and other people. Migrant A5 stated,

I didn't know any English ... [Back in Cyprus,] I worked on the farm as a young boy, and was not able to attend school. ... You had to pay extra money to learn English. If you didn't pay, you didn't learn. To go to the academy, you had to pay. ... This meant that I didn't get to learn English.

Whilst another stated, "I didn't have the time to attend language classes here in Australia, whilst working long hours to support my family, to have what we do today." Understandably, this was a common factor as to why migrants did not find it important to learn English, especially for females who were housewives. This was common because Greek-Cypriot migrants began to establish their own community within the Anglo-Celtic Australian community.

In comparison to the Greeks from Greece, A10 says "...To the rest of the Greeks, [the Cypriots] were considered educated ...because I could understand a word here and word there. Whereas the Greeks had nothing to do with England so they had no idea of the English language at all and it was very difficult for them..." In reflection many Greek-Cypriots could understand English due to their passive exposure to the English language in the past; however they had to learn to speak. Just like A3, whose language skills were limited, claiming:

I didn't know any English. I knew ABCD...and the pronunciation [in Australia], as I said, was different to all the words I used to pronounce. I used to learn English at school but it wasn't the same pronunciation as here. And of course, when I found out when working in Holden, you have to learn a little bit of English, you have to know. Everything I used to hear, it used to sink. And I used to go to the pictures too, and I would concentrate on what they were saying in English and everything, and learn a lot. I didn't go to school here, but I was interested in going out and having a good time. I wasn't interested in going to school, that's for sure. But I learnt English, and where I had to work, you are forced to do it. I became an in-hand, a foreman, a general foreman at Holden in charge, and you have to read, write and everything, so you force yourself to learn. In other words now, sometimes you say a word, I spell it different, I spell it the way I hear it. But a lot of the time I'm not right but I got through.

Likewise A7, who was only 10 year old upon arrival, struggled with the language. She had to attend school and she did not know a word of English, recollecting

Oh yes, teachers were not tolerant. They weren't interested in helping us. I remember I was put in grade four, I was told to sit down at a desk and that was it. I had to find my own way around the classroom, pick up the alphabet on my own, teach myself to write and had to pass exams with my own studying, with no help from the teachers at all. So it was very very difficult. And I think I'm very proud of the way I did at school, because by intermediate when I left school, I had topped the class in exams. I did very well in English and received two credits in typing and home science. That's quite an achievement for a Greek girl with not one word of English coming to Australia. And I hope the next generation does the same.

It is impressive how Greek-Cypriots were able to adapt and absorb the language in an effort for them to survive.

Furthermore, migrants would also in effect, condition their children to speak the Greek language as a mother tongue. For instance, A1's children were born in Australia and they knew English, but one of her daughters only spoke Greek up until she was three years old. When they had moved to Torrensville, their neighbour told them that the child would find it difficult when she would go to school. The neighbour suggested that they leave the child with her so she learns English. A1 narrated "The neighbour was happy to have the kid over, and she had chickens and they would

make biscuits every day and the kid would bring some home. [My daughter] did very well at school and she had completed several year levels in the one year.” A1 expressed proudly of her daughters achievements. Additionally, as a result of the strong Greek and Greek-Cypriot migrant flows to SA, there was a demand for the Greek language to be introduced into the school curriculum. As mentioned earlier, at some point or another, migrant children would attend Greek school.

3.5.7 Social Life & Leisure

Greek migrants had settled in South Australia, which also in return coincided with the successful settlement of the Greek-Cypriots in later years. As Greeks and Greek-Cypriots share the same language, religion, culture and traditions, Cypriots were able to benefit from already constructed networks and establishments, such as churches, Sunday schools, halls, and social groups. Social formation became more prominent and gradually more community centres and formations were being established in SA. In 1948 the Cyprus Community of South Australia was founded, and it facilitated in social gatherings and migrant settlement, which will be further elaborated on in **Chapter 7**. Then as the years progressed and Adelaide began to populate, for instance, in July 1955 *The Advertiser* reported, the Greek community’s centre on Franklin Street in the Adelaide CBD was in the process of completion, costing “between £25,000 and £30,000.”²²⁵

Greek-Cypriots would spend their recreational time with family and friends, and would go to dances, weddings, parties, BBQs/picnics and events. A2 said that they would also pass their time by going to the Greek cinema/theatres. Interestingly, the social cohesion and connectedness between individuals during this wave was strong. For instance, A2 highlighted that weddings were different “...Because we were a small [community], when someone would get married, they would invite all the Cypriots...it’s not like now where it has become populated and you invite close family and relatives.” This was customary because of the social-cultural hospitality of the Greek-Cypriots.

A4 progressed into his story about how they would spend their free time. He reminisced the time they would spend by the river near the city baths, close to the Festival of Arts. He stated

²²⁵ “For Our New Citizens,” (28 July 1955) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p4

Anyhow, when we had off ...where were you to go on the weekend? ...so we would go there.

And we would go there to have baths and from there we would go to the river to sit, play with the seagulls and for our time to pass. My cousin he was funny, he would make the seagulls fight and he would say 'Have a look guys, they are quarrelling [καβγά] and they are going to rip their shirts'.

As he freely laughed telling his story, the Cypriot dialect was strongly distinguishable. In other words, it brought him back to that day in time, where he felt carefree and enjoyed the moment. He radiated enthusiasm, and evidently not censoring his thoughts as he spoke.

A8 conveyed, like many other Greeks and Greek-Cypriots used to go crabbing. Her husband loved it and diving to get periwinkles, as well. They would also go and collect wild artichokes and snails. With the family, they liked going on little excursions. Similarly, A10 and her family, over the weekend would go on picnics with the children. They would go up into the hills because she loves the hills, such as the Barossa Valley, Hahndorf and other towns. Family adventures and excursions were common, and this is responsive to how they would pass their time in Cyprus. Overall, these were things that Cypriots would do back in Cyprus, and they adapted their lifestyles to an Australian way of life.

Meanwhile, during the 1950s media did not play a significant active role for migrants upon arrival because it was seen as leisure. Attitudes have changed because migrants have gotten older and their English language skills are limited. A5 reflects back to early 1950s stating,

When I came [to Australia] we had one vinyl record that had Greek music on it, only one, and we would listen to it. There wasn't any Greek on the radio, except only once a week for about two hours, were they would play a cassette. There wasn't any Greek on the radio. But now, there is. But no...I didn't really tune into the radio to listen to the Greek program. It didn't interest me because it didn't go for long, maybe for five minutes or something like that.

Now this is where globalisation has left its footprint, especially, in the last 20 years. Consequently, it has reversed the pattern of integration into the Anglo-Celtic Australian society, as Greek media is now more accessible than 50–60 years ago. Now in his senior years, this migrant enjoys and passes his time with Greek radio

and Greek cable TV; even though when he was younger he did not have the time to engage with this form of media. With the gradual isolation from the wider Anglo-Saxon society, and by only associating with Greek-Cypriot/Greek populations and media, this has in effect made migrants feel as if they exist in Cypriot/Greek States of Australia.

Additionally to media, newspapers during this period were also circulating aimed at migrant communities in Australia. According to Tamis, large ethnic groups, such as Germans, Italians, Greeks and Chinese Asians, were controlled by restrictive practices imposed by governments especially during 1860 to 1968.²²⁶ In the interest of the nation-states standing, “Australia’s secret services also banned the publication of papers assessed as anti-British or unpatriotic, treating their editors as agitators and elements of social destabilisation.”²²⁷ Therefore, “strategies to control the social and linguistic behaviour of immigrants, successive governments aimed to lead the ethnic groups towards linguistic assimilation and socioeconomic integration.”²²⁸ Even though there were restrictions in Australia, there were still a significant number of Greek language newspapers being published and distributed. Tamis highlights that since 1913 every Australian capital city, except Hobart and Darwin, had approximately 210 newspapers and magazines published in Greek.²²⁹ This is a significant number considering it was only in the early 1910s. Notably, between 1900 till 1950 and even continuing on into the late 1980s, there were many Greek language newspapers being published. George Nicolaides, a Greek-Cypriot, was the first pioneer of a Greek language newspaper in Adelaide.²³⁰

3.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, prior to this Wave A period (1945-1959), the arrival of Cypriots in Australia was perceived with scepticism for their usefulness to the country. Australia

²²⁶ Tamis, A.M., (2005) *The Greeks in Australia*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, p153

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p153

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p153

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p153

²³⁰ “In 1914 Georgios Nicolaides in Adelaide brought out the newspaper *Oceanis*, which moved to Sydney to following year.” *Ibid.*, p156; “With this event, the Greek Cypriot George Nicolaides became the founder of the Greek press in South Australia, and at the same time the owner, editor and publisher of only the second Greek newspaper in the whole of Australia.” Kanarakis, G., (2003) *George Nicolaides: A Cypriot Page in Australian Hellenism*, Nicosia: Presidential Commissioner’s Office of Cyprus Publications, p75

was in the view that Cypriots would be a burden on the country because they lacked sufficient capital upon arrival, but also character reports and medical documentation were not up to standard. Then during the Wave A period, when Australia was receiving mass migration waves, the Australian immigration policy continued to be restrictive towards Cypriots, even though they were British subjects and free settlers.

The Wave A Greek-Cypriot migration reflected the pattern of mainly young, single and in search of a better future prospects. Social and economic aspects had significantly influenced the Greek-Cypriot migrants to settle in South Australia due to family, friends, collective networks and job opportunities. Employment was predominantly sought through social networks and employment was acquired soon after arrival. Factory and production work was popular due to job security and the demand for production. Also, work for migrants was in abundance in other fields, such as operating their own shop/store, which many retired from with great success.

These migrants predominantly had basic schooling, with most of them only completing primary school. This meant their English language skills were minimal and were only acquired during work and everyday life in Australia. Most of the Wave A participants married within the Greek and Greek-Cypriot community, and raised children in South Australia with Cypriot customs and traditions. Since the Greeks and Cypriots share the same religion, culture, and language, they were able to build and engage with the already established Greek community in South Australia. Overall, social networking was a key mechanism for migrants to find work, socialise and receive assistance in any matter they needed.

CHAPTER 4

1960 – 1973: THE SECOND MIGRATION WAVE

From 1960 till 1973 was a significant period as Cyprus had recently become an independent State; however in a short period of time Cyprus was to face communal upheaval, which led to the island's illegal invasion. **Chapter 4** will firstly, highlight Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots (1960-1973), and then continue to examine the experiences of interviewee participants, who had migrated and settled in South Australia during this period. Through this investigation, a greater understanding will be gained by the significant events, patterns and experiences of those who arrived in South Australia during this period.

4.1 Migration Policy Relating to Cypriots

During 1960, Cyprus was going through a phase of transition, as it would officially establish itself as a newly independent sovereign country on the 16th August. In the meantime, other countries had to appropriately amend their policies to reflect that of the newly independent Republic of Cyprus.²³¹ Also during this time, Australian immigration representative teams from Athens were visiting Cyprus to process applications.

However, the Australian Embassy in Manila, Philippines, expressed concern in February 1960 on the advice that was being distributed by airlines and the British authorities in Cyprus. This eventuated from “receiving another case of a Cypriot arriving on an airline in Manila for onward travel to Australia by Qantas. This person was not in possession of an endorsement as she had been told by the airline and the British authorities in Cyprus that no visa or endorsement was necessary for Australia.”²³² It can be speculated that this was one of several cases during the time of the country’s transition. It was suggested at the time that the airlines and the Migration Team in Athens be notified to prevent this happening in the future.²³³

In regards to the national status of Cypriots following independence, the Department of Immigration in Canberra, Australia, had outlined several viewpoints on the 5th January 1960. There were two significant points that were raised, which were already proposed and agreed upon. The first was “whether or not Cyprus remains associated with the Commonwealth of Nations, Cypriots resident in the present countries of the Commonwealth should remain United Kingdom citizen.”²³⁴ The second point raised was “that if Cyprus remained in association with the Commonwealth, persons who became citizens of Cyprus upon the grant of independence would as such be recognized as British subjects.”²³⁵ Further to these two points, in telegraph sent from London was confirmed that they would continue to stand with the prospect:

²³¹ It must be acknowledged that there is a limitation to the archival material during this period of time. Due to the sensitivity of this material, some of the information has not yet been released for public access. Therefore this section on migration policy relating to Cypriots cannot be further expanded, and only in the future can this be completed once the information is opened and released for public access.

²³² “Immigration to Australia – Cyprus [0.5cm],” (Contents date range: 1950-1970), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 585335, Location: Canberra, p11

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ “Cypriots – National status following Cyprus Independence,” (Contents date range: 1960-1961), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A432, Barcode: 1171878, Location: Canberra, p13

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

- (a) *“Cypriots resident in Cyprus at the time of independence will become citizens of the new Cyprus, and will cease to be United Kingdom citizens; but if Cyprus remains in association with the Commonwealth, Australia (and other Commonwealth countries) will be expected to amend nationality legislation to take Cyprus into the list of Commonwealth countries whose citizens, as such, are British subjects;*
- (b) *Cypriots resident outside Cyprus but within the Commonwealth countries will become United Kingdom citizens, whatever association Cyprus may retain with the Commonwealth of Nations; (those who have become citizens of the countries in which they are resident would retain that status; and others would retain existing opportunities to seek such citizenship);*
- (c) *Cypriots resident outside Cyprus in foreign countries would presumably become aliens.*²³⁶

Tasman Hudson Eastwood Heyes, who was the appointed secretary for the Department of Immigration during this time, confirmed that the telegram from London clarified all the significant points regarding Australia’s perspective.

Then by mid-late July, the Prime Minister’s Department in Canberra received correspondence from the Office of the High Commissioner for the UK based in Canberra. Attached to the letter sent was a copy of an outline of proposals in the drafted treaty for Annex D, which was about Cypriot citizenship.²³⁷ For automatic acquisition of citizenship, it was defined by four main points being that:

“Every citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies belonging to Cyprus (defined as a person who became such under the Cyprus (Annexation) Orders, or was born in Cyprus on or after 5th November, 1914, or is descended in the male line from such a person) it to have his status defined in the following way:

- (a) *If on Independence Day, or within five years before, he was ordinarily resident in Cyprus (including the Sovereign Areas) he becomes a citizen of Cyprus on Independence Day.*

²³⁶ “Cypriots – National status following Cyprus Independence,” (Contents date range: 1960-1961), *op. cit.*, p13

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp9-11

- (b) *If immediately before Independence Day he was ordinarily resident anywhere in the Commonwealth (including the Sovereign Areas but no other part of Cyprus) he remains a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies. (A number of persons will come under both (a) and (b) and will thus be dual citizens).*
- (c) *If immediately before Independence Day he was ordinarily resident in Greece or Turkey he remains a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies if he has no other nationality.*
- (d) *If immediately before Independence Day he was ordinarily resident anywhere else he loses his citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies (unless excepted from such loss – see paragraph 3 below) and does not automatically become a citizen for Cyprus but may apply to become one within the limits described in paragraph 2 below.*²³⁸

The document further outlines the additional conditions and exemptions; however these are the four main points in the guideline.

Then, Cyprus officially became independent on the 16th August 1960, and from November of the same year, Australia continued to proceed with its immigration policy as it had implemented before Cyprus became independent.²³⁹ At the time of independence though, Cyprus did not become a Commonwealth Member straight away, but the new President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, had six months to decide on the countries actions. Makarios applied for Cyprus to become a Commonwealth Member in early 1961, which was successfully accepted and was officially signed on the 13th March 1961. Then during April and May, following Cyprus' accession as a Commonwealth Member, Australia had correspondence with New Zealand and England, seeking their advice regarding the two countries course of action for their Nationality Act. Australia consulted with the two countries to distinguish the status of Cypriot nationals, so it could amend the "regulations under

²³⁸ "Cypriots – National status following Cyprus Independence," (Contents date range: 1960-1961), *op. cit.*, p10

²³⁹ "Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2," (Contents date range: 1956-1970), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A6980, Barcode: 7115263, Location: Canberra, pp312-313; It must be noted that Australian immigration teams did not visit Cyprus immediately after it become independent, up until Australia had knowledge of the Cyprus Government's attitude towards emigration. In November 1960, it was confirmed that there were no issues for Australia to continue with its processing of Cypriot migration nominations, and therefore, Australia proceeded to visit Cyprus on a regular basis, undertaking immigration practices.

Section 7 of the Australian Nationality and Citizenship Acts 1949-60.”²⁴⁰ From New Zealand’s viewpoint, their proposed Act would be effective from the date Cyprus was admitted as a Commonwealth Member on the 13th March 1961, with the provision for retrospective application, because “prior to that date she was not a member of the Commonwealth but merely received benefits ‘as if’ she were a member.”²⁴¹ Whilst on the other hand, England had initiated the amendment of their Nationality legislation to be effective from the 16th August 1960, when Cyprus gained independence, “to avoid what would otherwise have been an awkward gap.”²⁴² Considering these factors, notes on the documents suggest Australia was leaning toward following New Zealand’s Act, but then changing it to England’s position because it was thought to be problematic otherwise.²⁴³

In the meantime, Australia had requested in late August 1961 for England to undertake the task of placing endorsements in passports for Cypriots, who have been approved to migrate to Australia.²⁴⁴ Australia informed England that the task at hand would not take much of their time as they had processed 338 people in 15 months (around 23 per month), and that Australia’s staff in Athens would be undertaking the interviewing and examination of cases.²⁴⁵ England responded in early September agreeing to their Passport Officer to “grant these endorsements on behalf of the Australian authorities as long as the Australian Government is without consular representation in Cyprus.”²⁴⁶

Migration from Cyprus was still following the imposed restrictions of Form 40 (sponsored) and Form 47 (unsponsored) since Minister Calwell introduced them in 1949.²⁴⁷ Correspondence on the 28th December 1962, indicated that there was doubt whether skilled Cypriots would be available to Australia, as 90 percent of people were involved in viticulture due to Cyprus being an agricultural country.²⁴⁸ Cypriots were not regarded highly, which resulted in a yearly numerical limitation

²⁴⁰ “Cypriots – National status following Cyprus Independence,” (Contents date range: 1960-1961), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A432, Barcode: 1171878, Location: Canberra, p5

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp4,7

²⁴² *Ibid.*, pp4-5

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p4

²⁴⁴ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, pp297-298

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p297

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p296

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p277

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

being implemented through the recommendation of the Advisory Council in 1952.²⁴⁹ Even the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) had reported from a “reputable Greek Citizen in Australia had asserted that at least 70 percent of Cypriots who had come to Australia constituted a risk.”²⁵⁰ Even though, Cypriots are British subjects, and in particular those residing in the UK, would not be entitled under the assisted passage scheme, which is available to British subjects migrating to Australia.²⁵¹ Overall, “whilst Cypriots are in the unfavourable group provision exists for them to come to Australia under both Form 40 and Form 47 arrangements. Any person who would, in [Immigration’s] opinion, be a gain to Australia would be favourably considered.”²⁵²

In July 1963, it was reported that there was a decrease of interest expressed from people in Cyprus to migrate to Australia because there were improved working and employment opportunities on the island.²⁵³ Also, there was a decrease of approximately 30 percent of migrants, who failed to attend interviews when the Australian Selection Team had visited in May.²⁵⁴ The statistics of this visit revealed that there was “only 46 nominees awaiting interview there and 44 of these were nominated on Forms 40.”²⁵⁵

By late 1963, hostilities erupted between the two communities on the island, which saw the UNFICYP being sent into Cyprus as a mediator in 1964. Australia felt its priority was to see peace on the island during this time, rather than to amend immigration processing due to the conflict.²⁵⁶ At the same time, it had caused concern for both Greeks and Cypriot communities in Australia, which saw them lobbying and protesting against the Turkish attacks on the island, with some 1,000 young Greeks and Cypriots offering to go to Cyprus to volunteer.²⁵⁷

With the troubles on the island, Australian Selection Teams discontinued from their periodical visits to the island, and by late July 1965 the Senior Migration Officer visited Cyprus to assess the situation in Cyprus and whether a team should be

²⁴⁹ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, p277

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p274

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p258

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p255

sent.²⁵⁸ The case-load of migration selections during this time was 682 people under Form 40 nominations, who had not yet been interviewed, and 32 people as unsponsored, under Form 47 nomination.²⁵⁹ From his visit to the island, his two main impressions was, firstly, the sense of normality and lack of tension, and secondly, “the eagerness of the Cypriot authorities for [Australian Immigration Officers] to resume [...] visits.”²⁶⁰ The Senior Migration Officer made two recommendations, being firstly, “making a selection visit to the island as soon as possible – preferably during the current mandate of the United Nations peace-keeping force, [...]; [and secondly] the question of making subsequent visits to be considered as the need arises in the light of future development and conditions in the island.”²⁶¹ However, due to the situation in Cyprus, the processing of Cypriot nominees from October 1964 was undertaken from Beirut, with the opening of the Australian Migration Office there.²⁶² This meant that “persons resident in Cyprus who had been sponsored for entry to Australia as migrants were given the opportunity of travelling to Beirut for migrant processing.”²⁶³

Following these events, Cypriot Australian relations in late 1965 saw the reciprocal performance of consular and quasi-consular functions for the Republic of Cyprus added to its agenda.²⁶⁴ Initiated negotiations commenced between the Cyprus Government and the Australian Government regarding the issuing of “emergency passport facilities, visa and entry permits on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus”²⁶⁵ to be compliant with each Governments regulations and instructions. Australia was in the view that Australia “would be grateful if the authorities in Cyprus could grant emergency passport facilities to Australian citizens in Cyprus,”²⁶⁶ even though Australia’s assessment was that due to “the close proximity to Cyprus of Australian representatives in Athens, Cairo and Beirut, any other enquiries about Australia

²⁵⁸ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, pp240-247; Since 1964, Australian Migration Officers were temporarily operating from Beirut, which meant Cypriots had to travel to Beirut to undertake the selection processing of their endorsement to travel.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p240

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p241

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p245

²⁶² *Ibid.*, p35

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p35

²⁶⁴ “Cyprus – Performance of Consular Functions on Behalf of Cyprus,” (Contents date range: 1965-1968), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 574879, Location: Canberra

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p46

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p39

which the authorities receive could be referred to one of these representatives.”²⁶⁷ Furthermore, Cyprus had supplied Australia with its regulations in which the Commonwealth countries provide consular assistance on their behalf. The document supplied by the Republic of Cyprus was quite extensive, with one instruction that raised interest regarding children of citizens. It specifically detailed,

“Children born to Cypriot mothers from Alien fathers whether the children were born in Cyprus or overseas are NOT CITIZENS of the Republic and should NOT under any circumstances be included in their mother’s passports. They should be advised to obtain a passport or Travel Document from the authorities of the country to which the father belongs.”²⁶⁸

Therefore children born to Cypriot females, who were married to non-Cypriot men, meant that they did not have Cypriot nationality, and consequently would take on the nationality of the father.²⁶⁹

In the meantime, “following upon the Israeli/Arab war of June, 1967, and the consequent temporary closure of [the Australian] Beirut office, the responsibility for Australian migration activities in Cyprus reverted to Athens and has since remained with the latter office.”²⁷⁰ This meant the Athens office had taken on the Cyprus portfolio, and effectively undertook the necessary duties to commence clearing out the backlog of applications.²⁷¹ Cyprus had no objection to this, as Cypriots were treated well in Australia, but also because it considered the value of the remittances being sent back to Cyprus, and Cypriots returning to Cyprus for holidays.²⁷² At the same time, Cyprus’s attitude at that stage was “not anxious to encourage substantial numbers, particularly of the younger generation, to migrate abroad. This was due to the political situation on the island and, to put it more plainly, the possibility that young men at least might be needed in the Cypriot National Guard.”²⁷³ Even though, Cyprus did not want Australia to advertise migration abroad, it did, however, offer

²⁶⁷ “Cyprus – Performance of Consular Functions on Behalf of Cyprus,” (Contents date range: 1965-1968), *op. cit.*, p39; The previous document initially stated that “in view of the proximity of Australian visa offices in Beirut, Athens and Cairo it is not desired that visa work be undertaken by Cyprus on Australia’s behalf.” *Ibid.*, p40

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p12

²⁶⁹ This is followed in accordance with the constitution of Cyprus, when it became independent in 1960. Also, it is highly likely that this clause in the law is a continuation from the British Nationality Act, 1948. For further information about the Cyprus Act, 1960 – refer to “Cyprus Constitutional Developments 1960,” (Contents date range: circa 1960-circa 1960), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1209, Barcode: 3043059, Location: Canberra (p11 for citizenship)

²⁷⁰ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, p35

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp107-109

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p108

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p108

“assistance and facility, including premises,”²⁷⁴ to Australia officials to undertake their duties. Then, “after an exploratory visit by [Australian] senior officers, an immigration selection team from Athens visited Cyprus from the 11th to 15th September, 1967, and visits [were] continued at approximately monthly intervals since that time.”²⁷⁵ However, once again, due to the instability on the island, Athens selection teams were suspended from going to Cyprus in November 1967.²⁷⁶

As previously mentioned, the reciprocal performance of consular and quasi-consular functions was on the agenda, and over the span of three years of negotiating, in 1968 the Cyprus High Commission in London suggested that both Australia and Cyprus officially announce the proposed agreement on the 16th May and to be implemented from the 1st June.²⁷⁷ This would only go ahead if the Cypriot authorities received in time the copies of the relevant Australian regulations.²⁷⁸ The Cyprus High Commission was informed that it was not usual “Australian practice to commit arrangements of this type to the form of an international agreement,”²⁷⁹ which was for the Cypriot Government to grant on behalf of Australia “emergency passport facilities to Australian citizens who require a travel document either to return direct to Australia or to reach an Australian mission overseas where a replacement Australian passport may be obtained.”²⁸⁰ However, in spite of this and several months later, Australia had agreed for Cyprus to announce that they have both entered into an agreement “for the reciprocal performance of Consular functions.”²⁸¹ Even by September 1968, the question of when this arrangement would take effect was still on the agenda.²⁸²

Overall, the number of people, who were residing in Cyprus and migrated to Australia since the 1960 to 1969 financial years, was a total of 4,164 people.²⁸³

²⁷⁴ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, p108

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p35

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p95

²⁷⁷ “Cyprus – Performance of Consular Functions on Behalf of Cyprus,” (Contents date range: 1965-1968), *op. cit.*, p6

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p4

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p3

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p2

²⁸³ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, p36; The number of people for each financial year were 168 (1960/61), 480 (1961/62), 477 (1962/63), 488 (1963/64), 279 (1964/65), 688 (1965/66), 449 (1966/67), 360 (1967/68), and 775 (1968/69). “During the year 1968/69, 1,373 persons were nominated for unassisted migration from Cyprus and endorsements (the equivalent authorisation to visas used in British passports) were issued to 850 persons.” *Ibid.*

During 1969, Australia had processed nearly 700 full fared visas for Cypriots, and it was viewed by “experienced officers [...that there was] no doubt whatsoever that the Turks and the Greeks from the island are superior in most respects than those from Turkey and Greece respectively.”²⁸⁴ It must be noted though, that there were several discussions that Cyprus be included in the ICEM agreement with the Special Passage Assistance Programme, however Cyprus only joined as an ‘observer’ and not a full member.²⁸⁵ One of the issues was, if Cyprus was to be considered for the assisted passage scheme, that in view “of the recent history of violence on the island and some enmity remaining between Turkish and Greek Cypriots, [Australia] would need a tight character and security screening.”²⁸⁶

It must be acknowledged that the archival material for this section on migration policy relating to Cypriots only goes up until early 1970 as there are restrictions in files beyond this period. Consequently this section cannot be further expanded, and only in the future can this be accomplished once the information is opened and released for public access.

In conclusion, once Cyprus gained independence in 1960, migration processing was suspended for a short time until Australia confirmed with Cypriot authorities that they could continue with their current procedures. Australia preceded to process Cypriot nominees under sponsored (Form 40) and unsponsored (Form 47) categories, even though, on several occasions throughout this time they had suspended their visits to Cyprus because of the political instability on the island.

²⁸⁴ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, p9

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp9-10,12-15,33,36,55,57-62,64,70,72

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p36

4.2 Introduction to Migrant Portraits: B1 – B10

This section will provide basic information on the interview participants who arrived between 1960 and 1973 (as shown in **Table 9**), and will also give a brief introduction to each person.

Table 9: Basic Information on the Interview Participants who arrived between 1960-1973

Migrants	Gender	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Arrival	Age Upon Arrival
B1	M	1940	Aradippou	1960	20
B2	F	1940	Rizokarpaso	1961	20
B3	F	1943	Sykopetra	1964	21
B4	M	1943	Famagusta	1965	22
B5	F	1948	Aradippou	1966	19
B6	F	1938	Larnaca	1966	28
B7	M	1948	Aradippou	1966	18
B8	M	1934	Eksometohi	1968	33
B9	M	1944	Analionta	1968	25
B10	F	1947	Kathika, Paphou	1971	24

4.2.1 Migrant Portrait: B1

B1 was born in Aradippou in 1940, where he completed primary school before going to work in a delicatessen. He had worked several jobs in his teens before deciding to come to Australia in 1960. His brothers had already migrated to Australia years earlier, and they invited him to come to Adelaide. He travelled by ship with other young Greek-Cypriot migrants. The ship docked at Melbourne where he met his brother and they came to Adelaide. His intention was to come to Australia for several years and return to Cyprus in 1963, however due to the situation in Cyprus; his family insisted he stay in Australia. Eventually he returned to Cyprus in 1966, with the intention of residing there permanently. He found things had changed and decided he would return to Australia. In the meantime, he had also met his wife and they married. They migrated to Australia together, where they had two children. They lived with his brother upon arrival for several years before purchasing a house of their own. He worked hard at Hills Industries, which he gained the supervisor position, and retired after 35 years of service.

4.2.2 Migrant Portrait: B2

B2 was born in Rizokarpaso in 1940. She attended primary school and upon completing high school, she wanted to go to Athens but her family would not allow her to go by herself. She had siblings in Australia and England, so she decided she would come to Australia because her most loved brother was there. It took about a year to prepare the documents and in 1961 she was able to leave. She travelled by ship with a few people she knew. After a 28 day journey, she disembarked in Perth, even though the ship was to continue its journey to Melbourne. This migrant packed one half of the suitcase with clothes and the other half her mother packed it with traditional Cypriot food. Her brother met her in Perth and they flew to Adelaide. She could not find work straight away but eventually she gained employment at Philips. She married a Greek in 1965 and they had two children.

4.2.3 Migrant Portrait: B3

Migrant was born in 1943 in the small town of Sykopetra in the Limassol region, where she attended school up until 12 years old. She left school because she gained a job babysitting. Once she was 21 she decided to come to Australia, where her father and a few of her siblings were residing. Then, B3 and one of her sisters left Limassol in 1964 with the ship *Patris* and made their journey through Port Said. They reached Perth, and continued onto Melbourne, where they caught the train to Adelaide. After a couple of years they sponsored the rest of the family to come to Australia, which included her mother and other siblings. She also had invited her now husband to come to Adelaide. They got married in 1968 and they had two children. She found it difficult to find work upon arrival. She began working at an ice-cream shop during the summer months and then progressed to Philips from where she retired.

4.2.4 Migrant Portrait: B4

B4 was born in 1943 in Famagusta. He left Cyprus with his family for political reasons and went to England, where he completed his education. When he was 20 years old he married his wife and they had a child. In 1965, together with his brother were sponsored by Hickinbotham to come to Australia to work. They brought the rest of their families with them because they wanted to settle together as a family. They also liked the weather as it was similar to that of Cyprus. B4 and his wife had another child in Australia. His knowledge of the English language assisted them in their settlement. After a few years in the industry, and trying his luck out in the Coober Pedy opal fields, he then established his own pool business, where he

retired from a managerial position. B4 has also a committee member of the Cyprus Community of South Australia.

4.2.5 Migrant Portrait: B5

B5 was born in Aradippou in 1948. She completed high school and was preparing for exams to enter a college for teaching in Cyprus. During this time he met her husband and they got married. Months later, in 1966 they migrated to Australia, where her husband had migrated to years earlier. She had mixed feelings regarding migrating because she had no intentions of leaving Cyprus. Travelling on the *Patris*, they landed in Melbourne and then progressed onto Adelaide by train. They stayed with her husband's brother and his wife for a couple of years before finding a house near the city. She had two children in Adelaide, and she cared for the family whilst working. She learnt to drive in 1974, which assisted in looking after the children. Also, through the years, she supported the Greek and Cyprus Community in South Australia.

4.2.6 Migrant Portrait: B6

B6 was born in Larnaca in 1938. She went to school up until 11-12 years of age and then went to help her family in the fields. She got married at 18 years of age, and then went to England with her husband in 1958. After a year and a half, they returned to Cyprus. Soon after, in 1966, her husband, she and their four very young boys came to Australia. She felt it was a horrific ship journey, especially upon arrival to Australia because she felt she had wasted away and became unrecognisable due to the journey they took. Gradually, they settled down in Adelaide and after two years of saving money they were able to buy their house, which they still live in today. B6 had not learnt to drive because her work was nearby. She worked in a few places, such as Glenside and the Ashford hospital. She was known for her hard effort she would put into her work, whilst also looking after her family.

4.2.7 Migrant Portrait: B7

B7 was born in 1948 in Aradippou, where he completed primary school. He was not able to progress onto high school because they were orphans. He was the eldest of 7 children and he had to take on the family responsibilities. When he was 18 years old, he wanted to come to Australia and his uncle in Adelaide invited him. He came with his sister on the *Patris*, which took 33 days to arrive in Australia. He worked hard, even going up to the sugarcane fields in Queensland to earn enough money to bring another two siblings. They all lived with their uncle before finding a place of

their own to rent. He then got married and had two children of his own. He worked in several positions in his career before retiring. Over the years, he has made plenty of friends and has supported the Cyprus Community of South Australia.

4.2.8 Migrant Portrait: B8

B8 was born in 1934 in a village called Eksometohi, near Nicosia. He completed high school and dreamed of going abroad. His brother was in England, so he decided to go there and study civil engineering. Whilst studying part-time for six to seven years, he worked in various jobs relating to the field he was in. On completion of his degree he was offered a good job, however, he declined because he wanted to go back to Cyprus. Soon after this, he met his wife and they got married. Whilst residing in Cyprus he gained a government job. They decided to come to Adelaide, where the rest of her family settled, especially due to surge of violence on the island. They travelled to Beirut to process their visa applications. Soon after, they embarked on their journey to Australia with the *Patris* in December 1967. Their child was only ten months old at the time. Upon arrival in Adelaide, they resided with her family up until they found a place of their own. B8 gained employment at Engineering & Water Supply Department (E&WS), which is currently known as SA Water, in water supplies, from where he retired. They also had another child soon after settling in Australia. Although, initially finding it difficult to settle down in Adelaide, he found comfort in family support and community involvement, which included him becoming president of the Cyprus Community of South Australia.

4.2.9 Migrant Portrait: B9

B9 was born in 1944 in a village called Analionta, located just outside the capital of Nicosia. He did not complete primary school because he found a job working as a plumber in Nicosia. Years later his sister in England was unwell and he went to England to look after her. However, prior to leaving, he went to Beirut in December 1966 to commence his application to come to Australia. Then after four months in England, and overstaying his visiting visa, he wanted to come to Australia, in which he was granted a visa from the Australian Embassy in England. In 1968, he embarked on his journey by plane from England to Cyprus, boarding a different plane in Cyprus to Beirut, then boarding another plane in Beirut to Cairo, and from Cairo he boarded the Czechoslovakian Airline plane, which took two days to get to Singapore. Then from Singapore he boarded a British Airways plane to Sydney, but he had missed his connecting flight to Adelaide, so he accompanied an acquaintance by car to Melbourne, where he then boarded a plane to Adelaide. He

struggled to find work immediately. His first job was working in the sugar factory, then for 21 years in the asbestos extraction and processing before they closed down, and then he progressed to freelance cleaning jobs. He got married a month after his arrival and they had two children. He also liked to socialise and this contributed to him being involved in community groups and organisations.

4.2.10 Migrant Portrait: B10

B10 was born in 1947 in Kathika, Paphos. She completed primary school and then went to work with her parents in the fields. She was the eldest of seven children, and had a good childhood. She got married in 1969, and soon after that they had their first child. Her brother-in-law invited them to come to Australia, and they made their way to Australia with the *Patris* with her husband and their nine month old baby in 1971. They were in search of a better life for their children because they could see their parents struggling in the fields. Upon arrival they lived in the city with her husband's brother, before purchasing their own home after 10-11 months of being in Australia. She had a second child in 1973. She worked a couple of jobs through her career as well as looking after her family.

4.3 Reasons for Leaving Cyprus

During 1960-1973, Cyprus was going through transition; this transition is reflected to the reasons for leaving Cyprus and migrating to Australia. These reasons can be divided into five contributing factors for migration, as seen below in **Table 10**. Just like Wave A (1945-1959), Wave B is composed of the same four contributing factors to migration, with a new additional one coming into practice, thus being "Political Instability". The political instability aspect is based on the political events and intercommunal clashes occurring in Cyprus during this period of time, resulting in people departing the island seeking a more secure future. It must be acknowledged that, although, the political instability aspect is being introduced in this chapter, it was also present as a contributing factor for migration during Wave A because of the political instability and unsettlement which prevailed prior to independence. However, the Wave A participants in this study did not express this as a reason for leaving.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ The interviewees did not state political reasons for migrating. There is a wider perception amongst the migrants that political instability correlates with economic and social prosperity.

Table 10: Wave B – Reasons for Migrating to Australia

Migrants (gender – year of arrival)	Social	Environmental	Economical	Adventure	Political Instability
B1 (M-'60)	✓		✓	✓	
B2 (F-'61)	✓			✓	
B3 (F-'64)	✓				
B4 (M-'65)	✓	✓	✓		✓
B5 (F-'66)	✓				
B6 (F-'66)	✓				
B7 (M-'66)	✓		✓	✓	
B8 (M-'68)	✓		✓	✓	✓
B9 (M-'68)	✓				
B10 (F-'71)	✓		✓		✓

As previously mentioned in **Chapter 2**, which provided a historical background of Cyprus, Wave B was during a transitional phase, where not only individuals start to think of their future because of the political events in Cyprus, but also to secure their future. This, therefore, indicates that the political factors formed an underlying/indirect force for social factors. From the interviewee participants, all individuals highlighted that the social factors had contributed to their decision in two ways. On one hand, they either wanted to be reunited with family already in Australia, and/or secondly, they migrated with their spouses who were already established in Australia. This can be classified as chain migration, where previous migrants would bring out others. There were also several cases of spouse migration (B5, B8 and B9), which can be considered as chain migration. This will be further elaborated in this chapter's sub-heading **Marriage/Family Life & Traditions/Customs**.

The social factors were significant, but so were the economic factors. From the interviewee participants, four men (B1, B4, B7 and B8) and one female (B10)

migrated for economic reasons. Each individual was slightly different to the other, for example:

- B7 and B10 mentioned the poverty and financial struggles in Cyprus,
- B1 migrated to earn some money and return to Cyprus,
- B8 to obtain work and
- B4 was sponsored by Hickenbotham [home building company].

Interestingly, the adventure aspect was on the incline during this period, where more and more individuals, in particular the youth, saw it as an adventure and the ‘fashion’ to migrate. Not knowing much about Australia and what they would face was all part of the excitement and experience. As shown in **Table 10**, three males (B1, B7 and B8) and one female (B2) were migrants who just wanted to leave. B2 knew she wanted to leave Cyprus and go to Athens to study Home Economics. But her siblings and parents did not want B2 to go to Greece by herself – for a few reasons, financial and that she would be by herself – and at that point she did not have any other choice. So she decided to come to Australia, where she had two brothers and an aunty, who was her mother’s sister. Therefore, she was able to leave and still conform to the family’s wishes. In addition to B2, B1 was invited by his brother to migrate to Australia, mentioning “Everyone, the young, were leaving at the time, in particular to England. ...slowly they were leaving and there weren’t many jobs. They were leaving for adventure, so I said I would go too, for three years and I would return.” He then complemented this by adding “It was the ‘fashion’ to leave,” even though “The village was upset because a whole group of young people were leaving from the village. It was a big impact.” He was one of 15 people on the ship, all young men and friends from the same village. Overall, B1’s experience is indicative of the psychological aspect because it illustrates the adventure and the fashion of going abroad.

Although the adventure aspect is strong during this Wave, there are also those who migrated even though they did not want to or they had no intention of leaving the island. One of these migrants was B6, who reflected on her experience regarding the reason why she left Cyprus, commenting,

“I don’t know the reason why, sometimes I ask myself the same question. Because we had a lot of property. That’s what I can’t understand? Why did we leave when we had so much property? I still ask myself today. To live a better life...”

When I was younger, I don't know if you remember, whatever they told us we did. I couldn't say that I didn't like something, because I had to do what they said. And once I got confirmation I had to come, even though I didn't want to. Because do you think with four children it is easy to start off? Literally, it was difficult. In one room all four children would stay. As you know the flats you stay in have two bedrooms and an open area. We would be in one room and in the next room our four children would sleep. I would put their little clothes on their bed. And we never sinned. It was difficult. And afterwards when I used to go to Parkside, I used to go by bike and it would rain thunder it was cold, and I would have to go with the bike. It was difficult."

Similarly, B5 had no intention of leaving because she had plans to further her education in Cyprus. This migrant said "Australia was the last place I wanted to come because I had lots of neighbours who had gone to Australia and they never returned. I thought ...it is so far away that I didn't know whether I would see my family again." She was only newly married, and even though it was all happy times, when it was time for her to leave, she was always crying because she was a student and she felt did not know about life. She was the eldest of the sisters, and it was difficult for her. When she left, her youngest sibling was two and a half-years-old. Overall, both these examples must be considered carefully. Their willingness to participate in migration reflected socio-cultural aspects of accompanying their husbands to Australia.

In regards to the political instability aspects, B4, who initially migrated for political reasons in the 1950s (during Wave A). He was a young boy when his father left Cyprus and went to London in 1954 to seek a better and safer future due to the rise of uncertainty on the island. After a couple of years (1956) his father brought over B4 and the rest of the family (his mother and his siblings) to England. Although B4 migrated to England for political reasons, he migrated with his family to Australia because they wanted the family to be all together and they were sponsored by Hickenbotham to work. Prior to making the final decision to come to Australia, they carefully considered their options because his sister got married and her husband, who was from Canada, was teasing them to go to Canada. However, as they had relatives in Australia and the weather was much better in Australia (rather than in Canada), their final decision was Australia. Overall, he assured "we were very happy with our decision to come to Australia." Whereas, for B10, political instability on the island was a an underlying factor to her security and economic aspects.

Another migrant, B8, migrated to Adelaide for several reasons, such as social (his wife had already migrated to Australia), economical (he could find work), psychological (he dreamt of going abroad from a young age) and political (due to the surge of violence). B8 and his wife (A10) had pinpointed a turning point that influenced their decision to migrate to Australia, recollecting their wedding day in 1964 in Cyprus, which was one that they would never forget, for different reasons. They got engaged in 1963, and then in December 1963 Cyprus was encountering unrest and it was the onset of tension on the island. This couple were residing in Larnaca at the time, and there were many Turks in the area. During this time the Turks and Greeks had started to separate. Most of the shops were closed because they did not know what was happening with the unrest. With A10 recollecting,

“I had ordered my wedding dress and they have brought it from England. And it was in the shop and the shop closed. So I couldn't find the people who owned the shop to get my dress and it took us a while, running around, asking here, and asking there and then we ended up finding out. And then he says to me 'I am not going to open the shop for you to give you a dress'. 'I need it, I'm getting married. I can't get married in my undies.' And he said 'oh alright.' But it wasn't fixed, so I had to wear it long. The flowers I ordered, the florist was closed, so we had to get some flowers from the garden to make my bouquet. We deferred the wedding for a week thinking that things might change, but things hadn't changed so... Yeah... And the church we were getting married in was in the metropolis near the Turkish mosque and the priest was too scared to perform the ceremony. It was a very eventful wedding.

He [the priest] was so scared. He ran through the ceremony quickly and I don't think he even said half of the things he was supposed to say.

So we got out and we heard shooting, so they grabbed us and put us in the car.”

Then B8 and A10 were meant to have a reception but instead they went to their cousin's place in Nicosia. On the way there, they passed through Turkish villages, and was somewhat frightening for everyone because it was winter and night had fallen early. Her brother was in the army and he got a couple of soldiers to protect them but said they could not be there for too long. So they got into the house, where they were congratulated by people, and then they ran to the car to leave. “And that was the wedding... An unforgettable wedding!” they both had agreed.

4.4 Experiences coming to Australia

The adventure to Australia during Wave B was slightly different to that of Wave A. In comparison to Wave A, where migrants were mostly young and single, participants in Wave B were young (ranging between 18- and 33-years-old) but they were not all single when they arrived. As shown in **Table 12** of this chapter's sub-heading **Marriage/Family Life & Traditions/Customs**, the Wave B interviewees were a mixture of single, married, and some migrating as a family with children. This must be considered as it would have impacted their experience of coming to Australia.

Cyprus was a newly independent country, whilst Australia was in the process of implementing new migration practices. In order to migrate, individuals would have to meet with the Australian immigration officials in order to gain their visa to migrate. B2 was 19 years old when she completed high school and started to prepare her application to migrate to Australia. She had to wait for her papers to be approved; however the papers were declined because she was told that Australia was not accepting other migrants. She recalls the migrant process, noting

“In accordance with Australian regulations, we had to show proof that we were good citizens, this had to be signed off by the Mayor of our village, who was the representative of the Greeks and he also had some rights by the British. From there, that’s where it started if you wanted to come to Australia. If he had said ‘no’, ...if a person had done something illegal, then you could not come. Most of the time, they would say ‘yes’. ...After all, we were very good citizens, you should know that. ...Whoever had come here to Australia, we came through a sieve [κόσκινο], we had a really good reference. We were law abiding citizens [υπήκοοι πολίτες]. We didn’t steal, we didn’t... all this, yeah.”

Even though B2 was of good character and was invited by her aunty, it took a year for her papers to be processed. She had applied again in 1961 and the papers were only processed when a relative of hers went to see an immigration official, and it was only then that her application was accepted. Furthermore, she vaguely remembers Australian immigration officers coming to Nicosia every six months or once in a while. Potential migrants would be asked questions and they would also undertake a medical examination, where they would be examined naked. At that time they would not tell you whether or not the application was successful. Then only after three-four months, the Australian Embassy would send a letter to the applicant advising whether or not their migration had been granted approval.

It is plausible that B2 faced difficulty in getting her application approved because of the change in the country's status, from a Commonwealth country to an independent nation-state with three Guarantor Powers (Greece, Turkey and Great Britain). In comparison to B2's experience, B1 migrated to Australia in 1960 without any difficulty or delay. This is because he had organised his papers prior to Cyprus becoming an independent country. In another words, it became harder for potential migrants to make their way to Australia, more so as the years went on.

Moreover, during the mid-1960s, the Cypriot-Australian migration processing facilities had been amended, which meant Cypriots were required to travel to Beirut, Lebanon, to organise and complete their papers for migration, with the opening of the Australian Migration Office in Beirut in October 1964.²⁸⁸ For example, B3 went to Nicosia, to meet with Australian officials to organise her papers for Australia in 1964, whilst another migrant²⁸⁹ who migrated in 1965, went to Beirut with his family to process their papers. The amendment in the processing locations was due to the hostilities and clashes on the island, thus it became more complex for potential migrants to process their applications. As migrant B6, who migrated in 1966, claims

“Things were a lot difficult back then. We had to pass through consulate officers for our visa. We went to doctors to ensure that we were healthy... You had to be healthy. Your name had to be cleared, to ensure you were not a thief, a bad person, [or] involved negatively with the police. And then we had trouble with the consulate, and we had to go to Beirut. They put us in the aeroplane to take us to Lebanon to give the agreement. Because it was at the time the troubles began. I can't remember the troubles that there was, but I remember there was trouble. That's why they did not come to Cyprus and that is why we had to go to Lebanon.”

Understandably, due to the eruption of violence, intercommunal clashes and the arrival of the UN Peacekeeping Forces on the island during 1964, it would have been a perilous environment to place Australian officials in. Consequently, migrants then had to travel to neighbouring consulates, in either Athens, Cairo or Beirut, to undertake the processing of their applications. Most individuals (and all interviewee participants in this Wave) travelled to Beirut because it was closer to Cyprus. Consulate officials were then based in Beirut temporary facilities, and then over time

²⁸⁸ “Admission of Cypriots – Policy – Part 2,” (Contents date range: 1956-1970), *op. cit.*, p35

²⁸⁹ In 1965, this migrant travelled with the ship “Australis” to Australia. His interview was not included as the core 10 participants for Wave B. However, does provide additional information when required.

the Australian Embassy was officially established in 1967.²⁹⁰ From this point forward, migrants were then required to travel to Beirut in order to process their application for migration.

Beirut was an experience that forms part of the migrant journey. The experience was perceived by some negatively whilst others enjoyed it. B6 viewed the experience as stressful, reminiscing

“We were in Beirut, we arrived in the morning and the next day we left. And I remember that there were two children running around and I struggled a lot. And I remember they [her husband and a few others] went to go see someone in Beirut and I was left by myself and they were running up and down, and it was very difficult. I was scared. I was in a foreign country, and foreign language. Even up until we were to get invitation [πρόσκληση] I was stressed and suffered hardship.”

