

# Greek Education: The saviour of Hellenism in South Australia?

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## RÉSUMÉ

Depuis la création d'une vie communautaire en Australie du Sud les Grecs ont eu une foi inébranlable aux deux piliers de leur communauté : la religion orthodoxe et la langue grecque, éléments essentiels de leur culture. A côté des églises ils ont créé des écoles pour transmettre aux jeunes les valeurs fondamentales de l'Hellénisme. Cette passion de la langue, de la culture et des traditions grecques les a amené à faire tout ce qui était possible pour assurer à la culture grecque la place qu'elle mérite dans cette Australie du Sud qui revendique le rôle de leader culturel du pays. Malgré ces efforts cependant la structure mise en place pour la promotion de la langue grecque et des valeurs de l'Hellénisme s'est révélée inadéquate pour assurer leur survie. La principale raison est due au fait que la population d'origine grecque est très minoritaire dans cet État et par conséquent la langue grecque n'est pas nécessaire et n'est pas utilisée dans les majeurs domaines de la vie. Elle constitue seulement une valeur pour les besoins "esotériques" de la communauté grecque, elle-même profondément influencée par la culture anglo-celtique de l'Australie. Cet article présente une analyse des réalisations de la communauté grecque dans le domaine de l'éducation et suggère ce qui doit être fait de plus pour assurer la survie de l'Hellénisme en Australie du Sud.

## ABSTRACT

From the foundation of community life in South Australia, the Greeks have had an unshakeable faith in the twin bases of their community: their religious faith in Greek Orthodoxy and the Greek language as the bearer of Greek culture and traditions. Along with their Churches they set up community schools in the hope of passing down to succeeding generations the essential values of Hellenism. Their passion to preserve and promote the Greek Language and Hellenic values led them to give full support to initiatives that would provide fully qualified teachers for their children and would ensure for Greek culture and civilisation its rightful place in the forefront of South Australia's claim to being a cultural leader of Australia. By the 1980's they had in place a full educational infrastructure for the promotion of Hellenism. In itself, however, this structure has, to date, proved to be inadequate in ensuring the maintenance and promotion of the Greek language and Hellenic values. Basically this has been due to the fact that those of Greek descent do not constitute a significant enough proportion of this State's population and that the Greek language is not needed or used in the major spheres of life. It seems to be of value for the esoteric needs of the Greek community that is itself being deeply influenced by the Anglo-Celtic culture of Australia. This paper presents an analysis of the achievements of the Greek community in the area of Greek education and suggests what else needs to be done to ensure the continuation of Hellenism in South Australia.

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The first Greeks arrived in the British colony of South Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were usually isolated individuals who had arrived in South Australia as sailors on merchant ships that plied their trade between Europe and the coastal provincial town of Port Pirie where the ore, from the interior mining town of Broken Hill in Colonial New South Wales was smelted to provide lead, zinc, copper and gold. A number of these sailors jumped ship to take advantage of employment opportunities in the Broken Hill Associated Smelters and encouraged the migration of their relatives and friends.

Opportunities for work in the Smelters and for self-employment in the fishing industry added to this State's attractiveness as a migrant destination, especially following the introduction of larger, steam driven boats into the Eastern Mediterranean that deprived many small boat owners of important sources of income in the carrying trade. These people came from the Ionian Islands and from the Aegean and their numbers were reinforced by the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese in 1911. The new colonial power there "encouraged" the Greek inhabitants of this collection of islands off the southwest coast of Asia Minor to migrate. Shortages in the sponge-diving areas of the Mediterranean and loss of trading opportunities with the Ottoman Turkish Empire in Asia Minor gave a further impetus to this emigration. Before World War I the Greek presence in South Australia (now a State of the Commonwealth of Australia following federation in 1901) was becoming more perceptible, particularly in Port Pirie and, to a lesser extent, in the State's capital, Adelaide.

The migration of Greeks to South Australia largely dried up with the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The Greco-Turkish conflict that broke out following the end of World War I was to be disastrous for the Greeks of the former Ottoman Turkish Empire. The newly created Republic of Turkey (1923) was to complete the process of ethnic cleansing which begun even before the Ottoman Empire's involvement in the world war. During World War I and the period immediately afterwards, the Turkish authorities were responsible for the extermination of about 1.5 million Armenians and the remainder was driven out. Hundreds of thousands of Greeks were also killed during this

period. The Greco-Turkish conflict (1919-1922) resulted in a disaster of gigantic proportions. In addition to the many deaths, about 1.5 million Greeks became refugees, most of whom went to the Greek State. Many thousands found refuge initially in the Dodecanese then under Italian control. The Italian authorities there gave visas to these refugees so that they could leave with some form of official documentation. A small number of them made their way to South Australia to join up with relatives, friends or compatriots from the same region.