Also, the financial burden of travelling to Beirut impacted B6 and her family, claiming, “I remember that we struggled because we didn’t have the money. We struggled.” In contrast to B6’s experience, B1 and B5 thoroughly enjoyed Beirut, when they went to get B5’s papers organised. They both reminisced that once they got married, the following Wednesday, B5 went to do her papers, so they travelled to Beirut to meet with the Embassy officials to complete the process, including medical checks and the interview. They went by ship and returned to Cyprus by plane. It cost about £10 and they stayed three days. However, since the papers did not come back in time, this meant they had to return to Beirut at a later date to collect the papers. Although they had to return, they thought that they would make a holiday out of it. According to B5, apparently “it was the Switzerland of the Mediterranean.” They both really like it. B5 had stated that there were “...very expensive cars, the streets filled with gold shops, many shops...most of them were European...”, with her husband adding “it was the shopping centre of the Middle East there, they had that many shops, gold,...all the Arabs would go there.” She claims a lot of the goods were from Europe.

²⁹⁰ “Establishment of Australian Embassy in Beirut.” (Contents date range: 1967), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A3211, Barcode: 4713740, Location: Canberra; This NAA file has not yet been examined and is not available for public access; therefore it is difficult to know what the content is. However, through the NAA records search, another file exists regarding the closure of the Embassy, entitled “Decision No 18060 – Closure of Australian Embassy in Beirut – Without Submission” (Contents date range: 8 June 1982) National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A13075, Barcode: 30943356, Location: Canberra. This file has also not yet been examined and therefore not available for public access until the future.

When travelling to Australia, nine out of the ten migrants from this interview cohort had migrated to Australia by ship departing from Limassol, Cyprus. The only one migrant from this cohort who did not travel by ship was B4. He had migrated from England to South Australia by aeroplane due to Hickinbotham wanting him and his brother to start work as soon as possible, stating

“They wanted us to come pretty quickly, and we had problems with the aircraft. After take-off from Bahrain, on take-off one of the engines overheated and they shut it down. It went all the way to Ceylon, which I believe it is today Sri Lanka. The plane was grounded for 24 hours until a plane came over from Sydney. We enjoyed our stay in Ceylon very much. He he he, how can I describe it. In those days, everything was cheap. Lots of gold shops, jewelleries, but we were very cautious of buying because we didn’t know the value is. Eee, yeah.”

B4’s eye lit up as he told the story, shaking his head whilst reminiscing. He chuckled in the middle of telling the story because he could not believe it. He also remembered that they only bought one thing whilst in Ceylon and that was a big bag of bananas.

Migrating to Australia by ship was as popular during Wave B as to that of Wave A. The *Patris* was a popular migrant ship and it is no wonder many Cypriots, in particular in this study (such as B3, B5, B6, B7, B8, and B10), travelled with this ship to Australia. According to B3, there were three main migrant ships during this time; these were the *Patris*, the *Ellinis* and the *Australis*. Also, the ship she came on was the last to pass through the Suez Canal because of the war going on. However, in addition to these ships there were individuals making their way to Australia with other cruise liners, such as the Dutch ship *Groote Beer* (B1), and the Italian ship *Marconi* (B2).²⁹¹ Only one migrant (B9) had travelled to Australia by plane.

The day of departure is always unforgettable amongst migrants. On the day B5 was leaving, she remembers the family, friends and relatives going by bus to the Limassol harbour. The *Patris* did not come into the harbour, so they had to board a little boat that took them out to the ship. Also, something that has stayed with her until today is the white cloths being waved around. Whilst B6 remembers,

²⁹¹ There seems to be a discrepancy regarding the *Marconi* ship. According to Plowman, author of *Australian Migrant Ships 1946 – 1977*, he states that the *Marconi* made its maiden voyage in 1963, but B2 stated that she travelled on the *Marconi* in 1961. Plowman, P., (2006) *Australia Migrant Ships 1946-1977*, Dural, NSW: Rosenberg Publishing, p128

“They [the children] also struggled too. Even when we had left the Limassol port there was a big heavy rain, that’s when we were getting on to the ship one of my children nearly fell into the water. Two of my other children weren’t even walking at the time. One was two and a half and the other was younger. I will never forget it, the boat hitting the ship. And nearly one of my children was about to fall in. It was night as well... What were we thinking? Was it necessary for us to travel at night? I don’t know why we did. We were young at the time and it’s only when you get older you learn. A lot of things that we didn’t know, and we had struggled, I still think of them today... What sort of life was this? It was whatever everybody else told us to do. And that was wrong of us. Even if we realised it was wrong, we didn’t even say ‘no that is wrong.’ Even when were to go to England, why didn’t we say ‘no’, not to go. They told us that we had to go... Where? Where are we going to go? Not even a relative was there. Where were you going to go? It was a mystery... And then you think of the stuff that they tell you and you know they were mistakes.”

For those who embarked on their journey with the *Patris*, there were two different class levels (i.e. upper class and lower class). Amongst the migrants interviewed, several mentioned that if there were Australian citizens and/or migrants returning to Australia on board, they were automatically upgraded to upper class. For example, after a day on the ship and seeing how crammed the dining room was, B8 made it known to staff that his wife (A10) was a returning Australian citizen and they were then welcomed to dine in the formal dining room. Similarly, B5 and B1 were upgraded to the formal dining room because her husband was a returning migrant. Both of them thoroughly enjoyed the voyage, with B5 stating

“Because my husband was a return migrant, they were in the restaurant with silver service. We were seated in a different dining room. There was a live band. We were going to the dances at night, shows, cabarets, and participate in the activities they had on board. They looked after those who were return, than those who were coming for the first time.”

Even though the ticket was the same, they were treated differently. Recapturing the experience, they described of having a really good time on the voyage, they met and socialised with another three newly married couples, they got to watch the dolphins play in the water and it was smooth sailing up until they reached Perth.

It must be acknowledged that there were many Greeks migrating during this time on the ICEM Agreement between Greece and Australian. B8 and his wife (A10) could not believe their experience in meeting some of these migrants, expressing “There was no point to give someone a fork and a knife if they don’t know how to eat. The Greeks were simple people and they were not familiar with modern conveniences and it was a time of poverty.” They both encountered many uneducated people on board, in particular young women, who according to them “they had no idea about life.” This is understandable because there were many low socio-economic migrants making their way to Australia. A10 had further elaborated

“The Greeks on the ship were mostly of a poor background. They didn’t know about anything even about electricity, fridge and running water. They didn’t know the way to talk and they were frightened to speak. There was a girl who was 18 or 20 years old and she couldn’t read or write her name.

There were a lot of young girls and a lot of single men who were trying find a wife. The girls came on with £20 with ICEM, and they usually didn’t have anybody in Australia here so they would seek somebody who could support them. They would marry or have offered them because they did not have much of a choice. These girls were abused emotionally, sexually, physically and in many other ways.”

Food is within the genes of Greek-Cypriots, they like good hearty food, but whilst travelling across the world, the food is sometimes not the best. B7 had commented on the food because of the different class structures on the ship, stating “It took 33 days to come to Australia. It was difficult. On the ship, the food was not so...there were people who were on holiday, one class, and us, we were in the lower class. The food was better for those who were on holiday.” Similarly to some individuals in Wave A, who got fed up with eating spaghetti, B6 until today cannot stand eating spaghetti. She added

“Oh... I remember eating spaghetti and mincemeat... Oh, you can only imagine this mincemeat was horrible. A pity they didn’t even have it in the fridge. I even remember it till today. And to even feel sick at night from the smell of the oil.... I will never forget the ship. It stunk and was filthy.”

B6 then further elaborated on her wellbeing once she had reached Australia, mentioning

“I couldn't believe what I was like. I was a skeleton. I can even remember when I went to go take a bath and I saw a mirror reflection of myself, and I asked myself whether I was going to stay like this forever? But after a while I became better, but with some difficulty. It was difficult.”

This in contrast to B1, B5, B8 and A10's experiences, where they had a lovely journey and meals because they were upgraded and had dined in the silver service dining room.

Just like other migrants, many Cypriots did not expect to stay longer than a couple of years, having the intention to return to Cyprus. One of these migrants was B2. When she was preparing her suitcase, she was under the impression she was coming for a little while, claiming “I will go for one year and I will return, for one year and I would return.” Along the journey, due to being seasick, she sent a telegraph to her brother to come to meet her in Perth, where she would get off the *Patris*, saying “luckily I was able to get of the ship alive.” B2 further explains what she brought in her suitcase,

“My aunty wrote to me to bring three things, which were, sieve, trahana²⁹² and carob. Then when I decided to get off at Perth, the big container/trunk [κιβώτιο] with all the sieve, quilt, and all this, went to Melbourne. Although, I did have one suitcase, and in the suitcase I had carob and my clothes, of course. When I got off at Perth, with my brother came an Australian to the harbour, and when they were looking at the stuff in my suitcase they found the carob...and they didn't know what it was. My brother explained to them what it was and they allowed me in with them...but whatever went to Melbourne, they had thrown them out. They threw out the trahana, they threw out the sieve, yeah...but they allowed the quilt and whatever other clothing there was. ”

Furthermore, just like other female migrants, B5 brought to Australia her dowry. They brought with them two suitcases and as they had just recently got married, they brought with them a container full of their things because she knew she would be having a house. “In the container, I had 9x100 plates in there, ...cutlery, towels, crockery, ...it was my dowry and I brought it all with me...and when they opened it up in Melbourne to inspect it, they asked if I opening up a store, I said ‘no, this is my

²⁹² Trahana is a traditional Cypriot soup. It is made of wheat and Greek yoghurt, and is laid out to be air dried. Then once it is crispy hard, it is stored away in airtight containers, ready to be used at a later date for soup by adding chicken stock. Haloumi cheese can be added for seasoning when served.

dowry’.” Laughingly she reminisced, before continuing, “I didn’t receive a lot of gifts for the wedding because they all knew I was leaving and so people gave me money.” In those days, a girl had to have her dowry ready for when she would get married and it had to have everything so she could establish her house. Also, she brought amongst her migrant treasures lots of pictures, in particular from her younger years as a student.

Something B7 will not forget is when he and his sister were making their way to Adelaide. Initially, when they had reached Melbourne an uncle came to meet them. They stayed with him for three days and then he put them on a train to Adelaide. Then once they reached Adelaide, he was to meet his uncle (his mother’s brother). He narrated with a laugh, “I didn’t know my uncle because he came in 1948 and I was born in 1948. With one photograph to find him...[laughingly]...since most people left and only a few stayed, we had found each other.”

4.5 Settling into a New Home

4.5.1 Impressions of Australia upon Arrival

In most cases, if an individual has expectations they are usually not fulfilled. Expectations and impressions of Australia varied amongst those who arrived during Wave B. On one hand there were those who had no expectation, such as B1, who had not heard a lot about Australia prior to his arrival, but came anyway because he wanted the adventure. Likewise, B2 reflected on her initial impressions of Australia, being:

“I think...when we were leaving Cyprus, we were leaving with a ‘black mind’ and we didn’t know what we would find here. Once we came here, actually, things were difficult, nevertheless there were certain things that were better here than in our homeland. In other words, even if you struggled to find a job, in the end you would find one...and you could work, [να αποκατασταθείς] settle/build and do something that you dreamed of.”

She highlighted that the rest of the Cypriots in Cyprus viewed Australia as a paradise. Justifying her comment she proceeded to say “In the village there was a sense of sadness when people would migrate because the village would become empty, and it was mostly the young that would leave. Also people had no other choice than to leave because there were no jobs; it meant people had to leave.”

On the other hand there were those who had an idea of what to expect. For example, B5 detailed that

“I knew it was nice because whoever came for holiday would say that it was a nice place, life is cheap, beautiful...whereas I had my husband with me and his siblings here [in Australia], the two brothers were married and living here, so I knew I was coming to a home, that I wouldn't be by myself totally. Even still, I was leaving my family in Cyprus, I knew that I would find family here and very many neighbours...in other words, they lived next to us, they had also come to Adelaide...I knew I was coming to find friends and relatives.”

She also had an aunty (her father's sister), who came in 1954, got engaged, married in Australia, and had six children. This for her was a settling thought. Even though, she left Cyprus concerned on whether when/where she would find work upon her arrival in Australia.

Some of the impressions that were left with migrants varied between the location, housing and people. When B3 disembarked in Perth for a stopover, and they ventured into the streets and the shops, she thought to herself “This is Australia!”, she did not think anything else but she was in Australia. Then, when B5 had a couple of hours stopover in Perth, together with her husband, they went to explore the city. She told with amusement

“It left an impression on me the cleanliness and the big department stores. We went to Myers and John Martin, and at the top, there were big Santa Clauses...this left a big impression on me. In particular, when we came here,...we didn't celebrate it over there, we would construct a tree with lots of decorations and that was it. But here, with all the Santa Clauses, big ones...”

Whereas B2 cannot remember Perth clearly, but when she was flying to Adelaide, her brother told her to look out the window to see the farms, describing “They were always very green because it was the end of September. It was very beautiful.”

One impression that was common amongst all the female interviewee participants was the houses. As B5 claimed “What left an impression on me were the iron roofs. Over there, they didn't have this. Ours [in Cyprus] were wooden, or tiles, or...mostly tiles they were.” B10 also could not believe how the houses were. She had laughingly described, with embarrassment “When we had come and we saw the houses with the tin roof, my gosh [Παναγία μου] here ...in Cyprus we put the

donkeys under the tin!” Similar comments were made by the other three female migrants. There is no doubt females would notice this because of the traditional role involving females and the home.

Upon settling in Adelaide, there were two main things that stood out of the already established people. One of these was how progressed the community was. B5 described the already established Greek community in Adelaide to be a slightly behind in times, recollecting

“It was a nice atmosphere here. There were a lot of people who were not educated. I liked to associate more with modern people. [In Cyprus] we would dance more modern dances and when I came I saw people dancing more traditional dances. I didn’t like it at the beginning but then I got used to it, and I liked it.”

Also, Australia made an impression on B6, stating “The (Australian) people were decent and attentive. Even the Greeks were welcoming but we get angry very easily. But these people are more patient.” The other thing that stood out to most the migrants, in particular those who knew English well was how the English language was spoken. Just like in Wave A, the English language was somewhat different to what they knew. For example, B2’s experience of others talking to her in English was that “I could not understand. It was the accent that I could not understand. In Cyprus, they had an American accent but here they had the British accent. The teachers we had were American.” Likewise, B7 struggled when he first arrived, claiming “Australia was good but things were difficult, in particular if you do not know English.” Language was something B7 struggled with whilst he was settling into Australia.

Overall, just like many other migrants, B5 thought Australia would have been different to what she imagined it.

4.5.2 Employment

Every nation-state’s impulse in accepting new members is hesitant because it considers not only the burden on the country as a whole but also how the individuals will endure in a new environment. There were unemployment issues around the early 1960s, in particular within the established Greek community in South Australia.

On the 18th June 1961 a mass meeting of 500 Greeks was held at the Greek Community Hall on Franklin Street in Adelaide, to address the unemployment situation. "The speakers were Mr. J. Goss, from the A.E.U., Mr. A. Denison (A.R.U.), Mr D. Dunstan M.P., Mr. C. Socratous, Secretary of the Workers Club, PLATO, and Mr. H. Milton, President of the Greek Community of S.A."²⁹³ The minutes from the meeting expressed

"Many migrants hold the view that they were brought here under false pretences. In fact some rightly feel that the Government has not honoured its pledge to provide employment for the first two years. Migrants then are caught in a trap. [Many] generally expressed disgust at the apparent neglect shown by the government to migrants, some of the speakers said that the present Government in fact serves the monopolies and not the interests of the Australian people – which include the migrants.

[Then].....to cover up for the bad unemployment situation, firms are demanding a knowledge of English before giving employment. Worse still some firms in giving employment are classifying workers under Australians, naturalised Australian citizens, migrants who have filed forms to become naturalized, migrants who have not, and those who have not resided in Australia long enough to apply for naturalization.

Under these conditions migrants have no chance of securing employment to meet the bare necessities of life."²⁹⁴

Also they felt the money that they were earning was not enough to survive, in particular if they had a family. As a result, from the concerns raised in the meeting, the following six points were decided upon and implemented. These were:

- "1. A 35 hour week for all workers and increased annual leave.*
- 2. Increase the unemployment allowance to equal the basic wage.*
- 3. Reduce the mass immigration programme.*
- 4. Introduce a moratorium for working people unable to meet payments on goods they are purchasing.*
- 5. Increase Government expenditure on public works to give employment.*

²⁹³ "Mass Meeting of Unemployed Greeks," (18 June 1961) *Greek Community of South Australia*, Adelaide, State Library of South Australia, Date accessed: 09/2010
²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

6. *Nationalise the monopolies which cause unemployment.*”

Also, protests were sent to leaders of the Government, the opposition, the Greek Consulate, the Greek Government, Australian and Greek press, the ACTU and the T&L Council in Adelaide.²⁹⁵ As there is no further documentation on this matter, it is uncertain whether these six points were successfully followed through as an outcome from this mass meeting.

Nevertheless, as this involves the Greek community, it also means that the Cypriot population would have been involved, due to their strong connection with the Greeks. Furthermore, it is well known that migrants should enter the workforce upon arrival to enable them to settle successfully within the community and to contribute to the wider population, as so called ‘good citizens’.

From Wave B, all migrants actively participated in the workforce. Some individuals worked in factories/manufacturing industries, whilst others ventured out to the bush and rural locations. In **Table 11** below, it gives an overview of the industries and work that migrants from Wave B undertook.

Table 11: Wave B – Interviewees Participation in the Australian Workforce

Migrant	Company	Duration of Service	Reason for Leaving
B1	Metro Meat (Butcher)	2 months	Seasonal work (Kangaroo meat exporter company, Kangaroos were killed seasonally)
	Hills Industries	35 years	Retired
B2	Philips	5 years	She had a family, and assisted with her husband’s business
	Greek School (teaching)	4 years	(As above)
B3	Ice cream shop	6 months	Seasonal work (summer)
	Philips	42 years	Retired
B4	Hickinbotham	1+ years	Studied injection moulding & found a job
	Injection Moulding company	3-4 years	In a managerial position & under pressure. Also wanted the adventure of working in the opal fields of Coober Pedy

²⁹⁵ “Mass Meeting of Unemployed Greeks,” (18 June 1961) *op. cit.*

	Opal Fields, Coober Pedy	9 months	Run out money & luck
	Pool Business	20+ years	Retired
B5	Amscol	Couple of months, not even a year	She got pregnant
	Greek School, Unley (teaching)	16 years	Moved houses
	Hilton Motor Inn	9 years	Found work at Katies (convenient because she would not have a car)
	Katies	32 years	Retired
B6	Glenside Hospital	3 years	Challenging work
	Ashford Hospital	14 years	Housewife and looking after the family
B7	Steel Manufacturing	6 months	More money in the Sugarcane Fields in Queensland
	Sugarcane Fields, Queensland	4 months (+)	The arrival of his siblings, and returned to Adelaide
	Abattoir	20 years	Bought chicken shop
	Chicken Shop	20 years	Retired
B8	Engineering & Water Supply Department (SA Water)	25 years	Retired
B9	Sugar Factory	Several years	Found work at Asbestos Manufacturing
	Asbestos Manufacturing	21 years	Factory closed down
	Freelance Cleaner	20+ years	Ongoing
B10	Halogen Light Factory	1 year	Look after the children
	Actel (manufacturing-factory)	8 ½ years	Housewife and raising the family

From the interviewee participants, as previously mentioned, B4 was the only migrant who was sponsored by a company to migrate. Hickinbotham, a home building company, sponsored B4, his brother and both their families to migrate from England to Adelaide. He told the story

“They sponsored us, Hickinbotham, for work, and once we arrived in Adelaide, we even had a house. They put us in a unit, furnished, the fridge full of food. ...We reached Friday, and Monday we started work, we didn’t have a break at all. We didn’t have any troubles because we knew the language. We also had a trade.”

As he continues to tell his story, it is quite clear this migrant was not afraid of trying his luck and being entrepreneurial. After Hickinbotham, and studying an injection moulding course, he soon after obtained a job in that field. He obtained a managerial position and after three-four years in the industry, the pressure was too much. So he then went to Coober Pedy to work, narrating

“I decided to go try my luck in the opal fields. We met some people and it was very encouraging. There we bought trucks and rented caravans. Put all our money together and we went off to Coober Pedy. As our luck was, we struck very bad weather. We spent 14 days on the road. We virtually dug ourselves all the way to Coober Pedy.... [Laughing]... But that was good. We were young, adventures and we had some of the best years out there. Instead of staying six weeks, we ended up staying nine months. When we ran out of money, we came back home obviously, eeee....”

This was a landmark time of his career, through the adventures he, his brother and both their families undertook in the outback of SA, could never be forgotten. The living conditions were somewhat extreme, the cars would get bogged (as seen in **Picture 11**), snakes were plentiful (as seen in **Picture 12**), they would sleep with the bed’s leg in buckets of water to prevent reptiles attacking them, and they endured bad weather.



Picture 11: B4 getting bogged travelling through outback SA



Picture 12: Snakes were plentiful in the outback



Picture 13: B4 working with the machinery in Coober Pedy Opal Fields



Picture 14: B4 working underground, excavating for opals

For B7, it took him two weeks before he found work. The first job he obtained in Adelaide was working in a steel manufacture at Gepps Cross, working from 7:(30)am-9pm. "It was very hot. Life was very difficult. We were used to a different life in Cyprus, and here it was work home, work home and for this reason." He described how he obtained the work, narrating "my uncle had a 'koumbaro' who had a snack bar...that was opposite the factory, and he knew the boss and he told him [the boss] 'I have a kid, who recently came from Cyprus and he wants a job'...and I was 18 years old. You had to be 21 years old to get this job,...so they wrote I was 21 years old." He laughed as he reminisced, justifying his comments by stating that he was producing as much work as those who were older. Also as his English was minimal, he had started to learn English whilst he was at work, and after six months he started to make friends.

After six months or more, he wanted to bring his other brother and sister, and he had heard about the sugarcane fields,²⁹⁶ narrating

"I needed \$1000 to book tickets, to bring them. Someone told me to go up to Queensland because they cut sugarcane and there is much more money. It took me 1 week by train to go up to Queensland. We left at night from Adelaide and in the morning we reached Melbourne, and then you had to stay all day there. Then again at night you would board the train to go to Sydney. Afterwards, from there you would go to Brisbane. And from Brisbane to go to the sugarcane fields, you had to travel 2,000 km from there. And I went there, I also saw my uncle who had come to Australia in 1927. He had explained to me what to do, where to go...in a different town from where he was. So I went there and we found a job cutting sugarcane."

In four months he made the money he needed to bring his siblings, stating "We were orphans and I needed to get as much money as possible. I was single and I was able to work long hours and earn very good money. Although you worked much harder, you got more money." From the money he made, he booked the tickets for his siblings. Then when his siblings were leaving Cyprus, he slowly made his way down to Melbourne to meet them when they would arrive. Once they arrived in Melbourne, he brought them to Adelaide by train.

²⁹⁶ "[...], we find that among the Cypriot migrants to Queensland there was a high degree of education, a greater knowledge of English, and more trade and clerical skills than amongst the general Greek community. And yet, even in Cyprus, the effects of poverty and war could not be avoided, and many left the island. Among those, a large number ended up in the cane fields and sugar towns of north Queensland." Conomos, D.A., (2002) *The Greeks in Queensland: A History from 1859-1945*, Brisbane: Copyright Publishing, p49

Whilst on the other hand, B1 and a friend went to work for Hills Industries. He was given a promotion quickly, but he was hesitant to take it, stating “They forced me to become a supervisor. I didn’t want to because I had a problem with the writing.” Also the supervisor did not want him to be transferred to a different department because his supervisor says even until today that “We were the greatest employees he has ever had.” It was at the time Hills Industries started manufacturing TV antennas. He says “being new Australians we wanted to work, but it meant I had to put in a little bit more to show that we were good workers.”

When B5 arrived in Adelaide, she took a couple of weeks to settle down, but wanted to do something, so she went to a College on Hutt Street for 6 months to learn to type. She aimed at working in an office at the end of her training, but in the meantime she got pregnant and did not obtain work. However, once she had the children she obtained work, but not in the field of her training. As seen in the table above, she worked in a range of position throughout her life time. B5 retired at Christmas of 2013; however she did not want to because she thoroughly enjoyed working. Her husband has been retired already for 35 years and he was asking her constantly when she would retire, so she unwillingly retired.

Meanwhile, B6 explained her work experience to be challenging, commenting

“It was very difficult those times. And that’s why Australia had prospered, it is because the people who came were poor, and came from the war in ’45, they may have been poor, but they were all good workers. Whatever was done here, is because of the new Australians, the Italians, Germans, Greeks...aren’t we the ones who created Australia to what it is today? Before that what was Australia? Don’t get me wrong, but what I mean is that, we worked the hard jobs for this country. All us Greek girls that would work in the hospital, do you think that if we were back in Cyprus that we would work with sick people? If I were over there, I wouldn’t be working in the hospital, but here I did. And even here I struggled because there were a lot of people who were not well.”

Her reflection on her experience in the workforce revealed that she encountered challenging conditions in the workplace, but felt that migrants contributed greatly to the development of Australia.

Overall, during Wave B, all the interviewee participants were actively involved in the workforce. Both females and males worked, some longer than others. Just like in

Wave A, some even worked in the same position with the same company for many years before retiring. Generally, during this wave, some migrants endured difficulty in obtaining work. In acknowledging this, it must also be stated that it was the females that faced this challenge, usually waiting months before they were employed. In comparison to their male counterparts, who gained employment within two weeks of arrival in Australia.

4.5.2.1 Challenges

Wave B had similar challenges as Wave A, with some individuals facing things like language difficulties and racism. B10 felt the language was one of the most challenging aspects, which she had extremely struggled with, highlighting “now and again I would get upset, and in particular if you didn’t know the words, it is very difficult.” Meanwhile, racism was experienced by B2, who stated “with the superiors there were some hostilities with the racism, but after they got to know us a bit more, things were ok.” While, B10 claims now and again that they would be called “Bloody New Australia!”

Also, as previously mentioned, there was a wave of unemployment hitting SA, with an economic depression around 1965.²⁹⁷ B2 had struggled to gain employment, even though she had completed high school. It took her four-five months before she gained employment. She narrated

“Back then it was difficult to find a job because there was ‘like a recession’. So wherever I went they would tell me ‘we don’t need [workers], we don’t need [workers].’ One of the places I went to was Hills. They told me to go out to the country to pick fruit but my family didn’t want me to. And so during this time my aunty and brother were paying for my expenses.

At Hills, they spoke Irish and I couldn’t understand them. They were giving me a job but it was after one o’clock. But my family didn’t like the idea because I would have to change two different buses and the time was not desirable.

Then I went to a Bank. Naturally, they ask you questions on your skills background and you fill in forms. Then after a month, they wrote to me advising they had a position for me as a cleaner. ‘I didn’t accept this position.’

²⁹⁷ Blewett, N., and Jaensch, D., (1971) *Playford to Dunstan: The Politics of Transition*, Melbourne: Cheshire, p46

Neither did I claim unemployment.

In the meantime, since I was not able to find work, my brother told me I should go to school to learn a skill. So I went and signed up at Pride Business College in the city [στενογραφία was popular at the time]. I did five-six months there. The nice thing was when the teacher found out that I was new in Australia; she introduced me to another Greek girl, whose family owned a café in the city.

Once I finished, I was ready to find work. Then, Philips was calling for workers.”

Even though she struggled to find work, she was able to obtain a position at Philips. B3 also struggled to find work, taking up to five-six months to gain employment, with her first job being in an ice cream shop (summer season) and then found work at Philips. She also believed her English language skills held her back from getting a job sooner.

Another female who struggled in finding work, possibly also due to her English language skills, was B6 narrating

“I remember, when I was unemployed and I couldn’t find work and we didn’t have a lot of money. And then when the person would come to collect the [rent] money, I would get the children and we would go to the park, so he wouldn’t find us. I was embarrassed because I didn’t have the money...So slowly slowly, I would collect the money, and give it to him a bit later on.”

Besides the fact she was seeking work, she found living conditions challenging, as they lived on her husband wage raising a young family, and they had come with minimal capital to Australia.

4.5.3 Living Standards

Similarly to Wave A, migrants would be greeted by family, friends or acquaintances upon arrival. The city was a popular location for many to stay as it was the hub. B1 lived with his brother up until 1966, and then once he returned with his wife (B5) in 1966, they returned to stay with him again. B1’s brother had his own house in Harriett Street, just off Halifax Street in the CBD. They all stayed together from 1966 until 1972, and they got on well. The house was a little single story, two bedrooms, one bathroom, one living room, and no air conditioner, just fans. B1 commented

“There was a lot of Hellenism in the city in those days. In that street, they were all Greek. In the same street there were four families.” Whilst B5 added

“The only thing she didn’t like was how close one house was to another. The driveways were very narrow. You didn’t have a big garden. In the summer when it was hot, the galvanised fence would radiate heat. It was very hot. Most nights we would pass our time at the park up until 1am. We weren’t scared because we were four families. We would go to the park because it was cool. The house didn’t have grass. Other houses had a garden but not this one.”

However there were those who stayed out of the city centre, such as B3, who upon arrival went to go stay with her father in Semaphore. When B2 arrived, she went to live with her aunty and her three children in Woodville.

Similarly to Wave A and other nationalities, many migrants stayed together until they were able to support themselves. When B7 arrived in Adelaide, together with his sister, they stayed with his uncle. Then after a year or so, once he brought over his other siblings from Cyprus they were all living under one roof at his uncle’s house. He narrated

“I lived with my uncle in a house, who had six children, six daughters. There were six of them, and four of us. In addition to my uncle and his wife, this makes 12 of us ...living in one house. We stayed with them for one year, and afterwards we rented, the four siblings, a house of our own ...because there was too many of us in the house.”

As he reflected upon his story, he could not believe how things were in those days.

As Wave B migrants started to settle more permanently into their new environment, they also started to purchase their own houses. As B5 explained, that after leaving the first house they shared in the CBD, they moved with her brother-in-law and his family to Unley. They bought two maisonettes in 1970. They lived in one and rented the other. They lived together again with the other couple. Then she fixed up the house and she went next door in 1972. They bought all new furniture and TV, and they spent Christmas there that year. They had also knocked down the fence and they had a garden. The children would play together. “Our children grew up like siblings, not like cousins.” They stayed there until 1983.

B2 had acknowledged the difference she found, explaining “This is the difference, even though they were good people, these were the differences we had in the culture, you know. They [Australians] would come to your house, and we would open our doors, and we would welcome them in with open arms. Whereas, when we would go [to their house], they would sit behind the security door.” She gave a little chuckle as she told her experience of staying with her aunty in Woodville, where the neighbours were mostly Australian and only a few Greek and Cypriot families, whereas in Bowden there were a lot of Greek and Cypriots.

Furthermore, B3 tells “Once my brother sold the shop, my brother and my Dad bought a house at Birkenhead, and that’s where we went and stayed.” Then once he got married, together with her husband, they bought a house close by. Therefore, from migrants in Wave B, there is a strong sense of clustering, meaning that migrants would settle close by those who they would have a close connection to, by either blood and/or a strong friendship.

Participants in this study initially would travel by bus, bike, walk or even carpool, and then soon after settlement they would purchase a car. Initially B5 was taking the bus and it would cost her five cents, and B1 would carpool with a colleague to work. B6 would ride her bike everywhere to do her jobs and go to work, narrating her experience

“I used to go to work by bike. I can even remember when I didn't have an air pump to pump the tyres, and so I would ride a little bit and then hop off and blowout the tyre and get back on and go again and then stop and again and again, all the way to work. It took me an hour to get to work. Listen to that. I didn't know what to do. I didn't know about fixing a tyre. It was only up until my children were older that they learned how to fix the hole. Parkside is quite far as you know....From here to there it's quite a distance. So I would leave the house an hour earlier to get to work on time.”

Whilst B3 would catch two buses and sometimes three, depending on the bus schedule to go to work. She elaborated that it was not far from her home, it was just the bus timetable and the route the bus would take, confirming “back then there were many buses because everyone would take the bus, but now everyone goes by car.”

Similar to Wave A, all male migrants learnt or knew how to drive. Interestingly, there were two females (B2 and B5) who learnt to drive during this wave. B2 only got her

driver's licence 20 years ago, when she was around 53-years-old. B5 got her driver's licence in 1974, which was eight years after she migrated. She even got her licence before her husband, she laughingly reminisced

"I did a written test at the Unley Police Station. She would take the kids to the Unley Primary School and then one day she said 'why don't I go get the piece of paper to learn how to drive.' I took the paper, I learnt the instructions and then I went for the test, and I got it. Then I came and announced it. ...Without them knowing anything."

She knew she needed the licence, in particular in taking the children and her nieces to school. Then soon after her husband went to get his licence, even though he did not require because everything was conveniently close by. Similarly to Wave A, where migrants A7 and A10 learnt to drive, predominantly because they grew up in the Anglo environment, B2 and B5 were the most educated (completed high school) out of the females in Wave B. Subsequently, of these four females their modern diverse thinking played a role in them attaining a driver's licence. Only after experiencing life, B6 describing "There wasn't any need [to get a driver's licence]. But I did regret it, [not getting a licence]. I regret it. Although, I had my bike and I did the jobs I had to, to the city, shopping, visiting...but now I regret it...and for those who don't know, they should learn."

In regards to shops, these Greek-Cypriot migrants found them different to what they knew. B5's impression was that "the shops were very small, no big restaurants, no clothing/shoes in fashion, because the fashion in Cyprus was two years ahead. I remember I wanted a pair of shoes navy blue and I could not find any." Similarly, B2 had a cousin here in Adelaide, who loved her clothes, and the following year that particular style had come to Australia. Nowadays it is much different because of globalisation. Furthermore, when it came to grocery shop, many still continued to shop at Star Grocery, but also at other stores. For example, B5 stated "For grocery shopping we would go and shop at my brother-in-law's delicatessen shop on corner of Halifax Street." With her husband adding "...and we would go to the Central Market to purchase meat." Most of the migrants interviewed, would purchase their meat from the central market and the rest of the groceries from somewhere else.

4.5.4 Marriage/Family Life & Traditions/Customs

Marriage and families continued strongly to be formed in South Australia, holding onto resilient traditions and customs. Interestingly, amongst the Wave B participants, there was a stream of migrants who returned to Cyprus to marry, and then returned to Australia. This was clearly evident with the Wave B participants, even though this may have happened in prior years as well. From the participants in this study, there were several cases of migrants returning to Cyprus to marry, such as:

- B1 returned to Cyprus after six years to marry B5, who was from the same town as him, and then returned to Adelaide;
- B3 invited B9, who she knew previously, and a month after B9's arrival they got married in SA; and
- A10 returned to Cyprus in 1963, met and married B8 in 1967, before returning in 1968.

Table 12: Wave B – Interviewees Gender, Year, Age and Marital Status upon Arrival

Migrant	Gender	Year	Age	Marital Status	Children
B1	M	1960	20	Single	-
B2	F	1961	20	Single	-
B3	F	1964	21	Single	-
B4	M	1965	22	Married	1
B5	F	1966	19	Married	-
B6	F	1966	28	Married	4
B7	M	1966	18	Single	-
B8	M	1968	33	Married	1
B9	M	1968	25	Single	-
B10	F	1971	24	Married	1

Also, as shown above in **Table 12**, half of the participants were married to Greek-Cypriots prior to arrival, which can be broken down to B5, B6, B8, and B10 marrying in Cyprus, and B4 marrying in England. They had an average of 3.84 years of marriage prior to arrival, with the least being two months and the most being ten years. Out of the five participants, there were four participants who had one child each and one participant had four children. From the remaining five migrants who married after their migration to Australia, two migrants (B2 and B7) married Greeks

and three migrants (B1, B3 and B9) married Greek-Cypriots. These migrants married with an average of 3.64 years after their migration, with the least being one month and the most being six years. Therefore, this demonstrates that this cohort stayed within their ethnic culture, being consistent with that of Wave B.

Overall, all migrants had children. From the participants, nine out of the ten migrants had two children, whilst only one migrant (B6) had four children. She was the eldest of the female participants and thus held onto the Cypriot socio-cultural characteristic of having many children. In comparison to Wave A, where the average of children was three amongst the interviewee participants, in Wave B it had decreased to two children. It is plausible to say that having two children was becoming the trend, rather than having larger families.

The traditions and customs were strongly held onto and passed down to the following generation, equally to that of Wave A. Also most of the migrants had sent their children to Greek School.

4.5.5 Language

Wave B was during a time the education system in Cyprus was at a turning point. As Cyprus was a newly independent nation-state, this meant there were changes being made within the country. One of these was the education system. Consequently, according to the new legislations meant it was compulsory for children to attend school. Therefore many continued their schooling till they completed, which also meant that they were undertaking English language classes.

Below, in **Table 13**, it gives an overview of the interviewee participant's knowledge and English and their education level. There was a mixture of English knowledge amongst these migrants, and for those who had minimal English, they had learnt either on the job and/or by attending English night school. The introduction of the migrant language classes' initiative had assisted individuals of Wave B, in comparison to Wave A. Many utilised them, some for longer period than others. Usually family commitments would be the main cause for migrants not continuing with class, and/or it did not fit in with the work schedule, as many undertook shift work.

Table 13: Wave B – Interviewees English Knowledge & Education

Migrant	Education Level	English Knowledge upon Arrival	How They Mainly Learnt English in Australia
B1	Primary School	A few words	Work & English night school
B2	High School	Very good	-
B3	Primary School	None	Work & English night school
B4	College in England	Very good	-
B5	High School	Very good	-
B6	Primary School	None	Work & the children
B7	Primary School	None	Work
B8	University in England	Very good	-
B9	Primary School	A few words	Work & English night school
B10	Primary School	A few words	English night school

B1 did not learn much English whilst in Cyprus because he only completed Primary School, where he had English lessons one hour per week. However, although he learnt some English whilst working, he also went to night school, which was located on the corner of Pultney Street and Angus Street, upstairs. B1 stated that “there were plenty of new Australians and also Australians because they didn’t know how to write. I had a shock when I saw Australians going there to learn to read and write.” He had commented that it was a government organisation and it was from around 7-9pm at night. He also would ask others for words every day and write them down to learn them.

Although B5 had a good command of the English language upon her arrival to Australia, she found that the English slightly different because of the accent. She found that the Australians would emphasise different letters when pronouncing words, giving the example, “We learnt ‘whiiite’ but here they would say ‘whitee’”. It took B5 a couple of years to get the gist of the Australian accent.

Likewise, B2 had a good command of the English language. She feels she does not have a ‘professors’ proficiency and that English was something she did not value from young, even though she confesses it had assisted in her settlement in Australia. She stated,

“I learnt English but I did not love it for two reasons. It was somewhat difficult

to know a foreign language, but also because we were under British rule, at that time there was a sense of resentment against the British and we didn't want to learn their language. Although, whatever I had learnt even that which was forced upon me, became useful to me when I came to Australia."

Therefore, B2's experience was somewhat different as she associated the English language as being under the British rule and how they were treated in Cyprus.

4.5.6 Social Life & Leisure

During Wave B, there is a scaffolding effect of building upon already established social groups. B1 had made lots of friends. He went to dances and he would play soccer. He stated that there was a small community and you would always find someone to socialise with. Whereas, B7 and his family in their free time, in particular the weekends, they would socialise and visit each other [the siblings]. Their children would get on well and play together, and they would have BBQs. He commented "Life was nice then."

For females, life was slightly different. B6 experienced a more conservative lifestyle, as she explained,

"I knew of others in the area. We lived in Ashford, and we knew others in Marleston. My happiness was when we would go to a cinema/theatre together. In those days, ladies didn't go out by themselves, but if it was a theatre on, the Greeks would go...to these, we would go and by ourselves. It had soul!!! We enjoyed this the most. It was nice."

Whilst B5 had a more liberal lifestyle, giving a description of her social life, explaining

"Three times a week we would go out. Every Wednesday we would go to the cinema. Every Saturday we would go to the hairdresser...there was a hairdresser called Madam Josephine's on Hindley Street, and there were many hairdressers there, possibly around 10, and there were 3 Greek hairdressers, very good hairdressers...without fail, every Saturday we would go get our hair done...because we would go out at night to a dance. We had a good life."

They would go to Olympic Hall where they would have dances. She further explained that "The community was small and whoever was getting married,

engagement or christening, everyone was invited. Even if there was not a dance on, we would go to the cinema and afterwards we would go for a coffee.” B5 was very social, hanging out with friends and family. Also, they would go to the English cinema, and sometimes they would go to the Greek cinema, confirming that there was one near Angus Street in the Adelaide CBD.

Overall, just like Wave A, Wave B had a strong connection within the Greek and the Greek-Cypriot community because there was still some degree of racism in SA.²⁹⁸ In the events of social events, in particular weddings, engagements and christenings, everyone was invited. However, it was not always smooth sailing, as B2 explained her wedding was somewhat difficult trying to organise. She married in 1965 and it was the time when the churches were separating. Her church service was held at Norwood, stating “It was one difficulty which I will never forget. Because my husband was from one side of the churches and I was from the other being the Community, because I was working for them.” Then her reception was at the hall in Franklin Street, and there were about 500 people, commenting “there were people saying they would not come because of the situation with the churches, but in the end they did. ...In those days, the Cypriots would have to invite everybody they knew, ...even if you didn’t know them well, yeah even if you didn’t know them well.” Therefore, not only did migrants have to abide by cultural norms, they also had to deal with social structures of the established community in SA.

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the migration of Cypriots during 1960 and 1973 was unique. It was at a time where Cyprus and Australia were both undergoing transitions. On one hand, Cyprus was developing as a newly independent country, and then on the other hand, Australia was transforming and prospering economically and demographically.

In the late 1963 and onwards, when Cyprus was encountering political instability, it was a turning point for many to reconsider their future prospects. A common factor

²⁹⁸ Also, it must be considered that there was still some degree of racism in SA, which would of hindered integration of the ethnic community into the Anglo-Australia society, (see **Chapter 6**). B2 stated “In those days there wasn’t a lot of people, you could not make friends. There was racism. Mostly, we were tied with the Greek community...and more so with Cypriot families. ...All the people, we were wanting to stay close together with our fellow compatriots, relatives,...We made friends with Australians but you had to wait for them to accept you, before you could make friends with them.”

for many was to migrate for a better future, stemming to a safer, more secure future for their children. The participants in this wave indicated that social, economic and psychological factors to be strongly contributing to their decision to migrate to SA. These migrants were predominantly young, with a mixture of marital status and education levels. Evidently, this impacted on their migration experience, as some enjoyed and were excited whilst others disliked the idea of migrating to Australia.

During this wave the migration process had been amended, and from 1964-1965 potential migrants were now required to visit Beirut to process their application papers for their migration to Australia. Wave B individuals predominantly travelled to Australia on migrant ships, where they were welcomed by family, friends and/or acquaintances. These migrant individuals stayed with them up until they were able to financially support themselves. The house facades and designs had left a lasting first impression on many because of the steel roofs that were utilised; in comparison to in Cyprus where steel roofs were constructed to house farm animals.

For those who settled in SA, they were able to contribute to the wider community with their contribution in the workforce. Wave B migrants sought employment in various industries, such as factories/manufacturing production companies, as well as small business such as a chicken shop and a pool business. Due to the transformation in the education system in Cyprus since it became independent, consequently Wave B individuals varied in English language knowledge and education levels, and were slightly higher than Wave A. Even though Wave B had a mixture of education levels amongst migrants, with either minimal, higher education or qualifications, there were possibilities for them to flourish in SA. Some settled into the workplace comfortably and pursuing managerial positions, with several finding challenges ahead of them, such as racism and the English language skills.

Upon arrival, half of the Wave B participants were single and the other half were married, with several having children. Also, during this wave a significant proportion of the participants had returned to Cyprus to marry their spouse and then returned back to SA where they settled and established a family. Essentially, indicating Australia was no longer a short term option (to prosper and to return to Cyprus) but a place where they saw their long term future. The already established Greek and Greek-Cypriot social networks had facilitated the migrants' integration into the community, where they would attend events such as dances and BBQs. Ultimately this had facilitated their settlement in SA because they were surrounded by their own diaspora.

CHAPTER 5

1974 – 1980: THE THIRD MIGRATION WAVE

In 1974 Turkey invaded Cyprus, causing many displaced residents and the country facing the future of attempting to rebuild itself. The flow on effect from the invasion saw many individuals seeking to migrate abroad, only this time, the prospect of waiting for the day to return “home” would be held in limbo. **Chapter 5** will commence by outlining Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots, and then will continue by analysing migration and settlement patterns and experiences of those who arrived in South Australia between 1974 and 1980, as migrants and refugees.

5.1 Immigration Policy Relating to Cypriots & 1974 Crisis

During the period of turmoil, Cyprus experienced a mass movement of its population. There were restrictions for refugees departing the island, mainly those of governmental restraints. From the Cypriot position there was stringent conditions on who was able to leave the island. According to a statement issued by the Cyprus Government on the 13th September 1974 setting out

“revised temporary restrictions aimed at preventing citizens of the Republic from leaving the island unless they secured an exit permit from the Ministry of the Interior. The permit is necessary for male citizens between ages 15 and 60 and for females ages 15 and 55. Several categories of persons can be granted exit permits. The three of interest to [Australia were]: (A.) Certified permanent residents overseas. Provided they have arrived recently for recreation or a visit to relatives and were unable to leave [due to the] the Turkish invasion. (B.) Those living in Cyprus for years but who are holders of passports of a foreign country and who due to the Turkish invasion have lost their means of subsistence in Cyprus but can dispose of such means abroad. [And lastly,] (C.) Those producing evidence of acceptance of their entry for permanent residence in a foreign country.”²⁹⁹

That ban “effectively immobilised the Greek-Cypriot community.”³⁰⁰ Although, one senior Greek government official, the Under-Secretary to the Greek Prime Minister, Mr Lambrias, claimed “it is dangerous for us to encourage people to escape from the island. That may sound inhuman, but sometimes national interests have to be more important.”³⁰¹ In other words, the Greek Government, but also the Republic of Cyprus, was more concerned about the country’s status and numerical balance between the two communities and in particular young men of military age, rather than the people themselves.

Through the years, Australia has committed to Cyprus with a humanitarian representation, especially during the outburst of violence. This can be interpreted from continuous financial contributions to the UN since 1964, funds supplied to the International Red Cross for relief operations, and the placement of Australian

²⁹⁹ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 1872873, Location: Canberra, p60

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p19

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

servants in Nicosia and Athens to provide support with visa applications. The Australian Government's "main concern of the Cypriot government was to obtain an agreement to enable the large number of displaced persons to return to their homes, lands and businesses."³⁰² Such negotiations and debates were being undertaken by political leaders, which included the proportionate size of the Turkish-controlled area in relation to its population percentage of 18 percent and that it must not exceed 20-30 percent of the island; the repatriation of Greek-Cypriot refugees, who fled from Famagusta area, which would mean a reduction of refugees from 180,000 to 130,000; the return of other refugees to other occupied areas; and investigations into the missing persons.³⁰³ The exchange of prisoners, Greek-Cypriot, Turkish and Turkish-Cypriot, was also on the agenda, with priority given to the sick, wounded, and prisoners under the age of 18 and over 50-years-old.³⁰⁴

Australia's foremost concern was to track down Australian-Cypriot dual nationals on the island in the aftermath of the invasion, and to ensure their welfare. Lists of Cyprus evacuees' names were compiled, which included whether contact had been made with these individuals, and detailing their future course of action, whether they were making their way to Australia or remaining in Cyprus.³⁰⁵ Some Cypriot subjects had even appealed for assistance through other avenues, such as the United Nations, the International Red Cross and in some cases to the Turkish embassy. For example, this is evident from one particular case of the Costi family. Documents from the Department of Foreign Affairs stated in its Inward Cablegram from Mr Ray Pennifold, who was a London-based consular officer at the time, on the 18th September 1974, reported to Canberra from Athens that

"wife of Nick Costi received advice that he is now in Adani camp in Turkey. He suffers badly with advanced stage of severe haemheroids (sic). Though on a BR PP reissued by BR HC Canberra in 1962, his BPOD is 20.3.38, Cyprus, he lived in Aust 1951-1969 at 275 Liverpool Rd Ashfield Sydney. Family has asked if Aust Govt can make any representation to Turkish Embassy, Canb, for his release and return to aust. He was not in a fighting force when captured. Also trying Int Red Cross here.

³⁰² "Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974," (Contents date range: 1974), *op. cit.*, p25

³⁰³ "Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974," (Contents date range: 1974-1977), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 1872874, Location: Canberra, pp217-218

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p216

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp206-215

*Mrs Stella Costi on Cypriot PP A15946 was in Aust 1962-1969. Has unused resident re-entry permit expiring 20.7.70. Two children born in Aust George Costi DPOB 3.3.64 Camperdown Sydney and Karen Costi DPOB 11.8.73 Cyprus not on any PP but could be placed on mothers. Has brothers and sisters in Aust who can provide fares and accommodation. Would it be possible to give urgent consideration for mother and 3 children to go to Aust via Athens. Is a deserving case.*³⁰⁶

This was one of many cases, where diplomatic assistance was required, particularly for prisoners of war based in camps in Turkey. Above all, efforts were made to keep families together and safe, evacuating individuals to Australia.

However, there were also limitations for the Australian government to assist with displaced people. The Greek government objected to the Greek-Cypriots leaving the island because it would compose a vulnerability status towards Turkey. This was clearly outlined by an Australian Creighton Burns, journalist and associate editor for *The Age* newspaper, who wrote an article titled “Cypriots Need Dollars, Not an Empty Gesture,” dated on the 18th September 1974. Burns reported

*“The Greek government is clearly embarrassed by the Australian offer to take Cypriot refugees. Senior Greek Government officials privately admit that any reduction in the numbers of Greek-Cypriots will weaken the community’s position on the island and erode the Greek Government’s Cyprus policy.”*³⁰⁷

The Australian government reaffirmed on the 22nd September 1974 that

*“in view of informal reaction of the Cypriot Government to our offers to ease immigration restrictions for displaced persons, it is suggested that we continue with our normal immigration program, presently limited to family reunion and nomination for Australia, but possibly with more flexibility about numbers than previously intended and in case of extreme distress.”*³⁰⁸

Also through the archival portal, we find documents of IDPs searching and applying for refuge, they emphasise that they have qualifications or somewhere to stay (friends and family) with sponsors.

As a key actor in the international arena Australia reflected moral responsibility, however it also had to strategically harmonize elements of sovereignty and the impact refugees would have in Australia. Accordingly to a confidential report by

³⁰⁶ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974), *op. cit.*, p5

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p19

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p25

Hugh Gilchrist, First Assistant Secretary from the Consular and Legal Division, wrote to the Minister on 19th September 1974, with concerns

*“if a very large number of Cypriots were accepted the probable low level of skills and standard of English of most of them, coupled with the unemployment situation in Australia, could quite possibly lead to many of them living in migrant hostels, out of work and receiving unemployment benefits, it is arguable whether this would be doing them a service.”*³⁰⁹

He also proceeded to address the political relations involving sovereign equality and integrity, stating

*“while the Australian Government is sympathetic to the plight of the displaced persons, the Government would not want to arrange the movement of significant numbers of Greek-Cypriots to Australia if in present circumstances this would be inconsistent with the policies of the Greek and Cypriot Government.”*³¹⁰

Essentially, Australia could not overstep its power and proceeded to satisfy demands from all other angles. This demonstrates the challenges Australia faced during a hostile circumstances.

It was reported on the 1st October 1974 that the Australian Embassy in Athens was having “difficulty in obtaining an officer.”³¹¹ It was suggested that “only one officer [would be] necessary if no migration processing here, [...]. This person should be a consular officer (of Dept of FA³¹²) and [...] must be male. Under no circumstances should a female be sent. He should have a Dip PP³¹³. It would need to be stated who the officer is responsible to for other than migration matters [...].”³¹⁴

Meanwhile, back in Australia, efforts were being made and lobbying the government to assist their fellow compatriots in need. On the 8th October 1974 a document from the Foreign Affairs reported

³⁰⁹ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974), *op. cit.*, p49

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p210

³¹² Department of Foreign Affairs

³¹³ Diplomatic Passport

³¹⁴ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p210

*“the Cypriot Brotherhood had been making further representations about relaxed migration entry for displaced Cypriots, particularly those who had lost members of their family in the recent fighting and/or who had relatives in Australia. The community had spoken about ‘Cypriot girls hiding in the hills from Turkish soldiers,’ who had no family left.”*³¹⁵

This was not the first action Cypriot community groups across Australia initiated or drew attention to Cypriot issues. Watching on from a distance in Australia, Cypriots undertook protests even when the invasion was happening.³¹⁶

Then back in Cyprus, as of the 14th October 1974, there were 132 immigration enquires, either by personal and telephone, with the majority being from relatives, but this number is a decreased number that resulted from “publicity given locally to statements on immigration policy and programme.”³¹⁷ The Cypriot Government had imposed restrictions on people leaving the island, only permitting them to do so on the grounds that it would benefit the economy, such as health, study or for business, excluding leisure.³¹⁸ Additionally, at this point it was suggested that consular work be undertaken at the Hilton Hotel in Nicosia, because the British High Commission Consular section did not have any spare space.³¹⁹ An “approximate weekly cost [for their] present operation [was broken down by]:

Hotel suite (Hilton)	PDS CY	122,675
Hire of car		14,000
Petrol		5,000
Stall (LES)		20,000
Miscellaneous		5,000
Consul’s T/A, Meals etc. extra. ³²⁰		

³¹⁵ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974), *op. cit.*, p20

³¹⁶ A protest was organised on the 16th July 1974 in South Australia to raise awareness to the coup and issues in Cyprus, with similar marches being held in Melbourne and Sydney. Making front page news in the Adelaide *Advertiser* newspaper, it was reported Greeks and Cypriots were gathering at the Cypriot Community of SA on Hindley Street to hear of any news of family in Cyprus. It was also reported that angry members of the Cypriot community would return to the island and fight for their freedom. Also, “The president of the Cyprian Society of SA (Mr. Panagiotis Stamati) said two members from the SA body would be selected to go to Canberra to protest to the Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) and the Greek Embassy.” “SA Protest” (16 July 1974) *The Advertiser*, South Australia, p1.

³¹⁷ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p198; It is unclear what this publicity encompassed.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p198

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p199

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

It was also proposed that locally engaged staff (LES) member, Mrs Apetiou be employed to assist with consular matters, and be paid CY£25 per week.³²¹

Then only a couple of days later, on the 16th October 1974, an increasing number of enquiries were received due to the wide publicity and front page news that “Australian Government is trying to arrange for 2000 Cypriot girls – refugees from the fighting there – to emigrate to Australia,”³²² a statement that was delivered by the Minister for Labor and Immigration, Mr Clyde Cameron. The report had detailed that “Australian immigration officials were having difficulty arranging for the women to come here because Cyprus was still in state of war. The Australian Government felt it had a duty to provide a haven for political refugees.”³²³ Cameron had said that

*“the 2000 girls ‘all virgins aged 12 and 20 were living in the hill country of Cyprus because they feared being raped if they remained in their villages. The virgins place great emphasis on their virginity. According to what I hear Australia is considered a safe country for the Cypriot virgins to come to. It should make us feel proud that we should be chosen to take them.”*³²⁴

Due to a press report with this announcement, it had gained significant interest by the public, governmental and private sectors, with seven girls (who all had family in Australia) already taking action first thing in the morning when the news was published.³²⁵ “Two had already purchased air tickets on [the] basis of [the] press report - five had travelled from far end of [the] island. Girls enquiring [...were] aged 12, 15, 16, 19 and 20.”³²⁶ Although, consulate officers did not have at hand instructions or guidance in the processing of these applicants, they were awaiting procedures for the “2,000 young virgins” matter.³²⁷ As no further comment could be made by consulate officials regarding this matter, it had resulted “in some adverse criticism of Australia, [and the] UNHCR representative ha[d] personally expressed

³²¹ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p199

³²² *Ibid.*, p193

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Ibid.*; Also, particularly in those days, the Labor Party was mainly men and they believed this issue would gain important support by women. Cameron, C. and Donovan, P., (2008) “Interview with Clyde Cameron,” *J.D. Somerville Oral History Collection*, State Library of South Australia, Interview No.: OH 715/2, interview conducted on 24th November 2004, p11, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Special Collections.

³²⁵ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p193

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp185, 187, 193

his concern.”³²⁸

Since July to mid-October 1974, Australia had facilitated in 1,200 Cypriots migrating to Australia, with a forecast of an additional 400 by the end of February.³²⁹ By the 17th October 1974, it was reported that Australia approved

“Category A	Greek Cypriots	- 16 cases, 28 persons
	Turkish Cypriots	- 24 cases, 32 persons
National Need	Greek Cypriots	- 21 cases, 54 persons
	Turkish Cypriots	- 23 cases, 135 persons” ³³⁰

It was also suggested that by mid-November immigration officers be sent to Cyprus to commence the processing of Category A cases.³³¹ In addition, as many refugees were residing in open areas under trees and with the cooler months coming, it was proposed that these applicants qualify for Category A is actioned.³³² Furthermore, Australia was granted permission by the Turkish Authorities in the Turkish occupied area, that they will allow representatives to visit the area to process Category A cases “and were quite prepared to release the families of Australian citizens to join their husbands, wives and children in Australia.”³³³ However, representatives were restricted from visiting five villages/towns, which included Yialousa, Ephtakom, Ayios Elias, Kythrea and Symanokhori (sic), whilst in other areas the assistance of the Red Cross and humanitarian office UNFICYP providing communication and assist in the transferring of Australians and their families from the Turkish occupied area.³³⁴

It was acknowledged that Australian immigration selection team from the Athens Embassy would be arriving in Cyprus in early November.³³⁵ By the 21st October 1974, it was highlighted that “priority will be given to those sponsored by friends and relatives in Australia who are spouses, dependent children, dependant parents or fiancées of their nominators, sponsored single women displaced from their homes, etc.”³³⁶ Additionally, on the 24th October 1974, it was specified that

“only nominated cases are to be actioned with approvals restricted to:

³²⁸ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p195

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p191

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p188

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ *Ibid.*, p189

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p185; The NAA document writes the town name as Symanokhori, but should be Syrianothori.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp173, 180

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p180

- A) Category 'A' (excluding male fiancés),
- B) Single girls displaced and living in circumstances posing a threat to their welfare,
- C) Nominee coming within the prescribed acceptable occupational categories, and
- D) Others who because of loss of their homes or other cause associated with the Turkish intervention are suffering extreme hardship.³³⁷

Accordingly, all cases would be processed under normal selection criteria, and UNHCR and International Red Cross (IRC) records were beneficial in assessing cases and in particular for B) and D) nominations.³³⁸ Specifically, those qualifying as B) nominations, "single girls under 18 years travelling unaccompanied unless nominated by a parent, married brother or married sister in Australia, [whilst] those 18 years and over sponsored other than a fiancée or to join a parent, brother or sister here [were] to be refereed by cable for sponsor check before they are formally approved."³³⁹ All approved cases would need to make their own travel arrangements to Australia, however individuals could seek passage assistance upon request, and would be available to those qualifying under A) and C) nominations.³⁴⁰

Also, in the meantime, by the end of October, the exchange and release of POW was 2,483 Greek-Cypriots and 3,319 Turkish-Cypriots had been completed.³⁴¹

Back in Australia, Cypriots and Cypriot Community leaders continued lobbying for movement of Cypriots to Australia. Mr Tom Costa, member of the Cypriot Community in Sydney, had lodged with the Department a list of 79 nominations, which consisted of 200 persons, in an effort to process their migration to Australia.³⁴² Costa was in Athens and making his way to Cyprus to inform the potential migrants.³⁴³ Also, according to Costa "leaders of the Greek and Cypriot communities had in mind shifting some 3,000 people and that nominations to this effect would be lodged in the near future."³⁴⁴ This would include the Greek and Cypriot communities

³³⁷ "Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974," (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p173

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p174

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p131

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p155

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p156

taking responsibility for these migrants accommodation and employment matters.³⁴⁵

Furthermore, by late October (28th October 1974), there were official correspondents regarding Senator Nick Bolkus visiting Cyprus over the span of three-four weeks to undertake an objective assessment of the situation in Cyprus on behalf of Minister Clyde Cameron.³⁴⁶ There were concerns whether Bolkus' Greek background would hinder the mission, even though he is an Australian citizen, which in effect this meant he would undertake the mission with an "official passport endorsed 'Bearer is travelling on official business at the request of the Minister for Labor and Immigration'."³⁴⁷ Arrangements for him were made to fly Qantas Airlines into Athens on the 3rd November, where he would spend the day undertaking meetings, before proceeding onto Nicosia, Cyprus on the 4th November.³⁴⁸ As there were limited flights travelling to Cyprus during this time, so Bolkus had boarded a RAF cargo flight to get to Cyprus.

According to Senator Willesee and Bolkus, there were no immigration team in Cyprus at that point in time, even though Cameron had believed that there was already a selection team of four people already operating there.³⁴⁹ This was in fact a misunderstanding because a team of two (one selection and one medical personnel) were scheduled to arrive shortly in Cyprus.³⁵⁰ The question was raised how many Cypriots would be accepted by Australia, with Bolkus indicating that Cameron was not against taking an estimated 3,000 people, and with Senator Willesee (Minister for Foreign Affairs) indicating a similar number.³⁵¹ In light of this, two main points needed to be considered. Firstly, how many migration officers were required in Cyprus in undertaking the processing of applications, and secondly, the proportion of people being processed from Greek and Turkish areas due to the political situation on the island.³⁵² Cameron had confirmed that he did not want commit to an exact number of Cypriots, but would re-evaluate the situation when numbers would exceed 2,000.³⁵³

³⁴⁵ "Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974," (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p156

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p166

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p153

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p152

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p145

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, p144

During Bolkus' trip, he had visited and met with various members of both the Greek and Turkish community members. He wrote a 25 page report entitled "The Situation in Cyprus: 1974" and was official published in March 1975. His findings resulted in the amendment of policy for Cyprus, but also for the push for a big humanitarian effort to be undertaken by Australia. He was part of an effort to assist Cypriot refugees in coming to Australia. Whilst on his mission in Cyprus he took a collection of 19 pictures (as shown below, **Picture 15 - Picture 22**), and also forwarded them onto Don Dunstan,³⁵⁴ who was the premier of SA and Norwood MP, for his reference as he had a keen interest in Cyprus.



Picture 15: Standard Refugee Tent

³⁵⁴ Bolkus, N. (1975) "Cyprus – Nick Bolkus Trip," DUN/Box 131, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections



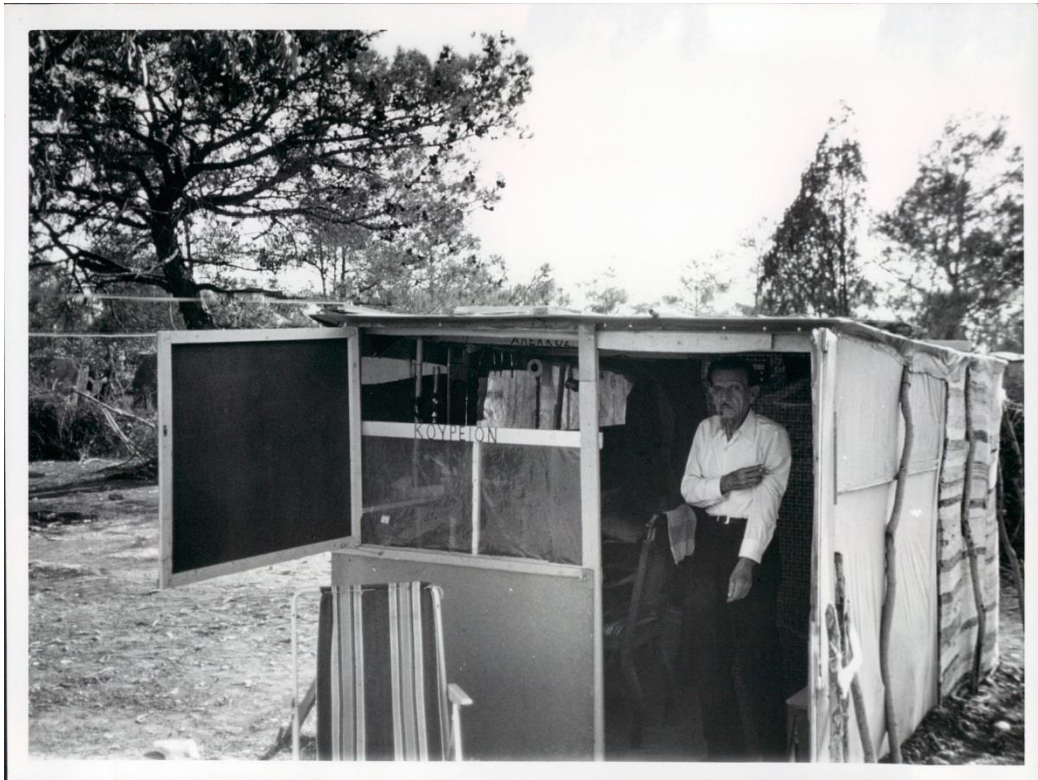


Picture 16: Camps Well Organised and Clean Environment





Picture 17: Refugees at the Hafkariti Camp Waiting for the Daily Water Supply Delivered by Fire Truck



Picture 18: The Local Barber



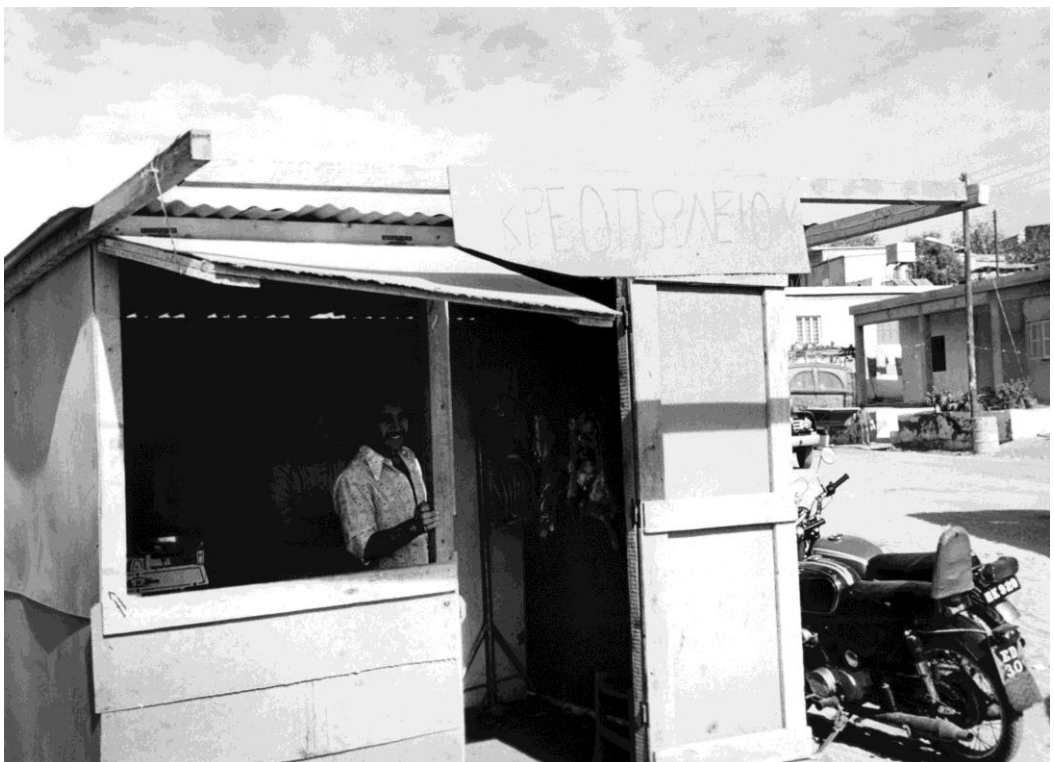


Picture 19: Constructed Housing in Ahna Forest

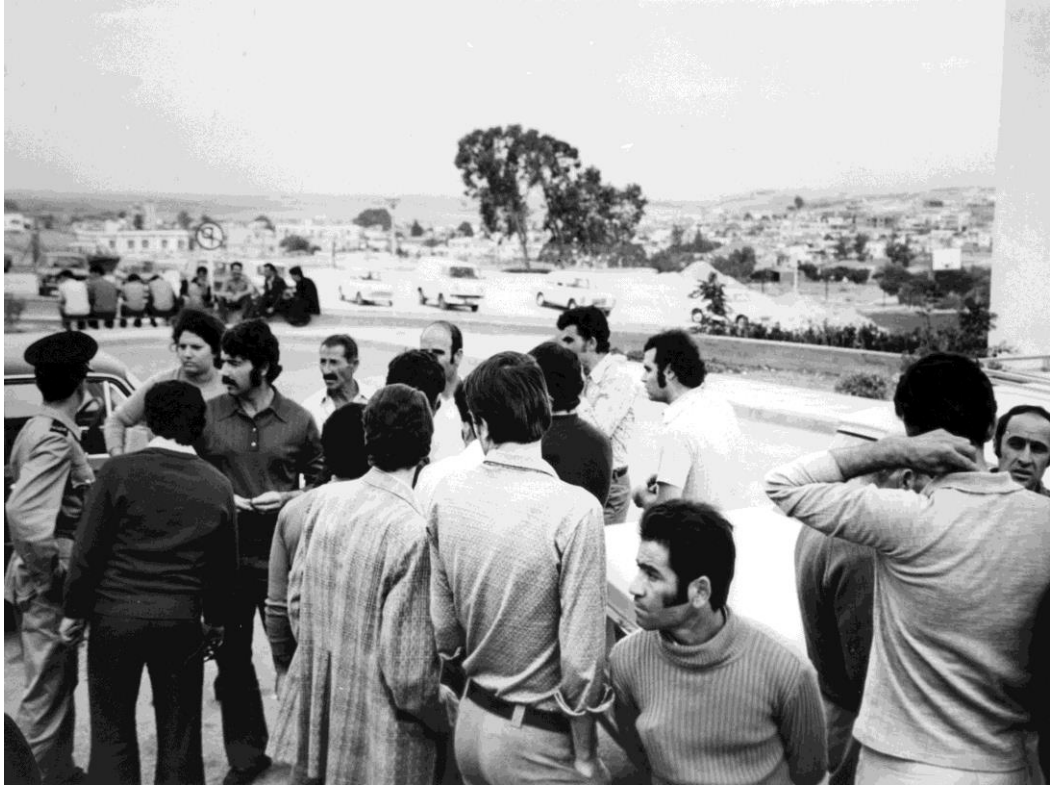




Picture 20: This Camp Housed 3,000 People



Picture 21: The Local Butcher Shop



Picture 22: Constructed Housing Accommodating an Elderly Couple in Ahna Forest

Meanwhile, by the 19th November the processing of Cypriot nominations was becoming more complex since it had originally commenced processing applications. Firstly, some of the challenges officers found was proving/validating qualifications or work experience of individuals which would be beneficial to Australia, therefore it was suggested that skilled visas be discontinued.³⁵⁵ Additionally, the Cypriot authorities viewed it unfavourable for skilled men to leave the island.³⁵⁶ Secondly, as the majority of people were undergoing hardship and without homes, examining each case based on the degree of hardship was difficult because official certificates did not specify, therefore there were cases where individuals have been declined visas due to not being in severe hardship, even though they have been sponsored by relatives in Australia.³⁵⁷ As a result, the current assessment process the migration officers were following in regards to people applying for visas under severe hardship conditions, where by individuals had to provide official evidence³⁵⁸ which would fall under two main procedures:

- firstly, if they could not prove hardship, they would be processed against standard migration criteria;
- secondly, if evidence is provided, an assessment would be undertaken on the degree a hardship encountered;
 - If not under severe hardship, they would be processed against standard migration criteria.
 - If under severe hardship and all other selection criteria are fulfilled, a visa would be granted.³⁵⁹

Thirdly, during this time it was recommended that male fiancées be allowed to migrate as they were restricted to migrate.³⁶⁰ Fourthly, when the troubles started in Cyprus, visiting permits were granted to wives and children for Australia, and now the husbands wanted to join their partner in Australia, which would mean migrant

³⁵⁵ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p127

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ NOTE: “‘Refugee Cards’ are issued on application by the Cypriot Authorities to those persons who are suffering some degree of hardship as a result of displacement or as a result of the problems in Cyprus. These cards show personal particulars of grantees whether displaced or not, details of any benefits (food, blankets etc.) that may have been received from relief organisations and additionally contain a code letter (A to C) which indicates the severity of their hardship as assessed by local authorities.” “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p81

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p129

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p127

visas needed to be granted.³⁶¹ Fifthly, “British passport holders whose spouse and children are Cypriot passport holders until the first January the British passport holder can go to Australia and then nominate family from there. [It was] recommended that for the next few weeks [Australia] allow spouse and children to accompany British passport holder if they insist.”³⁶² Overall, there were several more issues arising, however these were some of the main concerns for immigration officials encountering in Cyprus. Out of the points mentioned above, the first, fourth and fifth points were approved by Canberra, and the second was noted down, whilst the third point needed further clarification.³⁶³

Furthermore, by the end of November a backlog of visa nominations was encountered, primarily due to moving to the new Embassy premises and the increasing flow of applications, consequently additional staff was required to overcome the backlog.³⁶⁴

Also in late November, it was suggested that it would be valuable in arranging the movement of 100-200 Cypriot refugees to Sydney by Christmas. Negotiations with the Qantas manager established special fare rate of AUD\$375, discounted from \$425.³⁶⁵ The Qantas manager was also prepared to have an escort officer and interpreter on the flight to assist the group.³⁶⁶ Then by early December, Qantas’ offer of \$375 plus 40kg luggage was undercut by other airlines by \$20, in effort to be competitive, which resulted in prospective migrants purchasing tickets from these other airlines.³⁶⁷

Back in Australia, the procedure of the Greek-Cypriot refugee intake was addressed in parliament on the 5th December 1974 by the Minister for Labour and Immigration, Mr Clyde Cameron. He confirmed that

“to qualify for priority consideration, an applicant would need to have been sponsored from Australia, to be displaced, and to be living in conditions of severe hardship. Movement, in general, would be under arrangements made by the sponsors or their nominees. The Australian operation in Cyprus is confined to the priority examination for visa issue of nominees sponsored by

³⁶¹ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p128

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp124-125

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp121-123

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p114

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p108

*friends or relatives here.*³⁶⁸

Overall, as the refugees were bona fide and required assistance, the government had to balance this within its constraints. By giving priority for applicants living in hardship and sponsored by friends and family, would provide a form of relief for individuals. Australia was challenged by moral obligations and not offending Cypriot Authorities with the total intake of Cypriots.

On the 10th December it was reported back to Canberra that as of the 6th December, the number of visas processed for displaced persons was:

“Greek Cypriots: 32 pro visas issued, 206 eligible pro visas not issued, 42 deferred as documents incomplete and likely to be approved.

Turk Cypriots: one pro visa issued, 3 eligible, 6 deferred.

*Nominations seen so far consisted of 116 displaced Greek Cypriots (incorporated in displaced persons above) and about 60 not displaced (mainly Costa's nominations).*³⁶⁹

Also, in regards to the category of single girls, there were no pro visas issued, although there were

“7 eligible and 6 called but had failed to appear. Approximately 150 single girls made enquiries but relatively few were nominated or had friends/relatives in Australia and many would also require assisted passage. However, a number of single girls would be travelling with³⁷⁰ their families and would not appear under this [category] heading. [...] There does not appear to be very strong pressure for single girls to migrate”³⁷¹

Nominations falling under “Category A”, there were no pro visas issued for Greek-Cypriots but 15 were eligible, whilst 7 pro visas were issued to Turkish-Cypriot with an additional 21 eligible.³⁷² Whereas nominations falling under “National Need” were no longer being carried out, but since the mission commenced in Cyprus there were 52 eligible nominations (all of whom were Greek-Cypriots) but no pro visas were issued.³⁷³ Additionally, since mid-July (when the troubles commenced in Cyprus,

³⁶⁸ Australian Parliamentary Debates (1974) “Greek-Cypriot Refugees,” *Hansard*, Canberra, Vol.H of R.92, p4797

³⁶⁹ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p105

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp105-106

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² *Ibid.*, p106

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

“153 visit visas [had] been issued in Athens to Cypriots (mainly in the period following the Minister’s first announcement when [Australia was] adopting a flexible approach to the Cypriot refugees who had come to Athens), a further 243 migrant visas to Cypriots approved before mid-July and 20 to returning Cypriot migrants.”³⁷⁴

On the 24th December, Clyde Cameron announced in a Press Release (also with some coverage in Sydney press and TV) the long awaited first main humanitarian airlift operation of Greek-Cypriot refugees.³⁷⁵ About 25 people were selected as part of the operation, and fell under the categories of displaced persons and Category A, “many of whom [had] not seen relatives in Australia for many years.”³⁷⁶ These people were issued migrant visas, flying out of Athens on the 24th December on QF6 (Qantas jet) and arriving in Sydney on Christmas Day, Wednesday 25th December at 8:55pm, and then Melbourne at 11:20pm.³⁷⁷ According to Cameron, these people would be

*“welcomed at Sydney Airport by Mr J Riordan (MP), Chairman of the NSW Migrant Task Force, Senator Tony Mulvihill, Vice Chairman of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party’s Labor and Immigration Committee, and Mr N Bolkus who flew to Cyprus in November as a special representative [...] to assist the situation there and arrange for the speedy introduction of the refugee program.”*³⁷⁸

A list of these people’s names, the number of people travelling, their sponsor’s name and addresses were passed onto the Department of Labor and Immigration Canberra for their records, but also forwarded onto Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, where these people would settle.³⁷⁹ Also, in addition to this main group, a smaller group of 10 Greek-Cypriot had arrived in Australia over the weekend (21st-22nd December).³⁸⁰ Then, in the New Year (1975) more passengers were coming under this operation on QF6 flights, with passenger list names and family numbers continuing to be forwarded onto Canberra informing them of arrival dates, times, and the destination of landing/settlement in Australia.³⁸¹ The largest organised flight (at that time) was on the 11th February and arriving in Sydney on the 12th February with

³⁷⁴ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p107

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp92-93, 97; NOTE: Not all passengers were refugees. Some passengers were affected by the invasion and would have qualified under Category A criteria.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp92, 99

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p92

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p99

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p93

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp69, 83

30 Greek-Cypriots, but it was also suggested that more migrants had been coming as an effort of the operation but on different airlines, however Athens was not informed of their travel arrangements.³⁸²

Consular and immigration resumed duties from the 8th January 1975, and it was forecast that more than 900 Cypriots would be approved by the end of January, since the operation began in 1974.³⁸³ The backlog continued as one selection officer and doctor were operating on the island, which raised the question of efficiency of processing because there were approximately 3,500 nominations in the backlog (2,500 applications received in December and 250 by mid-January).³⁸⁴ Also, it was agreed upon that the office continue its operation with local staff whilst immigration officers return back to Athens, but would return back to Cyprus to continue with interviewing prospective migrants.³⁸⁵ Moreover, there were correspondents between Athens and Canberra, in regards to the progress status of applicants.³⁸⁶

On the 3rd February 1975, Athens provided Canberra with the current migration statistics since commencing their efforts in Cyprus on the 22nd October.³⁸⁷ The report detailed that:

<i>“Category A:</i>	<i>Greek Cypriots</i>	<i>- 63 interviewed, 58 approved, 4 deferred, 1 rejected</i>
	<i>Turkish Cypriots</i>	<i>- 4 interviewed, 4 approved, nil deferred, nil rejected</i>
<i>Single Girls:</i>	<i>Greek Cypriot</i>	<i>- 32 interviewed, 24 approved, 8 deferred</i>
	<i>Turkish Cypriot</i>	<i>- Nil</i>
<i>Displaced Persons:</i>	<i>Greek Cypriot</i>	<i>- 757 interviewed, 663 approved, 87 deferred, 7 rejected</i>
	<i>Turkish Cypriot</i>	<i>- 18 interviewed, 18 approved</i>

³⁸² “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p69

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, p90

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p84

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp28-30, 52, 71-72

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p77

National Need: Greek Cypriot - 68 interviewed, 52 approved, 14 deferred, 2 rejected

*Note: Approvals in the above includes cases currently waiting X-ray clearance.*³⁸⁸

In addition to these statistics, approximately 350 heads of families were informed that their application was rejected upon pre-selection contact because they did not fulfil the criteria of being displaced and were not eligible under normal migration criteria.³⁸⁹ There were still 2,900 nominations in backlog, with an estimated 1,000 or so dating back to pre-July.³⁹⁰ In all, since July till the beginning of February it was claimed that “1,200 Cypriots [had been taken and/or were provided] with the facility to migrate to Australia.”³⁹¹ Additionally, due to speculations that Famagusta may be given back to Greek-Cypriots, there was concern that not all people obtaining visas are travelling to Australia, but rather migration facilities were “being sought in many instances as an insurance policy in case the situation does not improve.”³⁹² Therefore it was suggested that an expiration date be applied to the visas once issued.³⁹³

In late July 1975, discussions commence regarding Cypriot emigration to Australia. The by September, it was reported that “the Cypriot Authorities changed their position from one of passive acceptance of emigration to setting in motion concrete legislation to prevent emigration at a rate higher than had existed prior to July [1974] – in Australia’s case to around 1,000 per annum. There [was] no objection to the emigration of Category A nominees.”³⁹⁴ The Cypriot Authorities had come to this decision based on political and economic reasons, to strengthen the country with a strong labour supply and a viable Greek entity.³⁹⁵ As the demand to migrate to Australia had increased during the previous three months or more, one of the main problems caused by this restriction is that the Australian officers had “6,000 individuals for whom nominations are on hand.”³⁹⁶

By mid-March 1976, there were an estimated 12,000 Cypriots recorded with the

³⁸⁸ “Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p77

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p78

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p80

³⁹² *Ibid.*, pp79-80

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p80

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p17

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p18

Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, who had “been issued visas for Australia but [had] not yet [arrived in the country].”³⁹⁷ Since the fighting had ceased on the island and with the high level of Cypriot emigration had concerning the Cypriot Government, an official announcement made in Australia on the 22nd March 1976, detailed that it was “no longer necessary to continue the immigration concession arranged by the Australian Government to ease hardship suffered by displaced persons at that time.”³⁹⁸ Australia had permitted 3,000 Cypriots to come to per annum, which was three times the standard level, and individuals did not have to meet the occupational criteria.³⁹⁹ The following recommendations were put forward to the Cypriot Government:⁴⁰⁰

“i) as and from 1st April 1976 persons resident in Cyprus who have not as yet received an approval notice be subject to the same eligibility rules as apply elsewhere,

ii) where approval notices have been issued, but a visa has not been applied for, the nominee be informed that unless he or she applies for a visa before the end of March, the application will be regarded as having lapsed,

iii) those who have received visas valid for 12 months be permitted to proceed within the period of validity

iv) no renewals of visas be issued unless the nominee meets the normal migrant criteria.”⁴⁰¹

Although, the intention was to slow the movement of Cypriots in the future, it had acknowledged that in the case that individuals had visas already issued, they would be able to migrate for a short period of time.⁴⁰² One of the challenges of this announcement being carried out by the 1st April was that migration officers could not physically undertake the workload within the time frame given, which was several days.⁴⁰³ They still had 1,000 provisional visa holders who had yet to request a visa, in addition to 500 people who have undertaken interviews and medical checks but

³⁹⁷ Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p14

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p12

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp9, 12-13

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, p12

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p7

had not yet been granted formal approval.⁴⁰⁴

Even though this announcement was made, there is uncertainty of the outcome or the following events occurring because there is no more available information for public viewing. Only when the material from the archives is released will there be a better understanding of the immigration policy relating to Cypriots.

In conclusion to the Australian immigration policy relating to Cypriots during the period of 1974 till 1980 revealed complications with policy, bureaucracy and the difficulty of conditions on the island. Whilst there were several people in politics, who were supportive of Cypriots in emigrating to Australia, the conditions in Cyprus made it difficult to undertake processing of applications. During the first six months after the invasion, the processing of immigration applications highlighted the constantly changing policy to comply with both Cyprus and Australian attitudes. Also, this section has revealed original material of an assessment of the situation in Cyprus after the 1974 invasion and the recommendations, which included Australian assisted airlifts of Cypriots out of Athens. Therefore, this will provide a greater understanding of the policy relating to the Cypriot migration to Australia, as this chapter will now discuss the migrants' and refugees' migration and settlement experiences in SA.

⁴⁰⁴ Cyprus – Migration of Displaced Persons 1974,” (Contents date range: 1974-1977), *op. cit.*, p7

5.2 Introduction to Migrant Portraits: C1 – C10

This section will provide basic information on the interview participants who arrived between 1974 and 1980 (as shown in **Table 14**) and will also give a brief introduction to each person.

Table 14: Basic Information on the Interview Participants who arrived between 1974-1980

Migrants	Gender	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Arrival	Age Upon Arrival
C1	M	1934	Geroskipos, Paphos	1974	40
C2	F	1956	Neo Horio, Kythreas	1974	18
C3	F	1939	Aglantzia, Nicosia	1974	35
C4	M	1940	Pyrogi	1975	34
C5	M	1940	Vathilakas, Karpasia	1975	35
C6	M	1945	Ayios Elias, Ammochostos	1975	30
C7	F	1945	Aglantzia, Nicosia	1975	30
C8	F	1938	Ammochostos	1976	38
C9	M	1957	Kato Varosi, Ammochostos	1978	20
C10	M	1959	Rizokarpaso	1979	20

5.2.1 Migrant Portrait: C1

C1 was born in 1934 in Geroskipos, Paphos. Then from the age of two he grew up in Larnaca, where he also attended school at the American Academy. From the age of 12, he began selling Loukoumia (sweets) after school because his family needed the money to pay for his schooling. Then at 16-years-old he left school and went to work at a merchant house. He got married in 1956, and had three children. When the invasion happened, he was working for the British Army, and was in charge of the refugees who were fleeing from the northern parts. Not knowing what was happening from one day to the next, he and his family decided to migrate. In November 1974, they left from the Limassol harbour by ship to Piraeus, Greece. Then after a week in Athens arranging the children's papers, they departed Athens by aeroplane and made their way to Australia. After two weeks of being in Australia, C1 gained employment at the Railways. He even worked a second job cleaning offices. Now retired, he enjoys socialising with compatriots.

5.2.2 Migrant Portrait: C2

C2 was born in 1956 in Neo Horio, Kythreas. She had just completed high school when the 1974 invasion happened. Her family and she fled from their town. She had a brother living in Australia, and the family decided to leave Cyprus. They caught a ship to the Piraeus port in Greece arriving on the 16th September. When they reached Athens, they stayed in a cellar of an apartment building for three months up until the Australian Embassy granted them visas. After they gained clearance and approval to come to Australia, some of her family members and she left Greece by plane, and arrived at Sydney airport on the 25th December. Her brother owned a restaurant in Sydney, where they worked up until the rest of the family made their way to Australia. Then they decided to move to Adelaide because there was a better lifestyle. They found it difficult to settle in Australia because they did not know the language well. She worked in a factory with her sister, up until she got married to another Greek-Cypriot and they had three children. Settling down in Adelaide, they bought a house and became citizens.

5.2.3 Migrant Portrait: C3

C3 was born and raised in Aglantzia, Nicosia in 1939. She had a good childhood growing up, and was a studious student, with her uncle ensuring that she did well at school. When C3 completed high school, she attended the Paedagogical Academy for a two year course. She gained employment as a teacher straight away and worked until she left for Australia. In the meantime, she got married and had three boys. When the invasion happened in 1974, together with some of the teachers, she was recruited to the radio station in Nicosia to facilitate parents finding their children. Then once things settled down, she went back to teaching. They were fearful for their lives and for the future of their children, so they wrote to her sister-in-law in Adelaide, who agreed to sponsor them. However, the Australian Embassy contacted them at the beginning of December of 1974 and advised them to organise their papers because they would leave for Australia on the 24th December from Athens. C3 and her family packed their stuff and left by ship to Athens and then after three days they boarded a Qantas plane to Australia. Once they reached Adelaide, C3 and her family were greeted by her sister-in-law and her family, and stayed with them up until they found a place of their own. She found work soon after her arrival as a teacher. C3 and her family settled permanently in Adelaide and in 1978 they became citizens.

5.2.4 Migrant Portrait: C4

C4 was born in Pyrogi, a village located between Nicosia and Larnaca, in 1940. He grew up in a mixed Greek and Turkish village, having an enjoyable childhood. He completed high school before proceeding onto the Teachers College, where he graduated and became a high school teacher. He married his wife in 1963 and they had two children. Over the years he had worked at several schools in Cyprus and gaining even more diplomas along the way. In August 1974, his family and he were forced to leave the village one night, when the military had advised them the Turks would attack their village next. They left with very minimal things and sought refuge in a distant village with many others, initially living under a tree. They feared for their lives and were uncertain whether they would make it out alive, as they had encountered bombing and shooting, whilst they made it to that village. C4 had an aunty in Adelaide, and his family and he decided to come to Australia temporarily in January 1975. Whilst in Australia, he found work after two weeks and the family settled down. Over the years, they built a future for themselves in Adelaide and ended up staying. Till today, C4 and his wife have Cyprus, in particular their villages, close to their heart.

5.2.5 Migrant Portrait: C5

C5 was born in Vathilakas, outside of Rizokarpaso, in 1940. He completed high school and continued onto the Teachers College. Soon after, he gained employment at a primary school in a nearby village. When the invasion happened, he took his family and they fled to safety. In an effort to keep his family safe, C5 was invited to come to Australia by his sister, who was residing in Adelaide. C5 and his family were granted a visa from Nicosia, and they left several months after being approved. He travelled with his pregnant wife and 18-month-old child via Beirut and Jakarta before landing in Sydney and making their way to Adelaide, where they were met by his sister. They resided with her and her family up until they were able to support themselves. Due to the bureaucracy in the teaching system, it took C5 six months to gain employment at a school. Eventually, he bought a house and raised three young children in SA. He and his family became Australian citizens as they viewed it was safe and created their future here.

5.2.6 Migrant Portrait: C6

C6 was born in Ayios Elias, Ammochostos in 1945. He completed his primary schooling in his town and then completed high school in a town called Triкомо, which was an English high school and once Cyprus became independent in 1960 it

became a Greek high school. On completing his schooling in 1960, he went to Varosi to work. In the meantime, he had gotten married and had a child. Then due to the 1974 invasion they fled from the town and sought refuge in the south of Cyprus. C6's wife had a cousin in Adelaide and he invited them to come to Australia. So C6 and his family organised their papers and medical requirements and were granted approval to come to Australia. Travelling with their 21-month-old daughter on an Olympic Airways flight, they flew via Athens, Singapore, and reaching Sydney on the 13th of November 1975, staying one night before coming to Adelaide the next day. Over time, C6 and his family set themselves up in Australia, with C6 working several jobs over his career. C6 and his family found peace in Adelaide, and eventually decided to become citizens in 1977-1978.

5.2.7 Migrant Portrait: C7

C7 was born in Aglantzia, Nicosia in 1945. She attended school and once finishing high school she attended a nursing college. She gained employment straight away as a nurse. In the meantime, she got married and had a child. In 1974 when the invasions happened, the unrest near her home forced C7 and her family to flee, more than once, from their house and seek refuge in distant villages. When things seemed to settle down, they would return to their home. Making things even more dangerous, in the month of August when the second invasion happened she was due to give birth to her second child. As she had difficulty giving birth with the first child, she knew she needed a hospital. Initially, they fled to the hills but as there were no hospitals nearby, so she went to the hospital in Limassol and after a couple of days she gave birth to her second child. Once things had settled, they returned to their home. Whilst they were away, little had they know it had housed Greek soldiers. C7 and her husband continued to work and they started to reconsider their future. C7's sister invited her and her family, and they migrated to Australia, after a brief visit to the Australian Embassy in Athens. Once in Adelaide her family resided with her sister briefly up until they set themselves up. Her husband and she found work as nurses. They settled comfortably in Adelaide, purchasing their home and raising their family.

5.2.8 Migrant Portrait: C8

C8 was born in Ammochostos (also known to Cypriots as Varosi) in 1938. She grew up and studied in her town, where she went onto work in a pharmacy. In the meantime, she got married and had two children. When the invasion occurred, they and many others fled from their town, and stayed in various locations seeking

safety. C8 and her family did not know what to do. They were told to get on bus and they would be taken somewhere safe until things settled down. They dropped everything and boarded the bus, with the intention of returning back. Little did they know that they were actually leaving for good, and would not be able to return again in the near future. Eventually, via a few detours, they settled in Limassol. C8 had an acquaintance in Adelaide, who invited them to come. As they were refugees, with minimal funds or equity, the Red Cross assisted with C8 and her family's passage to Australia. In 1976, they settled in Adelaide and within two weeks she gained employment at Hills Industries. Within two years, C8 and her husband were able to pay off their loan to the Red Cross. Eventually, they bought their own home which they still live in today.

5.2.9 Migrant Portrait: C9

C9 was born in Kato Varosi, Ammochostos in 1957. He attended school and had an enjoyable childhood. His schooling was interrupted when the invasion happened in 1974. In the first invasion his family and him left their house but returned when things settled. When the second invasion hit Cyprus, C9 together with his family and many others from their town fled. C9 and his family travelled to several towns, seeking refuge, before reaching Limassol. Whilst there, he had completed his schooling and undertook his military service. In the meantime, his two eldest sisters were organising the papers for the family to migrate to Australia, where two of his brothers had already migrated years earlier. Once he completed his service, he went onto working a few jobs, whilst his visa got approved. Then in February 1978 he travelled from Cyprus, via Athens to Melbourne where his brothers came to meet him, and they then travelled by car to Adelaide, where his brothers were living. In the first couple of years he struggled to learn English to be sufficient enough to pursue a career in Adelaide. C9 had enrolled himself to learn some English before going onto study Dentistry at the University of Adelaide. Upon completion he gained a job, and then was offered the opportunity to purchase the dentistry practice, which he did. He got married and had three children. Also, in the meantime he brought his parents and sisters to Australia. After working hard for years he was able to purchase a family home, where they still reside today.

5.2.10 Migrant Portrait: C10

C10 was born in Rizokarpaso in 1959. As the second eldest of six children, he attended school, as well as being responsible for helping out in the tobacco fields, which his family owned and lived off. He also started to attend a Hospitality Trade School in 1974. When the invasion happened, he and his two brothers were captured by the Turks and became prisoners of war. Their father had stayed behind, whilst their mother and other siblings fled across the line. They were held for months, tortured, traumatised and starved with hundreds of others, packed in a car repairer's garage like sardines. The Turks had moved them to a different location near a harbour with the intention of deporting them to Turkey that night. The UN was tipped off by a Greek-Cypriot cafe owner and they went immediately to intervene. The UN undertook an investigation and met with the detainees, requesting the Turkish Army to release C10 and his brothers because they were under age. After a few months captivity they were finally released and eventually made their way across the border with the help of the UN, to be reunited with the rest of the family. Soon after, C10 had made his way to Crete, where he worked as a chef. His grandfather and aunty in Adelaide invited C10 to come for a holiday. Whilst in Adelaide, he met his wife, and soon after they got married and had two children. He found work as a chef, and over the years of hard work and dedication, he became a Sous Chef in a reputable company.

5.3 Reasons for Leaving Cyprus

The 1974 invasion of Cyprus had resulted in thousands of people internally displaced and/or missing. Countless individuals feared for their lives, and with uncertain prospects ahead, many sought a future outside Cyprus. It was not only refugees, who decided to seek refuge in another country, but also individuals who felt unsafe. As seen below in **Table 15**,⁴⁰⁵ it indicates each interviewee's reasons for migrating to Australia, and whether these individuals were refugees.

⁴⁰⁵ An explanation on each of these categories (social, environmental, economical, adventure and political instability) can be found in **Chapter 3** and **Chapter 4**.

Table 15: Wave C – Reasons for Migrating to Australia

Migrants (gender – year of arrival)	Social	Environmental	Economical	Adventure	Political Instability	Refugee
C1 (M-'74)	✓				✓	
C2 (F-'74)	✓				✓	✓
C3 (F-'74)	✓				✓	
C4 (M-'75)	✓				✓	✓
C5 (M-'75)	✓				✓	✓
C6 (M-'75)	✓		✓		✓	✓
C7 (F-'75)	✓				✓	
C8 (F-'76)	✓				✓	✓
C9 (M-'78)	✓			✓		✓
C10 (M-'79)	✓					✓

From the interviewee participants, all individuals, six men (C1, C4, C5, C6, C9 and C10) and four women (C2, C3, C7 and C8), had migrated to Australia for social reasons. Each interviewee participants migrated for different social reasons, for example:

- Security and future for the family (C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7, C8 and C9)
- Unite with family members already settled in Australia (C2, C4, C7 and C9)
- Married spouse in Australia (C10)

Essentially social aspects were higher because the majority of migrants and refugees were older with established families, than previous waves. The family unit is one of the important elements of Cypriot culture and unity.

Also, seeking refuge in another country (i.e. England or Australia), was to some extent appealing because of already established Greek-Cypriot migrants, who came in previous migration waves, such as Wave A and Wave B. Due to the catastrophic situation in Cyprus networks based across the world facilitated the migration of

individuals. Many in Cyprus were communicating with friends and family abroad, and vice versa, and this in effect had stimulated the idea of sponsorship for their application to migrate abroad. Nearly all interviewees migrated with the assistance from relatives in Adelaide. For example, C4 had an uncle and an aunty who migrated to Adelaide years earlier, in 1925 and 1952 respectively. Whereas C10 was invited for a holiday by an aunty, but ended up staying because he fell in love and married.

A significant proportion of interviewees (eight out of ten) indicated that political instability aspects mostly contributed to their decision to come to Australia. The political climate and future in Cyprus had concerned all. For instance, C1 detailed the decision making process of leaving Cyprus, stating

“I decided to come to Australia because of a simple reason. When I used to work for the British Army, I had a friend and boss and he was writing to a firm to bring him to Australia. So, I wrote [to the same company] and [they] got [me] on track. They even sent me papers to choose a house to rent. Soon after they sent me a letter saying that being a Cypriot I had to move to England for six months before moving to Australia. We didn’t know what was happening from one day to the next [in Cyprus].”

At that point in time, going ahead with this was not an option because it was too complicated. Instead, they decided to make their way to Australia unsponsored. It must be acknowledged that the political aspect is intertwined with the social aspect due to the ongoing political instability on the island. Political instability on the island had undoubtedly influenced an increase of migration, thus igniting another “push pull” and/or “forced” migration dynamic, where individuals are forced or pushed out of their home country to search for a “new” or “temporary” home.

Furthermore, although C1, C3 and C7 were not refugees and did not lose their homes, they felt Cyprus was unstable and their future was in jeopardy. Therefore if it was not for the invasion and the political instability on the island they would have not migrated. Ultimately, C3 and all the other interviewee participants highlighted that they would have never left Cyprus if it was not for the invasion. Similarly to many others during this wave, C7 had a stable employment, an education, a home and a family to support. As a qualified nurse and continuously undergoing professional training, she was a favourable staff member in Cyprus because she was educated in nursing in comparison to the older nurses, who were in the industry for many more years and were so-called “old-school” nurses.

In regards to the economic aspect, only one individual highlighted this as contributing to their decision to come to Australia. C6 and his family had no intention of leaving Cyprus commenting “the reason being the invasion, we were forced to leave because there were no jobs, no money,... you had to...there was no work available and you had to go find somewhere to go.” It is well known that refugees require work to commence rebuilding their lives. Some individuals were lucky enough to continue working after the invasion predominately due to their occupations, such as C1 (British Army), C3 (Teacher), C4 (Teacher), C5 (Teacher), and C7 (Nurse). Therefore, directly and indirectly the economic aspect is a underlying and contributing factor, otherwise one will not be able to rebuild their life and look after their family.

Adventure had influenced only for one interviewee’s decision to migrate to Australia. C9 was a young adult, had just completed his military service, when he left Cyprus. During his schooling he knew he wanted to study or travel abroad when he finished school, even though he had no specific destination in mind. He just knew he wanted to leave Cyprus. Overall, this psychological aspect, as seen in the previous waves, was common for unmarried young adults. The adventure and excitement of travelling abroad somewhat fuelled their intentions, but also, in particular for C9, it was really due to the circumstances in Cyprus.

It must be acknowledged that environmental aspects were not considered as an influence in people’s decision to migrate to Australia during this wave.

5.4 Experiences coming to Australia

Due to the situation immediately after the invasion, it was hard to travel abroad but eventually people were able to work around this. From the interviewee participants, there were two individuals who travelled shortly after the invasion. For instance, in the months after the invasion in August of 1974, C1 and his family had the intention of leaving Cyprus due to the uncertainty the country held. C1 was not a refugee, but still found the process of coming to Australia somewhat stressful. He reminisced

“I remember the day we left. We left from the Limassol harbour. There was no airport at the time because it was under the Turks. The one in Larnaca wasn’t used as an airport until three years later. My British passport expired in 1971 but I was able to get it renewed on the 30th August 1974 for 21

months at a cost of £2 from the British High Commission Passport Office in Nicosia. We left Cyprus and on the 26th November we arrived at the harbour of Piraeus, in Greece. We stayed in Greece for a week so we could arrange the kid's papers with the Australian Embassy, before departing Athens by aeroplane on the 29th November to Australia. On the 30th November 1974 we were permitted to enter Sydney for 30 days but then on the 2nd of December we were granted a permit to remain in Australia by the Department of Immigration in Adelaide. We came here with five suitcases and enough money for the first couple of weeks."

C1 added that he found the journey to Australia challenging, stating "The journey was very stressful because I had a lot to worry about. I had three little kids and my wife didn't speak a word of English."

The other interviewee was C2, who also travelled via Athens with her parents and siblings. She travelled on a Republic of Cyprus passport, which was issued in 1974 for one year. She recollected

"My family and I left Cyprus from the Limassol port on the 14th September 1974. We arrived at Piraeus port in Greece on the 16th September 1974. When we reached Athens, we stayed in a cellar of an apartment building for three months up until the Australian Embassy granted us visas. Whilst in Athens I attended school in Kallithea. After we gained clearance for a visa, from the Australian Embassy in Athens, only my parents, my three sisters and I left Greece and arrived in Sydney airport on the 25th December. The others had to stay in Athens up until one of my sisters gave birth because they wouldn't let her travel. When we reached Sydney my brother came to pick us up."

As previously mentioned in **Immigration Policy Relating to Cypriots**, from late December 1974 Australia had commenced airlifts out of Athens to Australia consisting of Cypriot migrants and refugees. Among these passengers were C3 and C4. C3 and her family came as migrants on the first main airlift out of Athens on a QF6 (Qantas jet) organised by Australia in late December. Their selection criterion was fulfilled on the grounds of family unification, but also due to her husband working for the British Army they believed it was a positive influence on their application. She described the journey as

“On the 12th of December, we received a notification that we would be leaving [for Australia] on the 24th December. It came to us, in particular for me and my children, it came like lightning. We were not expecting it. My husband had written a letter to his sister, we had forgotten it, we didn’t even think about it again. ...They had sent us a letter from the Australian Embassy that we must go and do this that and the other, do our medical checks and to go see those in the Embassy. There was still someone there [in Cyprus] even though they had moved to Athens, because of the troubles on the island. But yeah, it came totally strange to us, we were not expecting it.

I was still working as a teacher. My husband was still working in Dhekelia, British Bases as a secretary. So we started to get ourselves ready. We had 12 days to get ready...to go do our passports, take picture for the passports, do our medical examinations to get our certificates, and in the meantime I was in charge of organising the Christmas concert for the school, so I was running around, and from one school to the other school to see my children. We didn’t at all have the chance to think of what was happening...I was that under pressure, that I didn’t have the chance to think.

On the 21st, everyone had come to the house to see us off. In the meantime I had packed a container with all our house things, as my aunty in Australia told us to bring blankets and things we may need. The day we were leaving, I was crying, the children were crying, they didn’t want to come to Australia. I asked my husband whether we will regret it...and he said ‘It’s too late now. It’s done.’

The next day we left by ship because the airport was closed. It took us about two days to get to Piraeus. It was the worst experience in my life. I was very depressed that we left because only then we realised what we were doing. I left crying and I reached crying to Piraeus. We reached on the 23rd and we went to the Australian Embassy. The streets in Athens were filled with Christmas decorations, real Christmas trees and the plants...we took it a bit offensive...anyway. So we got our visa and our tickets from the Embassy.

On the 24th we left with Qantas. It was a special flight bringing only 24 families from Cyprus to Australia. We were allowed to bring 40kgs each, and we were only allowed to take with us out of Cyprus was £250 each of us, in another words we came to Australia as migrants with £1,250 and five pieces of luggage.”

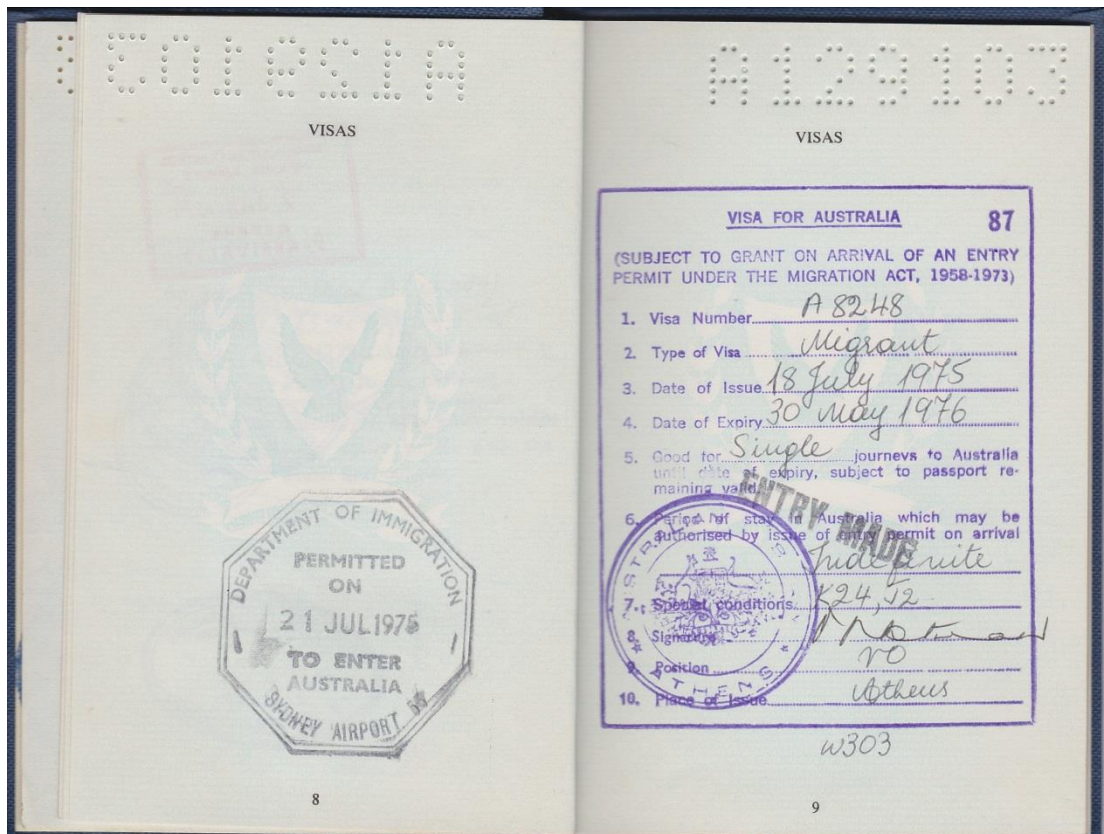
They had paid for their own airfares, and even though they were not refugees they were told that the flight was destined for Australia for Cypriot passengers. The flight from Athens to Sydney went via Singapore, reaching Sydney on Christmas day. It was the first time she had been on a plane and she was initially scared to look out the window. She added

“We were travelling on one of these jumbo planes, one that has a top level. So they took the children up there to play, and we had gotten a lovely meal for Christmas. We reached Sydney at midnight. There in Sydney all my uncles and aunts were waiting for us, but they would not allow us out. I was crying, I had not seen my uncle for many years, they didn’t know my children nor my husband...we were not allowed out. So the only thing that they could do is that they gave me a phone so I could talk to him and to tell him that we were okay. They would not allow us out because our destination was Melbourne, some families got out at Sydney, the others in Melbourne and we were the only family to come to Adelaide. We were then flown to Melbourne, where we met Nick Bolkus, who had escorted us to the hotel where we would stay for the night. Then in the morning he had come to the hotel and took us to the airport, where we caught a flight to Adelaide. When talking with him, he had offered me the option of staying in Melbourne, and he would be able to find a job for me. I didn’t accept, but he gave me his card just in case I needed anything because his office was in the AMP building in Adelaide.”

Then on the second main airlift out of Athens on a QF6 flight organised by Australia in late January, was C4 and his family, who came as refugees. C4 felt his qualifications and job as a teacher was a strong influence being selected to migrate to Australia. C4 and his family travelled from Limassol to Piraeus. C4’s wife found it traumatising when they had to transfer from the little boat, which transferred them from the harbour to the big ship waiting out further to take them to Greece. She highlighted “Do you know what it is like to be up so high, holding your child and you’re trying to climb up to the next boat? Honestly, I thought we were going to drop into the water.” Just like C3, once they had reached Greece, they travelled with Qantas to Australia, with other families landing in Sydney and Melbourne, whilst they were the only family to settle in Adelaide.

In comparison to the other migrants and refugees in Wave C, C5 had a slightly different experience to the others who left Cyprus. C5 and his family’s migration


experience began when he visited the Australian official at the British Consulate in Nicosia. They had all the required documentation when applying, which meant they were granted approval straight away (**Picture 23**) and were not required to go via Athens. They travelled with Cyprus Airways from Larnaca to Beirut (**Picture 24** and **Picture 25**), and then a Czechoslovakian Airline (**Picture 26** and **Picture 27**) from Beirut via Jakarta, Sydney, Melbourne, before arriving in Adelaide.



Picture 23: Australian Migrant Visa



Picture 24: Cyprus Airways Ticket (Front Cover)

Issued by CYPRUS AIRWAYS LIMITED SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT ON PAGE 2		RESTRICTIONS/ENDORSEMENTS	PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK PASSENGER'S COUPON		048 200 630 602						
NAME OF PASSENGER					ORIGIN						
NOT VALID BEFORE					DATE AND PLACE OF ISSUE						
NOT VALID AFTER					DESTINATION						
NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE		FARE BASIS	CARRIER	FLIGHT/CLASS	DATE	TIME	STATUS	FREE	WEIGHT	UNIT	
1		2		19		20		31		40	
FROM		LARNACA		41302		JULY 10 10 00		OK		20	
TO		BEIRUT		V 0		1 D					
TO		VOID		410							
FARE		CYL13200		ISSUED IN CONJUNCTION WITH		SERIAL NO. (S)		ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR		SERIAL NO. (S)	
TAX		CYL13200		FORM				FORM			
FORM OF PAYMENT		CASH		ORIGINAL ISSUE		FORM & SERIAL NO.		PLACE		DATE	
				CARRIER				AGENT'S NUMERIC CODE			

Picture 25: Cyprus Airways Ticket (Ticket Inside)

405 13F		Form 0644		5,320443	
A2L 518		PLEASE RECHECK SEAT NUMBER AT MELBOURNE			
Letenka a zavazadlový listek Passenger ticket and baggage check Držitel letenky je povinen přezkoušet údaje v letence a seznámit se s dopravními podmínkami uvnitř letenky Each passenger should carefully examine this ticket particularly the conditions herein enclosed					
Vydaly - Issued by ČSA ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ AEROLINIE PRAHA Člen IATA - Member of International Air Transport Association					

Picture 26: Czechoslovakian Airline Ticket (Front Cover)

Issued by ČSA ČESKOSLOVENSKÉ AEROLINIE SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS OF CONTRACT PAGE 2-3		PASSENGER TICKET AND BAGGAGE CHECK PASSENGER COUPON	0644	5,320443
Name of passenger		Restrictions/Endorsements		Date and time of issue 19-4 0001
Not valid before		Not valid after		17 MAY 78
1		2		
3		4		
NOT GOOD FOR PASSAGE		Fare Class/Basis	Carrier	Flight/Class
From		TO	TO	TO
MELBOURNE		JAKARTA	BEIRUT	JAKARTA
SIDNEY		JAKARTA	BEIRUT	JAKARTA
JAKARTA		BEIRUT	JAKARTA	BEIRUT
BEIRUT		JAKARTA	BEIRUT	JAKARTA
JAKARTA		BEIRUT	JAKARTA	BEIRUT
FARE		ISSUED IN CONJUNCTION WITH		ISSUED IN EXCHANGE FOR
30440		FORM		FORM
TAX		SERIAL NO. (S)		SERIAL NO. (S)
FORM OF PAYMENT		ORIGINAL ISSUE		PLACE
ACIT		CARRIER		DATE
		FORM & SERIAL NO.		AGENT'S NUMERIC CODE
				FARE
				FARE CALCULATION
				42100020

Picture 27: Czechoslovakian Airline Ticket (Ticket Inside)

Some migrants had the prospects of migrating to other countries before deciding on Australia as a destination. For instance, C7 and her family initially were looking at migrating to America but the migration policy was restrictive, meaning they had to have a close relative such as a parent or sibling to migrate. So they decided to migrate to Adelaide where her sister lived. As C7 and her husband were nurses and educated, this was to benefit them. C7's sister invited by her and even went to some hospitals/nursing board to get a reference letter in support of their application. Her husband took their application to the Hilton Hotel in Nicosia, where he met with an Australian official. In the meantime, they had attained all the required medical documentation. Her application was successful soon after applying. They packed most of their possessions, and whatever they did not bring they sold and her parents moved into her home. They could only bring £300, which was £100 per adult and £50 per child. They travelled by ship to Athens, where they stayed for a couple of days. Whilst in Athens they went to the Australian Embassy to finalise their visa papers. Then they boarded a Qantas flight to Sydney arriving on the 26th December 1975.

Some felt their migration experience commenced when they became refugees and left their homes in the northern part of Cyprus. C6's experience started when the first invasion happened, and they left their home in Ayios Elias, but had returned soon after when things had settled down. Upon returning C6's wife thought it would be a good idea to put as much clothes in a bag just in case in the future they needed to leave again. However, the second invasion was different. C6's wife was staying in the house, which was close to military camp and her husband would come and go. He would come home to check up on her and the baby, to freshen up and have a shower before going back. One night he came home, grabbed her and they left. C6's wife accidentally left the gold in their house because they left in a rush and she forgot her jewellery. During this time of hostility, she did not wear any gold as people told her not to wear jewellery because the Turks were cutting off people's fingers to get the gold. So C6's wife took off her jewellery and placed it on top of the fridge. Then, when they had fled from the house, she had forgotten to take them with her. When they fled, they went to Larnaca, where they stayed for a year and accepted food and clothes from the Red Cross. They stayed with an old acquaintance they knew for a couple of months, before they rented a place of their own temporarily.

C6 added the relative that invited them to come to Adelaide had "sent us the invitation and the tickets to come. So we went to do our papers and visited

doctors...they sent us the tickets but when we reached, and I got a job, I had paid them back.” In getting the papers approved, C6 further elaborated that initially found out about the Australian official’s visits to Cyprus by word of mouth. He had a friend who worked in the Hilton Hotel in Nicosia, who told C6 that the Australian official comes once a month, and that is when he went to the Hilton to meet with him to do the papers.⁴⁰⁶ The duration of getting the papers approved C6’s wife detailed

“It took two-three months...And it was there, our visa but we didn’t know that we had to go ask for it, we were waiting for them to notify us. They told us that our visa has been waiting for us for a while. That’s when we got it and got ready. [...] It was easy for refugees to leave, but not for the local residents [ντόπιοι] ...but the locals, the bright sparks, would write that they were refugees and they were getting visas and were coming straight away. For the refugees it was easy. They said ‘we were not delayed in any way.’ We didn’t know we had to go ask for the visa, and they said ‘our visa was ready how many months back.’ How were we meant to know? ...Eeee...We were watching Aradippiotes leaving one by one, and we had done our papers a while back,... and how come we haven’t managed it? Someone told us to go and ask, maybe the visa is there, and literally it was there. The Aradippiotes were coming and we the refugees we were left there! What’s going on? That’s when we worked it out. Literally our visa was there.”

As C6 were initially waiting to go back home, he tells “we were waiting for them to give back Varosi...if you remember it was at the time that they were going to give back Varosi, ‘they will give back Varosi, they will give back Varosi’ and we were holding back so we could go home. Then things seemed to have changed and we left after a year.”

Another experience was when C8 had detailed how her family had fled from their town Varosi. The day they were leaving, they only took several things with them,

⁴⁰⁶ Whilst C6 and his family visited the Hilton Hotel to do their papers to come to Australia, they saw Melina Mercouri, a famous Greek actress and political activist. Soon after the invasion happened, she was coming and going from Cyprus. Whilst in Cyprus July 1975, she was filming a documentary entitled “Cyprus – Melina Mercouri” for the Cypriot television station ERT. For unknown reasons, this documentary was not shown on TV, even with repeated requests from Mercouri when she had become the Minister of Culture for Greece. Then only in 1997, three years after Mercouri passed away in 1994, the most significant segments of the documentary were televised in her honour. – refer to YouTube clip: “Κύπρος - Μελίνα Μερκούρη (ΕΡΤ ντοκιμαντέρ) (1975)” [“Cyprus – Melina Mercouri”], uploaded by antk88 on 5/04/2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wC1XebOSNNc>, Date accessed: 15/04/2015; Therefore, C6 and his family would have processed their papers in July 1975 when they had seen Mercouri during the time she was filming the documentary.

and they got on the bus thinking that they would return once things would settle down. Little did they know, this would be the last time that they would see their home. In the rush of leaving the house, her husband forgot his wedding band on the bedside table. She narrates

“At the time of the invasion, we stayed for 15 days at different places, out in the fields, schools, different, different places up until we could find where would stay. In the end, we ended up in Limassol. In Limassol, my children grew up a little bit, we received help from the Red Cross and within two years we received a visa, not from a relative but an acquaintance that I had grown up with, for Australia and in particular for Adelaide.”

In 1978 C8 and her family were granted a visa to come to Australia by plane with a Cypriot passport. Further elaborating, she continued

“As we were refugees we had minimal funds. There was a government organisation that assisted refugees. You could give a third up front, because we didn’t have money, and we couldn’t leave, and the money that we could take out from Cyprus, [was from] selling our car and we gave a third up front... and then there was this organisation that would help refugees, and when you would come to Australia you had to give them \$10-\$20 every month or however much you could. If you were able pay [the loan] off straight away, you could.”

The Red Cross assisted them with funds and travel arrangements for their journey to Australia. They came to Australia with two pieces of luggage for four people. They were met by their acquaintance in Adelaide, who took them in for a couple of weeks. Then after settling down and finding work soon after arrival, they were able to pay off their loan from the Red Cross after two years.

Overall, each individual’s story was unique and their experiences were narrated with strong emotion, as if they were living them all over again. The Wave C migration experiences began when the invasion occurred and they fled for their lives and encountered traumatic experiences. Migrants and refugees conveyed narratives, some travelling via Athens, on Australian organised Qantas flights, whilst others had organised their own means of transport and assistance to come to Australia.

5.5 Settling into a New Home

5.5.1 Impressions of Australia upon Arrival

Similarly, to previous Greek-Cypriot migrants who came to Australia, C4's first impressions, in particular of Adelaide, left him questioning where he was. With no previous expectations, he was amazed at the houses and how they were made of galvanised/aluminium tin roofs. Likewise, similar impressions were expressed by C3, C5 and C7. Also, C9 could not believe how spread out Australia was, commenting "Something that left an impression on me was how things were here. The town was spread out. We had apartment buildings in Cyprus and here there were house, many houses. It was spread out." C3 comment

"We liked Adelaide. We liked to the city, seeing the Government House and the parks. On Sundays we would take the kids to Rymill Park and we would do our BBQ...there was a small pond and they would play with the little boats there. We liked it. Even though it took us time to get used to it. We liked it very much. [...] At the beginning it was different, but once we started to go out and see places we liked it."

As she reflected back on her experience, she feels Australia had a lot to offer and that she was lucky enough to have visited some of these beautiful places with her family and their friends, who they would go on trips together around Australia over the years.

Moreover, some individuals expressed their impressions of people upon arrival. When C2 and her family initially settled in Sydney, where they only stayed for six months before deciding to move to Adelaide, commenting "Where we were, was mainly Australians and there weren't any Greeks. So we decided to move to Adelaide because there were many Greeks. Also someone else had told us that life in Sydney was not so good, so we decided to move to Adelaide." Also, C5 was left with a lasting first impression that would determine whether or not he and his family would permanently reside in Australia. When C5 and his family arrived in Sydney on an international flight, as standard practice they went through customs, narrating "the welcome that we got was....they went through our suitcases. They were so rude. Honestly, at that point I said, if this is the way the people are in Australia, then I would pack my bags and go home. I didn't care." However, he further elaborated that the people in Australia were in fact not like this, but were good people. C5 found the Anglo-Saxon people in Adelaide to be welcoming and found them to be more hospitable than the Greek-Cypriot population, who showed no interest.

Furthermore, C9 experience interacting with an Australian had left a lasting impression. C9 resided with his two brothers in a small multilevel apartment block in the suburb of Goodwood. He reminisced

“We stayed on the second level, underneath stayed a Cypriot and his daughter, who were also refugees. Then on our level was an Australian. There was a stair case in the middle and our door and his door were directly opposite each other. After one or two days, as I was going out, the old Australian man was going down. ‘Good morning sir’...with my broken English I said...or ‘Good afternoon’ something like this... afterwards [I thought to myself, Τι έπαθεν αυτός, ρε κουμπάρε;] ‘what is wrong with him?’ Then came a Greek mate, and I tell him, <<Ρε, μα... μαλώσατε με τον γείτονα μας; Μου λέει, όι, γιατί;>> [‘hey mate, did you get into a fight with our neighbour?’ he told me ‘nah, why?’]. I explained to him that when he was going down, I said to him ‘Good morning, Good afternoon’ and he didn’t say anything to me. He said that, <<Έτσι είναι, δεν σου λαλούν. Είναι καλός άνθρωπος, αλλά δεν μιλάει..>> [‘this is how it is. They don’t speak you. But he is a good man, but he doesn’t talk.’] I couldn’t believe that you could live beside someone and for them not to even tell you <<Γεια σου, ρε κουμπάρε!>> [‘hello mate!’] You know, he was a nice man, but he kept to himself. In Cyprus, you would greet the next person.”

C9 gave a light laugh as he told the story. For C9, this was a real culture shock and although he got used to the Australian mannerisms, this experience has stayed with him until today. However, this was a unique experience, and generally speaking, it was not the same for all people.

5.5.2 Employment

Since there were unemployment issues during Wave B, it was important to consider the potential for the new intake of refugees and migrants. Essentially, “refugees need to insert themselves into the labour market ...to rebuild lives.”⁴⁰⁷ Not only by doing this, it would assist them with taking the financial stress out of new surroundings, but it would also reboot their lives from stagnant. This is significant for their settlement within the community because they were able to contribute to society from opportunities they were offered.

⁴⁰⁷ Harzig, C., Hoerder, D., and Gabaccia, D.R, (2009) *What is Migration History?*, Cambridge: Polity, p89

Wave C interviewee participants had all actively participated in the workforce. Differing from the previous two waves, the Wave C participants had higher education levels and a broader skill set. Individuals arriving during this period were seeking employment outside factory/production lines. Below in **Table 16**, it gives an overview of the industries and jobs these refugee/migrant participants undertook in the workforce.

Table 16: Wave C – Interviewees Participation in the Australian Workforce

Migrant	Company	Duration of Service	Reason for Leaving
C1	Railways	21 years	Retired
	Cleaning offices	21 years	Retired
C2	Family's Restaurant (in Sydney)	6 months	Moved to Adelaide
	Hills Industries	2-4 years	Married and raised the family
	Housewife		
C3	Greek Community of SA (after hours Greek Teacher)	1 year	Temporary work
	Croydon High School	3 months	Part-time teaching position
	Prospect Primary and Goodwood Primary	6 months	Part-time teaching position
	Daws Road High School	9 years	Retired
	Housewife		
C4	Woodville High School	17 years	Found work at a new school
	Unley High School	19 years	Retired
	Greek Community of SA Greek School	10+ years	Started working at Port Adelaide Greek School
	Port Adelaide Greek School	24+ years	Ongoing
C5	Enfield Primary School	16 years	Part-time teaching position
	Nailsworth Primary School	3 years	Part-time teaching position

	Richmond Primary School	12 years	Offered redundancy
	Greek Community of SA Greek School	20 years	Resigned from position
	Manchester Store	30+ years	Currently ongoing
C6	ICI – Glass Manufacturing	14 years	Decided to become a handyman
	Handyman	14 years	Retired
C7	Carringa Nursing Home	8 years	Taking care of the family
	Housewife		
C8	Hills Industries	10 years	Retired
	Housewife		
C9	Chrysler	4 months	Seasonal work
	Greek Teacher	2-3 years	Pursue career in Dentistry
	Dentist	30+ years	Currently ongoing
C10	Various cooking positions	2 years	Temporary work
	Stamford Plaza Hotel	28 years	Found work at a new Hotel
	Mayfair Hotel	9+ months	Currently ongoing

Through an analysis of the Table above, it is evident that the interviewee participants obtained employment and remained with that role and/or company for extended periods of time. This is a significant because it indicates stability, something that was taken away from these individuals when they were residing in Cyprus just before they left. Stability was a key attribute to these individuals' ability to successfully settle down, support and raise their families, and reside in a safe and secure environment. Also, another significant aspect of the Wave C employment was that the majority of individuals obtained work within two weeks of their arrival in SA, thus rebooting their lives with a fresh start.

C1 gained employment at the Railways on the 17th of December, two weeks after his arrival in Adelaide recollecting

“On the 17th December 1974 I got a job working for the Railways. A friend of mine, who used to be a Secretary of the Railways Union, he introduced me

to his boss. His boss called me down to the station,...he read a piece, an article in the paper, the Advertiser, I can't remember what it was,...I wrote it down to him, in five minutes, and he picked it up, [and said] you can start tomorrow. So I started at Mile End on the 17th December 1974. Each week I would be given a new job and not long after I was given a clerical job, a responsible job, and I was doing well.

I even got a second job cleaning four offices. I used to finish from the railways at four o'clock, come home, put my overalls on, have a cup of coffee, then in the car and out up until nine o'clock at night. That was five days a week and Saturday mornings I used to degrease Smiths garage at Port Adelaide. In the afternoons I used to clean up the library in the city. That was six days a week. ...And if there was any work on Sundays they would call me because I was reliable person. And they knew I would do the job. For example, there was a Swedish ship that its fridges caught on fire and the chemicals that were used to put out the fire, left a grey/black. Nobody wanted the job to clean it. The boss called me and I went down there. We needed 20 cleaners. It took two weeks to clean the ship. We did an excellent job and I was congratulated for that."

He was commended for his dedication. This is important for the individual because it showed an appreciation. He retired at 61.

Some migrants/refugees found work easily, such as C6, who found work three days after arriving. He claimed that he did not claim unemployment because there was no difficulty in getting a job as there were plenty of work opportunities available. C4 found work two weeks after his arrival in Adelaide, through social networking and his own personal qualifications. As a qualified high school teacher with three certificates, he was viewed favourably. However, not all teachers found work easily, such as C5 who struggled with the bureaucracy, as described below in **Challenges**.

Furthermore, social networks were not always beneficial. For instance, when C10 was looking for work, C10's uncle dragged him to the Cyprus Community of SA, to seek assistance from another Greek-Cypriot migrant, who had arrived in SA in the 1960s and was now working for a big national company. C10 did not want to go to the club rooms but did, and stated that the fellow compatriot was less than helpful, commenting

“I, in the first place, did not want to go to the Cypriot Community, but I went anyway with my uncle, to ask this man. My uncle asked him if there were any positions available from where he worked and he had said ‘no, they are not looking for anybody.’ He did not show any interest at all. He was just interested in playing cards. So I sat there and watched them. Anyhow, that week I got the newspaper and I saw there was a position advertised for the same place this man worked at, so I applied. I got called for the interview and I got the job straight away. ...It was funny when he first saw me working there. He had asked me what I am doing there, and I told him. It was funny. ...The thing is, if I was to wait for that man to help me for a job, I would still be waiting.”

Therefore, depending on personal circumstances and networks, work opportunities need to be actively sourced.

Even though some people found work straight away, it was not always easy. C8 found a job straight away at the Hills Industries just after two weeks, but she found it very difficult, commenting “to tell you the truth I found it difficult because it was the first time that I had worked so hard.” C8’s husband was an electrician for cars and he gained his first job at Chrysler within two weeks, but it was at the time that 800-900 workers were made redundant and he was one of these individuals. She narrated,

“When they stopped my husband from work, I was working at Hills Industries, and I went and asked at the office and they employed him. So we worked there together. My husband worked there for 15-16 years and I worked there for 10 and then I stopped. He worked there up until he turned 65 and retired. The work was very difficult, we struggled at the beginning but we found enough friends who had helped us...and still we have plenty of friends.”

She added that they were not given any formal training besides being shown on the job. However, she did not find any difficulty communicating because she knew English from school.

5.5.2.1 Challenges

Through this wave, Adelaide and Australia were transitioning the cultural make-up and tolerance of other nationalities. Racism was at the turning point of not being socially acceptable. For example, C4 claims he was not confronted with any racism, and believed it did not exist in Adelaide. However, in saying so, C4 acknowledged

that from school children did face some form of verbal abuse, but it usually came from kids who came from outside of Adelaide. C4 stated “you could tell that they were from Sydney or somewhere else. So you would have a word with the kid and explain that it is not right.” Also, whilst C4 did not face racism, his wife encountered racism in the workplace.

Another challenge some refugees faced in the workplace was with their language skills. Although many knew English, it took some time to adjust to the new environment. This was evident in several cases such as C2, C9 and C10. Further details about language, is analysed further down in the **Language** sub-heading. For example, C2 recalled

“My sister and I got a job in a factory. They were difficult years because we didn’t know the language well, even though we learnt English at school it was different to the English that was spoken here. Life was different here from what we knew it. In Cyprus we didn’t mix with many people because we were all girls and we stayed in the house. But here we had to catch the bus to go to the factory, and there was many people. People would talk to us and we couldn’t understand.”

Similarly, C4 knew the English language but it took him some time to adjust with the language, in particular because he was teaching.

Furthermore, as mentioned above, one of the challenges C5 found was the bureaucracy in the teaching system in Australia. He narrated that when he arrived in SA, the laws had changed and he was required to undertake a degree at University. He commented,

“When I went to the office to enrol in the course, it was there on Hindley Street closer to West Terrace, where the University buildings are, I went there to enrol. When I went to the office the lady told me I had to undertake a course to be able to teach in Australia. I had showed her my certificates, showing that I was a qualified teacher and I already had teaching experience. When she looked at my certificates she pointed out and asked whether or not I knew how to play a guitar...In Cyprus, as part of our teaching, we had to learn an instrument and I knew how to play...She gave me some books, and said that I should go buy a guitar and teach my daughter how to play. Only then she would pass me. My daughter was about two years old then. I wasn’t impressed when I left the office; I threw away the

papers instantly. I thought to myself, I was better off to return to Cyprus, than to listen to this lady.”

C5 was well educated, with multiple degrees but found the bureaucracy to be challenging. It took him just over six months to find a teaching position.

5.5.3 Living Standards

Housing upon arrival was similarly to the previous waves, in which Wave C individuals were welcomed by family, friends and/or acquaintances upon arrival. Likewise, during this wave, all the individuals stayed with others up until they were able to take care of the financial burdens by themselves. Around the Wave C period, many migrants and refugees started to spread out into the outskirts of the city and into the suburbs.

For instance, upon arrival in SA, C4 and his family stayed in Kensington for a month with his aunty, who came in the 1950s. In the meantime, two weeks after their arrival in SA, C4 found work and were then able to find a house to rent, several houses further down the street. Similarly, C2 stated, “We stayed with my uncle, who had a fish and chip shop. Two months later when the rest of my family came to Australia we decided that we should find a place of our own because there were too many of us in one house.” Furthermore, even C10, who came in 1979 also resided with an aunty, who lived in Park Holmes. Once he got married, he then stayed with his in-laws in Morphett Vale up until he and his wife found a house.

Times were difficult upon arrival for these new migrants, who often came with minimal capital due to the invasion, which consequently restricted individuals to leave the island with large sums of money, and in particular for the refugees, who perhaps could not access their funds. As previously mentioned, C8 came with the assistance from the Red Cross. She and her family stayed with their friend for two weeks before they found a place of their own.

As Wave C individuals began to settle in SA permanently, they started to purchase their own homes. In comparison to the previous waves, this wave indicated that individuals owned and resided in one main property for an extended period of time, in which they many still live in till today. All interviewees have been residing in their home for more than 20 years.

Unlike most of the interviewees in this wave, C9's experience was somewhat different because he had rented and moved to several locations around Adelaide with his family, before he eventually got married and bought a house of their own. Even though he and the remainder of his family came to Australia in the late 1970s, his family were refugees and they had minimal capital, so they worked hard before they could purchase a home.

With reference to the theme of property ownership, a C8 commented

“It was a friend who brought us here. We stayed with him for two weeks before we needed to find a job and a place of our own. We found a flat to rent, which was on Goodwood Road, it was one of Polites houses, in the suburb of Pasadena, and in the morning we had to endure walking to South Road to get the bus because in those days we did not have a car, we would walk from one road to the other. It took three months for us to get a car. Thank God that everything went well. [...] After two years of working, the two of us, slowly slowly we paid off the loan we had from the organisation [...] We moved further down to our own place at Melrose Park. Years later we slowly slowly saved money for a deposit and took out a second mortgage, even though the houses in those days were not expensive and only cost \$35,000 ...and from then we have a house in Cumberland Park, which we still live in today.”

Similarly, C1 stated “When we first came we were renting a house. A few years later, I bought our own house at Croydon Park from a friend for \$25,000, and we still live in it today”.

It is intriguing that these migrants and refugees still live in the house that they first bought in Australia or have resided in for more than 20 years. Although, it cannot be generalised about the whole Greek-Cypriot population, certain assumptions can be made. There are potentially two contributing factors. Firstly, it signifies the struggle behind building a new life which shares the good with the bad and what they know as having a safe home. Secondly, they bought their own house around the time they became citizens, with the majority becoming citizens in 1978–1979 (for further details, see **Chapter 6**, under the sub-headings **Citizenship** and **Belonging**). This connection reflects the correlation between the pledge of allegiance and settling permanently into a new country.

On the topic of property and land, the memories start to flow, triggered off by

particular words. Something that stayed with one refugee (C10), whose family consisted of tobacco farmers at the time of the invasion, concerned the Turkish officials who were in his village of Rizokarpaso. He recalled, “There were these red flowers [poppy flowers] all over the village. No one would take any care of them. They would just grow anywhere. Anyway when the Turkish officials were in the village, they gave residents hassles. They caused such a big fuss over these flowers”. Today we know that the poppy flower contains opium, which is a base for cocaine and other drugs. The land in Rizokarpaso was rich and fertile soil. Generally, locals lived off the land. It was a vital means for survival. Likewise, to previous waves, Wave C has a close connection to the land and property, with many taking pride in where they live by decorating it with cultural objects and growing plants that one would find in Cyprus, such as kolokasi.⁴⁰⁸

Social networks had facilitated some people’s settlement, where by one migrant would help out another. This was evident when one refugee reminisced about the time he came to Australia and he needed to buy a car because his wife was soon to give birth. He was not able to gain a loan from the bank. A very close friend, who was also a Greek-Cypriot and had migrated to Adelaide earlier in the 1960s, came forward and bought him a car. He was very grateful and eventually after obtaining a job at Holden he was able to pay him back. It was common for fellow Greek-Cypriot migrants to help by those around them. In comparison, C3 and her family bought a car three months after they arrived, commenting “there were two things that we bought with the money that we came with from Cyprus. One was a fridge and the other was a car.” She added that she did not get the bus very often either.

On the topic of transport, they all knew how to drive. C3 and C7 knew how to drive in Cyprus but when they came here they were required to undertake a driver’s test. Whilst, C9 narrated his story of obtaining a license in Australia, commented that he and his brothers put in money together and bought a car about three months after his arrival. Amongst themselves they shared the car. He had a drivers licence in Cyprus, and when he came to Adelaide, he went to formalise his licence. He reminisced “on the Cypriot licence there was a letter ‘B’, and the lady asked me whether the letter stood for a Heavy Vehicle and I said ‘Yes’ because I didn’t know what it meant, so I got a Heavy Vehicle Licence.” He gave a little chuckle and smile on his face as he told the story.

⁴⁰⁸ Kolokasi (κολοκάσι), known as taro in English, is a type of vegetable that is grown in the ground. It is a commonly found in Cyprus.

Even though participants in this wave came with minimal capital, they found life in Adelaide to be inexpensive, in particular meat and petrol. C3 mentioned that meat in Cyprus was expensive and in Adelaide you could purchase a whole lamb for \$14, whilst petrol was eight cents a litre. Generally, due to the living expenses being minimal, individuals had an opportunity to set themselves up and also raise a family.

5.5.4 Marriage/Family Life & Traditions/Customs

Unlike the previous waves, many individuals who arrived during Wave C had already established families in Cyprus prior to their arrival in Australia. From those interviewed, there were only three individuals who were single, whilst the remainder of migrants/refugees were married with children, as seen below in **Table 17**. The majority of these individuals originally saw their future in Cyprus, and if it was not for the invasion, many families would have not sought refuge in another country. Therefore, the Wave C individuals encountered (directly or indirectly) forced migration, which had impact on how they, their children and the family unit settled.

Table 17: Wave C – Interviewees Gender, Year, Age and Marital Status upon Arrival

Migrant	Gender	Year	Age	Marital Status	Children
C1	M	1974	40	Married	3
C2	F	1974	18	Single	-
C3	F	1974	35	Married	3
C4	M	1975	34	Married	2
C5	M	1975	35	Married	1
C6	M	1975	30	Married	1
C7	F	1975	30	Married	2
C8	F	1976	38	Married	2
C9	M	1978	20	Single	-
C10	M	1979	20	Single	-

Essentially, this wave's interviewee participants differed from the previous waves because that majority were married prior to arrival, and had a spouse that was Greek-Cypriot. Then, the three single participants married in Adelaide to either a Greek-Cypriot (C2) or a Greek (C9 and C10). C2 got married to a Greek-Cypriot and

had three children soon after, whilst C9 and C10 married in Adelaide to Greek women, and they both had two children. All the children learnt the Greek and Cypriot customs and traditions, even attending Greek school to further their knowledge. Furthermore, some migrants/refugees (C1, C5 and C8) even had one more child in Australia. For instance, C1 migrated with a wife and three children, and after a couple of years in Adelaide, once they had set themselves up, they had a fourth child. Generally, likewise to the previous waves, Greek-Cypriots had smaller families in Australia, in comparison to big families comprised of six-eight children as they did in Cyprus.

Similarly to Wave A and Wave B, there were strong family ties and children would learn and have an understanding of the Cypriot customs and traditions. Not only were the children educated about where they came from, but they also had a robust awareness and exposure to the effects of the invasion, with some even experiencing the trauma from the invasion. For example, C4 was married in 1963 and had two children in Cyprus. By the time the invasion happened, the eldest was four-years-old and the youngest was two-years-old. The eldest can still remember vividly the day they fled the village. C4's wife recollected, "The children were crying, they were scared and hungry. Do you know what it feels like to have two young children and to leave from your village, not knowing whether you were to live or die!"

Furthermore, C3 acknowledged that her children were traumatised from the invasion, and when an airplane would fly over the house the children would run and jump under the table. She would explain to them that the planes were carrying passengers and they were not the same as the ones in Cyprus. Her eldest son, who was 10-years-old at the time, had struggled in particular and it took him a year to properly settle down; she remembered quite vividly the picture he drew when he was at school, recollecting "that picture had hit me in my heart! He traced around his hands, like children do, they outline around their hands, and then he drew some barbwire around the hands. I questioned how does my child feel? He must feel imprisoned. I still have this picture." In addition to the trauma and the aftermath of the invasion these children faced, they were also put into schools in Australia, where they did not know a word of English. C8's youngest child did not want to go to school because he could not understand, however as C8 describes "slowly slowly things became ok."

5.5.5 Language

As previously mentioned in Wave B, the education system in Cyprus had been amended and therefore, there was an increase of children in obtaining higher levels of education. As seen below in **Table 18**, it gives an overview of the interviewee participant's knowledge and English and their education level.

Table 18: Wave C – Interviewees English Knowledge & Education

Migrant	Education Level	English Knowledge upon Arrival	How They Mainly Learnt English in Australia
C1	Some High School	Very Good	-
C2	High School	Good	Some English classes, children
C3	Teachers College	Very Good	-
C4	Teachers College	Very Good	-
C5	Teachers College	Very Good	-
C6	High School	Very Good	-
C7	Nursing College	Very Good	-
C8	High School	Good	-
C9	High School	A few words	High School, University
C10	Primary School	A few words	English night school, work

There was a mixture of English knowledge amongst these migrants, but the majority had a very good understanding. C1 had a great understanding and attainment of the English language.⁴⁰⁹ In Cyprus, he worked for the British Army as a secretary translating/interpreting. This meant that he had no issues in Australia communicating and/or finding work. Whilst working at the Railways and due to his English knowledge, he would find people approaching him for assistance. Moreover, C8 had a good understanding of the English language because she had completed high school and therefore she did not attend any form of language classes in Adelaide. Also, C6 only had a high school education; his English language knowledge was very good because the high school he attended was English. Therefore, he could read and write in English and had no difficulty in Australia when it came to communication.

Even though several individuals (C3, C4, C5 and C7) had good English language skills, they felt they needed to improve their understanding of the Australian English

⁴⁰⁹ C1 communicated his oral history testimony in English.

because it was somewhat different, so they attended a 12 week English language intensive course at the College of Technology, located on Kintore Avenue in the Adelaide CBD. C3 described how she came to know about the course, narrating

“when I met Nick Bolkus in Melbourne, he had told me about the course. It was an intensive course from nine to five at the Institute of Technology. I went there for two months. We had teachers who would teach us the language, another to teach us the Australian dialect and slowly slowly I started to understand. [...] Even though I would teach Greek, later on I went on to teach Year 8 and 9 social studies.”

She felt having that better Australian English language had helped her out. Furthermore, when C7 stated that they also paid you to undertake the course, which was a bonus for her.

For those who had minimal English (C2, C9 and C10), they had learnt either on the job and/or by attending English night school or classes. For instance, C2 attended English classes for a while, stating “When I came here I did a bit of English classes but I wasn’t learning much so I stopped going.” Likewise, C10 had struggled with the English language because he was young and his education was interrupted by the invasion in Cyprus. Although, when he was in Adelaide he attended English language classes in the city, where he learnt to read and write. Ultimately, this became beneficial to him because he eventually obtained higher positions within an Australian nation-wide company. Even though he feels at times it is a challenge, commenting “I learnt some English. [...] It is difficult, even nowadays with the computers and the programs that they use at work.”

Furthermore, C9 knew some English upon arrival, but not to the level that was required for him study at university. He narrated

“My brother and I thought it would be a good idea that I go to do Year 12 at high school, so I could go to university. [...] So I went to the school and I sat the test. The teacher told me that probably Year 12 would be too difficult for me and suggested that I do Year 11...and so I did. It was funny though, the other students in the class thought I was a teacher because I was so much older than them. I was 21 years old then. [...] Anyhow, I wasn’t too sure what I wanted to do at university but I thought I should become a doctor. So I applied at the University of Adelaide for Medicine. I had to sit the test and I went for the interview. They told me that I would have difficulty with the

course because of the language, and said I should become a dentist. So I agreed...but looking back at it, really I should of pursued medicine because in dentistry I still had to learn what is taught in Medicine and then some.”

In good humour he passionately reflected on his story, with little chuckles along the way, adding that “During my schooling in Cyprus, I could have had the potential to have learnt more, but I had no interest in learning English because of the British presence on the island.” Even though, C9 was in his early 20s before he left, this was a similar perception to others in previous waves.⁴¹⁰

5.5.6 Social Life & Leisure

Leisure, just like many other Greek-Cypriots and Greeks, common pastime activities included going on fishing trips and/or spent in a thriving home gardens. As SA has similar qualities in accommodating to the Mediterranean lifestyle, catching one’s feed or growing one’s own produce were popular activities amongst individuals. For example, C6 believes this had contributed in his settlement, commenting “I found the climate, the beach, fishing, hunting...I found all the things we used to do in Cyprus. I was able to fall in love with the place pretty fast. It was just like Cyprus.” Likewise, until today C10 enjoys fishing and growing a flourishing home garden in his leisure time. He also highlighted that this is a mechanism in facilitating family time, where the family comes together.

Leisure time was also spent at dinner dance, BBQs and participating in Greek and Cypriot Communities activities and groups. For instance, C8 claims that their social circles predominantly included fellow Cypriots and Greeks, and often her family passed their time at dances and events held by the Cyprus Community of SA. Also one of her sons was part of the Cypriot Dance Group when he was younger; therefore they would go and support him and the group. Further details about the Cyprus Community of SA and the Dance Group, please refer to **Chapter 7**. Additionally, several participants in Wave C were members of a group called Filomusi (Friends of Music), predominately made of people who came after 1974, and they would come together and play music. Members participated in the group as a means of leisure, but it was also a mechanism for social interaction with other fellow Greek-Cypriots.

⁴¹⁰ Throughout the research, there is mixed perceptions regarding the British presence in Cyprus. Some individuals believed Cyprus was better off under the British, whilst others still feel resentment.

Previously established social networks provided Wave C refugees and migrants a platform to form their own connections. Wave C participants formed networks stemming from those who they knew or brought them to Australia, even though their social interaction with others was somewhat restricted because of their work and family commitments. For instance C10 did not have much time to socialise because of his job, and what time he did have was spent with his family. For C5 he felt in the first ten or so years, there was no real social life because they were tough years, working several jobs, building capital and raising his family. C5's daughter added to his recollection that it took five years for her family to find friends, who have now become life-long friends. Prior to this her father would seek to find fellow Greek-Cypriots to socialise with, however they were not welcoming. C5 found the wider Anglo-Saxon people to be more hospitable than the Greek-Cypriot community, whereas, C4 found the Greek community to be more hospitable.

There were several comments amongst the individuals regarding their integration within the already established Greek-Cypriot population in SA. Several interviewees noted that there was hostilities and mistreatment towards the new Greek-Cypriot arrivals of this wave. One individual stated "It was not enough that we were traumatised and had the pain of losing our home and fleeing for our lives, we also faced hostilities by our own compatriots here. Instead of welcoming us and understanding what we went through, they were going against us." They also explained that some refugees were falsely accused of being EOKA B members⁴¹¹ and were blamed for what happened in Cyprus. Therefore, not only were individuals faced with commencing a new life in a foreign country, they were also faced with settling in to the already established Greek-Cypriot community. Even though some members of the community were welcoming, some of the Wave C experiences had indicated that there were others who were not as welcoming, making Wave C individuals feel as if they were outsiders.

⁴¹¹ EOKA B's role and engagement in Cyprus had undermined the Cypriot Government, and resulted in the invasion. There was a negative connotation with being an EOKA B member/supporter. It is well known that members/supporters went into hiding as a result. This is further explained in **Chapter 2**.

5.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Wave C period, 1974 – 1980, was the aftermath of the illegal Turkish invasion. Consequently, many Cypriots became IDPs and a substantial number went missing. With unsettlement in the country, Australia offered financial assistance to Cyprus and assisted with refugee intake. Several of these individuals were those interviewed, who encountered hardship and some of the most horrific experiences, not knowing whether or not they would make it out alive. The invasion had left a painful lasting memory for all, many of whom were married with young families.

Social factors significantly contributed to the interviewee participant's decision to migrate and/or seek refuge in Australia. Whether it was due to acquiring a safe and secure future for family members and/or reuniting with family members in Australia, social aspects was a key denominator. An underlying denominator to the social factors was political factors, due to the unstable political environment Cyprus endured.

During this wave, some travelled to neighbouring Greece by boat or plane, depending on individual circumstances, before making their way to Australia. Whilst others left by plane from Cyprus, depending on the situation. Arriving to family, friends and acquaintances in Australia, they resided with these individuals till they were able to financially support themselves. Upon arrival in SA and Australia, many individuals varied in age and were either single or married with children.

In comparison to the previous waves, this wave encompassed participants that had higher English language knowledge, education levels and a broader skill set. In Cyprus, some were already performing in their professions and had secured stable employment. These individuals had no intention of leaving and would have continued living in Cyprus because they had employment, families and viewed their future there. Consequently, if it was not for the invasion, these professionals and more educated individuals would have not migrated and sought refuge in Australia. However, since their arrival in SA, they filled positions that required qualifications and changed the workplace demographic. It was not only the Greek language teachers who were required to fill positions because languages were introduced into the Australian education system, but also medical practitioners such as doctors and dentists were in high demand because of the Greek language speaking patients. Obtaining employment within two weeks, Wave C participants demonstrated

reliability and stability to their employer by their long service and hard work.

Furthermore, Wave C individuals not only indicated consistency with their employment but also with starting their new home. After establishing themselves, they all bought a house and resided there for a long period of time. They also held strongly onto their culture and traditions, which they passed onto their children. In their free time, individuals engaged in activities that they would have in Cyprus, such as fishing and hunting. Similarly to the previous waves, Wave C individuals had a strong connection with their home where they had established their garden with plants and trees, which they would live off and consume home grown produce.

CHAPTER 6

INTEGRATION & IDENTITY

Chapter 6 will examine the integration and identity of the Greek-Cypriots in South Australia, to distinguish key attributes and mechanisms that assisted in their settlement. To have a better understanding of the Greek-Cypriot settlement in South Australia, an overview of the Australian immigration will provide a framework in considering to what level the Greek-Cypriot individuals integrated into the wider society. This chapter will also investigate the Greek-Cypriot acquirement of Australian citizenship, identity, belonging, and feelings surrounding returning back to Cyprus. Through an analysis of these topics, it will provide a better understanding on the Greek-Cypriot diaspora in South Australia.

6.1 Historical Background of Australian Immigration

Once Australia became a Federation in 1901, the Australian Federal parliament introduced the first act called the Immigration Restriction Act 1901, which was better known as the “White Australia” policy. The aim was to restrict non-European immigration and rigorously exclude Asian immigrants, effectively aspiring towards creating “a sovereign, modern, white British nation-state.”⁴¹² Non-European migrants wanting to settle in Australia were required to complete a dictation test of 50 words in a European language, which Customs officers ensured migrants would fail because they would provide the test in a language that the person did not know.⁴¹³ Over the years, the dictation test was amended to ensure exclusion.

After WWII, Australia introduced “populate or perish”, in an effort to generate prosperity and to protect itself. Rigorous immigration programs were implemented, such as Mass Resettlement Scheme for Displaced Persons (1947-1953) from war-torn Europe, Assisted Passage Scheme, Bring Out A Briton (1957),⁴¹⁴ Nest-Egg (1959),⁴¹⁵ Ten Pound Poms and various other agreements with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) to bring domestic servants and brides. Over the span of 30 years (1945-1975) Australia’s population almost doubled, increasing from seven and half to thirteen million, which comprised three million immigrants.⁴¹⁶ Majority of this intake was British because the British immigrants continued to be the preferred nationality, whilst the other half were non-British. New arrivals coming in post-WWII were known as “New Australians”, and were forced to assimilate, working and living among Australians. Migrants encountered racism and discrimination during their settlement. Also, with large influxes arriving, efforts by the Department of Immigration were made through mass media to encourage Australians to welcome the new arrivals.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹² Tavan, G., (2005) *The Long, Slow Death of White Australia*, Melbourne: Scribe Publications Pty Ltd, p7

⁴¹³ Walsh, K., (2001) *The Changing Face of Australia: A Century of Immigration 1901-2001*, NSW: Allen & Unwin, p40

⁴¹⁴ The scheme “‘Bring-out-a-Briton’ in 1957, [was devised] to encourage Australians to sponsor a relative or friend.” Appleyard, R.T., (2001) “Post-War British Immigration”. In J. Jupp (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Oakley, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, p63

⁴¹⁵ The “‘Nest-egg’ scheme in 1959, [was devised] to attract families with enough capital to arrange their own accommodation in Australia.” Appleyard, R.T., (2001) “Post-War British Immigration”. In J. Jupp (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Oakley, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, p63

⁴¹⁶ Walsh, K., (2001) *The Changing Face of Australia: A Century of Immigration 1901-2001*, *op. cit.*, p133

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Following on from high migration intakes, Australia had specified from the 1970s that

*“potential migrants must have skills or professional expertise required to fill gaps in the Australian work force, or business experience and investment capital that would directly benefit the Australian economy. Family reunion remained the other cornerstone of the migration program. Quotas limited the intake, particularly in years of high unemployment or slow economic growth.”*⁴¹⁸

Prime Minister Gough Whitlam implemented in 1973 a Universal Migration Policy, which meant “anyone could apply to migrate to Australia regardless of race, colour, gender, ethnic origin, religion or nationality. [...Also] the government removed differences in citizenship rights between British and non-British settlers.”⁴¹⁹ By 1975 the Whitlam Government had passed the Racial Discrimination Act, effectively outlawing racial selection criteria. The implementation of multiculturalism has allowed people from all over the world to migrate to Australia and to be treated as equals.

6.2 Integration into Australian Society

The integration of Greek-Cypriots into South Australian society was varied amongst the participants, with some more so than others. Wave A and Wave B were during a period of the White Australia policy and assimilation⁴²⁰, whilst Wave C was a transitioning phase towards integration, which effectively saw the evolution of multiculturalism in policy and social norms, and the progression of acceptance and encouragement of cultural diversity.

⁴¹⁸ Walsh, K., (2001) *The Changing Face of Australia: A Century of Immigration 1901-2001*, *op. cit.*, p245

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p244

⁴²⁰ “Assimilation policies of the 1940s and 1950s required new arrivals to learn English, adopt Australian cultural practices and become indistinguishable from the Australian-born population as quickly as possible. By the late 1960s, government policy had moved towards a policy of integration, reflecting a greater awareness of the difficulties faced by new migrants and an acceptance of the possibility that migrants could integrate successfully in Australian society without losing their national identities completely.” Koletch, E., (2010) “Multiculturalism: A Review of Australian Policy Statements and Recent Debates in Australia and Overseas,” *Research Paper no. 6 2010-11*, Parliament of Australia, <http://www.aph.gov.au>, Date accessed: 1/06/2015

Interviewee participants across the waves established various levels of integration depending on individual circumstances. Education played a significant role in each individual's experience of integration. Those with higher education levels were more likely to integrate into the wider community because they had knowledge and language skills to engage with the wider society. Also, gender roles impacted one's own ability to integrate, such as women. Although, Greek-Cypriot women did work in SA and integrated via the workplace, there were some who worked for a short period of time before taking on traditional female roles.

Furthermore, generally, it must be acknowledged that migrants' lives are made up of private and public facets. According to Brockhall and Liu (2011), who claim that Greeks and Cypriots have a "strong affinity and affection for their homeland, they made distinctions between two selves, the public and the private. In other words, they performed Australian in public while being Greek or Cypriot in private."⁴²¹ They further commented that "new settlers were often expected to perform to others' expectations of New Australian... [However] many would still not want to abandon the traditions of the old country."⁴²² This is similarly reflected upon the findings in this research.

6.2.1 Wave A trends

The integration of Wave A participants into the South Australian society varied amongst the individuals. Integration, if any, was generally made through and/or influenced by impressions/differences, language, racism, and through different avenues, such as work, school and/or with neighbours.

Some migrants highlighted their impressions and difference through their experiences in settling in SA. A5 reflected on his decision to come to Australia in the first place stating "Back then in the old days I wasn't [happy], but now I am. Back then we couldn't manage because the money wasn't enough. You couldn't survive. Now it's alright. Even with unemployment you are still able to live." A6 mentioned "Life is different here," further highlighting it is not negative but there is a sense of difference to what they were used to. Also A8 reflected that

⁴²¹ Brockhall, F.J., and Liu, S., (2011) "Performing New Australians: Identity (Re)Construction of Long-Term Greek and Cypriot Immigrants in Australia," *China Media Research*, Vol. 7, Issue. 1, p19

⁴²² *Ibid.*, p20

“The first four-five years when I arrived in Adelaide were the most challenging...of course, there were other difficulties that came about in later years but you get past them. [...] It’s hard when you first leave because you leave your family, and so you are not happy, but slowly you get used to it. Then you have your own family, and things change.”

A8’s husband added

“Like we previously said, we are very happy because we found peace here, which is number one. If there were troubles, how would you live?! Back in the day the children would come by themselves home, and there were no issues. You could go places without being scared. Now you can’t. In the summer when it was hot, you would sleep outside on the lawn. Now you have to be inside and locked up.”

Therefore, there was essentially a sense of hesitation in settling permanently because of the challenges faced amongst this wave.

The minimal English language skills had impacted the integration of these migrants. Ultimately it was not until their children or they themselves went to work, that they integrated outside their ethnic social circles. Otherwise, through interviews, it is quite evident that Greek-Cypriots formed their own identity and were happy in their own community groupings. A7, a female migrant, stated

“I had worked in customer service position in a Bank, and a lot of Greek and Greek-Cypriot people would come in and see me. Eventually, it got to the point where I would translate for people I barely knew. They would come into my work and ask me to fill out their personal forms, like medical or government forms. I guess you would do it because you understood their situation.”

Some migrants commented that it was not ‘distrust’ of the wider Anglo-Saxon Australian population, but more a case of not being able to communicate with them. A migrant, who arrived in 1948 and worked for Chrysler, was dismissed from his job because there was a miscommunication with the boss, who had asked if they were taking drugs and they responded ‘yes’ because they thought they were asked if they were having lunch, which they were at the time.

In the 1950s discrimination and hostility was not avoided. All interviewees admitted that they had encountered racism or were discriminated against at some stage or another. This was either directly or indirectly. For example, A5, who was living in a

communal house when he was working in the water supplies, was abused by another resident. This male migrant detailed the event, shaking his head,

“I lived in a room with an Australian ... one night he came back to the house drunk, swearing and abusing me ... he wouldn't let me go into the room to sleep. At the same time, there were Germans sitting outside the hotel on the veranda, and they could hear the noise. A guy, who was a big engineer, came inside and asked what the trouble was. Someone told him that 'he won't let Peter into his room.' They all knew me as Peter not by my name. This Australian created a big argument with this German engineer. He was abusing and swearing. ...So, they took the Australian into the office, where they paid him and they all kicked him out of the house. They told him never to return!”

As SA was small place during this period, A5 and the other workers saw the Australian again, narrating

“Then one day when we were going to work at Jamestown, we were staying out in the fields, they saw him. He started abusing everyone and so the Germans started to beat him black and blue. You should have seen the beating the Germans gave him. Then the police came to get him. I was told that 'your friend is now in the hospital.' I used to play cards with these people, we were friends. I asked them 'why?' and they told me this and this, that he was swearing and abusing at the Germans. The big engineer had told him 'not to dare come back because otherwise I will call the police to come and get you. Don't even think of coming back.' But they were only watching him. That's only when he found the Germans in front of him, and they made him black and blue.”

There were many more cases of this. However, it also depended if you were in the right place at the right time, and if you were not, non-Anglo individuals were targeted. For example, two young men, Raymond Francis Long aged 22 and Leonard Thomas Chrisholm aged 25, pleaded not guilty to using violence and robbing a Cypriot man, Kyriacos Georghiou on 16th October 1953, after they were out at a drinking party on Glenelg Beach.⁴²³ Although this could have been an isolated case, it does highlight that discrimination and racism was a raw reality of Wave A.

⁴²³ “Crown says man robbed,” (3 November 1953) *News*, p12. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131242425>, Date accessed: 8/06/2014

Furthermore, A6 faced discrimination many times. In particular, when they had shops and they would yell at them, they always had sticks under the counter. There was no other way to deal with it at the time, noting

“Australians were racist at the time and they didn’t want the NEW Australians, and where ever they would go they would be called names ‘bloody dago’ and ‘bloody New Australian’. It was common. Things are different now. [...] Australians were terrible at the time. Only now in the last 20 years there has been a big change.”

A7 reflected on her experiences, commenting

“It was really bad. There was a lot of bullying going on at school. For quite a few years, the Australian children didn’t like us because we spoke a different language, we dress differently. We weren’t allowed to behave the same as they did. And quite often we would come home beaten by someone at school. My brother would always have stones thrown at him, his trousers ripped and my mother would get angry but she would never let my brother hit back. He was quite upset about that. Thank goodness the Australian people have [now] accepted the migrants because I believe we have bought a lot of good things to them. We have opened their eyes to foods that can be eaten. I remember as a child, we were told eating green almonds and onions was poisonous. They wouldn’t eat rabbit and a lot of other things, like chicken livers. It was something unheard of, and yet now, you cannot find them in the shops. Now they are accustomed to eating our foods and they love our Greek sweets.”

Additionally, A10 highlighted that she felt welcomed by most people but there were still racism and that will always be there.

As racism was unavoidable some new migrants tried to blend in. For example, one migrant, who arrived in the early 1950s and was a shoemaker, threw away some of his items, mostly his shoes because he felt Australians were not socially accepting due to his clothing. He went out and bought new clothes just to fit in. Interestingly, nowadays everyone wants European made/styled shoes and clothes because they think them to be classier.

The workplace facilitated in many integrating into the wider society. A4 potentially made the most progress out of this wave, and mainly due to the support he had gotten from the people around him. He was involved in the Good Neighbourhood

Council, a councillor for the Thebarton Council in 1980, and the Hospital Board. However, A4 admits that it was not until many years after his arrival he was involved with these activities and made friends with Australians. Another example was demonstrated by A10, whose integration was limited until years after arrival. Her experience with the wider Anglo population, indicated “it was only really when the kids went to school. I was involved in the school canteen, sports days, and things like this. Very much involved.” She added “we were friends with lots of Cypriots, and with the Australians, Greeks, Italians, we were very multicultural.” In comparison to other female examples, such as, A1’s integration into the wider Anglo population was essentially minimal, and of this it was with people at work and her neighbours, whereas A8 claims she did not have any Australian friends.

Overall, as migrants were young and mostly single, they found many differences between the Australian way of life and the equivalent in Cyprus. Racism and discrimination had rendered their ability to integrate successfully. Despite the fact that the process of integration was slow, schooling, work and everyday commitments coerced the process for most of the migrants.

6.2.2 Wave B trends

The majority of Wave B participants had minimal integration experiences into the Australian society. Integration, if any, was generally made through and/or influenced by impressions/differences, language, racism, and through different avenues, such as work.

Impressions and difference were found amongst migrants in Wave B. B6 explained that there were differences in the lifestyle, elaborating she liked the cosmopolitan lifestyle and the common curtesy one gave to another, highlighting

“It was that they (in Australia) had a way of life. In Cyprus, it was as if it was a mess/unorganised. Here you would go shopping, whatever you would ask they would assist. It’s a different way of life. Don’t forget, in the villages we lived. We would just walk into someone’s home just like that without knocking. Whereas here it’s different, you would knock or call before coming over. And I liked that [the curtesy]. In the village, we would go to the door and call out ‘X, X, are you home?’.”⁴²⁴

⁴²⁴ Name omitted with ‘X’

She also added that “The [Australian] people were decent and attentive. Even the Greeks were welcoming but we get angry very easily. But these people are more patient.” Although, a common factor for migrants taking a keen liking to Adelaide was drawn upon B7, who stated “Still today, Australia is one of the greatest countries in the world. In particular, Adelaide, it’s quiet and it has similar weather to Cyprus. It is very good, Adelaide, in particular.”

A common contributing factor was the language barrier, which created many difficulties. Understandably, “bilingualism on both sides could defuse such conflict-prone non-understanding. Knowledge of the receiving society’s language is a distinct advantage.”⁴²⁵ Knowing two languages prevented migrants from becoming isolated, and aided them in making connections outside their own circle when trying to find information or assistance. B8 did not find any trouble because he had a University degree and knew English well. Whilst on the other hand, the language barrier proved to be challenging for male migrant B7, who claimed

“With the Australians it was a bit difficult at the beginning. If you did not know English and you would only talk Greek they didn’t like it. Even at work when they would talk to you, you would say ‘yes’ but you wouldn’t know what they were telling you. It was difficult. But slowly slowly we learnt a bit of English and it became a bit better.”

Discrimination and racism was still evident during this period. B2 felt that “There was a sense of racism still fresh from the war.” She felt welcomed within the Greek and Cypriot communities but with the Australians not so much because they were viewed as if they were coming to take the jobs, land, houses and everything. B10, who had struggled with the English language, also encountered racism now and again, commenting “They would say ‘Bloody New Australia!’.” However, she highlighted that they would socialise with other Greeks, Cypriots, Italians, Yugoslavians and some Australians. Whereas B5 reflected on her experience, “No we didn’t experience racism, but there was.”

Integration was gained through various mechanisms. One of them was work. On one side of the spectrum, there were those who partly integrated to the Australian society, such as B4. He claims that his integration into the Australian society was

⁴²⁵ Harzig, C., Hoerder, D., and Gabaccia, D.R, (2009) *What is Migration History?*, Cambridge: Polity, p105

mainly contributed to his work stating “we found Australian people very good, we also met a lot of Greek-Cypriots and Greeks in Australia. [...] ...in the Australian community we were not involved a hell of a lot. We made a lot of Australian friends because of our business and we still keep in touch with them.” Essentially, his education and living in England had contributed to his ability to integrate. On the other side of the spectrum, there were those who made minimal integration, such as B6. She seemed to find integration into the wider Anglo-Saxon society challenging, primarily due to her limited knowledge of the English language. However, she did make friends with ladies from work and volunteering at Meals on Wheels, who were mostly Greek and other nationalities, but did not really mix with Australians. She did not know how to drive, but would ride a bike and walk long distances to get to her destination. In comparison, B5 mentioned she did not integrate into the Australian society as much, but she did have Australian friends. Her impression of the Australian people was that “they were hospitable and very good people.” However, “The only thing that would scare me is when I would see the Aborigines, who were drunk near the park; when they would see me, they would come up to me and ask for money. I would get scared. This is what would scare me the most.” Also, B2’s reflection on her experience was that she found it challenging when not having someone there in difficult times, thus connecting mainly with people of a similar background to her, such as Greeks and Cypriots.

Overall, the integration experiences of Wave B were varied, with some integrating more than others. Whilst, education levels and English language knowledge proved to be beneficial and effective factors for integration, some individuals were challenged by this. Even though, women in this wave did work, they mainly encountered minimal integration. Also, as the existence of racism was still prevalent during this wave, it meant it had similarly impinged on some individuals’ ability to integrate.

6.2.3 Wave C trends

There was relatively mixed levels of integration by Wave C participants into the Anglo-Saxon population. Integration, if any, was generally made through and/or influenced by impressions/differences, language, and through different avenues, such as work.

Some participants did make friends and had interaction with Australians and others. Different social norms and cultural values were an obvious stand out to many migrants. A notable event for C3 was a work Christmas celebration. She attended the event with her husband recollecting

“Each year they would gather at someone’s home. [...] They told us to bring a plate, drink and chair. So I made a plater full of meatballs. But when we got there, everyone else brought dips, chips and things like this. I was the only one who made a plate of food. The platter had got passed around and the meatballs were all gone by the end. My husband didn’t like this sort thing.”

This form of Australian social practice was an unusual for the migrants as they were used to hosting an event and supplying everything. C3 added another time, her family was invited to a work college’s home for tea. So they ate dinner and by the time they got to the house, the lady said to them that they were late and that they had eaten already, and if they liked they would put them food to eat. In other words, there was a misunderstanding with the term tea being dinner and not tea that one would drink.

Although there were cultural and social differences, some individuals found the Anglo-Saxon population to be very helpful and demonstrated by this research cohort “refugees with higher education attainment tend to assimilate faster into their new environment, and have more positive adjustment outcomes.”⁴²⁶ For example, when C4 first arrived in Australia and found work at the school, the principal paid C4 his wage a month in advance. C4 was very grateful and could not believe that the kindness and initiative of the principal, who was aware that they just arrived and were refugees. Furthermore, even though C5 did not really socialise outside of work with the Anglo-Saxon community, he found them to be very good people. He elaborated on this commenting, “the Anglo-Saxons were very good people, even better than our own community.”

However, participants’ perception of integration gave the impression that they were restricted for various reasons, such as work or family commitments. The majority of participants during this wave engaged in social networks and circles of Greek-Cypriots or Greeks, and felt that they had minimal integration into the Australian society. For example, C4 commented that he made friends with Australians and

⁴²⁶ Potocky, M., and MacDonald, T.P., (1995) “Predictors of economic status of Southeast Asian refugees: Implications for service improvements,” *Social Work Research*, 19, pp219-228

other nationalities; however he believed he did not integrate into the broader Australian community. C8 claims she would interact with her neighbours and some people at work but their social circle predominantly included other fellow Cypriots and Greeks. C9 believed he mainly socialised and his network circles evolved around other Greek-Cypriots and Greeks, and therefore he did not integrate into the Anglo-Saxon society. Also, C10 feels he did not integrate greatly in the Australian community because of his work commitments that took up much of his time. However, at work he made friends with Australians and other nationalities.

Language skills were a key factor in the participant's engagement with individuals of non-Greek background, similarly to the previous waves. For example, C1, a male migrant stated

"The people here were friendly and nice to us. Sometimes they used to get upset at us not knowing the English language. They couldn't communicate properly with us. They were glad that they got us. We were a hardworking people and that's all they wanted in those days."

Also, C2, a female refugee commented on her experience,

"My sister and I got a job in a factory. They were difficult years because we didn't know the language well, even though we learnt English at school it was different to the English that was spoken here. Life was different here from what we knew it. In Cyprus we didn't mix with many people because we were all girls and we stayed in the house. But here we had to catch the bus to go to the factory, and there was many people. People would talk to us and we couldn't understand.

[...]

We would go to friend's places, who were also Greek or Cypriot. We didn't have much interaction with Australians. Whatever English I knew I forgot because I was at home with the children and all we spoke was Greek. Once my children started to go to school, I then started to learn to talk English a bit more."

Overall, “forced migrations either made trans-cultural connections seemingly impossible or rigorously constrained them.”⁴²⁷ For the Wave C participants’ integration, there was no clear distinction between the migrants and refugees. This consequently is a result from these individuals leaving Cyprus due to the invasion. However, there was a distinction on the levels of integrations, being influenced by the participant’s education level, English language skills, age and marital status upon arrival. For example, several individuals (C2, C9 and C10) made the least integration, but they were also single and the youngest of the group. The remainder of the participants, made partial connections with Australians and other ethnic groups but these individuals had well developed English language skills, were married with children and ranged between 30-40 years of age. Therefore, even though they were older in age, they made some connections outside to their ethnic group, with a possible contributing influence from their occupations.

6.3 Australian Citizenship

All (but one) of the participants in this research became Australia citizens. As seen below in **Figure 12**, the three waves demonstrated various patterns from one to the other. Wave A participants gained citizenship over the years, with no specific pattern in timeframe. Whilst Wave B migrants became citizens predominately after 1974, and Wave C participants mainly became citizens as soon as they were eligible. Although this is a general synopsis on citizenship, further analysis on each wave will be elaborated on below.

⁴²⁷ Harzig, C., Hoerder, D., and Gabaccia, D.R, (2009) *What is Migration History?*, Cambridge: Polity, p111

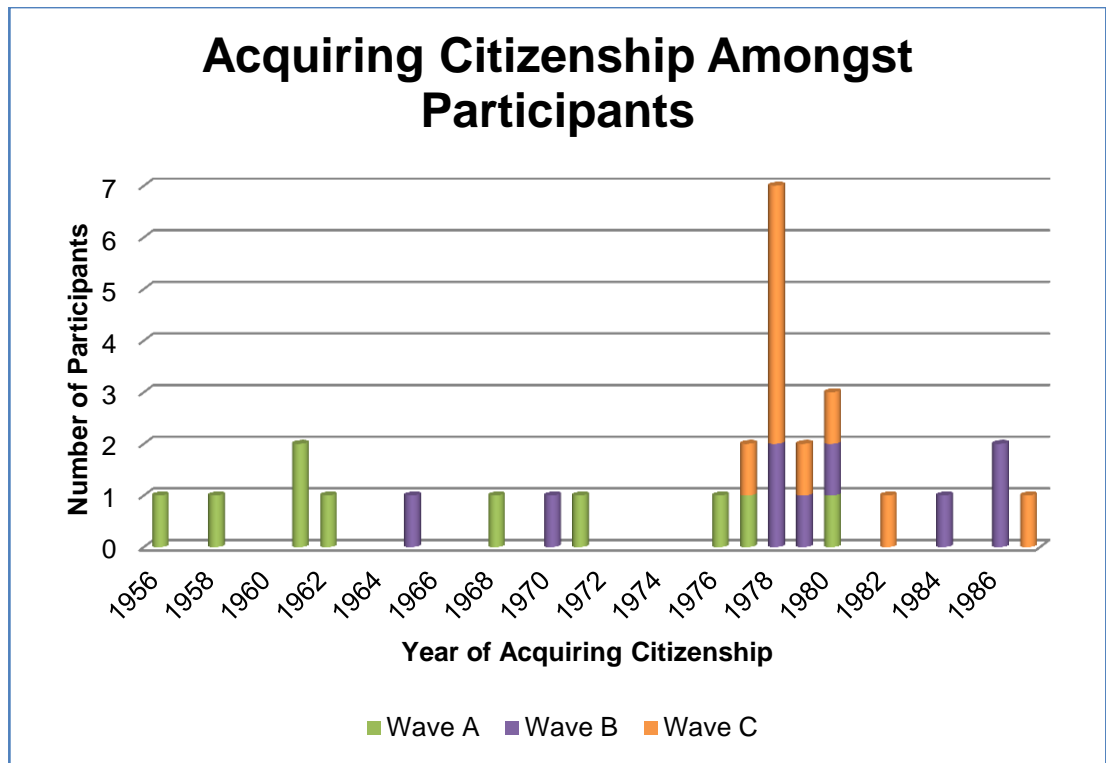


Figure 12: Year of Acquiring Citizenship During Wave A, Wave B & Wave C

In the perspective of surrounding factors regarding citizenship, there were several factors which directly or indirectly impact individuals to become citizens. Firstly, “naturalisation could be obtained after five years of residence (later reduced to three years, and then to two).”⁴²⁸ Secondly, the majority became citizens four-five years after the invasion, in particular for Wave C. The political climate and hostilities in Cyprus contributed to uncertain times, with many reconsidering their options for security and safety for their family. Thirdly, the benefits of obtaining an Australian passport was an incentive for a return holiday visit back home. Fourthly, politicians would campaign amongst migrant groups in SA to gain their votes, and would entice them to become citizens to be able to vote. Finally, one migrant mentioned that there was a trend growing amongst the migrants, who could not understand policy and thought they would be sent back home if they did not acquire citizenship. While this was not the case for many, it still resulted in a trend for people to become citizens.

⁴²⁸ Castles, S., (2001) “The Emergence of Multiculturalism,” In J. Jupp (ed.) *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, Oakley, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, p808

6.3.1 Wave A trends

All Wave A migrants became citizens, with some becoming citizens sooner than others, as seen below in **Table 19**. The earliest obtainment of citizenship was in 1956, whilst the latest was in 1980.

Table 19: Wave A Profile and Citizenship

Migrants	Gender	Place of Birth	Age Upon Arrival	Year of Arrival	Year of Citizenship
A1	F	Rizokarpaso	20	1949	1976
A2	M	Rizokarpaso	19	1949	1971
A3	M	Rizokarpaso	19	1951	1968
A4	M	Larnaca	20	1951	1956
A5	M	Larnaca	31	1951	1977
A6	M	Kiti	18	1952	1958
A7	F	Famagusta	10	1954	1980
A8	F	Eftakomi	22	1955	1961
A9	M	Aradippou	30	1956	1961
A10	F	Kiti	18	1958	1962

Marriage and family were the most common influences for migrants during Wave A to become citizens. For example, A4 married a girl who was born in Australia, and he stated that

“I became an Australian citizen before we got married in ’57. ...I came with an English passport here and before we were to get married in ’57, I became an Australian citizen. [...] because I was already a British [subject], you understand, Cyprus was with the British, that’s it. I became a citizen because I married the girl and she was born here...she would haven’t gone to Cyprus with me, if I had told her to.”

His wife responded, “No I would have not!!” Then A4 breaks into laughter. “No way!” she adds laughingly.

Similarly, A5 became a citizen is about 1977 before he went to Cyprus on his first holiday to Cyprus utilising his Australian passport, however his memory is faded. “Well.....I was living permanently in Australia and I wasn’t going to go back to Cyprus. Australia became my homeland because my children married here, as well

as the grandchildren. So, all my family is here.” Also, A8 became a citizen in 1961, which was five-six years after arrival. Once she got married, soon after she became a citizen, as well as her husband, who was also a Greek-Cypriot. She became a citizen because she wanted the rights of being an Australia. She knew she would stay because she got married here and had children, and she knew she would not return to Cyprus. She commented “never did I say I would return to Cyprus for good!”

A10 became a citizen in 1962 and it was only four years after she arrived, because she wanted to return to Cyprus for a holiday, and adding “If you wanted to buy any property you had to have citizenship. They wouldn’t sell us any property. [...] It wasn’t difficult to get. You went to a ceremony and you received a certificate.” Also she found it a bonus that she could keep their Cypriot nationality when they became Australian citizens.

Furthermore, the hostilities and troubles in Cyprus had impacted the perception of repatriation and reconsidering their future. A1 became a citizen soon after the Turkish invasion in Cyprus, narrating “Straight away when they [the Turks] had taken our parts, we went and became Australians [...] because they took our parts/places.... <<αυτή είναι η πατρίδα μας πια>> [This is our country now], therefore we became Australian.” Although a migrant by choice, they felt a sense of displacement from the invasion, and ultimately citizenship provided reassurance and security for their family’s future.

6.3.2 Wave B trends

From the Wave B interviewee participants, nine out of ten became citizens, as seen below in **Table 20**. The earliest obtainment of citizenship was in 1965, whilst the latest was in 1986. There are various reasons why individuals became or did not become citizens.

Table 20: Wave B Profile and Citizenship

Migrants	Gender	Place of Birth	Age Upon Arrival	Year of Arrival	Year of Citizenship
B1	M	Aradippou	20	1960	1965
B2	F	Rizokarpaso	20	1961	-
B3	F	Sykopetra	21	1964	1986
B4	M	Famagusta	22	1965	1978
B5	F	Aradippou	19	1966	1984
B6	F	Larnaca	28	1966	1979-1981
B7	M	Aradippou	18	1966	1978
B8	M	Eksometohi	33	1968	1970
B9	M	Analionta	25	1968	1986
B10	F	Kathika, Paphou	24	1971	1980

In general, the consensus amongst the interviewees was that they did not need to become citizens because Cyprus was a Commonwealth member and secondly, in particular for those who came in earlier waves, they were British subjects. As shown above, B2 did not become a citizen. Shining light onto this matter, she explained that when she came to Australia, the government sent her some information that stated she did not formally need to become an Australian citizen because she was a British subject. According to her, this meant she became an Australian automatically, and therefore she did not really think about citizenship again.

For those who did become citizens, reasons ranged from property ownership (B8), security and safety of being an Australian (B1, B5, B6 and B10), and visiting/holidaying in Cyprus (B1, B6 and B7). B1 became an Australian citizen in 1965, before he went back to Cyprus and for the security of being an Australian, reminiscing “When I went to the office to become a citizen, I bumped into ‘X’⁴²⁹, who was in SEKA or some youth group then, and we got talking. I was unsure how to fill in the form and so he filled it in for me.” Also, B5, B6 and B10 mentioned they became Australian citizens because they believed it was safer to do so, in the event something happens, they know that they would be looked after and the Australian government would help, in particular when visiting Cyprus. Furthermore, B7, who is

⁴²⁹ Name omitted with ‘X’

very happy that he became a citizen, commented “I became a citizen in 1978, when we decided to go on our first holiday to Cyprus. We decided to become Australian citizens so that we could return back, to have an Australian passport.”

Also, B4 who arrived in 1965 stated, “...in '78 we decided to become Australian. Since we were to stay in Australia, we said we would become Australian citizens.” B4 and his family believed that they saw their future in Australia and they wanted to stay. Whilst, B9 saw his future in Australia, he had not become a citizen until 18 years after his arrival because as they were part of the Commonwealth, it was not necessary to become a citizen. However, there was a turning point for him, which influenced him to become a citizen:

“when I was in Cyprus in 1979, when I was leaving, the bell rang for when they interview you and they put one of those police officers there, pushed me into a room to do the interview. Anyhow he asked various questions, I don't want to blame my fellow compatriots but he was very rude. He says to me ‘you have been in Australia for 11 years, why have you not become an Australian citizen?’. I swore at him. I told him ‘now that I will go back, I will become.’ He asked ‘why will you become one now when you go?’ I respond ‘because γαϊδούρια σαν εσένα [asses like yourself], if Cyprus has, I will be ashamed to even say that I am Cypriot!’ ...anyway he didn't say anything, and I left. ...and then from there I became an Australian citizen.”

He could not believe the way he was treated, and true to his word he became a citizen with his wife soon after. He also felt, that since he was going to stay in Australia that it was a good idea to become a citizen. Although, he still has his Cypriot identification card and passport.

6.3.3 Wave C trends

All Wave C participants became citizens. From those who came as refugees as to those who came as migrants, there was no pattern in time frame in which individuals gained citizenship. The majority of interviewees became citizens within two-four years since their arrival, as seen below in **Table 21**. The earliest obtainment of citizenship was in 1977-1978, whilst the latest was in 1993.

Table 21: Wave C Profile and Citizenship

Migrants	Gender	Place of Birth	Age Upon Arrival	Year of Arrival	Year of Citizenship
C1	M	Geroskipos, Paphos	40	1974	1978
C2	F	Neo Horio, Kythreas	18	1974	1993
C3	F	Aglantzia, Nicosia	35	1974	1978
C4	M	Pyrogi	34	1975	1978
C5	M	Vathilakas, Karpasia	35	1975	1978
C6	M	Ayios Elias, Ammochostos	30	1975	1977-1978
C7	F	Aglantzia, Nicosia	30	1975	1978
C8	F	Ammochostos	38	1976	1979
C9	M	Kato Varosi, Ammochostos	20	1978	1980-1981
C10	M	Rizokarpaso	20	1979	1982

Similarly to the previous waves, security and safety was valued highly amongst all the interviewees. This is logical due to the invasion impacting them directly or indirectly. This was best illustrated by C9, who became a citizen in 1980-1981. He already had permanent residence when he arrived in Australia and it only took two years after his arrival to become a citizen. He felt it was beneficial to become a citizen because of the security that Australia could offer, adding “It was something that Cyprus had taken away from us.” This was important to him because C9 and his family were refugees and were left with nothing.

Furthermore, C3, C5 and C7 became citizens in 1978 because they wanted the security that came along with being Australian. Whilst C5 expressed “in those days it only took two years before you could become an Australian citizen because Cyprus was a member of the Commonwealth... we wanted the benefits and the security that Australia could offer. Travelling on an Australian passport would enable you to be safe.” This was also at the same time that they realised that they would stay more permanently in Australia, even though initially their intention was to come for three years before returning to Cyprus. Likewise, C7 shared his outlook

“I became an Australian citizen in 1978 because we were to go to Cyprus for a family holiday and we wanted to return back to Australia. Also we wanted

to travel with the benefits of the Australian passport. I am very satisfied that I became an Australian citizen. Australia, even today, is one of the best places in the world, especially Adelaide because it is quiet and is very similar to Cyprus. The weather is very good in Adelaide especially.”

In addition, C8, a female refugee declared, “we became Australian citizens in 1979 because we wanted to stay.” Similarly, C1 said, “I became an Australian citizen in June 1978, which also included my children at the time because we saw a future for our children here.” Whilst, C2 reflected, “I became an Australian citizen in June 1993 because I wanted to remain permanently in Australia. Also it was much easier for me to travel to and from Cyprus with an Australian passport.” Coincidentally, all of those interviewed still have their passports that they came with to Australia. As one refugee claimed, “oh, of course I have my passport. It is not just purely for memory purposes but it signifies the journey I took.”

6.4 Identity

Identity is often defined in how someone views themselves in regards to their character, their personal entity, who or what they associate with, and often changing throughout the course of life. The identity discourse is intertwined in many diverse fields, from gender, disability, to globalisation, multiculturalism and transnationalism. Migrant and refugee identity is in some cases utilised in referring to the ‘Other’, as stated by Taylor (2013), “those who belong to the nation are insiders, while those whose allegiance, thoughts or aspirations lie elsewhere are outsiders, with refugees often represented as the epitome of the Other.”⁴³⁰ Then in consideration of the migrant and refugee identity, “it is the element of compulsion and the absence of choice, which makes the experience of forced migration qualitatively different from that of voluntary migration,”⁴³¹ thus influencing and impacting their identity and experiences in their resettlement.

Furthermore, according to international law, “Greek-Cypriots refugees are neither refugees according to the Geneva Convention 1951 and Protocol 1967, since they are not ‘outside their country of origin,’ nor can they be considered as potential

⁴³⁰ Taylor, H., (2013) “Refugees, the State and the Concept of Home,” *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol.32, No.2, p131

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p133

repartees. Instead they are technically 'internally displaced'.⁴³² Therefore, Greek-Cypriots who were forced to migrate and seek refuge in a different part of Cyprus are considered as Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs). Although, as Dikomititis states "...the label 'refugee' remains very important. Greek Cypriots emphasize their attachment to their former villages and hence their 'refugeeness,' because they feel that their suffering has not been recognized sufficiently. At every opportunity Greek Cypriot refugees stress that they are 'real' refugees on Cyprus and express this in different ways."⁴³³

The Greek-Cypriot migration discourse portrays complex and ambiguous identities for several reasons, such as

- Individuals who migrated to 'Country X' prior to 1974 as migrants (by choice),
- Individuals who migrated to 'Country X' prior to 1974 as migrants (by choice), but became refugees indirectly,
- Individuals who migrated to 'Country X' after 1974 as refugees,
- Individuals who migrated to 'Country X' after 1974 as migrants, but had refugee status, and
- Individuals who migrated to 'Country X' after 1974 as migrants, but were not refugees.

Therefore, each case is unique and multifaceted, consequently impacting how a Greek-Cypriot perceives themselves and the influences contributing to the formation of their identity whilst in another country.

The refugee identity is complex, in particular when it comes to the identity associated with materialism, emblems and property ownership. Property alone plays a significant role for a refugee because it is exactly what one has lost and become displaced. The property issue is a saw point, especially for Cypriots, whether being Turkish or Greek.

"The Greek Cypriot side objects to the Turkish Cypriot understanding of bizonality, the key feature of which is the creation of a Turkish Cypriot zone in the northern part of the island. Most Greek Cypriots find this painful, because, among other things, they see it as the eradication in the north of all

⁴³² Zetter, R., (1994) "The Greek-Cypriot Refugees: Perception of Return under Conditions of Protracted Exile," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Summer, p308

⁴³³ Dikomititis, L., (2012) *Cyprus and its Places of Desire: Cultures of Displacement Among Greek and Turkish Cypriot Refugees*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., p20

*that is historically 'Greek' and believe it to be part of what they regard as Turkey's 'expansionist designs' aimed ultimately at changing the primordial Greek character of Cyprus into a Turkish one.*⁴³⁴

By conducting this research, an exclusive sense of real perception was uncovered through the research cohort. Although, they demonstrated a sense of reservation on different discussion topics, the real view is shown once they forget the interview is being recorded or when the recorder is turned off. Refugees tend to express their feelings on a more personal level regarding property issues, how they were affected and what their future plans are with the property. There have even been discussions with who owns what and where. This insight weighs heavily because although in reality one may never return permanently, especially in their life time, there is ultimately a sense of ownership within one's own mental consciousness. Refugees in South Australia often discuss with family members in Cyprus regarding this topic, to ensure they are kept in the loop with title deeds as elders are now passing away.

6.4.1 Wave A trends

All migrants in Wave A felt a strong connection to being Cypriot or Greek-Cypriot. For example, A5 claims "I can't deny it of course, I'm Cypriot." Additionally, A8 feels Cypriot, with her explanation <<Κυπρία. Έχει τόσα χρόνια που είμαι στην Αυστραλία και δεν είδα έναν όνειρο ότι είμαι στην Αυστραλία. Πάντα είμαι στην Κύπρο...Αλήθεια!!...Ποτέ μου δεν είδα όνειρο ότι είμαι στην Αυστραλία.>> ["It has been so many years since I've been in Australia and I have not seen a dream that I'm in Australia. I'm always in Cyprus...True!!...I have never seen a dream that I'm in Australia."]

Meanwhile, regional identity also plays a role in forming their connection to Cyprus, such as A1, who feels Cypriot (but not Australian), whilst her husband calls her a Karpasitisa [a female from Rizokarpaso]. They both feel they will never forget Cyprus, which is their home country. Whilst another migrant in Wave A had highlighted differences between the Karpasites [people from Rizokarpaso] and the Aradippiotes [people from Aradippou]. He had claimed that the Karpasites in

⁴³⁴ The Norwegian Refugee Council/Internal Displaced Monitoring Centre (NRC/IDMC), (2007) "Cyprus: Lack of Political Settlement Prevents the Displaced from Fully Enjoying their Property Rights," *Refworld website*, <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4767f4a52.html>, Date accessed: 3/01/2014, p118

Adelaide were somewhat more democratic and natural, in comparison to the Aradippiotes, who were more passionate and feisty. Therefore, regional identity is fragmented into the Greek-Cypriot identity.

Whereas A10 reflected on her identity, stating that she is an Australian Greek-Cypriot, elaborating “Overseas they tend to say that we are Australian.” As a result she feels her identity is rather shaped by this and feels she has both identities because they have been living for so long in Australia. Furthermore, she had described the Cypriot population in Australia to be “very hard working people, who wanted to advance themselves, from the very way back. They worked very hard for their families. Very hospitable people, they were into things. [They] adapted very easily to the same way of life.” A10 continued to explain

“As Cypriots were from British colonised country they were valued differently because they knew a few words, although many were illiterate...

...To the rest of the Greeks they [Cypriots] were considered educated because they could understand a word here and word there. Whereas the Greeks had nothing to do with England so they had no idea of the English language at all and it was very difficult for them... [...]

There is a similarity and there is dissimilarity [between the Greeks and the Cypriots]. You can't combine the two, not in particular these days, but more so in the past... [...]

The British rule had a big big influence on us. We grew up with the English people...Actually when we were little, we used to look up to them [British]...we didn't know that they weren't any better than us. But we thought, you know, we looked up to them. We thought, 'oh they are British', you know.”

She reflected that once they had grown up, they did not have much respect for the British, therefore influencing their identity. Also, she highlights a distinction between the Greeks and the Cypriots in Adelaide, with an ‘us’ and ‘them’ conceptualisation, emphasising that the Cypriots were/are different. Also, when she spoke about the British she used the English language, and quite readily reverted to Greek when she spoke about her time in Cyprus.

6.4.2 Wave B trends

All the Wave B participants still had a close connection with their Greek-Cypriot identity. For example, B1 commented “I’m Cypriot...after all these years I’m Cypriot,” going on to reflect that he is Cypriot because he grew up in Cyprus and they were some of his best years. Whilst B6 feels “Greek, Cypriot, I am Cypriot-Greek, Cypriot-Greek.” She says she is Cypriot but feels she has to elaborate that she is a Cypriot-Greek, commenting “We know that we are Cypriot. Our books were in Greek. ...Although, in school we would learn English.” She gets proud (and honoured) when she hears of anything Greek, because of where she has come from, heritage, culture and education. Also, similarly to Wave A, regional identity was also mentioned by several, such as B2, who expressed that the people from Rizokarpaso, in general, were cosmopolitan and with broadened views. Therefore, identity for these participants was a contribution to an association of memories, past, culture, regional placement, heritage and education.

Meanwhile, half of this wave had extended their Cypriot identity to include Australian. For example, even though B2 feels Cypriot, she also feels Australian, commenting “I feel like a Cypriot, of course I feel like a Cypriot,” further elaborating “Oh yes, you do feel like an Australian, you love this country because you raised your family here. It is the motherland of your children. You can’t talk against this place. ...But, always, your mind is always there [Cyprus].” This is primarily driven to her feeling that she belonged in Australia because they had attempted to repatriate and could not settle down, therefore feeling Australia was now her home. Whilst, B5 described

“You can’t say I am only a Cypriot, ...They are our roots, we grew up there, we are here, we live here, we like Australia, we obey by the law, we like the values of Australia...it’s a country with laws...you feel safe here...but you have a mixture of feelings, I am a Cypriot and an Australian. You can’t say you love one country more than the other...because when you go there, you think of Australia, and when you’re here, you think of Cyprus.”

There seems to be that reassurance at the end, highlighting “Australia is one of the best countries and we are lucky to be living here.”

Then for B9, who feels he is a Cypriot-Australian, elaborating “In the instance, if Australia was to play Cyprus in a game of soccer, I would want Cyprus to win. If Australia was playing a game against another country, I would want Australia to win. Put it that way.” Therefore, in the instance of sport, dual identity is challenged and

symbolises the person's identity and association of belonging.

6.4.3 Wave C trends

Picture 28 is a well-known Cypriot refugee stamp which is still in circulation in Cyprus, and symbolises the continual struggle and despair of those who have suffered from the Turkish invasion.



Picture 28: A well-known refugee stamp, which is still distributed today in Cyprus.

As one refugee mentioned, “...never forgotten, we are tortured life long,” it can be seen in their eyes, the legacy they have lost. However, the identity of Greek-Cypriots is a unique one and is not only that of a refugee. They all still hold strong ties with their Cypriot identity. C8 feels she is “Cypriot, Greek of course,” whilst C9 feels as if he is “Hellenic, Greek, Cypriot – there is no doubting what I am.” Therefore, Wave C, in particular for refugees, their Cypriot identity is important to them because it is potentially one thing that could not be taken away from them. Also, things like church and community groups, such as the Cyprus Community of South Australia that was formed in 1948, further enhanced their identity. A refugee male reminisced, “When I was in Cyprus, I had heard that there were a lot of Greeks and Cypriots in Adelaide...One day I went to the club rooms [in Adelaide] and I introduced myself and I made a lot of friends since then.” This represented a social network for many migrants and refugees to have a sense of belong and integrate into the Cypriot community.

Furthermore, the Wave C participants, in particular refugees, established an aspect that is formed as part of their identity, whether it is for reasons of being Greek-Cypriot or refugee or both. These individuals do not purchase anything that is Turkish, whether it is clothes or food, such as dried apricots, which often come from Turkey. Consequently, Greek-Cypriot refugees prefer to purchase something else or even more expensive products rather than purchase something Turkish. This trait is also carried through to the following generations, in particular the second-generation Greek-Cypriot refugees. This might be connected to the notion of land and property loss, and missing and/or killed family members.

However, their ability to sustain their identity within an Anglo-Saxon society is of interest, because they also adopted another identity. C3 felt that she was Cypriot but then elaborated she is an Australian-Cypriot. Whilst, C4 and C10 mentioned that they carry their Cypriot identification card in their wallet in Australia, next to their drivers licence. C5 feels he is a Greek, elaborating Greek-Cypriot and then further elaborating an Australian Greek-Cypriot. He stated “You cannot forget what this country has done for us. I have lived most of my life here in Australia than in Cyprus. I am Greek-Cypriot but also Australian.”

Furthermore, each household carried the traditions and customs that were taught in Cyprus. As a refugee, C2 stated

“When we first came we would support significant Cypriot days and events but now since the children have grown up we do not so much. My husband used to be a coach for the Omonia Soccer Club and my children played ten years for the club. I would go there to watch them play. There were many Cypriots there. Also we used to take the children to Greek school two times a week. We would go to dinner dances that Cypriot Community would hold and other Greek dances. We would teach our children from a young age where they originated from, the customs and the traditions [of our country]. These were always important for our kids to know.”

Likewise, C1 asserted with pride,

“We used to have countrymen come from Cyprus to visit us and they would always tell us ‘Cyprus is now here, you have held onto our traditions.’ Not only the Cypriots but also the Greeks too. Me, as a Greek-Cypriot Australian,

I am so proud to hear these words.”

This is significant because the traditions and customs of the Cypriot identity were passed onto the following generations. This signifies the pride and identity they embrace and essentially adapting it to the new environment.

6.5 Belonging

The term “belonging” has been defined in the literature in various ways over the decades. In this topic “belonging” is used loosely as referring to the feelings of “the orientation to a real or imagined ‘homeland’ as an authoritative source of value, identity and loyalty.”⁴³⁵ Rogers Brubaker, refers to William Safran’s journal article titled “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return”, highlighting the concept of orientation to the homeland. One can utilise some of the guidelines Safran developed in order to create an understanding of the context,

“firstly, maintaining a collective memory or myth about the homeland; second, ‘regarding the ancestral homeland as the true, ideal home and as the place to which one would (or should) eventually return’; third, being collectively ‘committed to the maintenance or restoration of the homeland and to its safety and prosperity’; and fourth, ‘continu[ing] to relate, personally or vicariously’, to the homeland, in a way that significantly shapes one’s identity and solidarity.”⁴³⁶

Brubaker and Safran’s theory of belonging can be applied to various culturally diverse groups, specifically minority groups residing in societies dominated by one ethnic group.

Furthermore, the Greek-Cypriots are closely related to the southern Europeans in that they share similar cultural values and ethnic characteristics. For this reason it is appropriate to consider them in relation to a study conducted on post-war Italian migrants in Australia which shows that “the characterised identity of migrants from Italy was often reinforced by the experience of migration.”⁴³⁷ Francesco Ricatti explains that “a relevant side effect of migration, as a cultural shock determined by

⁴³⁵ Brubaker, R., (2005) “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.28, Issue.1, p5

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*; Safran, W., (1991) “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return,” *Diaspora*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp83-84

⁴³⁷ Ricatti, F., (2011) *Embodying Migrants: Italians in Post-war Australia*, op.cit., p17

the impossibility of applying old cultural means to the new reality, in which migrants are under the continuous and contradictory gaze of the host society and their own micro-ethnic community.”⁴³⁸ Similarly, amongst Greek-born migrants to Australia, specifically “the Greek communities of South Australia, Hellenic ethnicity [was] largely a process of identification with Greece and Cyprus, ... which means the survival and propagation of certain values and characteristics that are definably Greek.”⁴³⁹ These examples of Australian minority group case studies indicate that “belonging” is an elastic concept, where migrants must overcome political, social and cultural constraints emanating from the surrounding environment.

Home and the definition of belonging are sometimes connected with an object or subject which was once done or from their previous lifestyle and have become transferrable to the new lifestyle. Such objects and subjects consist of material things such as clothes, cars, etc.; places or locations, such as Cyprus, villages, towns, etc.; people or social networks, such as Cypriots, Australians, collective or cultural groups, organisations, etc; activities, such as hunting, fishing, Cypriot dancing; or food or cuisine, such as traditional dishes, including kolokasi,⁴⁴⁰ flaounes,⁴⁴¹ etc.

Examining the respondents’ comments on housing upon their arrival, they all said one thing in common: this was the owning of “their own place”. Owning one’s own house is considered as a characteristic of Hellenic culture as it establishes the notion of belonging. “Plants are an important contextualising component when considering the lost home. [...] These organic elements form just as important a part of the remembered home as bricks and mortar.”⁴⁴² This is particularly relevant for Cypriots because the majority of individuals came from families who were farmers, plant growers and sourced their livelihood from the land. For example, Brockhall and Liu’s (2011) research on Greeks and Greek-Cypriot migrants, who arrived in Melbourne and Brisbane during the 1960s and 1970s, reported the experience of a Greek-Cypriot migrant who was a “retired self-employed handyman, age 75, [commenting] ‘the City Council’s trees in my street are no good. In my country

⁴³⁸ Ricatti, F., (2011) *Embodying Migrants: Italians in Post-war Australia*, op. cit., p49

⁴³⁹ Ganzis, N., (1999) “Hellenism in South Australia: Decline or Survival,” *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, No. 27, p77

⁴⁴⁰ Kolokasi (κολοκάσι), known as taro in English, is a type of vegetable that is grown in the ground. It is a commonly found in Cyprus.

⁴⁴¹ Flaounes is the plural term (flaouna = φλαούνα), is a cheese filled pastry (usually including several types of cheeses, mint and sometimes with raisins, and garnished with sesame seeds). It is traditionally made for Greek Orthodox Easter in Cyprus and eaten on Sunday to break the fast.

⁴⁴² Taylor, H., (2013) “Refugees, the State and the Concept of Home,” op. cit., p150

people plant beautiful olive trees in front of their house, so I pulled up Council trees and I planted olives, like in Cyprus’.”⁴⁴³

Similarly, all participants in Waves A, B and C had something in common that would have been overlooked if one did not understand their culture. Each and every one of these Greek-Cypriots had a vegetable garden. Analysing the passion and pride behind the land is important because it signifies four factors. Firstly, they were able to create a home, one that was similar to that in Cyprus. Secondly, it was an interactive mechanism that brought people together. They would swap produce, especially those vegetables not normally found in the shops. Thirdly, Greek-Cypriots were accustomed to growing their own produce, thus creating a social order that could be adapted to life in Australia. And finally, it “was a means of communication and negotiating relationships with others, but in doing so they also reinforced and contributed to new knowledge about what was Cypriot and Cypriot relations.”⁴⁴⁴ Therefore all four factors helped create a psychological structure for the maintenance of normality, belonging and identity.

Further below, the sense of belonging will be examined for each wave.

6.5.1 Wave A trends

The Wave A participants all felt that they belonged in Australia for various reasons. Wave A participants have a sense of belonging because they have lived in Australia the majority of their life and established families, for example A8 feels “Now Australia is a paradise...No matter where I would go; I couldn’t manage, no matter where I would go. When all the children are with me, it is like paradise. Here in Australia.” Further explaining she does not have a house in Cyprus because from where she came from, the male in the family would inherit the family home, and the female had to have a dowry. She narrated “my brother’s house was new before the Turks came. Her parents told him to build a house and then to leave to Australia. So he did. Now the Turks live in it, but apparently it is kept nicely.” A1 associated belonging with the home, indicating that her home is now “Here [in Australia].... I

⁴⁴³ Brockhall, F.J., and Liu, S., (2011) “Performing New Australians: Identity (Re)Construction of Long-Term Greek and Cypriot Immigrants in Australia,” *op. cit.*, p20

⁴⁴⁴ Kalivas, T., (2009) “Cookbooks, Memories and Family Recipes: Greek Cypriot immigrants’ cultural maintenance and adaptation in Melbourne,” In E. Close, G. Couvalis, G. Frazis, M. Palaktoglou, and M. Tsianikas (eds.) *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University June 2007*, Flinders University Department of Languages – Modern Greek: Adelaide, p212

have a home in Cyprus, but the Turks have it.” Even though she came to Australia as a migrant and not a refugee, her loss of home in Cyprus essentially gave her sense of belonging now in Australia.

Whereas A6 feels his life is now in Australia because of his family, otherwise, if he was to return to Cyprus that there was not much to return to. Similarly, A5 associates the place of being, as the place where his future generations are, expressing

“If I were to go to Cyprus now, I have nobody there. I am a total stranger. I am a stranger in Australia, but I am also a stranger in Cyprus. At least in Australia I have my children and I have my grandchildren. But....over there I have no one. Not even a brother, a sister...or no body. Of course my homeland is now Australia. I can't deny it. Yes, I am a Cypriot but I am a resident of Australia. I am an Australian.”

Therefore, the family unit is of significance culturally but also forming a sense of belonging to the place of resettlement, even by default.

A10 stated that “I feel at home, anyhow,” and with further discussion revealed

“There is a Greek riddle <<Αλίμονο σ' αυτόν που γνώρισε δύο πατρίδες!>> [‘Sorrow to thee who knows of two homelands’]...if you live in more than one country, all you think about is the good things of the country, not the bad things, all the good things you remember. And that is the same for the other country, so on and so forth. You cannot live 100% happily in one country because you will always think back to the country that you left.”

Although, these migrants think and feel Cypriot, they still remember the previous home whilst they live in Australia. Overall, although Wave A participants associated their identity mainly with Cyprus, they all agree that their sense of belonging is now in Australia, with some more than others.

6.5.2 Wave B trends

Wave B participants demonstrated that their home is now in Australia. Through some of the oral history testimonies, the initial process of settlement tampered with the sense of belonging. For example, B9 felt

“The beginning was hard. The beginning was like a mountain. I came in May

and it took me two months to find a job, I struggled because I could not find work. Every day I wanted to leave, even when I did find a job I still wanted to leave. It took me three years for me to...every Christmas, I would say 'Merry Christmas, I'm going to leave, I can't anymore here'..."

Then towards the end B9 highlighted that the family unit played a significant part in his settlement and belonging. Whilst, B10 had stated, "Here is my home now, I don't have anything there. I have 41 years now here; here are most of the years."

B2's sense of belonging is somewhat in-between both places, as she associates home as "Here and there!", even though she feels that her skin colour gives away that she is a migrant, stating "There is no need for a person to speak to me to know that I am a migrant." Although, even through observations she shows a strong connection with Cyprus, as her eyes lit up to explain she thinks of home every day, "Always... Whenever you would go outside to the garden, you would get hit in the face by the smells of the garden and it sends you back to the village, back to your place." She has all the veggies and plants she would have had in Cyprus. Whilst B6 felt her home was now in Australia, however, she also had a strong connection with Cyprus. She revealed that "here you also have the good and the bad," adding "My home is here. ...But sometimes my heart pounds when I watch ERT and I see our places, and I fantasise of the fields we used to have, [...] the olive trees and the oil that we would produce. We would get tired (and struggle working) but it was nice." Therefore, as previously mentioned, positive memories of a place draw individuals back to their home country.

Overall, a great proportion of Wave B participants have a close connection and reminisce about Cyprus, but feel they now belong in Australia due to family and their establishment in SA.

6.5.3 Wave C trends

Property ownership in Cyprus has resulted in many unresolved issues concerning housing titles due to the illegal occupation of property which has left thousands of people with nothing to claim as their own. An insightful study conducted in Cyprus on the issues faced by IDPs by Savvas Georgiades (2009) notes that "as a result of their displacement, they lost not only their homes and land but also 'key structures

of meaning in their life’.”⁴⁴⁵ Furthermore, Zetter, who has over the years conducted extensive research on Greek-Cypriot refugees, arguing that those “residing in governmental housing had an outlook that they did not want to fully settle into the house because they viewed it not their own and were waiting for the day they will return home.”⁴⁴⁶ There is a sense of “imagery, [and] idealizing the past, [which] parallels findings of resistance to adaptation elsewhere.”⁴⁴⁷ As more than 40 years have passed since the invasion of Cyprus, consequently belonging is left in limbo, indicating a long time not to feel at home!

The Greek-Cypriot refugee participants of SA embody ambiguous stances on belonging. On one hand, there were several who felt their sense of belonging was in Cyprus. For instance, C9 had to think aloud his thoughts; coming to the conclusion that he feels his heart drives him back to his home in Kato Varosi, Cyprus. Also, C10’s sense of belonging was in Cyprus and the places he knew when he was younger.

Whilst on the other hand, like the previous waves, belonging was found in Australia, primarily due to associated key structures, such as family and lifestyle. For example, even though C6 initially experienced some difficulty in his settlement and belonging, he had found comfort through lifestyle, such as fishing and hunting, which were activities that he would engage in with other fellow Greek-Cypriots and Greeks. Also C5 felt he belonged in Australia, commenting “once the roots spread, it’s difficult. The kids grew up here and we have settled down.” He further narrated his experience,

“When I went back to Cyprus in 1995 for three months, [...] the first couple of days you see things pleasantly, your family and friends. Afterwards you start to see that you get bored because you can’t go back to your place, you can’t see the people you know, all of whom are spread out in different areas, the development...we had stopped in 1975, the development there was unknown, and you see the development and you are surprisingly amazed at

⁴⁴⁵ Loizos, P., (1980) *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p130; Georgiades, S., (2009) “Greek-Cypriot Refugees’ Welfare a Third of a Century Following their Expatriation: Implications for Local and International Policy,” *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, Vol. 7, Issue. 1, p38

⁴⁴⁶ Zetter, R., (1994) “The Greek-Cypriot Refugees: Perception of Return under Conditions of Protracted Exile,” *op. cit.*, p312

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Hirschon, R., (1989) *Heirs of the Greek Catastrophe: The Social Life of Asia-Minor Refugees in Piraeus*, Oxford: Clarendon Press; Colson, E., (1971) *The Social Consequence of Resettlement: The Impact of the Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonge*, Zambia: Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia, University of Manchester Press.

things you like and don't like. In the meantime, your friends, family and the people you know have other friends, other relatives, and other people they know...They can't continually help and look after you. So, you start to get bored, and you say to yourself 'I'm better off at home!' in another words Australia. So, you try to leave as soon as possible. Well, we left two weeks earlier from Cyprus and we went to Athens. Then after a week in Athens we got bored so we went to London. We stayed there for a week and then we came back to Australia....even now, when we go to Cyprus, after a week my mind is on Australia."

Even though, C5's experience did not fulfil his idealisation or perception, he had come to terms with his home now being in Australia, where he had created a life and a home for himself.

From the perspective of those who were not refugees in Wave C, they also demonstrated varied positions on their sense of belonging. For instance, C3 felt that she belonged in both countries, in comparison to another female non-refugee, C7, who felt her belonging was now in Australia.

Overall, in comparison to the studies conducted with IDPs in Cyprus, there were mixed experiences demonstrated by individuals in this wave. They all established a "new home" in Australia which they worked hard for. Due to their directly/indirectly forced migration because of the invasion, the sense of belonging and idealisation of the home in Cyprus was distinct. While they wait for the day they can return, some have a strong sense of belonging to Cyprus than others.

6.6 Return to Cyprus & Repatriation

The concept of permanent repatriation to the homeland has evidently been considered at one stage or another by the participants in this study. However, many have come to accept they have two homelands to call upon as their own. It is understandable that "occasional visits to Greece and Cyprus often invoke a reverse experience of 'us' versus 'them,' whereby they could become 'foreigner' in their home country. Such return visits reinforce their hybridized identity."⁴⁴⁸ Those who were interviewed for this study said that they had all returned to Cyprus for a

⁴⁴⁸ Brockhall, F.J., and Liu, S., (2011) "Performing New Australians: Identity (Re)Construction of Long-Term Greek and Cypriot Immigrants in Australia," *op. cit.*, p22

holiday. They all keep closely updated on significant issues in Cyprus, such as current affairs or what was happening with family and friends.

6.6.1 Wave A trends

All Wave A participants had returned to Cyprus for a holiday. A common aspect of this wave was the time frame it took for migrants to return to Cyprus for a holiday. Migrants had the intention of returning after several years; however it took longer than this. For example, A8 reflected on the day it came for her to leave, when her aunty had fainted at the harbour whilst her mother left because she could not bear to watch A8 leave, she had told her mother “Leave me to go and I promise you in five years I will return. The five years turned into 25 years.” Although, she did not manage to go sooner, she did go to visit them before they passed away. She felt a sense of relief commenting “I felt I had paid off my dues, it took a lot of pressure off me by going.” Family honour and responsibility during this time was viewed highly and she felt it was important for her to go. Although, her visit to Cyprus had left her with a lasting impression, noting “it was good but the people were not as hospitable as they used to be when I had left in the 50s. Everyone is more about running to work, to go get things done, etc. People have changed.”

Furthermore, A6 goes to Cyprus every year for holidays, and commented on his experience and how he feels when visiting Cyprus, mentioning “I feel at home, I feel I am a part of it. I know the places. I can go anywhere I like without asking anybody...so....It’s the place I grew up.” However, A6 and his wife did not like the idea that one has to show their passport to the Turks to visit your country, in particular the occupied area.

In regards to returning to Cyprus permanently, A1 had not thought about returning because she had gotten married and had kids, saying “It didn’t pass through her head.” A2 highlighted his view,

“The war had just finished and they said Australia was looking for workers. And because in Cyprus, we had a bit of difficulty, from work and money...there weren’t any jobs, so we decided to come to work...with the intention to work five-six years and to go back to Cyprus to stay. Once we came, we liked the place, we stayed a bit, then we got married, we had families, acquired houses, furniture, marriages and all these...so we fell

here. Now, where are we to go? ...we have children, grandchildren...finished Cyprus now [τελείωσε πια η Κύπρος]. For a holiday, it is plenty for us.”

Similarly, A6 had considered returning to Cyprus for several reasons, predominantly due to the discrimination he faced, resentment towards the British from his younger years, and unsettlement. However, he stayed in Australia, because he got married and had children; later he invited his parents, and his siblings to Australia. He noted “Even if I wanted to return, what was I going to do there by myself!” Essentially, he feels he cannot leave now because his life is now in Australia.

In comparison, A10 had returned to Cyprus for a holiday after five years, and ended up staying for four years because she got married. During that time, her close family members had already migrated to Australia, which meant she only had distant relatives in Cyprus, noting “I didn’t have the intention of going there to stay when I returned for a holiday, because I got used to living in Adelaide and also I didn’t have any family responsibilities in Cyprus...so Australia was my home country then.” Over the years, she had returned many times, with her 1976 trip leaving the impression

“Cyprus had not changed a lot at that time. It was very soon after the invasion and Cyprus did not seem to have progressed a lot. And if anything there were a lot of people outside their homes and they had no jobs. [...] We noticed a big change in Cyprus when we went in 1997. Every time we go now, which is every two years, we see big differences.”

Overall, for the Wave A participants, many did not have the opportunity to return to Cyprus soon after their arrival because of their responsibilities and commitments with work and family. It was also at the time, when Australia had a demand for workers due to the economic boom. Also, as migrants were mainly young and single, they began to establish families in Australia, and therefore, it became somewhat difficult to uproot the established foundations to another country.

6.6.2 Wave B trends

All Wave B interviewee participants had visited Cyprus for a holiday. When returning to the island, some individuals were left with lasting impressions. B10 had first returned to Cyprus in 1997, stating “I found it very different, very different ...everything had changed. It was not like how it was.” She had even got lost walking home one day because things had changed so much. B5 had returned to Cyprus for the first time in 1977, eleven years after she had initially left, for a three

month holiday. When she had first left Cyprus, she felt it was a big country, however travelled to Cyprus for the first time on holiday; she viewed it as small, narrow and dry. Nowadays, she goes regularly, every two years because her daughter lives there.

Whilst B2 had travelled to Cyprus in the last couple of years expressing that Cyprus had changed since she had known it, elaborating “A person may pass by the front of your house and they will not turn to greet you, their head turned around to the other side because of the problem, where they feel that the refugees have come and they would take everything, or they have a lot of rights and we don’t, something like this.” B2 even talked about her experience going to visit the occupied area, narrating “You see your place as a paradise, and then you go and you see your place and it is deserted. You walk over here you hear Turkish, you walk over there you hear Turkish. There are only two families we found out of the families that we knew...it’s all very strange.” Therefore, for migrants residing in other countries with an idealised notion of Cyprus, just like B2, these identified differences that they experience during their return journey violate their concept of the ‘imagined’ home. As previously mentioned in Identity and **Belonging**, migrants and refugees identify themselves and their home with their surroundings, place, social networks and material objects. When all these factors do not eventuate the feeling of displacement is accentuated.

At some stage or another, Wave B participants had considered repatriation. B2 explained that she and her family attempted to repatriate to Cyprus in 1973, just before the invasion. They stayed there for six months (with two and half of these in Greece). They had first tried to live in Greece and then in Cyprus, but in neither country they did not feel that they had settled in. She narrated,

“We were getting ready to move all our things there for good. We took everything we had. But very quickly we realised that we were strangers there, when we had returned there. We had thought that we would go there and things would have been the same as when we had left...but it wasn’t... [...] I had left in ’61 and it was 13 years later. People had left, friends had changed and so on.”

She found that there were difference in lifestyle from Cyprus and Australia, and they decided to stay in Adelaide for their children to have a better future. In the end they found Australia to be the better option.

On the other hand, family responsibilities and work commitments in Australia often took control of migrant's life cycle, with B7 saying

“When we said we would come to Australia, we were saying four-five years, to work and save some money, to go back to Cyprus to live...but when we came here, then you get to know this place, and you mix with others...in the meantime, we got married, we had ‘koumbarous’, families, then you get used to this place and you stay here. ...But we go frequently, every two-three years we go to Cyprus for holiday, yeah.”

Whilst, B6 felt repatriation was not essentially an option due to her family responsibilities. Even though, initially she hesitated in coming to Australia and upon arrival she had struggled in her settlement in Australia, in regards to returning to Cyprus permanently she commented,

“At the beginning yes, but once the children grew up, no. How many times I would go, I would go crazy, I didn't want to come back,...if I didn't have the children, I wouldn't. I left at 27 years old; my cousins were like my siblings ...how nice it was! They were so hospitable, they cared...It's not that Australia is bad, it's a very good country...if I didn't have the children I would have not stayed, it's my roots. ”

She would go for holidays to see her parents, sometimes two months and sometimes three months. Even now in their older years they go often to Cyprus, and she feels as if she is young once again. Ultimately, she associates Cyprus with when she was younger, which were some of her best years.

In comparison, during B4's interview, he stated he had returned to Cyprus, but there was not much to go back to. He reflected on his current situation commenting, “I've settled here in my address in Woodcroft. I have my little paradise here.” As well as B8, who feels that how the things have turned out, he is happy that he has stayed in Australia, and not returned in the first couple of years.

6.6.3 Wave C trends

In the realm of the refugee discourse, the successful outcome for forced migrants is for them to be given the opportunity to return/repatriate to their home. As Taylor (2013) and the UN highlight, there are three desired stages for refugees, which encompass residing in the home country, being exiled in another country, and then

repatriation.⁴⁴⁹ However, the third stage for Greek-Cypriots has been in limbo for many years and it is unknown when it will be permitted.

All interviewee participants had returned to Cyprus for a holiday at some point since leaving, and reflected on their views of repatriation. C8 and her family is one of these individuals declaring “We have returned to Cyprus on several occasions. My parents have passed away. I only have one sister there by herself. Eeeee... But we only go there for holidays now”. The tone conveyed by this statement is that Cyprus is a distant memory but still deep in their hearts. Repatriating to Cyprus is not something that they have considered because their children, grandchildren and their life are now in Australia. As previously mentioned in **Belonging**, C5 believes his home is now in Australia and has visited Cyprus many times, but feels repatriating to Cyprus is not possible. Likewise, C4 has returned to Cyprus many times since migrating to Australia but essentially feels Australia is now his home. Then, on the other hand, C4’s wife feels strongly about Cyprus, and if possible, she would have repatriated. Although they came to Australia together, she cried for the first year and it took her many years to settle down. She had commented that if it was not for their children, she would have returned. Her mind is constantly in Cyprus, and nowadays, she visits Cyprus for several months, either yearly or every second year.

As the decades have passed since the invasion of Cyprus, which forced Greek-Cypriots to become migrants and refugees, second and third generations are now coming to the fore. C2, a female refugee asserted, “We went many times to Cyprus for holidays. Even our children now go there for holidays. They feel that they couldn’t live there but they love going there for holidays”. Similarly, regarding the view of Greek-Cypriots residing in southern Cyprus, Zetter explains

“Effectively full employment, relatively high wages, considerable economic mobility, a second generation that has no conception of life in an agrarian economy, and the enormous disparity in living standards between the north and the south serve to emphasize that, all things being equal, there will not be a powerful economic incentive to return [to the north], at least in the short term.”⁴⁵⁰

This same observation can be applied to those in Australia and especially South Australia. By contrast, repatriation of the first generation is different from uprooting

⁴⁴⁹ Taylor, H., (2013) “Refugees, the State and the Concept of Home,” *op. cit.*, p145; UNHCR (2006) p130

⁴⁵⁰ Zetter, R., (1994) “The Greek-Cypriot Refugees: Perception of Return under Conditions of Protracted Exile,” *op. cit.*, p314

the second generation. In essence, circumstances have evolved, making future decisions of repatriation complex in the later years of settlement. Overall, the participants in this study have all built a future for themselves and their children here. We can analyse this as being connected to Cyprus, but more so Australia. The first and second generations of Greek-Cypriot forced migrants and refugees, have resided in this country with multiple/ambiguous identities, not only that of a Greek-Cypriot or a migrant or a refugee, but also that of an Australian. Thus, in this instance, identity and “belonging” appear to go hand-in-hand.

Furthermore, as just mentioned, all Wave C participants have visited Cyprus for a holiday. Some of the Wave C refugee participants have not visited their homes in the occupied area. For example, C9 stated that he his first visit to Cyprus was in 1983, and since then he has returned for holidays every year or every second year. Initially, when he first arrived in Australia, he had the intention of staying for several years before returning, however, now in his older years he has come to the realisation that possibly he will not repatriate to Cyprus because of several reasons, such as the economic climate in Cyprus, the Cyprus issue, owning his own business and having his family in SA. Although he has a close connection with Cyprus, he would reconsider his options if he and his family would be able to return to their home in the occupied area. In saying so, with all the visits he has taken to Cyprus he has not crossed over to the occupied side and feels strongly about this. Likewise, to other Greek-Cypriots who lost everything in Cyprus, there are still hostile feelings. C6 and his wife still are very emotional from the trauma and experience they encountered in Cyprus during the invasion. When they were in Cyprus in 1990s they were told by a relative that they could cross the Green Line, but they would be made to pay a fee. C6’s wife said “No way. I am not going. I will not give them one cent. Not one cent. Is it not enough that they have our house, decked out with a dowry [προικισμένη] and everything else!“. Essentially, paying to go visit one’s own place and home is a painful experience. Their house was newly built and decked out with the dowry. He added “I would like them to show me the title of the house in their name!!” In a sense, these feelings are still strong because that was the last memory of Cyprus they had.

For others in this wave, and similarly to others in the Greek-Cypriot population in Cyprus, they have crossed the Green Line but will not spend any money during their visit. C10 has visited Cyprus many times over the years. The main reason he visits and still keeps close ties with Cyprus is because he has five other siblings and his

ageing parents still there. C10 would have liked to have repatriated but did not because of his children and wife, however now in his older years, he likes the home he has built in Australia. Similarly to several others during this wave, C10 is awaiting the day Rizokarpaso and is returned to them. In the summer of 2000, 25 years since he had left, it was the first time he had crossed the Green Line and visited his home in Rizokarpaso, with his wife and two children. As they all had Australian Passports they were able to cross the line, however their day visit to the occupied area was followed by Turkish police officers. The day was a heartbreaking and emotional moment when visiting the places he grew up and the property his family once owned. Whilst there, he also got to meet his godfather, who stayed behind and is one of the enclaved Greek-Cypriots still residing there. In the last couple of years, their family's home in Rizokarpaso was knocked down by the Turks to make the road wider.

On the topic of repatriation, political thoughts surfaced. One particular observation that must be acknowledged, which was consistent from one interview to the next, was the candidates desire to address the "Cyprus problem", in particular for people of Wave C. Even though, this was not directly asked of them, they were able to express their thoughts without interruption. This is because they feel quite strongly about the topic. They have lived, grieved and grown from such a significant time in their lives. As C1 explained,

"...then came out the business of immigrating. Everybody started to panic. Even now, even now, we don't know what the future of that place will be. Although, I came to Australia....what I am trying to say, because of its geographical position. Everyone is after us. The Americans are keeping Turkey there because Turkey follows them all the time. America doesn't trust Greeks so much as they do the Turks. And that is why I can't see a solution in the future."

Whilst other interviewees had reflected that Cyprus was actually better off with the British and that the Greek-Cypriots did not go about the situation the right way.

6.7 Conclusion

The enculturation of these migrants and refugees varied between waves and participants, due to individual backgrounds, such as genders and education levels. Generally, work and neighbours often formed as a mechanism for integration into the wider Anglo-Saxon society, with some being involved in organisations outside the Greek and Cypriot communities. Whilst, some females made minimal integration due to their responsibilities and undertaking more traditional female roles, such as housewives. However, they demonstrated their enculturation through preparing different cuisines, which were often influenced by the children, who were integrating into the Australian lifestyle.

Citizenship was acquired by all individuals (but one) predominantly prior to them returning to Cyprus for a holiday. Participants in Wave A demonstrated that a handful became citizens soon after their arrival, whilst others became citizens gradually over the years. Wave B participants revealed the majority became citizens after 1974, whilst Wave C individuals became citizens as soon they qualified for citizenship. Several reasons were highlighted, primarily due to the political instability in Cyprus, and also their future, safety and security, in particularly for their children.

The concept of identity and belonging revealed that individuals in all three waves still have a close connection with Cyprus, and as a place of desire and idealisation. Identities were often associated strongly with being Greek-Cypriot and Cypriot, with an estimated half of individuals extending their identity to include Australian. Such things as the physical home, plants, trees, produce, culture and heritage surroundings shaped their identity and belonging, whether it was in Cyprus or in Australia. The majority of participants felt that their sense of belonging was now centred in Australia, due to key structures, such as family, social networks, and work.

Even though all participants had returned to Cyprus for a holiday, or even at some stage had temporarily resided in Cyprus, there were mixed feelings for them repatriating, in particular for Wave C refugees. Considering the reality of the current economic climate in Cyprus, the Cyprus issue and not returning to one's own home (in particular for those whose home is now in the occupied area), it does not parallel their imagined and/or desired place, which they had once idealised since their arrival in Australia.

CHAPTER 7

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Chapter 7 will examine the significance of key organisations and individuals, and how they contributed to the Greek-Cypriot migrant and refugee settlement experience. In South Australia there were numerous organisations that contributed to the Greek-Cypriot settlement. Although, these organisations were not the only main contributors, there were also significant individuals within the community, who facilitated in the migration and settlement experience. Currently, there is very minimal academic literature that acknowledges the core of these organisations and their impact on the community. Furthermore, this chapter will examine a significant SA politician, Don Dunstan, who made a substantial impact on Cypriots, not only in SA and Australia but also around the world. His support and contribution to the Cypriots was substantially important that his impact still remains till today.

7.1 Cyprus Community of South Australia

The Cyprus Community of South Australia (CCSA) was a community group that has continued through the times holding onto customs, traditions and embraced all things Greek-Cypriot, Greek and Australian. Very little is known about the establishment of the Cypriot Community of South Australia, with no previous in-depth study conducted.

The history of the CCSA goes back to the 1st February 1948 when it was first founded by 35 Cypriot men who would gather at a *cafeneio* [coffee house/shop] located at 122 Hindley Street, in the Adelaide CBD (see below **Map 8**⁴⁵¹). “At this gathering Floros Dimitriadis, the President of the Cypriot Brotherhood, ‘Zenon’ of Victoria explained the need to establish a Cypriot Brotherhood in South Australia. He offered patriotic support and financial help from the Cypriot Brotherhood of Melbourne.”⁴⁵² The CCSA was known at the time as the Cypriot Brotherhood. The constitution was officially created on the 1st February 1948, written in Greek, outlining the roles of committee members. They held their first General Meeting on the 22nd February to vote for committee members. As shown in **Table 22**,⁴⁵³ the members who were voted in were:

Table 22: Cypriot Community of South Australia Executive Committee Members of 1948

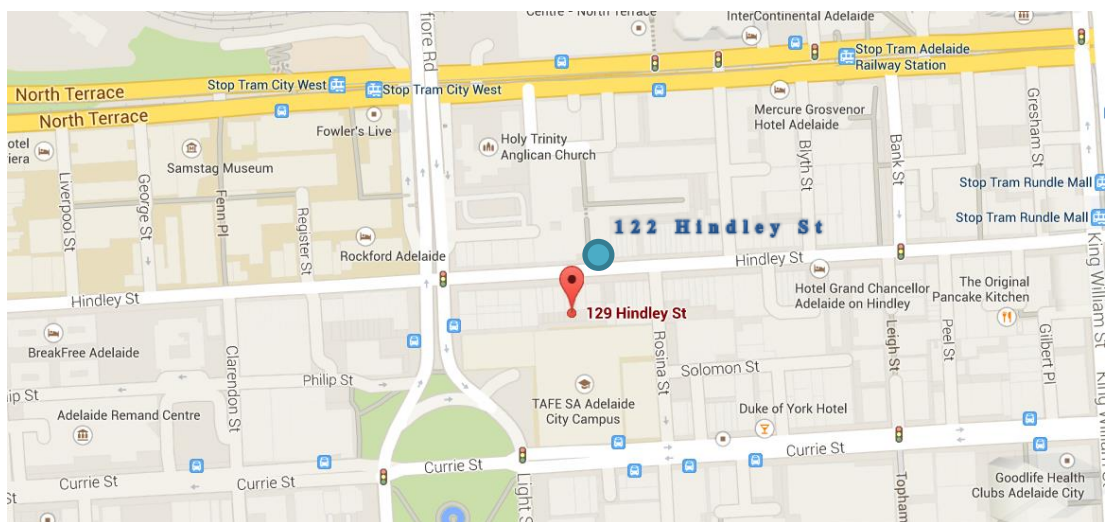
Position	Name
President	Chrysostomos Nikias
Vice-President	Savvas Fantis
Secretary	Andreas Constantinides
Treasurer	Christos Kolokas
Committee Members	Fedon Hondrou
	Vasilios Apostolou
	Nikou Kleanthous

⁴⁵¹ “129 Hindley Street, Adelaide, South Australia,” Google Maps, www.google.com.au/maps, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

⁴⁵² Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, South Australia

⁴⁵³ Cypriot Brotherhood of South Australia (1948) “*Cypriot Brotherhood Constitution*,” Interviewee B8’s Private Collection; This is list of members’ names, which were voted for in the original constitutional papers. However, according to the *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary* booklet, it has an additional three names, being: Fokion Papadopoulos, Christos Christis and Kyriakos Kokotis. Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, South Australia

Eventually they moved across the road to be located at 129 Hindley Street in the CBD of South Australia (as seen in **Picture 29**). It was located upstairs of a two-storey building, with huge bold Greek letters stating “ΦΑΡΜΑΚΕΙΟΝ” meaning pharmacy. The lower level operated as a pharmacy and was known to everyone as Cacas. The second level acted as a coffee shop during the day and at night it served as a hostel accommodating to new arrivals. Understandably, there were not many Greek-Cypriots during this time but it was the beginning of a greater developing social network and gathering venue. The coffee shop also acted as a Post Office, especially for those who did not have a fixed address. According to A6, who commented “the Cypriot Brotherhood started from a coffee house and grew. The membership/subscription was two schillings a year, if I remember correctly.”



Map 8: Location of the Cyprus Community of South Australia, 122 Hindley Street before it moved across the road to 129 Hindley Street, in the Adelaide CBD



Picture 29: The Cyprus Community of South Australia from 1948 – 1975, located 129 Hindley Street, Adelaide 5000

There have been speculations that the CCSA existed prior to 1948, with a possibility it was unofficial association established since 1932. This has been difficult to prove with very little evidence available, except from word of mouth.

There was one predominant key figure during the early years of the CCSA, and this was Savvas Fantis, who was from Aradippou, Cyprus. He was known within the Greek and Cypriot community in South Australia for bringing many Greek-Cypriots to SA. Fantis ran the cafeneio on Hindley Street, and was known for bringing many Cypriots to SA. As A6 describes “Fantis was in charge, he knew how to write and read, and he is the one who brought about 80% of the Aradippiotes to Adelaide. He had the coffee shop. Only after this, they started to have a committee.” According to another source, he stated that Fantis would send letters back to Cyprus, stating he would sponsor people to come for £5. Another key figure during this time was Fedon Hondrou, who was from Rizokarpaso and came to SA in 1938. Over the years, Hondrou would sponsor and/or bring others from Rizokarpaso. Fantis and Hondrou were of the same age, very close friends and proved to be significant individuals within the South Australian community. It also explains the high composition of Aradippiotes (name for people from Aradippou) and Karpasites (name of the people from Rizokarpaso) in the state.

Through oral history, it is interesting to discover some of the stories that were of the time. In discussion with an elderly man who arrived from Perth in the 1950s, stating

“..... After a year or so [of being in Perth], I came to South Australia. I didn't know anybody when I reached Adelaide. I had heard that there was a Cypriot Brotherhood Club on Hindley Street, so I decided I would go there first. But once I walked out of the Railway Station I had no idea where I was or where to go. I had no money. So I sat on my suitcase outside the station not knowing what to do. Coincidentally, I saw a compatriot that I met in Perth. It was like seeing a long lost friend....He told me Hindley Street was not far and he took me there.”

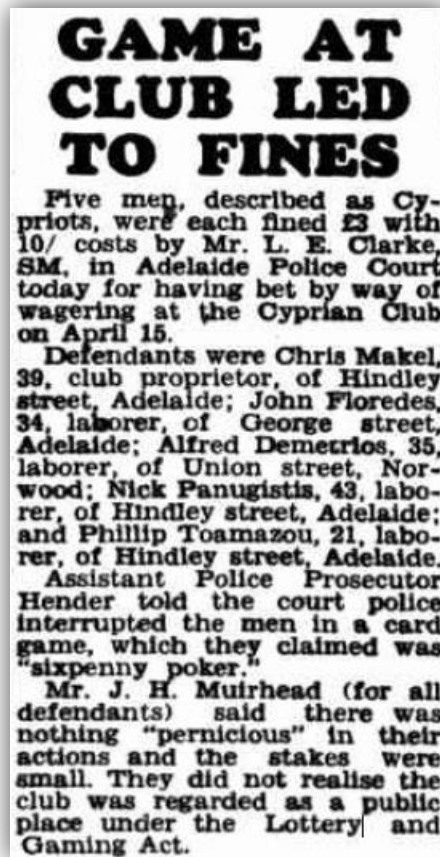
This was one memory that had stayed with this migrant. During this period of time, the city of Adelaide was quiet place with minimal cars, unlike today.

There were comments that the CCSA served not only as a place of socialising amongst men and a coffee house but also a place of accommodation, where tables would be pushed together to form a bed. When A4 first arrived in Adelaide, he had nowhere to go, so he resorted to staying upstairs in one of the rooms of the CCSA in Hindley Street, and also because his uncle was Savva Fantis. He stayed in a small room that a couple of mattresses for three months with his other two siblings (who were working in rural location in SA and would return for the weekend), commenting in disbelief (and laughing at the same time), “During the nights, there were these big big cockroaches walking on the walls. ...Ohhhh my goshhhh, ohhhh my goshhhh! Mother, where am I!! ...With my sheets, clean!” A4 moved out as soon as possible and found accommodation at an apartment on Halifax Street,⁴⁵⁴ which was not far from where he was staying. However, according to A6, the CCSA on Hindley Street did not serve as a place of accommodation and if it did, it was not its main function. It is possible on a very rare occasion that migrants would have stayed there because there was always someone willing to help out, either taking them home with them or finding them somewhere to stay. A6 stated that “this is usually what would happen, with the Cypriots and the Greeks.” Also, he never remembers any Cypriot to be living on the streets and have nowhere to go.

As previously mentioned, the CCSA in its earlier years mainly functioned as a coffee house where men would go to pass their time. The men would usually play cards

⁴⁵⁴ The landlord of the new accommodation on Halifax Street was an Australian lady. She only wanted Cypriot tenants, not any other nationality, not even Greeks. She believed that they were trustworthy and decent people. A4 rented one room with a bed for £1 a week.

and/or backgammon. In the earlier years, on a couple of occasions, the CCSA was raided by the police for illegal card games. One of these occasions was on the 15th April 1950, when police interrupted a game of cards at the Cyprian Club, “which they claimed was ‘sixpenny poker’.”⁴⁵⁵ There were five Cypriot men, who were each fined £3 with costs (as seen below in **Picture 30**).⁴⁵⁶ In their defence, “they did not realise the club was regarded as a public place under the Lottery and Gaming Act.”⁴⁵⁷ Following this, a year later there was another incident where the police raided the premises at 2am on the 15th July 1951 (as seen below in **Picture 31**).⁴⁵⁸ This time another five Cypriots were charged, four of them were fined £10 each with costs and one person was fined £12 with costs. The Liquor and Gambling Laws in SA were very strict during this time. It was not up until the Premiership of Dunstan that the laws were reformed. Nowadays, the CCSA has the appropriate Liquor and Gambling Licence.



Picture 30: Newspaper clipping (7 June 1950)

⁴⁵⁵ "Game at Club led to Fines," (7 June 1950) *News*, p4. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article130782705>, Date accessed: 8/06/2014

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁸ "Cypriots fined for Poker at City Club," (20 August 1951) *News*, p2. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article130326640>, Date accessed: 8/06/2014

Cypriots fined for poker at city club

Five Cypriots, found playing poker at the Cyprian Society Club, Hindley street, City, when police raided the premises at 2 a.m. on July 15, were fined by Mr. Wilson, S.M., in Adelaide Police Court today.

Petrov Picyk, 21, laborer, of Islington; Tom Karas, 55, shop proprietor, of Dover street, Maylands; Andrew Panayi Ktori, 25, laborer, of Hindley street, City, and John Sofianou Manitaros, 30, laborer, of Waymouth street, City, were fined £10 each with costs.

William Kotosoglous, 38, crane driver, of Clairville road, Hectorville, was fined £12 with costs.

The club manager, Chris Mahael, 40, of Hindley street, pleaded not guilty to charges that he was the occupier of a common gaming house and the occupier of premises used for the purpose of unlawful gaming.

Mr. E. Johnston for Mahael.

(Proceeding.)

Picture 31: Newspaper clipping (20 August 1951)

Furthermore, whilst researching, there were discussions that the CCSA at some stage moved from Hindley Street, to a different location in the city. The limitation of knowledge and memory plays a part in the recollection of history and events. According to several migrants interviewed, in 1959 the CCSA moved to a new location on Currie Street (and/or Flinders Street at some point) in the CBD, where the Community group rented out the upstairs of a premise. Through conversations with the wider members of the community, they explained that whilst renting the new premises, there was financial mismanagement, which resulted in them no longer being able to afford the rent as it got expensive. This then forced them to go back to their previous Hindley Street establishment around 1961.

By the mid-1960s the Cypriot Brotherhood of South Australia had changed its name to the Cypriot Society of South Australia.⁴⁵⁹ Also, on the 29th March 1970, “Cypriot organisations all over Australia formed a federal body to co-ordinate the activities of all Cypriot Australians and promote Cypriot culture.”⁴⁶⁰

Then by the 1970s, the Cyprus Community decided they needed to expand their premises, so all members of the family could enjoy and have somewhere to go. This led the community group purchasing a building, located at 117-119 Carrington Street in the CBD, at an auction. However, when the building was bought, they did not have enough money, and they resorted to going from house to house to raise the funds, and also undertook fundraising events.



Picture 32: The Cyprus Community of South Australia from 1975 - 2009, located 117-119 Carrington Street, Adelaide 5000

⁴⁵⁹ Stylianou, A., (2008) *Greek Cypriot Diaspora in Australia: Their Involvement in the Justice Process for Cyprus*, submitted Thesis for Masters of Arts, Flinders University, South Australia, p67

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*



Through the research, there is inconsistency of information regarding the year the building was purchased. According to the Migration Museum, “the society moved to its ...premises in Carrington Street, Adelaide, on February 9, 1978.”⁴⁶¹ However, according to the Cyprus Community of SA *60th Anniversary Booklet*, it states that “in 1975 during the Presidency of Panagiotis Stamatis the property at 117-119 Carrington Street was bought. The deposit was given by personal donations from its members.”⁴⁶² Furthermore, through an oral history testimony, an interviewee was certain that the Cyprus Community was on Carrington Street, stating “at some point in the early 1970s because I remember that there were functions held there to fundraise money and clothing to send back to Cyprus due to the invasion.” Tracing back these footprints, demonstrated the necessity for preserving history due to the loss and variations in recollecting historical events. The CCSA’s records encompass relevant documentation but there were rumours that they may have been demolished or even burnt when they were moving to the new location. Generally, this is not surprising, as Greeks and Cypriots tended to burn records, documents and/or papers that were old, in order to make way for storing new documentation and/or making room.

⁴⁶¹ South Australian Migration Museum, (2003) *Cyprus*, South Australian Migration Museum, Adelaide, p4

⁴⁶² Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, *op. cit.*

As previously stated, there was inconsistency of the exact dates the CCSA's Carrington Street building was purchased, but with further investigation a logical explanation is established. As migrant B5 had explained, in 1974 when the invasion happened, the Greek-Cypriots and the Greeks in SA wanted to gather together and have somewhere to go. Also the men suggested that the women organise some goods (such as clothes and non-perishable foods) for the refugees in Cyprus. When the women went to the club rooms in Hindley Street, they did not feel it was appropriate. In the meantime, whilst the Greek and Cypriot community bound together to collect and send goods to the Cypriots abroad, they also started looking for an establishment where all women, men and children could go. This is when they found the Carrington property. Therefore, this is the most logical explanation that the property was purchased in 1975. Furthermore, once the building was acquired, the building was renovated and made bigger. This took time because they knocked down walls and extended the back of the building to the rear of the property, which meant it lost parking spaces. It also meant it took time because funds were required to undertake the renovations. Then in 1978, it was officially opened, and thus giving a possible explanation to the Migration Museum's statement of 1978.

Around the late 1970s till around the 1980s, there was a division in the CCSA. There are several admissions about the CCSA splitting into two groups because there was a cluster of people who were not happy with how the CCSA was being run. The cluster then moved to Waymouth Street and held its own group; however it did not last long. As one interviewee explained in an interview, "it was like a coup and that they did not support it" referring to the cluster that left the main CCSA. There are several rumours to why the group separated. One of them was due to the political hostilities and beliefs amongst members. There was a strong Left political presence within the CCSA. As one migrant from the wider community stated that the CCSA had close ties with the Labor government. On one occasion, there was a disagreement that the Liberal government should also be invited to the CCSA events as it was not good to favour one party over the other.

In 2008, the CCSA celebrated their 60th Anniversary, with a dinner dance being held at the Adelaide Convention Centre on the 29th November. On the night, speeches included from Christos Ioannou, President of the CCSA, Hon. Michael Atkinson, Representating the Hon. Mike Rann, Hon. Martin Hamilton-Smith, Steve Georganas, MP, Michael Christodoulou, Federation of Cyprus Communities, Costantinos Procopiou, PASEKA, Wally Trenorden, United Nations Police, and Mr Yiannis

Iacovou, High Commissioner of Cyprus in Australia.⁴⁶³ The night also included the Cypriot Dance group presenting a selection of traditional dances and live entertainment by the local band Zeus. This was a landmark occasion celebrating the evolution of the CCSA and the community support gained over the years. The CCSA reiterated its purpose, commenting “The aim of the CCSA and the members, who have offered and are still offering voluntary services, is for the younger generation of Cypriot origin to participate in and contribute to the community and the preservation of the customs, traditions and culture of Cyprus, thus continuing the work of their predecessors in the future.”⁴⁶⁴ The 60th anniversary was a momentous historical event for the CCSA, but also ensuring that it continuous into the future.

Over the years, as the Cypriot community grew, a larger building was required. The new property would be located at 6-8 Barrpowell Road, Welland, just outside of the CBD (see **Picture 33**). Migrant A9 describes the story of how they attained the new building in 2009 and the transition from the Carrington Street premises, as

“...they removed one wall and the other wall and they made it a club room. We used to go there. A few times we tried to improve it but recently they bought the property at Welland, the Barrpowell Road. I was still involved in it when they bought Barrpowell property. It was in the paper and I approached the owners....the committee passed it and I asked the owners. They asked for so much money and I made them an offer and then they said ‘no, wait for a few weeks.’ I waited a few weeks and then they said they had another offer, so it wasn’t finalised but he said ‘I’ll let you know the outcome’. He never did. And then after a while, I noticed it was back in the paper again for sale. So approached them again, the new agents. Again, I made them an offer and it was hard to reconcile the amount of money to buy this and the amount of money that we had. It wasn’t enough. The difference was too big. We couldn’t do it because we didn’t have any income from the Community. And it was at that time that we had a General Meeting and that’s when a new chairman came in and I handed over the papers to him. I told him that this was the property that we were interested in and I made an offer of so much money. They want so much money, that if they could come down a bit, that it may be worthwhile. So he took over, and he is the president now (Christos).

⁴⁶³ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance, op. cit.*

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

In the meantime, in the real estate market, it improved quite a lot. And the value that I had when I was negotiating the price for the old property, it was about \$750,000, which wasn't enough, you see. And we even tried to modify the building, and we got quotes to modify the building. That's another story and so on. It was too expensive; it ran to at least a million to two million. And it's still an old building anyway. So to cut the long story short, things went well. We found out that the property went up and that we should get at least a million for the old building. The new one was \$1.5 million and I offered them \$1.3 million and they said 'no,' and in the end they finally came down to \$1.37 million and the remainder would be the GST. But, if the seller of the land arranged it the GST, you can claim that money back...the money that you pay in GST, you can claim it back. So I said to him, 'make sure on the contract that you clearly say \$1.37 and the remainder is GST, which brings it to \$1.5, which is the original price that they wanted. But, make sure you do that because...'. I even checked with the taxation office that they were registered for the GST, if the seller. And they told me 'yes they are.' So we straight away pushed through our accountant, he went and registered the Community for GST, so we can claim the money back, which we claimed back. In regards to the Stamp Duty, I spoke to the Multicultural Affairs Department, if they could waiver the Stamp Duty. It was about \$75,000.00.

So I took Christo with me and they said we were responsible for the money grants. And we prepared a nice letter and we sent it to the treasurer of the Government, claiming that we want the \$75,000 for the Stamp Duty and also \$25,000 to enable us to refurbish and so on. Christo already applied to the bank for a loan and we showed them that. And the next thing we knew we got a letter saying that they cannot, it is impossible to get the Stamp Duty waived because then a lot of people will be doing the same thing. And we had to keep it that way, but the Premier would see to it that we get some money and he did. He donated another \$100,000, which covered the Stamp Duty. This enabled us then to, more or else, 'εξοφλήσαμε το' [pay off the debt] from whatever we paid. Then Christos decided, together with other people too, to build the new Community Centre...and leave the existing function hall for income...which it does bring in quite a bit of income. And that's where they are now."



Picture 33: The Cyprus Community of South Australia from 2009 - today, located 6-8 Barrpowell Street, Welland 5007





Picture 34: The Cyprus Community of South Australia signage

Furthermore, in the meantime since acquiring the new property, it also saw the transformation and modernisation of the CCSA's logo. Previously, it was black and white, circular outline with the image of Cyprus in the middle, as shown below in **Picture 35**. Then as of 2009, the new logo consists of three olive green leaves, with a golden Cyprus image inserted into the largest leaf, as seen above in **Picture 34**.



Picture 35: The Cyprus Community of South Australia logo till 2008

Soon after, the CCSA decided to build a Cultural Centre adjoining its current establishment. The intentional utilisation of the Cultural Centre would not only be for holding functions, meetings and operate as a coffee house, but also to educate and preserve Cypriot culture for the future generations to come. With the assistance of community funding and Labor Government contribution of \$410,000, the first foundation stone was laid by Demetris Christofias, President of Cyprus, on his visit to Australia in 2011. On the day, Christofias was accompanied by political dignitaries and the then Premier Mike Rann, who both gave speeches commending the Cypriots of South Australia for their active citizens and their contribution to Australia and Cyprus.⁴⁶⁵

Then on the 2nd March 2014, after three years in the making, hundreds of people gathered at the CCSA to celebrate the official opening of the CCSA's Cultural Centre. Architecturally designed by Minas Loucas, whose late father was a Cypriot, there was a true sense of Cypriot heritage that is exhibited from the building. Attending the official event were

“the Premier of SA Jay Weatherill MP, Mr David Pisoni MP representing the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Hieu Van Le, Lieutenant Governor of South Australia, Consul General of Greece, Mr Christos Maniakis-Grivas, the Hon. Jennifer Rankine, Minister for Multicultural Affairs, the Hon Tom Koutsantonis, Minister for Transport and Infrastructure, the Hon Jing Lee MLC, the Member for Hindmarsh Mr Matt Williams, Mr Christos Ioannou, President of the Cyprus Community of South Australia and former Member for Hindmarsh Steve Georganas.”⁴⁶⁶

The Premier of SA announced the Labor Government has always and would continue to support the Cypriot Community. Weatherill praised the Community, declaring

“The Centre will be a home-away-from-home for community members. You will be able to host functions, hold meetings, and meet with friends and family. It will be place where you feel comfortable. Best of all, it's a place where your cultural traditions and language can be preserved and shared

⁴⁶⁵ Press and Information Office website, (2011) “President Christofias and the South Australian Premier Attended an Event at the Cypriot Community Building in Adelaide,” Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Interior, Press Release on 27 May 2011, <http://www.moi.gov.cy/moi/pio/pio.nsf/All/D2490739FD7DBFF3C225789D00282334?OpenDocument>, Date accessed: 9/09/2012

⁴⁶⁶ “Cyprus Community Cultural Centre Officially Open” (April 2014) *Greek Community Tribune*, South Australia, p2

*with others - a place where the young and old can participate in activities together. To pass on the knowledge and customs developed across the other side of the world, from one generation to the next, is a beautiful thing. To share those traditions with others, adding light to the sum of light, enriches us all.*⁴⁶⁷

There was great support from all politicians and the wider public. After speeches were concluded, entertainment consisted of well-known Greek Cypriot singer Loucas Loizou (**Picture 39**), followed by a male dancer demonstrating a traditional Cypriot dances (**Picture 40**).

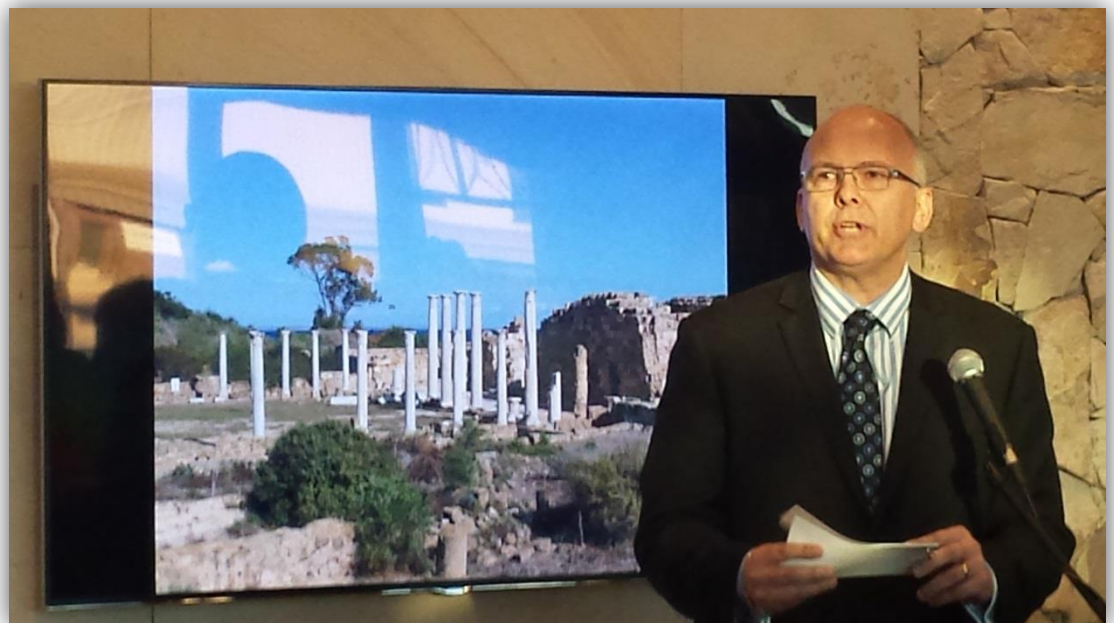


Picture 36: Priests commence the official opening with a service

⁴⁶⁷ "Cyprus Community Cultural Centre Officially Open" (April 2014) *Greek Community Tribune, op. cit.*, p2



Picture 37: Premier Jay Weatherill giving a speech at the opening



Picture 38: Mr David Pisoni, Liberal MP giving a speech on behalf of the Opposition Leader



Picture 39: Well-known Greek-Cypriot singer Loucas Loizou performed live



Picture 40: A male Cypriot dancer performed traditional dances

Nowadays, the current Executive Committee of the CCSA, as elected on the 9th November 2014 for a two year term, is re-elected President Christos Ioannou, the “new Vice President is Dr Andreas Evdokiou, Secretary Minas Loucas, Assistant Secretary Zacharias Partou, Treasurer Steven Hajistassi, Assistant Treasurer Christoforos Costa and Committee members are, Christina Charalambous, Haralambos Charalambous, Zac Diamanti, Phillip Philippou.”⁴⁶⁸

The CCSA is now dependent on the future generations to continue its role within the community. This is due to the uncertainty of diminishing Cypriot-born (meaning first generation Greek-Cypriots) numbers in SA, thus relying on the second and third generations to continue what the forefathers have established. This will be further elaborated on in **Chapter 8**. Although, a move in the right direction, in a world which is constantly technologically advancing, the CCSA as of January 2015 has stamped its global footprint, by not only establishing its own website⁴⁶⁹ (see **Picture 41**) but also utilises third party social media sites, such as Facebook, Instagram and Google+. By initiating a social network presence, it will guarantee the promotion and development of the organisation.



Picture 41: Screenshot of the Cyprus Community of South Australia website

⁴⁶⁸ “Cypriot Community new Committee” (December 2014) *Greek Community Tribune*, South Australia

⁴⁶⁹ Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2015) *Cyprus Community of South Australia website*, <http://cypruscommunity.org.au/>, Date accessed: 11/02/2015

It must be added that over the years, the CCSA had also formed sub-groups. These sub-groups include the Adelaide Omonia “Cobras” Soccer Club, Ladies Auxiliary, Cypriot Dance Group, Cypriot Radio Program, Justice for Cyprus, Cypriot Aged & Pensioners Association and several more. Each group is individual and unique, and will be further elaborated on below.

7.1.1 Adelaide Omonia “Cobras” Soccer Club

The Adelaide Omonia Soccer Club was officially founded in 1972 and was created to give Greek-Cypriot migrants a way to socialise and to be active in a sport that is popular in Cyprus. It was supported through families, Cypriots, the CCSA and various companies. Dinner dances, BBQs, and fundraisers were a means of people getting together and supporting the Club. People were proud they were part of something which represented their motherland. It was a way people could meet, and coincidentally, a lot of marriages and long life friends developed from this.

On a competitive spectrum, the club officially commenced competing in 1973, when it registered and competed in the South Australian Amateur League (Division 4). “After winning the Division 4 championship in 1974, the club was promoted to Division 3. By 1981 the club was competing in the South Australian Amateur League's Division 1 and was one of the more competitive teams through the 1980s.”⁴⁷⁰ With more and more players joining, and the talent base growing, Omonia wanted a challenge. By 1988, the club applied to join the South Australian Soccer Federation State League and they were successfully granted accession. The club also wanted to broaden its branding, outside the Cypriot community, which saw the club change its name to the Adelaide Cobras Football Club in 1994.⁴⁷¹ Whilst another reason for changing their name, according to an interviewee who previously coached some of the teams, commented that when they were accepted into the State League, they were required to have an Anglo-English name that was not so ethnic. This was so they could compete on an equal level in the League. Either way, even though, they had changed their name, they were still able to hold onto their original identity, and they receive even more support from various avenues. Today,

⁴⁷⁰ Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2015) “Adelaide Cobras,” *Cyprus Community of South Australia website*, <http://cypruscommunity.org.au/community-groups/adelaide-cobras/>, Date accessed: 11/02/2015

⁴⁷¹ Adelaide Cobras Football Club, (2015) “Club: History: History Book,” *Adelaide Cobras Football Club website*, <http://www.adelaidecobras.com.au/club/history/history-book>, Date accessed: 11/02/2015

it is such a successful group that it continues to have State and Amateurs Leagues. Omonia has evolved over time, and now includes different nationalities, boys and girls, and a variety of age levels.

Some of the earlier arrivals played and supported Omonia, such as A6, B1, and several other migrants interviewed. According to A6, around 1958 they (he and his brother) started up a soccer team and after a year it discontinued. Then years later they started up again under the name Omonia – it was he and 2 others. A6 reminisced

“Initially, there was a Greek soccer team called Olympic, and as we were Cypriot, we wanted to have our own team. There were many young people here. There were many here that used to play in A League teams in Cyprus and we wanted to create one so they could play, so we did. Players were not getting paid back then when it started because it was Amateur [League].”

Whilst another migrant mentioned, when Omonia officially established itself in 1972, the club played at various ovals and locations all over SA. Whilst another migrant interviewed, stated that Omonia would play in tournaments, even travelling to Mt Gambier in some instances. They would also at the end of the year reward the players with an end of season celebration, where awards would be given out.



Picture 42: A younger team player receiving a trophy at the end of season party, in the late 1980s



Picture 44: Team photo of the junior players of the Omonia Soccer Club in the late 1980s



Picture 43: Players receiving trophies at an award ceremony for a tournament played in Mt Gambier

7.1.2 Ladies Auxiliary

The Ladies Auxiliary is also known as the Women's Auxiliary. As mentioned earlier in the history of the CCSA, during the 1974 invasion the Cypriot women had gathered together and organised relief parcels to be sent to Cyprus. One of the events was held at Olympic Hall and hundreds of people came, donating clothes and food, with people working tirelessly sorting through goods and creating parcels to be sent off with Olympic and Qantas Airways to Cyprus (as seen below in **Picture 45**).⁴⁷² This was not the only thing that was undertaken. According to A10, the group of women also collected funds from individuals in the South Australian Greek and Cypriot communities to sponsor orphaned refugee children.



Picture 45: Ladies making parcels to send to Cyprus

⁴⁷² Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, *op. cit.*

From these initiatives, it was thought that it would be necessary for a Ladies Auxiliary subcommittee of the CCSA to be formed. A temporary committee was formed on the 22nd June 1975, and then the following year on the 6th of June 1976, the Ladies Auxiliary was formally formed with an election being held to form the Executive Committee.⁴⁷³ As seen in **Table 23**, the first Executive Committee positions were held by⁴⁷⁴

Table 23: Ladies Auxiliary Executive Committee Members of 1976

Position	Name
President	Georgoula Michael
Vice-President	Ellada Paraskeva
Secretary	Chrystalla Paraskeva
Treasurer	Thekla Petrou
Assistant Secretary	Loulla Stamatou
Assistant Treasurer	Chrystalla Kallika
Committee Member	Sofia Socratous

According to B5, once the committee was formalised, the Treasurer and the President went to the Commonwealth Bank and opened the group's bank account, so they could start actively functioning as a group.

The Ladies Auxiliary works closely with the CCSA, from organising events to providing support and assisting the CCSA to continuously grow. "The aims of the Ladies Auxiliary are:

- *Maintenance and promotion of the Cypriot traditions and customs.*
- *Strengthening the relations of the Cypriot ladies and the Cyprus Community, and the promotion of the spirit of cooperation and solidarity between them.*
- *Contribution to the cultural life of our community as well as social and humanitarian matters.*⁴⁷⁵

Over the years the group has organised a variety of events, such as children's parties, dinner dances, Christmas dinner parties, day excursions, participation at the Glendi Greek Festival and many more events. It has also organised a variety of charity events that gives back to the community, not just in Australia but also on a

⁴⁷³ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, op. cit.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

global spectrum, such as “Afternoon tea’ for thalassemia, the Anticancer Foundation, the Heart Foundation, for South Australia as well as for Cyprus. It also sponsors children through World Vision.”⁴⁷⁶

7.1.3 Cypriot Dance Group

The Cypriot Dance Group was established in 1976, and was a way in which the Cypriots in the community could hold onto their culture and traditions. When it first began many Greek-Cypriot migrants participated in the group. It created a place where dancers could express themselves in a creative form and share this with fellow Cypriots and other people in the community. This was done through dinner dances, festivals and social gatherings. The choreographers would incorporate props, such as vases, the “tucha” (sift) and the “drepani” (sickle). Unfortunately, in the past the group has endured phases where it did not regularly function as a group because the performers would be caught up with other commitments. However, the group would reform for impending functions and events.

The Dance Group has the most interesting and lively dances which had the power to mesmerise people as they watched. Through the dance group, Cypriots have had the ability to hold onto their culture, by bringing dances back to the basics and incorporating original pieces, whilst still being interesting and innovative in their use of props. The group had their own distinct character, performing their dances at events, and in particular at the Glendi Greek Festival. This meant that the audience could appreciate the individuality that Cypriots and Cyprus brought to the wider community. For the Cypriots, they were proud that they were represented in such an expressive way. In more recent times, the Cypriot Dance Group is now usually composed of younger individuals, such as second and third generation Greek-Cypriots.

⁴⁷⁶ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, *op.cit.*



Picture 47: A group photo of the Cypriot Dance Group, which feature in the 1994 Glendi Greek Festival Programme Booklet



Picture 46: One of the dancers demonstrates the dance with the “Tucha” (sift). Source: *EBI News booklet, 1994:17*



Picture 48: Male dancers demonstrate the traditional dance of the Cypriot men. Source: *EBI News booklet, 1994:17*



Picture 49: Female dancers exhibiting a traditional Cypriot dance. Source: *EBI News booklet, 1994:17*

7.1.4 Cypriot Radio Programme

The Cypriot Radio Programme (CRP) started broadcasting in 1976 on a multicultural community radio station, where all different ethnic communities would have a timeslot. This began when the Greek Radio Committee invited the CCSA to partake in broadcasting the Greek language programme at 5UV Radio.⁴⁷⁷ The CCSA gladly undertook the opportunity, and formed the CRP committee with Loizos Kontozis, Takis Lavithis, Evagoras Theodorides, Totis Diamantidis and Vassos Georgiou.⁴⁷⁸ Their first radio programmes were broadcasted for thirty minutes and were pre-recorded, airing on Tuesdays at 6am and repeated on Fridays at 2pm.⁴⁷⁹

By 1978, the community radio station had expanded greatly. It was granted the first ethnic broadcasting FM license in Australia, and its name eventually changed to 5EBI.⁴⁸⁰ The CRP was broadcasting for about a year and a half (around the same time as 5EBI FM was expanding), when the CCSA applied to have its own programme and was successful in securing the timeslot on a Saturday between 4-5pm, which remains till today.⁴⁸¹ The CRP, since its establishment, has broadcasted international, national or local news, events, social and cultural information, and trending issues. It has also interviewed a wide variety of prominent Greek and Cypriot artists, educators, diplomats and politicians from SA, Australia and abroad.⁴⁸²

It was not always smooth sailing with the Greek language broadcasts. According to A9, who was involved in transformation of the programme, narrates the story

“I went and spoke to the chairman of 5EBI because there was trouble with the girl there, ‘Georgia’⁴⁸³. She was broadcasting but she had no idea about broadcasting. She used to break the regulations occasionally and they forced her to pre-record all the programs. And that’s when I went in to go and to talk about it.

⁴⁷⁷ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance, op. cit.*

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ Radio Station 5EBI, (2015) “About Us: 1970s History,” Ethnic Broadcasting Inc., South Australia, *5EBI website*, <http://www.5ebi.com.au/about-us/history-70s>, Date accessed: 12/02/2015

⁴⁸¹ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance, op. cit.*

⁴⁸² Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA 60 Years..., op.cit.*

⁴⁸³ To preserve privacy, the alias name “Georgia” is utilised.

So I created a constitution and I went and saw the chairman. And he agreed that we should have a constitution to abide by the regulations. So we did. It took some time, but we did. And the radio went back without 'Georgia'. And the way we went about it provided a new code.

So we employed another person and they take it in turns. That way she can have some time off too. And she was like 'yeah alright.' I pointed out to her that she had done a marvellous job, and eventually she left and fortunately we had a lot of other people. And they take it in turns. Now three or four of them. We now have a lady there, Mrs Harpa, she is a woman who is educated...not like 'Georgia' who was primary school educated. She [Mrs Harpas] is probably high school educated. Her husband was a teacher. He was there occasionally, but he has health problem. And another person, who used to be a president of the Cyprus Community before I was. He helped with the program. And there is another fellow who works there. He is on the control panel, controlling the sound..... Christalla was also another girl. She used to do her own thing. For the past few years now she has had health problems too."

Generally speaking, A9 believes that all things need work to properly operate and function.

Furthermore, in discussions with interviewees on whether they had tuned into the Greek language programmes on the radio in their earlier years in Australia, the majority declined tuning into these programmes. However, as these migrants are now seniors, their habits have changed and they are now tuning into the Greek radio programmes. This is understandable for several reasons. Firstly, many of the earlier arrivals were consumed by working and setting themselves up; secondly, the Greek Radio Committee only started broadcasting in 1975 and the CRP in 1976; and thirdly, as migrants start reverting back to their mother tongue in their senior years, tuning into a Greek radio programme becomes desirable.

7.1.5 Justice for Cyprus Co-ordinating Committee

The Justice for Cyprus Co-ordinating Committee, also known as SEKA, was established in 1974 soon after the illegal Turkish invasion happened. Over the years, SEKA has been the voice of Greek-Cypriot Australians, with all Australian states having their own SEKA group, to "lobby Federal and State Government to

support the cause of justice for Cyprus and inform the Australian public about the issue.”⁴⁸⁴ Also, it must be noted that “the Pan Australian Justice for Cyprus Co-ordinating Committee (PASEKA) was established in 1978 as an overarching federal body to co-ordinate the efforts of all the State SEKA organisations.”⁴⁸⁵

The aim of SEKA is to seek a just settlement and solution to the Cyprus issue, “with the objective of supporting restoration of the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus, and the removal of Turkish occupying forces.”⁴⁸⁶ According to Stylianou, even “the Government of the Republic of Cyprus considers SEKA organisations as its agents for the promotion of its line on the solution of the Cyprus Problem.”⁴⁸⁷ Many members of the CCSA have actively participated in the group since the group was established. The group consists of Greek-Cypriot and Greek members, but also has support from Federal and State politicians, which include SA’s two patron members Mike Rann, MP and Labor politician, and Ms Trish Worth, MP and Liberal politician. Also by July 1999, the Cyprus and South Australia Parliamentary Friendship Group was established.⁴⁸⁸

One of the most significant influences SEKA and PASEKA have had since their establishment was when they lobbied with the local SA Labor Government and Federal Government, requesting financial assistance for Greek-Cypriots in SA to undertake legal action against Turkey due to their invasion and occupation violating human property rights. During the process, the most interesting response came from the Attorney General, who “was concerned these people had no right to claim financial assistance, as they were Cypriot citizens. In effect he stripped them of their rights as Australian citizens.”⁴⁸⁹ The one individual, who was actively committed to the cause, was Mike Rann, who at the time was Labor Leader and then was elected Premier of SA from 2002, constantly working with SEKA and PASEKA lobbying for an outcome. Although it took three years (1999-2002), a successful outcome was

⁴⁸⁴ Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA 60 Years...*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸⁵ Ganzis, N., (2003) “The Cyprus Issue in Australian Politics: PASEKA & SEKA (SA) Perspectives,” In E. Close, M. Tsianikas and G. Frazis (eds.) *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University, September 2001*, Flinders University Department of Languages – Modern Greek, Adelaide, p94

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁷ Stylianou, A., (2008) *Greek Cypriot Diaspora in Australia: Their Involvement in the Justice Process for Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p70

⁴⁸⁸ Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA 60 Years...*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁸⁹ Ganzis, N., (2003) “The Cyprus Issue in Australian Politics: PASEKA & SEKA (SA) Perspectives,” *op. cit.*, p101

achieved, where legal advice would be provided and financial assistance to seven cases at the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR).⁴⁹⁰ According to Nicolas Ganzis, who was heavily involved in the organisation and previously President and Executive Committee member of SEKA (SA), commented it was “the first case of a government, apart from the Cypriot government, providing financial support for its citizens to take legal action against Turkey at the ECHR.”⁴⁹¹

Furthermore, other efforts that SEKA (SA) organisation undertakes each year on the anniversary of the invasion, is a special church service at the Church of the Prophet Elias, in Norwood, which is then followed on by gathering at Victoria Square, where speeches are made by community leaders and politicians.⁴⁹² “This was usually followed by a march along King William Street and then to the War Memorial on North Terrace where wreaths were laid for the victims of the Turkish invasion.”⁴⁹³ Following this, a function is held at the CCSA, where people of the community gather to commemorate and discuss the issues in Cyprus. However, according to Stylianou, “many refugees suggested they do not want to attend any functions of the Cypriot Community or lobby because of the associated hurt and recollections of negative memories, some felt that hope is fading and there is no point in fighting any longer.”⁴⁹⁴ This is due to people growing older and not able to actively participate, whilst others have passed away.⁴⁹⁵

7.1.6 Cypriot Aged & Pensioners Association

The Cypriot Aged & Pensioners Association of South Australia Inc. (CAPA) was formed in 1993 to give the ageing migrant population a place to socialise and participate in activities that otherwise they would not be able to. As many of the earlier migrants have now aged, with most reverting back to their first language (Cypriot Greek), CAPA gives them the ability to avoid social isolation because they are able to interact and bond with people from their own country. The group meets at the club rooms on a fortnightly basis to play bingo, and to have lunch together. On every other occasion, trips to interstate and local destinations are organised for

⁴⁹⁰ Ganzis, N., (2003) “The Cyprus Issue in Australian Politics: PASEKA & SEKA (SA) Perspectives,” *op. cit.*, p101

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² Stylianou, A., (2008) *Greek Cypriot Diaspora in Australia: Their Involvement in the Justice Process for Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, p70

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p86

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p86

them to enjoy and experience Australia. CAPA is financially supported through members' subscriptions, donations, volunteer work and government grants. It is evident that the organisation supports the social structure of the Cypriot community by giving an opportunity for the elderly to meet and mix with other Cypriots. It also gives them support for living in the community by making information such as government services, health and social security available to them. Its identity as a social network group is much appreciated within the community and outside. Also dinner dances and BBQs are organised, welcoming people from the community to bring their family and friends to join.

7.1.7 Other Sub-Groups

Some of the other sub-groups include the Cyprian Youth Movement, the Arts and Culture Group, and the Entertainment Group, which will be described briefly below. These groups are valuable to the CCSA; however they have been separated from the others because they are more relevant to the newer generations rather than to the individuals who came between 1945 till 1980. Although, it must be noted that directly and/or indirectly, earlier migrant arrivals have been impacted/contributed to these groups.

The CCSA's Cyprian Youth Movement was first established in 1975. Over the years, the group's aim was to attract the Greek-Cypriot and Greek youth of SA to events, such as Greek disco dances, bowling nights and much more. By the late 1980s, there was a decline of interest by the youth because they were attending more mainstream discos.⁴⁹⁶ Also, the group had naturally changed members over time due to individual's personal commitments. However, the group was more active when a new committee was appointed.

The Arts and Culture Group (A&CG) was established in 1980, with the aim to "to work on artistic, cultural and scientific areas, Cyprus cultural heritage and the aspirations of all Cypriots."⁴⁹⁷ Its intention is to preserve and encourage younger generations for the continuation of Cypriot culture, traditions, and the CCSA. Over the years the A&CG have done this by facilitating and presenting various functions, such as traditional Cypriot weddings, lectures, and other cultural and historical

⁴⁹⁶ Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA 60 Years...*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹⁷ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, *op. cit.*

platforms related to Cyprus.⁴⁹⁸ In addition to this, many have also participated in theatre plays, singing, poems and reading.⁴⁹⁹

7.2 Dunstan's Involvement with the Cypriots & Cyprus

In general, Greek-Cypriots expressed significant interest and interaction in local politics, and they had counted for a substantial number of votes. In particular, the Greek-Cypriots were great supporters of the Honourable Don Dunstan because he was one of many politicians in SA,⁵⁰⁰ who were actively involved in the Cypriot community in SA and Cyprus issues. From all of the South Australian premiers,⁵⁰¹ Dunstan made a particularly significant contribution, due not only to his political and economic reforms, but also to his promotion of social cohesion, and unity amongst migrant people, creating a culturally diverse Adelaide and Australia.⁵⁰² Dunstan showed great support for the Greek and Greek-Cypriot communities, in times of need and even before becoming premier, when he was the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Member of Norwood and working as a lawyer at the same time.

Dunstan was an iconic public figure in SA, not just because of his political career but for other reasons as well. This section specifically examines Dunstan due to two specific reasons. Firstly, the main Cypriot migration waves (1945-1980) were during his political career and when he made significant contribution to the state and local communities. Secondly, he took it upon himself to create some important turning points in history. To quote Dunstan himself, "I saw many things wrong with society, a

⁴⁹⁸ Cyprus Community of South Australia (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA: 60th Anniversary Dinner Dance*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹⁹ Cyprus Community of South Australia, (2008) *Cyprus Community of SA 60 Years...*, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰⁰ There were more politicians, who were actively involved in Cypriot issues, such as Clive Evatt, Mike Rann, Trish Worth, Clyde Cameron, Herbert Vere Evatt, etc.

⁵⁰¹ SA had numerous premiers during the period of the late 1930s till the early 1980s. These premiers had led the state, respectively in order, who were the Sir Thomas Playford (5 November 1938 – 10 March 1965), Francis Walsh (10 March 1965 – 1 June 1967), Don Dunstan (1 June 1967 – 16 April 1968), Raymond Hall (17 April 1968 – 2 June 1970), Don Dunstan (2 June 1970 – 15 February 1979), James Corcoran (15 February 1979 – 18 September 1979), and David Tonkin (18 September 1979 – 10 November 1982).

⁵⁰² Gibbs, R.M., (1999) *A History of South Australia: From Colonial Days to the Present*, Mitcham, SA: Southern Heritage, 3rd revised edition, p252; Wilmoth, P., (2005) *Up Close: 28 Lives of Extraordinary Australians*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan, pp60-61; Whitelock, D., (2000) *Adelaide: A Sense of Difference*, Melbourne: Arcadia, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 3rd edition, pp145, 150-151; Dunstan, D., (1981) *Felicia: The Political Memoirs of Don Dunstan*, South Melbourne: Macmillan.

great deal of injustice, unacceptable inequality, unacceptable poverty and I believed something had to be done.”⁵⁰³ Dunstan had a strong belief in equality for everyone, embracing diversity and being truthful. He had a good relationship with Gough Whitlam (Prime Minister 1972-1975, ALP Leader 1967-1977),⁵⁰⁴ and they both worked towards removing the “White Australia” policy and implementing multiculturalism.⁵⁰⁵ At the same time, even though Dunstan was a socialist member of the ALP, he was adamantly an anti-communist.⁵⁰⁶

Dunstan may have been an MP and Premier of the state and expert in relating to the broader community but his relationship with the Greeks and Cypriots was quite unique.⁵⁰⁷ It is not widely known that Dunstan had a close connection with Cypriots, and made a major contribution to the Cypriot community of SA and across the world. This section aims to distinguish what relationship Dunstan had with the Cypriots and the Cypriot community of SA, what his motivations were and how the Cypriots regarded him. This research is significant, not only for the wider documentation of Dunstan’s activities, but specifically because of the influence and impact he had on the Cypriot community. This section will analyse numerous significant points, such as outlining the “Fact-Finding Mission” of 1957, Dunstan’s other trips to Cyprus, and finally analyse Dunstan’s involvement in the Greek-Cypriot community of SA.

⁵⁰³ ABC TV 7:30 SA – Don Dunstan Oral History Database, uploaded to YouTube by Flinders University on 4 August 2011, Date Accessed 31st March 2013

⁵⁰⁴ Dohnt, B., and Lewkowicz, G., (2011) “Interview with Bronwen Dohnt,” *Don Dunstan Oral History Project*, interview conducted on 9th October 2009, p5, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections; Parkin, A., (1986) “Transition, Innovation, Consolidation, Readjustment: The Political History of South Australia Since 1965,” In *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History*, ed D. Jaensch, Netley, South Australia: Wakefield Press, p310; Although, in 1975, Dunstan had distance himself from the Whitlam (Federal) Government, feeling it may negatively impact his state election because of the fiasco/controversies surrounding the Federal Government.

⁵⁰⁵ Dunstan, D., (1981) *Felicia: The Political Memoirs of Don Dunstan*, *op. cit.*, p126

⁵⁰⁶ It is well known that Dunstan was an anti-communist. Whilst he was still studying at the University of Adelaide, he had joined the Communist Party. However it did not last long, only attending 3 meetings because he did not believe in the same political views. Hodge, (2014) *Don Dunstan, Intimacy & Liberty: A Political Biography*, Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, p18

⁵⁰⁷ During his school years at St Peter’s College in Norwood, Adelaide, he was required to study the Greek language. Not only did his personal book collection contain many Greek dictionaries and grammar books, but also, over the years it began to shelve books of Greek literature, poetry, ancient and modern history studies. Indicating Dunstan had a keen interest in Greek culture and civilisation.

7.2.1 The “Fact-Finding Mission” of 1957

From 1955 onwards, the increasing of clashes on the island caused distress for many Greek-Cypriots abroad. Members of the CCSA and many other Greek-Cypriot communities across Australia were concerned about the situation in Cyprus. They felt that they were not getting enough information, and on occasions, stories were one sided. They wanted to know more of what was going on in Cyprus and what needed to be done, so they initiated a “Fact-Finding Mission” in February 1957 to be undertaken by two people.

One of the individuals that the Greek-Cypriots wanted to undertake the mission was Clyde Cameron, South Australian Labor Party politician and Member for Hindmarsh 1949-1980. Cameron reflects on the time the Greek-Cypriots’ request, stating

“it was decided that I would be one of the two, and that Clive Evatt – Dr Evatt’s brother – who was a member of the New South Wales Government and a barrister, should also go.

I had to back out of it because of commitments in the Labor Party, and somebody else was chosen to take my place. Evatt also had to back out because he had a very important case in the Supreme Court that he couldn’t walk away from, and he got the Federal Executive to appoint Don Dunstan. Nobody else wanted it, anyhow. So Dunstan went and stayed there for quite a while.”⁵⁰⁸

They then requested Dunstan, Labor MP of Norwood at the time, and he accepted. The second person accompanying Dunstan on the “Fact-Finding Mission”, representing the Committees of the Self-Determination for Cyprus in Australia, was Mr Kenneth Donald Buckley, lecturer at Sydney University. The CCSA wanted strong and trustworthy individuals on the trip, who would give a realistic and truthful account on the events occurring on the island.

This was Dunstan’s first trip to Cyprus. He offered further insight in his account of his acceptance of the position, explaining that

“The British government and the propaganda office in Nicosia poured out one sided and lying propaganda about what was going on, constantly

⁵⁰⁸ Cameron, C. and Donovan, P., (2008) “Interview with Clyde Cameron,” *J.D. Somerville Oral History Collection*, State Library of South Australia, Interview No.: OH 715/2, interview conducted on 24th November 2004, p11, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Special Collections.

*referring to Is as 'this bloody-handed priest' who supported the murder of innocent benevolent British. The Cypriots and Greeks here sought someone who could get public attention and wouldn't be fooled and who wasn't seen as a member of their community, to go there and find out what was happening and return and tell the truth to Australian citizens, so they asked Clyde Cameron. He couldn't go but suggested they ask me. They did and I accepted. They arranged that I should be accompanied by Ken Buckley of Sydney Uni, who was already a member of their organisation, [the Self Determination for Cyprus Organisation].*⁵⁰⁹

Dunstan and Buckley's itinerary included visiting Cyprus, Athens and London over a span of two weeks or so⁵¹⁰, with the intention that on their return they would give a report on their findings.

Prior to leaving, Dunstan met with CCSA members and other members of the community at A4's home to have a briefing. A4 commented that they chose Dunstan "Because we had seen he was a Pan-Cyprian." A4 recollected the time Dunstan was in their house, pointing out "I can't believe I had Don Dunstan sitting in my living room, right over there, in that room." He felt honoured to have Dunstan in his home, with A4's wife adding that "All I could remember his wife was pregnant." This is true. Gretel, Dunstan's wife, was pregnant with their third child Paul, at the time.

Furthermore, before Dunstan was to leave, he also saw Cameron at the bar of Parliament House. Cameron had asked him whether or not he had made contact with Makarios in advance to say that he was going to Cyprus and to consult with him about the events on the island.⁵¹¹ According to Cameron, Dunstan had the intention of contacting Makarios when he was in Cyprus.⁵¹² However, it would have been impossible to have contact with Makarios at this point in time because Makarios was captured and exiled to Seychelles since March 1956.

In piecing together the "Fact-Finding Mission", it has not been possible to find any clear documentation of their schedule or itinerary. This can be explained for several reasons; firstly, it was not part of an official Labor Party duty; secondly, it was during a time when specific documentation was not necessary; and thirdly, if there was any

⁵⁰⁹ Dunstan, D., (unknown) "Bronwen Dohnt Files 200: Don Dunstan – Cyprus Experience," DUN/Box 73/200, p2, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections; In this paragraph, Dunstan utilises "Is". From the context, it is referring to Archbishop Makarios.

⁵¹⁰ There is a source that indicates that they may have been away for about a month.

⁵¹¹ Cameron, C. and Donovan, P., (2008) "Interview with Clyde Cameron," *op. cit.*, p11

⁵¹² Cameron, C. and Donovan, P., (2008) "Interview with Clyde Cameron," *op. cit.*, p11

documentation, there is a possibility it was not passed onto the state records. Nevertheless, through further investigation and access to Dunstan's Special Collection at Flinders University, some of these events can be pieced together.

7.2.1.1 Cyprus

The first destination of the mission was Cyprus. They departed from Sydney by plane on the 9th February and they arrived in Cyprus on the 10th February, where they would stay for seven to eight days. Whilst on the island, some of the activities on their agenda were to participate in a press conference, consult/visit a range of people and get their side of the story, visit the detention camps where thousands of people were being held without trial or charge, and finally, to meet with the Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding.

At the time, the Emergency Relations in Cyprus, referred to as a police state were not exaggerated, as "regulations suspend[ed] many of the ordinary safeguards of the law," but also imposed Cypriots, Dunstan and Buckley to show passports at roadblocks travelling from town to town.⁵¹³

At the beginning of the mission, as Buckley details in his own autobiography, Dunstan was hesitant about their collaboration. This was caused by an incident on their first day, at a press conference held for them in Nicosia, when a reporter questioned Buckley of his communist past.⁵¹⁴ Buckley "did not deny the imputation but stated that it had no relevance to the visit to Cyprus. Afterwards, [he] had to explain to Dunstan – known as anti-communist – [his] relationship to the CPA, and he accepted it."⁵¹⁵ The method Dunstan and Buckley needed to take on their mission was a strong and direct approach to achieve their goals. Despite this minor glitch with regard to Buckley's past, they took care to ensure it would not affect their reliability. Therefore it was essential that they preserve their own integrity and that of the Self-Determination for Cyprus organisation, in order to carry out their mission.

Another notable event that occurred on the trip was when Dunstan and Buckley requested to visit prisoners⁵¹⁶ in a southern Cyprus camp, on Thursday 14th February. Dunstan recollects the events, narrating the experience

⁵¹³ Buckley, K.O., (1957) "Cyprus," *The Australian Outlook*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp33-34

⁵¹⁴ Buckley, K., (2008) *Buckley's!: Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, Leichhardt, NSW: A&A Book Publishing, pp122-123

⁵¹⁵ Buckley, K., (2008) *Buckley's!: Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, *op. cit.*, p123; CPA refers to the Communist Party of Australia.

⁵¹⁶ The prisoners were political prisoners. During this time, many people were captured and imprisoned for being so-called "terrorists".

“We asked to visit it and were given permission. The office in charge picked us up and took us there but when we got there [he] would not let us inside not let us see any prisoner even at metres distant and in his presence! You can imagine the result – I said ‘Have you just brought us here to look at the perimeter fence?’ He said ‘I have my orders to let you see the camp and that is what I’m doing!’”⁵¹⁷

Unfortunately, the security authorities on the island had refused them access to visit Cypriot detainees. The news reached Australia, with the *Canberra Times* reporting,

“the two men told reporters in Nicosia on their return from Pyla Camp near Larmaca [LARNACA] that while at the camp they had asked to see a detainees’ committee and to be allowed to visit the camp living quarters. They claimed they were told neither the director of the detention camps, who accompanied them from Nicosia nor the camp commandant had authority to allow them to do so.”⁵¹⁸

Dunstan and Buckley felt they had hit a wall and that they were given the run around.

Then on the next day, Friday 15th February, they meet with Sir John Harding. During the meeting with Harding, Dunstan mentioned to him that there were issues within his administration. One of them was, as Dunstan details,

“there were cases of alleged torture and violence by security troops – we were able to get evidence (including photographs of injured) of cases brought by people who had been arrested and maltreated but not charged because there was no evidence, and Harding when these people brought cases for assault and damage had made a decree that no-one could sue any member of the security forces without his consent! His consent was never given.”⁵¹⁹

This one-sided British stance proved to Dunstan that the British government was not administering the country appropriately. Not only did Dunstan find this to be going against moral obligations, but also against basic human rights of the Cypriot people.

On the following Monday, 18th February, it was reported by the American Associated

⁵¹⁷ Dunstan, D., (unknown) “Bronwen Dohnt Files 200: Don Dunstan – Cyprus Experience,” *op. cit.*, p2

⁵¹⁸ “Australians Not Allowed to See Prisoners” (16 February 1957) *The Canberra Times*, p9. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article91234456>, Date accessed: 31/03/2013.

⁵¹⁹ Dunstan, D., (unknown) “Bronwen Dohnt Files 200: Don Dunstan – Cyprus Experience,” *op. cit.*, p2

Press in Nicosia, that the men had proposed a six-point plan as a resolution to the island's issues. At a press conference, Dunstan had said "there was no apparent reason why self-determination could not be applied" and that "he condemned Eoka terrorism but defended the stand taken by exiled Archbishop Makarios."⁵²⁰ The article continues to quote Dunstan saying, "after an examination of the records of the archbishop's negotiations with the Governor, the mission could not agree that the archbishop had been uncompromising and unreliable. On the contrary, the archbishop appeared to have retreated considerably from the uncompromising line of his predecessors."⁵²¹ As a constitutional lawyer, Dunstan took legal allegations seriously, especially when it came to unfair charges. "Mr. Dunstan described the emergency regulations under which persons were detained as a most extraordinary affair, 'something we never thought to see under British administration'.⁵²² As a plight for fairness, "he added 'We cannot understand why persons should be detained for unlimited periods without charge or trial, and it is extraordinary that the Government should amend the law so that no charges can be brought against the police without the previous consent of the Attorney-General'.⁵²³ Furthermore, Dunstan expressed his disappointment at the Government's refusal for their mission to have contact with detainees. This would have highlighted to him and Buckley that their mission was curtailed in Cyprus due to reasons beyond their control.

"The Australians declared that the conditions for resumption of negotiations towards a settlement should include the release of Archbishop Makarios. Detainees should also be freed if they are held without charge and the emergency laws should be repealed and replaced with ordinary laws relating to treason, disturbances and libel. There should be an amnesty for prisoners sentenced under the emergency regulations except where their offence would have brought comparable punishment under common law."⁵²⁴

This was important to highlight because under common law actions taken under the emergency regulations would be unjust and seen as violating basic humanitarian rights. Understandably, during this period of time in Cyprus, tensions were high but little did Dunstan and Buckley know that things were to get worse before they would get better.

⁵²⁰ "Australians Critical of UK Policy on Cyprus" (19 February 1957) *The Canberra Times*, p7. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article91234670>, Date accessed: 31/03/2013; Since March 1956, Archbishop Makarios was arrested and exiled to Seychelles.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*

⁵²² *Ibid.*

⁵²³ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

During the press conference Dunstan had mentioned that “he had some information he could not disclose to the Press but he would make it available to members of the British Parliament and urged them to request a parliamentary select committee to be appointed to investigate the [security operations] in Cyprus.”⁵²⁵ Dunstan also recommended that the Government should appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the allegations that Archbishop Makarios was involved in terrorist activities, in the situation where “the Government alleges the nature of evidence is inadmissible in a criminal court.”⁵²⁶ However he believed that it was impossible to examine these accusations because they “could not be adequately proved without the archbishop being put on trial for treason or some lesser charge.”⁵²⁷ Equally as important as the other recommendations, was their voiced insistence in the immediate sanctioning of self-determination of Cyprus. These were strong statements, especially when Australia still was/is a Commonwealth country with similar legal system to that supposedly prevailing in Cyprus.

7.2.1.2 Athens

After their eight day visit to Cyprus, the men travelled to Athens to continue their mission. Whilst there, Dunstan had met with “Ministers in the Greek Government and [was] welcomed to the floor of the Parliament in session.”⁵²⁸

According to Buckley, they were well received in Athens; however the Greek government “had doubts concerning [their] left-wing connections.”⁵²⁹ So [they] were kept under surveillance.”⁵³⁰ However, this was not the only problem they had in Athens. Things got intense when Dunstan and Buckley met with a minister of the Greek government. Buckley gives a detailed account on the events, explaining that

“Another problem arose from the fact that many left-wing Greeks were still held in prison without good cause. One of these political prisoners was the father of S. Savidis, the secretary of the Adelaide Self-Determination Committee. I had promised to do something about this while visiting Greece.

⁵²⁵ “Australians Critical of UK Policy on Cyprus” (19 February 1957) *The Canberra Times*, *op. cit.*

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ Dunstan, D., (unknown) “Bronwen Dohnt Files 200: Don Dunstan – Cyprus Experience,” *op. cit.*, p3

⁵²⁹ The Greek Civil War (1946-1949) was between the Greek Government Army and the Democratic Army of Greece (the military branch of the Greek Communist Party). After the war and the country’s communist past, the climate in Greece was anti-communism. The Communist Party of Greece was outlawed in 1947 and was only legal again in 1974.

⁵³⁰ Buckley, K., (2008) *Buckley’s!: Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, *op. cit.*, p123

An opportunity arose in Athens when Don and I had a meeting with a Minister in the Greek government. The atmosphere was affable until we introduced an argument that it was not easy to persuade people in Australia to support us concerning Cyprus when they knew that Greece itself maintained various restrictions on freedom.

I then referred specifically to the case of Savidis' father, and became rather heated in discussion, until suddenly a glass of water on the table was knocked over, drenching my trousers.”⁵³¹

Raising this issue was important to them, not only because they knew of the detainee, but due to the unreasonable circumstances.

Before leaving Athens, Dunstan and Buckley had spoken to the media regarding their journey and their visit to Cyprus. They expressed their doubt “whether the Cypriot terrorist organisation, EOKA, could survive much longer.”⁵³² They believed this because “the Governor of Cyprus, Sir John Harding, had 25,000 troops on the island.”⁵³³ Also, it must be noted that they purposely did not release their findings to the media whilst in Athens, as they were waiting to pass them on directly to the British Labour Party.

7.2.1.3 London

On the 19th February, they left Athens and travelled to England to meet with political leaders. In a newspaper article, it indicated that Clive Evatt, QC, joined Dunstan and Buckley, when they travelled to England.⁵³⁴

Whilst in London, Dunstan “briefed Soskice, Callaghan and Tom Driberg, and addressed a meeting on Cyprus with Fenner Brockway and Tom Benn.”⁵³⁵ Also, it was reported that “they will place information gathered during their stay in Cyprus at the disposal of the British Labour Party.”⁵³⁶ Some of the information that would have been passed onto the British, would have been their six-point plan to solve the Cyprus problems. These six points were:

⁵³¹ Buckley, K., (2008) *Buckley's! : Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, *op. cit.*, pp123-124

⁵³² “Believes EOKA near End” (20 February 1957) *The Canberra Times*, p2. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article91234763>, Date accessed: 31/03/2013

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ Unknown, (1/03/1957) “Has Cyprus Proposals,” DUN/Press Clippings/11, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections.

⁵³⁵ Dunstan, D., (unknown) “Bronwen Dohnt Files 200: Don Dunstan – Cyprus Experience,” *op. cit.*, p3

⁵³⁶ “Believes EOKA near End” (20 February 1957) *The Canberra Times*, *op. cit.*

- *“The release of Archbishop Makarios without whom no one will or can do anything.*
- *The freeing of detainees held without charge or trial.*
- *An ending to the emergency regulations and a return to ordinary laws relating to treason, disturbances and libel.*
- *Constitutional proposals should provide adequate guarantees for self-determination in the near future as it was obvious that mere stated support of the principle would achieve nothing.*
- *Upon the release of Archbishop Makarios and an end of violence, an appeal should be made to Greek Cypriot people that no solution could be imposed by violence. The Government should be advised that no solution could be achieved while the emergency regulations took their course.*
- *An amnesty should be granted to those prisoners sentenced under the emergency regulations except where their offence would have brought comparable punishment in common law. We do not believe a complete amnesty is a reasonable or practical demand.”⁵³⁷*

This is interesting because it raises questions as to whether the British Labour Party took the findings into consideration. Buckley claimed that the “reception was polite, rather than helpful, as we spoke to MPs about the situation in Cyprus. Even on the Labour side, few MPs showed any sympathetic interest in this British colony. It was a decade of colonial wars, and not only in Cyprus.”⁵³⁸ On a side note, despite a search for the report that was passed onto the British Labour Party, it has not yet been successfully located.

⁵³⁷ Australian Associated Press, (20/02/1957) “SA Man Urges Cyprus Self-Government – Facts Mission Findings,” DUN/Press Clippings/7, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections.

⁵³⁸ Buckley, K. (2008) *Buckley’s!: Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, op. cit., p125

7.2.1.4 The “Fact-Finding Mission” Outcomes & Backlash

Upon their return, Dunstan and Buckley raised the issues in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide, speaking at public meetings⁵³⁹ and radio talks about the mission and issues surrounding Cyprus, to further raise awareness of the unjustly actions being conducted on the island. When Dunstan returned to Australia, his first stop was the Federal ALP conference in Brisbane, where he was able to gain support from the ALP.⁵⁴⁰

The question arises whether or not the “Fact-Finding Mission”, the findings and the pair’s presence in Cyprus made an impact or influence on the situation in Cyprus. At a more personal level, upon Dunstan returning from Cyprus, he felt he had not accomplished much. A male Greek-Cypriot interviewee commented that Dunstan felt he did not achieve great things on the trip, adding “What was he meant to do?!” , reflecting that Dunstan would not have been able to achieve much because of the challenging circumstance on the island. His support to the Cypriots empowered the community to pursue their beliefs, for the greater good of the people. The outcomes of their mission were not seen until a short time after but there were three notable outcomes. Firstly, according to Dunstan, “when leaving Cyprus, they specifically appealed to Greek leaders to bring about an atmosphere in which Archbishop Makarios could be released, by giving adequate undertakings that there would be a cessation of violence when he was freed.”⁵⁴¹ This was a direct recommendation by Dunstan and Buckley, which saw EOKA make a truce offer⁵⁴² “and call[ed] for a renewal of negotiations on the future of Cyprus with the exiled Archbishop Makarios.”⁵⁴³ Secondly, this in effect saw Makarios being released from imprisonment in March 1957 and returned to Cyprus in the following months. And lastly, “Savidis’ father was released from gaol after a fairly short interval of time.”⁵⁴⁴ Retrospectively, we can see that they did not work miracles solving Cyprus’s issues, but they did bring about some significant outcomes, more than they or the community could have hoped for.

⁵³⁹ Buckley, K. (2008) *Buckley’s!: Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, op. cit., p125

⁵⁴⁰ Dunstan (unknown) “Bronwen Dohnt Files 200: Don Dunstan – Cyprus Experience,” op. cit., p3

⁵⁴¹ Australian Associated Press, (19/03/1957) “M.P.’s Return,” DUN/Press Clippings/2, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*

⁵⁴³ Australian Associated Press, (19/03/1957) “U.K. Talks For Cyprus Governor,” DUN/Press Clippings/2, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁴⁴ Buckley, K. (2008) *Buckley’s!: Ken Buckley, Historian, Author and Civil Libertarian – An Autobiography*, op. cit., p124

Additionally, the mission also had somewhat of a residual effect, even though detainees were still being apprehended. On the 23rd of September 1958, it was reported that “there [were] still about 1,900 Greek men and 35 Turks held without trial under the emergency regulations.”⁵⁴⁵ Although,

*“about 130 Greek and Turkish Cypriots were released from detention-without-trial in Cyprus ... [on the 22nd of September], in what is interpreted to be a Government gesture to ease tension before the introduction of Britain's controversial Cyprus plan next week, Reuter said. Women were among those released and there were cheers and applause from pedestrians as they were driven through the streets of Nicosia.”*⁵⁴⁶

Unfortunately, the Cypriot people were still being treated unjustly, thus continuing to become gambling pawns of politics, war and conflict.

However, Dunstan's trip to Cyprus was controversial, which resulted in him facing backlash upon his return. There were those who supported him and those who did not. There were numerous disagreements with regard to Dunstan's behaviour and viewpoints on certain issues, including his support for the self-determination of Cyprus, with some viewing it as treason. For example, the following months after his return, his trip to Cyprus was still a topic of discussion. Jim Forbes, a newly elected Liberal MP for SA at the time, made an enquiry to Canberra, asking whether Dunstan had acted appropriately on the trip and had attained a balanced view on the situation in Cyprus.⁵⁴⁷ As the authorities in Canberra were conducting their own investigation into the trip, they did not want to give any leads to Forbes for his own investigation and informed him that Dunstan acted appropriately.⁵⁴⁸ Potentially, Forbes was looking for information he could utilise against Dunstan.

Various viewpoints were also evident in newspaper publications, specifically the letters to the editor. Some of these letters expressed disappointment, whilst others conveyed support for the important work Dunstan was conducting. In favour of Dunstan's 1957 trip to Cyprus, some members of the public expressed their opinion conveying their support and their sense of honour in having such an enthusiastic and reliable member in politics who told the truth. For example, one of the letters to

⁵⁴⁵ “Makarios Has Plan to End Cyprus Strife” (24 September 1958) *The Canberra Times*, p3. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article103121775>, Date accessed: 28/03/2013.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ “Cyprus – relations with Greece – Enosis” (Contents date range: 1957-1957), National Archives of Australia, <http://naa.gov.au>, Series number: A1838, Barcode: 247510, Location: Canberra, p205

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p248

the editor was from Mrs Margaret Playford, who commended Dunstan on his work as a leader in the community by saying “it is unfortunate South Australia does not possess more young parliamentarians with the vigour, intelligence, and sincerity of Mr Don Dunstan.”⁵⁴⁹ Another letter to the editor, this time by ‘Hollandia’, also agreed with Mrs Playford’s letter to the editor. She adds that “Cyprus today reminds one of Holland during the war. The Germans claimed they were there to protect the innocent people, but at the same time they would be executing them on the slightest provocation. More enquiries should be made into British activity in Cyprus.”⁵⁵⁰ These were outspoken views at the time especially going against the mother country Britain. On the other hand, there were individuals who strongly disagreed with Dunstan’s decision to go. For example, a letter to the editor by an anonymous correspondent stated “that this so immature State politician should elect to meddle in such a delicate world situation is to say the least, precocious and savouring of effrontery to some of the world’s most experienced diplomatic brains.”⁵⁵¹ Similarly another letter to the editor by Bernadette McRae, criticised him as meddling in other people’s business: “if all these so-called atrocities are in actuality being carried out, what business of Mr. Dunstan’s is it, may I ask?”⁵⁵² Another writer expressed his opinion that “there is much here in Norwood he should have been more interested in.”⁵⁵³

Dunstan did not only faced negative views from the wider public, his peers and political opponents, but he also was confronted with the media publishing misleading and inaccurate information. He could not tolerate inaccurate information that was being fed through the media, and he always took the opportunity to respond to incorrect information to set the record straight. This is evident in one of the newspaper articles where he responded that “the lengths to which my political opponents have gone in misrepresentation of my activities in Cyprus is

⁵⁴⁹ Playford, M., (24/03/1957) “We Need More Men Like This (Letters to the Editor),” DUN/Press Clippings/2, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁵⁰ Hollandia, (24/03/1957) “Cyprus (Letters to the Editor),” DUN/Press Clippings/2, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁵¹ Unknown, (11/04/1957) “Mr. Dunstan and Cyprus (Letters to the Editor),” DUN/Press Clippings/3, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁵² McRae, B., (11/04/1957) “Mr. Dunstan and Cyprus (Letters to the Editor),” DUN/Press Clippings/3, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁵³ Jeffreys, G.W.B., (11/04/1957) “M.P.’s Cyprus Trip (Letters to the Editor),” DUN/Press Clippings/3, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

astonishing.”⁵⁵⁴ Dunstan then continued to elaborate, claiming that

*“H.L.Gee (The News, 25/3/57) said the main purpose of my trip was to see the Governor, Sir John Harding. That is untrue. The purpose of my trip was to see all sections of organised opinion and authority on the island. I succeeded in doing this. I had a long interview with the Governor and he gave lengthy answers to written questions which I then submitted to him.”*⁵⁵⁵

Dunstan further defends himself and the value of his trip to Cyprus by stating,

*“I had the express consent of the Labour Party executive to make the trip and received the personal thanks of the Federal Leader and of the leaders of the British Labour Party. I point out the Australian Labour Party at its Federal conference a week ago condemned the present administration of Cyprus and called for the granting of self-determination to Cypriots.”*⁵⁵⁶

Dunstan was a leader in the community, and it was within his character to be vocal about the truth as he felt he owed it to the people.

7.2.2 Dunstan and Journeys to Cyprus

As previously mentioned, Dunstan first visited Cyprus in 1957, but there were possibly several more times. It is unknown when exactly the other trips to Cyprus were taken, but there is information that indicates him of going more than once, in particular after 1974 (possibly in 1974-1975 and/or 1978). One of these times was in October 1974, soon after the invasion, when he travelled with well-known Greek-Cypriot Con Marinos (AM) and Dr Stella Lewis. Dr Lewis was a gynaecologist specialist and also a second-generation Greek-Cypriot. Dunstan, Marino and Lewis travelled to Cyprus together. Amongst discussions with interviewees, Lewis went to Cyprus, volunteering to provide medical check-ups for women, as many were left pregnant after being raped by Turks.

After Dunstan’s trip to Cyprus in 1974, it has been suggested that there is a possibility he went again after two years and again after that. According to one interviewee, “Dunstan would go frequently. He possibly went three-four times to Cyprus.”

⁵⁵⁴ Dunstan, D., (24/3/1957) “MP Replies (Letters to the Editor),” DUN/Press Clippings/2, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Dunstan loved the arts, theatre, and shows. He would travel across the world to attend the theatre or the opera. He became very good friends with various famous Greek people, such as Emilia Ipsilanti, a Greek actress. According to several South Australian locals, Ipsilanti visited Adelaide at least twice,⁵⁵⁷ Dunstan and Ipsilanti formed a close connection. After her visit in 1973, they kept in touch, writing letters back and forward for six months.⁵⁵⁸ During this time she was in a theatre production in Cyprus, and invited Dunstan to visit. He had the intention of going, but did not. However, although we do not know the real reason why he did not, it can be speculated he did not go because of the election coming up in SA, and also due to the hostilities and conflict on the island.

7.2.3 Dunstan and the South Australian Cypriot Community

Dunstan was strongly committed to diversity, pushing for multiculturalism, and embracing all nationalities. Dunstan “had a very keen respect and affection for Greek art, people like Theodorakis, and we would often talk about Mikis and his music and his struggles.”⁵⁵⁹ Dunstan even got to meet Mikis Theodorakis when he had been exiled and they kept contact.⁵⁶⁰ Theodoraki came to Adelaide more than once, and one occasion in 1995, he attended a Greek community event with Dunstan at the SA Migration Museum, as seen below in **Picture 50**. Another famous Greek he spoke of was Melina Mercouri and countless other Greek artists and film stars.⁵⁶¹ Furthermore, Dunstan’s own library collection was filled with books of Greek history and poetry; he learnt how to Greek dance, and even attended dances, festivals and BBQs where he would socialise and demonstrate his dance skills (as seen below in **Picture 51**). He would attend dances at Olympic Hall, and he would even hold Greek community fundraising barbecues at the back of his house in

⁵⁵⁷ It was not clear whether she was visiting Australia for professional reasons to attend a conference organised by professional actors or for political reasons or possibly both. An interviewee gave an eyewitness account, stating he picked her up from the airport and drove her to the bus station to go to Coober Pedy. It is unknown why she went to Coober Pedy. The Dunstan archive at Flinders University holds a file of several letters sent from Ipsilanti, and the correspondents is available for viewing. However, the letters Dunstan sent to her are missing and further investigation is required.

⁵⁵⁸ Ipsilanti, E., (1973) “Bronwen Dohnt Files 435: Emilia Ipsilanti,” DUN/Box 87/435, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁵⁹ Bolkus, N., and Lewkowicz, G., (2008) “Interview with Nick Bolkus,” *Don Dunstan Oral History Project*, interview conducted on 14th November 2007, p5, Don Dunstan Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

George Street.⁵⁶² Also, according to a close friend, Dunstan would door knock to meet people, and find out what was going on in their lives. It was very important to him to take his time and listen to them. As Norwood was full Italians, Greeks and Cypriots, it was inevitable for him to be a voice on the issues important to the ethnic and wider population.



Picture 50: Dunstan, second from the left, at an event held at the Migration Museum, with Bishop Paul, Mikis Theodorakis, famous Greek singer, Nick Bolkus and Mike Rann.

Courtesy: Nick Bolkus

⁵⁶² Bolkus, N., and Lewkowicz, G., (2008) "Interview with Nick Bolkus," *op. cit.*, p4



Picture 51: Dunstan leading in Greek dancing.

Courtesy: Nick Bolkus

Not only did Dunstan have many Greek and Cypriot friends throughout his lifetime, such as Michael Angelakis, Nick Bolkus, Con Marinos, Maria Marinos, Eugenia Koussidis, and many others, he also mingled with others from the community. It was clear through the interviews that Dunstan made an impact on many lives and gained their trust, not just those close to him, but also of those in the wider public. Bolkus explains that Dunstan was supported by the Greeks for several reasons. These reasons were,

“First of all he ran that agenda of respect for diversity; secondly, he did that right from the start so in the early '50s Don was sent to Cyprus by the Greek community and the Greek Cypriot community in Australia – it was Don Dunstan, I think Clyde Holding from Victoria and a couple of others were sent to Cyprus and came back as very strong advocates of the Greek Cypriot cause, to the extent that Hansard records and the Adelaide Advertiser records in those days a certain Murray Hill demanding that Dunstan be charged for treason for going over and supporting the Greek Cypriots against Mother England. So Don was pretty feisty on Greek issues right from the start.”

*He also in government developed the multicultural agenda and I still maintain that the real drive to get ethnic schools in Australia came from Dunstan and the Greek community in Adelaide – schools, for instance, in Goodwood, Unley, I think were amongst some of the first in Australia if not the first – and Greeks can be very, very cynical people but he actually came across to them as actually believing in these issues, and I'm sure he did.*⁵⁶³

Not only this, he was also involved in condemning the junta in Greece,⁵⁶⁴ overall showing his fearless involvement in tough situations.

From the perspective of individuals themselves, they felt that Dunstan had a genuine interest and support for the Greek and Cypriot communities. For example, as one female Cypriot migrant told the story, her father was made a refugee in Cyprus, and when he came to Adelaide there was an issue with his visa and she knocked on Dunstan's door, and he assisted her. Furthermore, many commented in their interview that "Dunstan was a Phil-Hellene!", although one migrant was sceptical of his involvement in the Greek and Cypriot community, stating that he may have been lobbying votes. However his admiration for the Greek and Cypriot community and the wider multicultural ethnicity cannot be denied. His genuine concern about "the difficulties that developed in Cyprus after World War II,"⁵⁶⁵ which saw Dunstan give speeches about Cyprus; raise awareness on the issues there; seek to be up-to-date with events (for example being informed with a report and photographs from Nick Bolkus's trip after the 1974 invasion); acted as a person Cypriots would turn to for help; and even paid the postage for 60kg of clothing, which was gathered from a Greek-Cypriot lady, to be sent to Cyprus just after the invasion.

In interviews with Greek-Cypriot migrants that knew Dunstan, they all said great things about him, praising his morals, contributions and influences for the state and other countries. Dunstan made such a close connection with all, which one female Greek-Cypriot migrant described in these terms << *Ήταν σαν, απλό μέλος της οικογένειάς>> ["He was like an ordinary member of the family"]. This is significant, not just from the words she uses, but the fact she says it in Greek, indicating the closeness and the impact he had, drawing him in as one of their own. Similarly, a male Greek-Cypriot migrant reminisced about Dunstan, commenting "Always, he would say, he wanted to make Adelaide the second Athens...and he did it. Look,*

⁵⁶³ Bolkus, N., and Lewkowicz, G., (2008) "Interview with Nick Bolkus," *op. cit.*, pp4-5

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p5

⁵⁶⁵ Hodge, (2014) *Don Dunstan, Intimacy & Liberty: A Political Biography*, *op. cit.*, p5

now wherever you go, there are tables and chairs outside the shops, and they serve outside, like they do in Cyprus and Greece.” Dunstan had implemented this, and also making Rundle Mall a pedestrian shopping precinct. Dunstan also was responsible for the water supply to Adelaide from the Murray River, and this migrant added that if this was to be done now, it would have cost too much money because of the enormous job at hand to do so with the pipes, but Dunstan did it in his term as premier.

7.3 Conclusion

The establishment of the Greek-Cypriot Community groups had more than one aspect in common. Not only were these groups a place where people could come together and socialise, but also to raise awareness and demonstrate support for Cyprus and the political issues that the country encountered. As well as many other aspects, such as creating “a home away from home” and a way to hold onto the culture and traditions, it is evident that these groups had an impact on the community. As one migrants stated, “it meant a lot for migrants to have something to belong to the Cypriot Community. Omonia was created in a way for families to get together, have picnics, and go out have dinner dances”. Furthermore, the pensioner’s fortnightly meetings have established a popular social gathering for the elderly community. It would also give the support to individuals living in the community.

The establishment of the groups in a new country nourished cultural values. All the groups, in particular, had family atmospheres. The soccer group was created on family values, with parents attending matches to watch their children and supporting each other. The dance group demonstrated the Cypriot culture in their dances by utilising original dance moves, props and by wearing authentic costumes. This helped sustain and form a unique identity for the group. In addition, the pensioners demonstrated the welcoming and hospitable nature of Cypriots when conducting dinner dances and welcoming the wider community. Therefore, these established groups display the cultural values that Greek-Cypriots embrace.

Community groups have received support from various avenues, including people from the public becoming members of a community group and attending social gatherings, be they dinner dances, picnics, or festivals. Furthermore, from the

functions held, people would meet and either form relationships or become long life friends. Therefore, the public's support of the community groups helped the establishment and the sustainability of each individual group. Overall, in a social context, people helped one another, and from this form of bonding, people became close friends. Therefore, not only did social networking play a vital role for individuals as a way of establishing themselves in a new country, but it also helped the functionality of the groups.

Throughout this chapter, it is evident how the waves of migration were impacted by historical events. Cyprus was a rich and vibrant country and so are its people with stories and experiences to tell. Overall, whether in one or the other, people are proud of the groups because they have been able to hold onto their culture, traditions and customs.

Finally, Dunstan, who was one of many SA politicians and part of an ongoing effort, made a significant impact on the Cypriot community. Throughout Dunstan's political career, not only did he demonstrate a genuine interest and support for the Cypriots, Greeks and the wider population within Australia, but also showed this on the international scene. His motivation in his involvement of the Cypriot community was consistent to his beliefs, and he showed this by making an impact lobbying for their human rights, equality and embracing such rich diversity with SA, Australia and across the world. He defended himself and what he felt was the right thing, even though he suffered backlash from his peers, the media, the public and was even investigated by Government bodies. The Cypriot population of South Australia felt Dunstan understood them; doing everything he could for them, and thus leading them to admire him. Dunstan's ability to develop a connection and mingle with people was a personal and leadership characteristic that worked in his favour. Overall, by Dunstan participated in their activities and supported their cause, it was inevitable that the Cypriots would claim him as one of their own!

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the settlement of the Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees in South Australia between 1945 and 1980. The study was conducted as a qualitative research project, with primary research being derived from oral history testimonies of Greek-Cypriot individuals and established cultural and social groups in SA. The theoretical underpinnings of oral history were examined to establish its compatibility towards the research. The analysis highlighted the significance, the conduct and approach, interpretation, and limitations of undertaking oral history. Furthermore, the utilisation of archival material, books, journal articles, parliamentary papers, and newspaper articles, contributed to the theoretical framework and analysis towards an understanding of this minority group.

Background knowledge and already established literature in the field provided a framework, highlighting the significance of the study. The background knowledge encompassed a recollection of historical events in Cyprus, and already established knowledge on the migration movements of Cypriots to SA, Australia and around the world. The literature review initially outlined how the review was conducted and the limitations encountered. Through the literature review findings, there were four main areas examined, which included: the Greek-Cypriot migrants around the world; the Greek-Cypriot migrant population in Australia; the Greek-Cypriot migrant population in SA; and the Greek-Cypriot refugee population settlement. From the literature review it was evident that there is missing and/or limited knowledge in the field of the Greek-Cypriot settlement in SA. This limitation highlighted the need for enquiry in the field and to fill in the “gap” by exploring the social structures and mechanisms that facilitated in the settlement of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees.

The first migration wave (*Wave A*), from 1945-1959, examined the migration and settlement experiences of Greek-Cypriots. During this period of time, Greek-Cypriot migrants were free settlers and were able to come to Australia by invitation from a family member or friend. In the post-WWII period the Australian Government was restrictive of Cypriot admissions. Even in the early 1950s, there were issues regarding whether Cypriots made desirable immigrants because of their lack to meet the immigration requirements, such as sufficient funds, proper medical documents and character reports.

Through the oral history testimonies it was evident that the migrants, who came to Australia during this wave, were predominately influenced by social factors, with an underlying economic factor. During this wave, there were also several migrants that highlighted environmental and adventure factors which have contributed to their

decision to leave Cyprus. The majority were young, single and had basic schooling upon arrival. Consequently, their English language skills were very minimal and many were challenged; however they were eventually able to acquire necessary language skills through everyday life and work.

These particular migrants encountered extreme circumstances. On one side of the spectrum, employment opportunities, particularly factory and production line jobs, were readily available because there was more work than people, due to the booming state and country economy. Whilst on the other side of the spectrum, they faced discrimination from the wider-Anglo population. Interestingly, a number of Greek-Cypriot females entered the workforce in Australia, in comparison to traditional female roles in Cyprus. While there were plenty of employment opportunities available, there were also workplace issues, predominately around discrimination and language barriers.

Furthermore, during this migration wave Greek-Cypriots resided with others up until they had the ability to support themselves. Marriage and family life were predominantly kept traditional, with migrants rarely marrying outside the Cypriot and Greek community. All the participants of this wave had children, who were raised with Cypriot values, customs and traditions. Recreational time was usually spent with family and friends attending dances, weddings, parties, BBQs and events, where strong social networks were formed.

Further examination was undertaken on the second migration wave (Wave B) of Greek-Cypriots, who arrived to SA from 1960-1973. When Cyprus gained independence, countries around the world had amended their own Nationality Acts regarding Cypriots, and the time that it would commence in taking effect. Also during this time, Australia reviewed its representation in Cyprus and other Commonwealth countries. By 1964, Cyprus encountered further hostilities and intercommunal clashes, with the UN Peace-Keeping Forces entering the island. From 1965 Cyprus and Australia commenced negotiations for the reciprocal performances of consular and quasi-consular functions. Also during this period (1960-1973), Australian immigration teams from Athens discontinued their visits to the island, which meant individuals had to visit neighbouring countries, mainly Beirut due to its close proximity, to undertake the processing of their application to migrate to Australia.

Through the participants' oral history testimonies, the Greek-Cypriots came to Australia mainly for social and economic factors. Adventure aspects were strong

during this wave; however there were two females who did not want and/or had no intention of leaving Cyprus. The migration experiences varied for Wave B, due to the political instability in the region; some had issues with the process and the logistics of their migration application papers. The majority arrived on migrant ships and were welcomed by family, friends or acquaintances, with whom they stayed up until they could financially support themselves.

Employment was usually sought at factories/manufacturing production companies, with some venturing into self-employment options, such as a chicken shop and pool business. Education levels and attainment of the English language of this wave were slightly higher than Wave A, essentially because of the changes implemented to the education system in Cyprus after its independence. Upon arrival, half of the Wave B participants were single, while the others were married, with several having children. Also during this wave, there were several cases of migrants returning to Cyprus to marry, and then returning to SA to settle with the spouse. Furthermore, attending events, such as dances and BBQs, provided a medium for socialising and networking, where individuals integrated into already established social groups.

The third migration wave (Wave C: 1974-1980), examines the majority of the Greek-Cypriot refugees, who came to South Australia. The 1974 illegal Turkish invasion on the island resulted in thousands becoming IDPs and/or missing. Initially, there were restrictions permitting the departure of individuals as the Government of the Republic of Cyprus wanted to hold Greek-Cypriot population numbers at the island. In the meantime, Australia was challenged by having to comply with the sovereign rights of Cyprus and not to intervene, while at the same time facilitating mainly refugees' departure from the island.

The oral history testimonies of the interviewee participants strongly indicated that these individuals encountered traumatic events, not knowing whether they would "make it out alive". With many relying on family, friends and acquaintances, they came to Australia in search of refuge and a safe environment, with many having the intention of returning home in the future. These individuals were usually well established in Cyprus, in regards to employment, housing and family, and if it was not for the invasion they would have stayed in Cyprus. However, this consequently meant that individuals arriving in Australia during this period were well educated and qualified, in comparison to the previous waves. Employment was usually gained within two weeks of arrival, and like previous Greek-Cypriot migrants, they were hard working and reliable.

Although, Wave C individuals demonstrated great stability, essentially due to their loyalty and long service to a company and/or position, they also owned and resided in one main property for an extended period of time, where they still reside today. In justification of the long service and residing in one home for an extended period of time, it is potentially due to two key aspects. Firstly, many of the participants were married and/or had a young family to support; and secondly, they were refugees and they needed that stability and structure, which was once taken away from them in Cyprus. Furthermore, during this period some individuals encountered some difficulty settling and integrating into the already established Greek and Greek-Cypriot community and social networks because of the hostilities towards them.

Overall, the integration of Greek-Cypriots into the wider Anglo-Saxon society was mainly facilitated through work and neighbours. There were diverse levels of integration amongst the waves, mainly influenced by individuals' age, education and gender roles. Integration was also rendered by racism and discrimination, which was more prominent in the earlier waves, rather than in the third wave.

All participants (but one) became Australian citizens, predominantly due to the political instability on the island, and to ensure a safe and secure future for their children. Also, citizenship was mainly gained prior to travelling to Cyprus for a holiday. Some participants became citizens soon after their arrival, which was very distinct in Wave C, whilst others became citizens after numerous years, which was evident in Wave A. Additionally the majority of participants in Wave B demonstrated that there was a pattern of becoming citizens after 1974.

Identity and sense of belonging revealed a strong connection with Cyprus and Australia. Participants throughout all three waves associated their identity to being Greek-Cypriot and Cypriot, with more than half extending their identity to include Australia. Meanwhile, a sense of belonging for Wave A participants, demonstrated a stronger connection with Australia, while the majority of Wave B participants still reminisce about Cyprus, but they now feel that they belong in Australia. Although, participants in Wave C, demonstrated mixed experiences and feelings, with some having a strong sense of belonging to Cyprus than others.

All migrants and refugees had returned to Cyprus for a holiday over time, but felt that they could not repatriate. Cyprus, being the imagined/desired home, often did not fulfil the expectations that they once had known. In particular for the refugees, even though they awaited the day to return, there were emotional feelings and views

in regards to visiting their homes in the occupied territories, with some not visiting their homes, whilst others visiting but not spending any money.

An investigation of the Cyprus Community of SA and its sub-groups has revealed that the CCSA had flourished over the years since its official establishment in 1948 by 35 Cypriot men. As the CCSA grew and its role diversified within the wider community, the organisation moved from one premise to another. Also many sub-groups were established, such as the Adelaide Omonia “Cobras” Soccer Club, Ladies Auxiliary, Cypriot Dance Group, Cypriot Radio Programme, Justice for Cyprus Co-ordinating Committee, Cypriot Aged & Pensioners Association of SA and several other groups. All these groups, directly or indirectly, facilitated in the settlement of the Greek-Cypriots in SA, through community gatherings, dances, events, fundraisers and BBQs. Furthermore, a stronger bond within the Cypriot community was formed, coming together to support each other and the Cypriots in Cyprus due to the 1974 invasion. Not only has the CCSA and its sub-groups prided themselves on Cypriot culture, traditions and hospitality, but also felt strongly the significance of providing back to the wider community, with donations to charities.

The Greek-Cypriots have demonstrated a strong interest in local and international politics. They have supported many politicians, in particular Don Dunstan, a politician and premier of South Australia. Dunstan, one of the most influential politicians in South Australian and Australian history, had displayed an ongoing and genuine concern for Cyprus and the Cypriots. He was part of an ongoing effort in support of the Greek-Cypriot population and condemning the unjust events occurring in Cyprus. As a South Australian politician, MP and premier, he became an iconic figure leading the way not only in political and economic reforms, but also promoting cultural diversity and cohesion amongst individuals in the state and across Australia. He was honest and fearless, believing in equality for all, which led to the Greek-Cypriot population in SA relying on him as a leader. Dunstan visited Cyprus several times during his career, with the most notable one being the “Fact-Finding Mission” of 1957. Visiting Cyprus, Athens and London, there were several significant outcomes that arose from his presence on the mission. However, back in Australia, he faced backlash from his peers and members of the public expressing their disappointment in his actions for going to Cyprus. Overall, the Greek-Cypriots were fond of Dunstan as he was influential and voiced important issues encountered by Greeks, Cypriots and other ethnic groups. From the interviews conducted in this research, all the individuals praised his efforts and contributions, adding he was a

“Phil-Hellene!”.

During this research, various questions were raised concerning the identity of second- and third-generation Greek-Cypriots and their association with Cypriot heritage and culture. As previously mentioned throughout the thesis, children of Greek-Cypriots were well educated and aware of their culture and tradition. Living private and public lives in Australia, they were conditioned by the stories and beliefs of their parents, and were constantly surrounded by the idealisation of Cyprus. For example, in some instances Greek-Cypriot children still hold onto the motto: <<Δεν ξεχνώ>> meaning “I will never forget,” referring to the invasion. This raises the questions into whether or not there is a strong sense of identity and connection with Cyprus for second- and most importantly third- generation Greek-Cypriots, or whether they are confronted by the issue on multiple identities, and their allegiance to the country of birth versus ancestral origin. Although, numerous research studies have been carried out on second-generation Greek-Cypriots residing in Britain, there has been no systematic research carried out in South Australia. Therefore, further research is required into Greek-Cypriot second- and third-generation field. These generations essentially hold the key for the continuation of the Cypriot presences in Australia.

The dedication and success of Greek-Cypriot children in SA is evident and notable. This particular aspect needs to be further investigated in order to measure the extent of their success and contribution to Australian society the comparison with other second- and third-generation Australia. Greek-Cypriot migrants have been hard working people, who have strived for success in their new country of settlement, and their dedication to their professional life and family has probably been an example to the younger generation. Countless second- and third-generation Greek-Cypriots have become very successful, some through own businesses (fishing industry, construction, etc.), whilst many others have become professionals (teachers, solicitors, lawyers, doctors, dentists, accountants, etc.). Further investigation on this issue will uncover a range of interesting and inspirational stories, that could potentially further benefit the Greek-Cypriot migration discourse. New research outcomes can further enhance identity and belonging issues. It can also prove if the original migrants were the so called “visionaries”, who have mapped out a successful path for their children’s future.

In conclusion, this study based on original research and some scholarly contributions, where possible, aims at establishing the parameters of Greek-Cypriot migrants and refugees' settlement patterns in South Australia from 1945 till 1980. The analysis of the data and the outcomes illustrate the strength and the continuity of the Greek-Cypriot Community's presence in Australia; its productive interconnection with Australian politics, which influenced the migration "paths" especially after the island's invasion; and the ongoing discussion on the notion of identity and belonging. Further research and preservation is required in documenting the Greek-Cypriot migration in order to provide a greater understanding for future generations. The Greek-Cypriots, to whom we dedicate our research, are a dynamic group, and as such it is expected to continue to evolve and prosper Australia wide.

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1945 – 1959	1960 – 1973	1974 – 1980
A1	B1	C1
A2	B2	C2
A3	B3	C3
A4	B4	C4
A5	B5	C5
A6	B6	C6
A7	B7	C7
A8	B8	C8
A9	B9	C9
A10	B10	C10

Interviews Conducted: Various Consults

From the interviews conducted with the migrant cohort, additional interviews were carried out with other individuals, to provide superior a systematic framework. Some of the topics are found below.

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Cypriot Community Groups: 5 individuals

General Information: Countless individuals

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APPENDIX 1

Maps

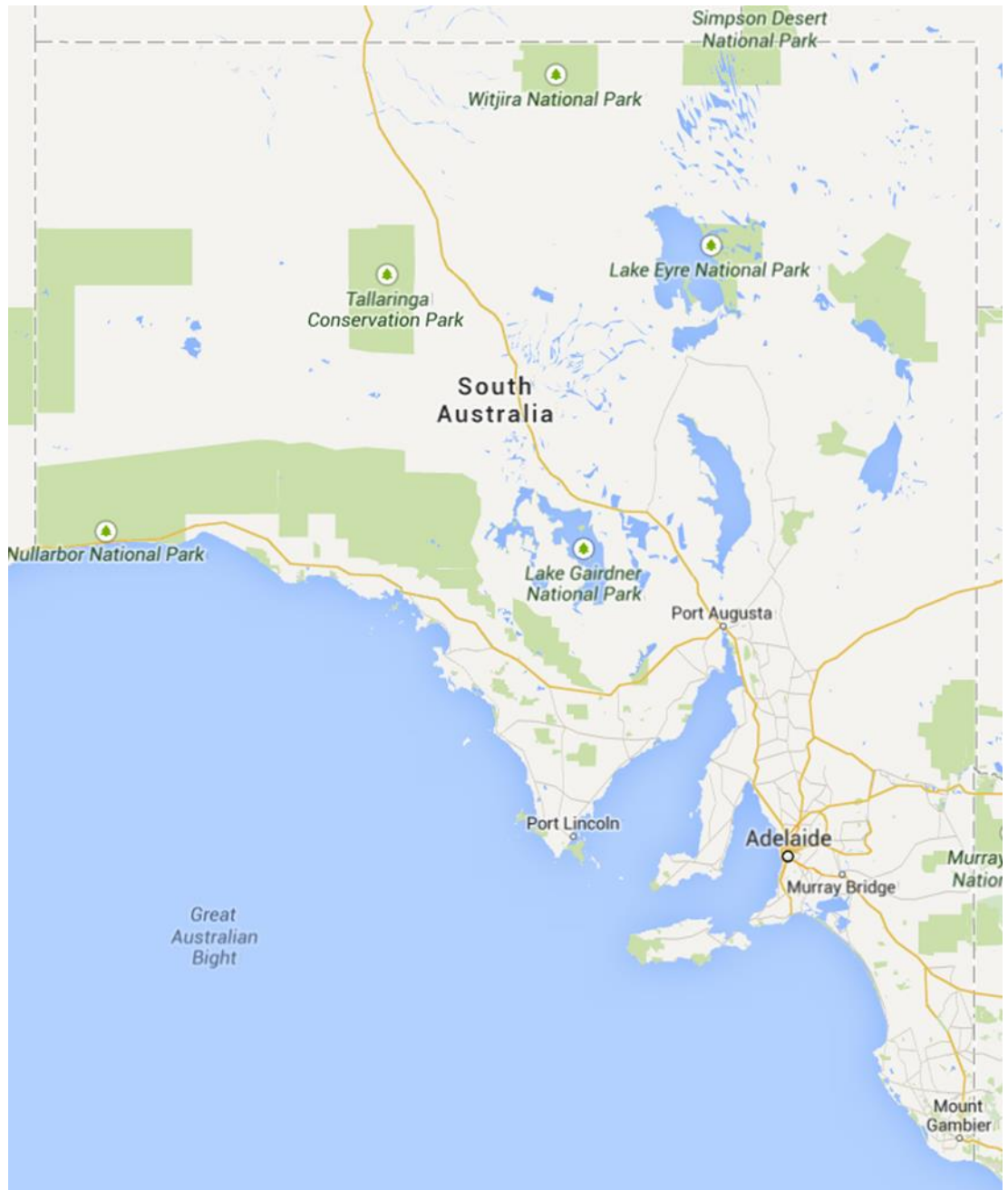
Australia⁵⁶⁶



Map 9: Australia

⁵⁶⁶ "Australia," *Google Maps*, <https://www.google.com.au/maps/>, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

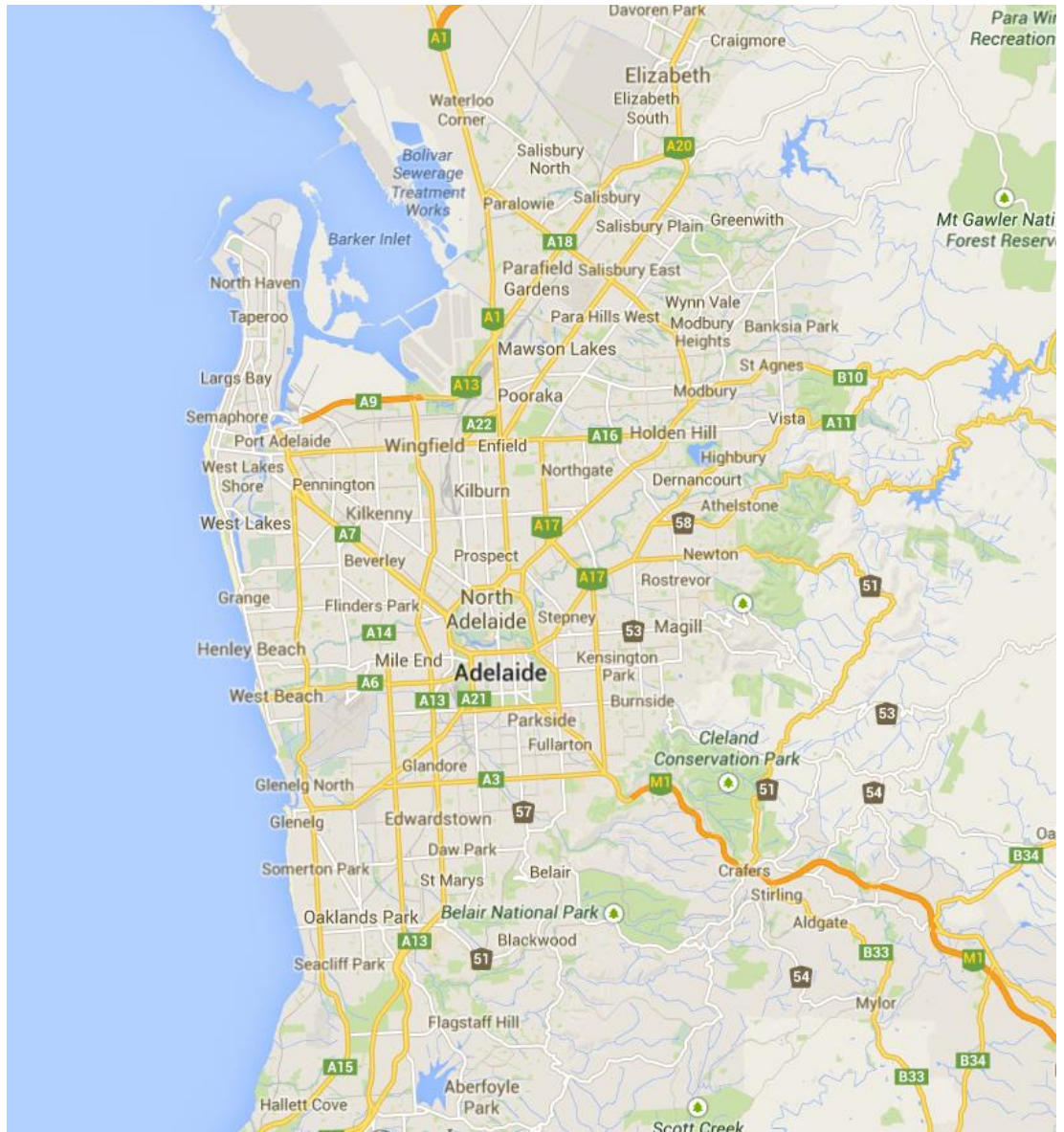
South Australia⁵⁶⁷



Map 10: South Australia

⁵⁶⁷ "South Australia," *Google Maps*, <https://www.google.com.au/maps/>, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

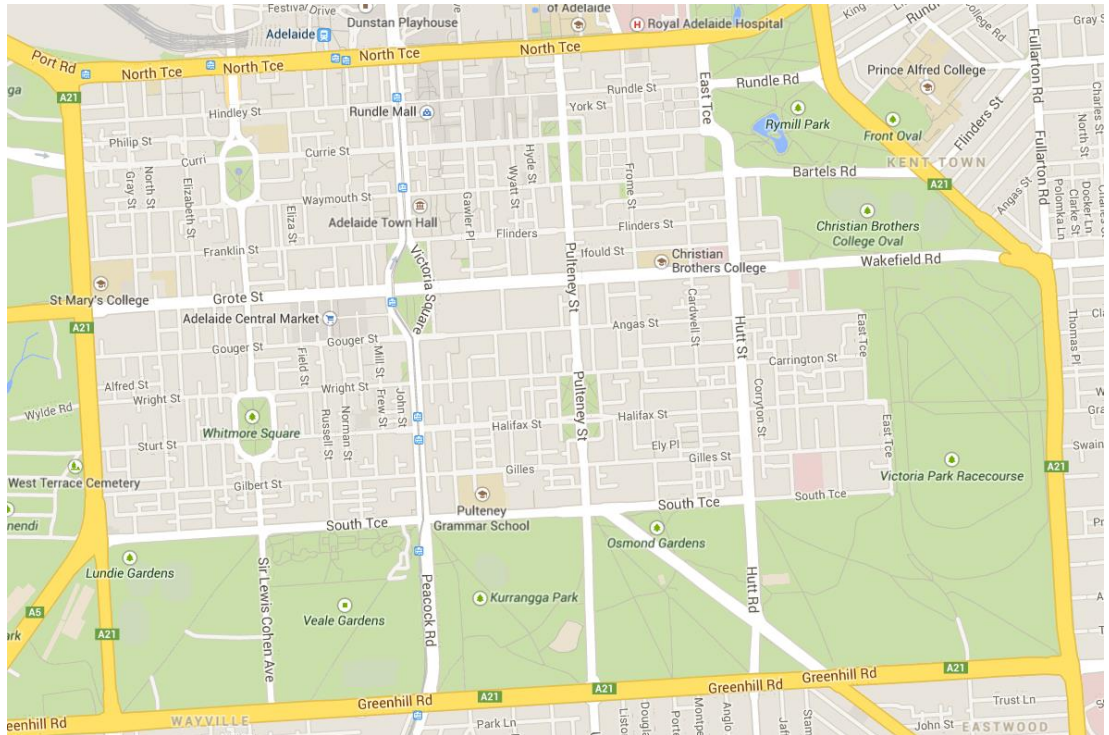
Metropolitan South Australia⁵⁶⁸



Map 11: Metropolitan South Australia

⁵⁶⁸ “Metropolitan South Australia,” *Google Maps*, <https://www.google.com.au/maps/>, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

Adelaide CBD in South Australia⁵⁶⁹



Map 12: Adelaide CBD in South Australia

⁵⁶⁹ “Adelaide CBD in South Australia,” *Google Maps*, <https://www.google.com.au/maps/>, Date accessed: 2/07/2014

APPENDIX 2

Interviewing Material

Participant Oral History Interview Questions

Background

Born – place, year

Parents – where they were born, occupation, years of marriage, children

Childhood

What did you do for pass time?

Did you have any aspirations as a child?

Schooling / qualifications / work – what, how, when, why

Pre-migration

When did you first think about going abroad? Why?

Had anyone in your family gone abroad before you? Or friends?

Reasons for migrating – work, family, adventure

How long did you think you would be away for?

Did you know about the country before leaving? And how did you learn this?

Was migration an idealised concept from your social group? Was it common?

Sponsor – family, work

Were there a job / family waiting for you?

Did you make contact with them before travelling? How did you obtain a sponsor?

How did you raise money for the ticket?

Documentation – passports, papers, cost

Immunisation / doctor approval for travel

Migration

Who travelled with you – family, friends, acquaintances, by yourself

Who did you leave behind?

How did you feel about that?

Whilst away, who looked after them?

When did you get to see them next?

When – date

How – plane, boat

Duration of journey

How many people migrating on the journey – Cypriots, other nationalities

How much luggage / bags
Quarantine – procedures, difficulty to pass
Experience – food, sleeping conditions
 What was the journey like?
 How did you imagine 'Australia' to be?
 Where you disappointed / satisfied?
 What stuck you when you landed?

Post-migration

Language boundaries

 Did you know any English?

 Did you have any difficulty understanding people speaking?

 Did you attempt to learn English? How? – Language classes, by yourself gradually

Work / Training

 How did you obtain your first job in Australia?

 Did you have qualifications? Did this help you in seeking employment?

 Did you need further training before / during your career?

 What other jobs did you have? How long? Where you satisfied with the work?

 How was the employment market? Was it difficult to find a job?

Living standards – housing, transport

 When first arriving, did you have anywhere to stay?

 How did you first find your proper accommodation? What was it like? – Description

 Did you have to share?

 Did you have any friends in the local area?

 Did your food habits change? In what way?

 What was the transport system like? Was it easy to get around?

 Tell me how you got your license and your first car in Australia?

Impressions of Australia – people, atmosphere

 Did anyone help you in any way? (Accommodation, loans, money, advice)

 What were your impressions of Australia? – Initial arrival, after 1 year, after 5 years

 How would you describe Adelaide?

 How was the city centre? What was it like going grocery shopping?

 Were people friendly? – Greeks, general population, neighbours

Did you experience discrimination? – Either about clothing, accent, culture, gender

Family Establishment

Marriage / Family

When did you get married? How old were you both?

Were there any difficulties when getting married? – Family approval, money

Could you describe to me your wedding? – Who attended, ceremony, reception

At the time, was Adelaide an ideal place to start a family?

Did anyone from your circle of family/friends from overseas come to visit or settle?

Would you call or write home often? Would family members send presents, money or other kinds of help to each other?

Do you think of home often? Not at all / sometimes / frequently

Children

How many children did you and your partner have?

Did they learn the Greek language? Or attend Greek school?

Traditions / Customs

Have you still held onto Cypriot traditions and customs? Describe in what way.

Were your children brought up these traditions/customs?

Integration

Returning to Cyprus (Repatriation)

Did you think you would permanently return to Cyprus? How do you feel about this?

Since living in Australia, have you visited Cyprus? What were your impressions?

Did anyone (family/friends) from overseas come to settle here? Did you help them to settle?

Australian Citizenship

How do you classify your identity? Cypriot / Australian / both

Have you become an Australia citizen? When?

What made you become a citizen?

Australian Community Involvement

Were you involved in the Australian community when you first arrived? Or in later years?

If yes, in what way? Did you make friends from other cultures? Did it shape you

in any way?

If no, why not?

Did you find it difficult to be involved?

Community Involvement

Cypriot Community Involvement

Were you ever involved in any of the Cypriot community groups?

Cyprian Community of South Australia Inc.

Cypriot Aged and Pensioners Association

Cypriot Dance Group

Omonia Soccer Club of the Cyprian Community of South Australia

How did you feel about participating in the community group?

What made you join the group? Or what made you stop participating?

Was there a lot of community support?

Social gatherings - dances, parades, festivals

When you first arrived, what sorts of social gatherings did you attend?

In recent years, what sort of social gatherings have you attended?

Could you describe to me the 'function'? – How many people, who, youth, pensioners

How did you feel about attending? Did you enjoy it?

Identity

What do you classify yourself as, Migrant or Refugee?

Migrants

What characterises the identity of a migrant?

How would you describe the Cypriot migrant population?

'Socio-culture stress'

What characterises the refugee identity? Loss of home / loss of cultural identity

Do you feel that there was a stigma to the term 'refugee'?

Do you believe refugee communities tend to draw inwards and distance themselves?

Do (did) you feel that refugees hold an anti-trust against others? How would this affect them in settling in a new country?

Do you believe property ownership plays an important cultural role?

What factor would you rank higher to return home, social or economical or neither?

Refugee

Initially as a refugee, were you waiting the minute to return home and therefore did not make any permanent settlement? Or did you make permanent plans, such as creating your house as a home?

As a refugee, did you have a sense of 'temporary displacement', 'temporary living conditions', or 'temporary friends'? Or did you know this was going to be permanent?

When did you realise that this is no longer temporary?

Do you think as a refugee that your needs were met? In what way?

Media – radio, television, newspapers

When you arrived, did you have access to any Greek media? Often/ Sometime/ Never

What sort of media did you access more?

How has this impacted on the way of life today, for yourself and others?

What did it mean to you to have this form of media living in Australia?

Expectations

Why did you specifically choose South Australia? – UK, USA, South Africa

Did you have any expectations when coming to South Australia?

When you settled here, what did people back home think of you being in Australia? (Lucky, proud)

Experiences

Please tell me of a positive experience when you came to South Australia?

From your experiences, was there anything negative of the time?

What was the most challenging aspect of being in South Australia?

Overall

Where do you call home?

Are you happy with the decision you made of coming to South Australia?

Would you come again, if you had the chance?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Established Groups Questions

Cyprus Community Centre of South Australia Inc. (In conjunction with its sub-groups: Pensioners, Youth Group, Dance Group, etc.)

- Background
 - year of establishment
 - number of members
 - location
 - purpose of the group

- Activities conducted by the group
 - Functions, dances, etc.
 - Fundraising
 - Excursions
 - Weekly meetings

- The groups involvement in the community
 - Festivals
 - Fundraising, donations
 - Involvement in the Australian community

- Successful establishment of the group
 - The involvement/support from the community
 - What the group means to the community

- The future of the group
 - Considering 3rd Generation Greek-Cypriots and the decline of Greek-Cypriot migration.