The official Australian censuses underestimated the number of Greeks in South Australia in the pre-World War II period because many who went there were from Turkey, from the Dodecanese, (then under Italian control), from Cyprus (then under British control), or from countries of the Near or Middle East. Nevertheless, the figures indicate a steady if slow growth.

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>Greek-born in S.A.</b>
1911	76
1921	152
1933	740
1947	1,029 <sup>1</sup>

By 1924 Greek numbers in Port Pirie had become large enough for the creation of a community organisation based on the Church of Saint George. Indeed, most of the Greeks in the 1920s lived outside of metropolitan Adelaide. When the Smelters were severely affected by the economic Depression that began in the late 1920s, many Greeks became unemployed. Many left South Australia and the Port Pirie community struggled to survive with its much-diminished numbers who were at least able to keep their Greek school functioning.<sup>2</sup>

In Adelaide, during the 1920s, there was no community organisation apart from the Kastellorizian Brotherhood which represented about one-third of the Adelaide Greeks at the time, a small Apollon Society and several *cafeneia* or clubs in Hindley Street. Church services were conducted in the Hall of the Holy Trinity of the Church of England on North Terrace. By the end of 1930, the need for a community organisation in the metropolis had become imperative in

order to cope with urgent social needs. About one third of the Greeks were unemployed and eighty percent were living in poverty. The Greeks in Adelaide saw the necessity of building their own church in order to give their community a focus for handling the social problems and an organisation that could negotiate with the State authorities. They also recognised the need to organise a Greek school for a growing number of children.

A community organisation was set up in October 1930 and by early 1931 a school committee was formed to organise Adelaide's first Greek school. By 1933 Greek language, history and culture were being taught in the Greek community school that had fifty-six pupils. The classes were conducted during the hours after which the children had finished their compulsory schooling in the State school system. School fees of a shilling a week were charged for each pupil. This was no inconsiderable sum in those days when the basic wage was just over three pounds (sixty shillings) per week.

Considerable impetus was given to the organisation of the Greeks in South Australia by the efforts of the newly appointed Metropolitan of Australia, Timotheos (1932-1947). Fund raising for a church proved to be somewhat difficult in the early 1930s, but, with the easing of the worst effects of the Depression by the middle of the decade, fund-raising efforts were intensified. The campaign for funds was extended beyond South Australia's borders with some success. A site for the church was purchased in 1936 near the corner of Franklin Street and West Terrace, an area around which most Greeks lived. The foundation stone was laid in November 1937 (the feast day of Taxiarchis) and the church was consecrated and began functioning on the 25th March 1938, on the anniversary of Greece's National Independence Day.<sup>3</sup>

During the Great Depression, Greek migration slowed down considerably and the earlier migration of single men was now replaced at a lower level by the reunification of families or by family formations through arranged marriages. In the 1930s many single men moved interstate in search of work or returned to Greece. The outbreak of World War II ended abruptly any further migration from Greece.

At the end of World War II, the Greek communities of South Australia were small, and while they were compact, their small size exposed them to the dangers of assimilation. What separated the Greeks from the mainstream Australian population was their awareness of being Greeks; they had and shared a common history and a common myth of descent. Their awareness of a common language and culture that was associated with Greece and the traditional lands inhabited by Greeks gave them a strong sense of belonging, as well as a solidarity that distinguished them from others.<sup>4</sup> Survival as a distinct ethnic group would not come automatically. The Greek communities were well aware of the encroachments being made on their sense of being Greek. They tried to resist this process of assimilation by providing education in their own language and culture and by maintaining as high a level of endogamous marriages as possible. In the face of a hostile assimilationist attitude and discrimination prevalent in both the broader Australian community and in government policies, the likelihood of success in maintaining a distinctive ethnic difference seemed slim. The small size of the communities did not give them the means of ensuring the survival of a relatively unadulterated Greek ethnic identity.

The devastation and destruction that World War II and the Civil War (1946-1949) caused in Greece were to provide the Greek communities of South Australia with a dramatic injection of migrants who would strengthen the communities' sense of ethnic difference. Many in Greece felt that there were few prospects for stability in the foreseeable future in a country that had been destroyed materially as well riven politically, by the upheavals of the 1940s and the onset of the Cold War. This mass of people, seeking a better future for themselves and their children, were to provide Australia with the people she needed to develop the country, and the existing Greek communities with the reinforcements that might make possible the survival of Hellenism.

The fate of Hellenism in South Australia would be decided by three major factors: the initiatives of the Greek communities, the conditions prevailing in Australia, and by the influences emanating from Greece

and Cyprus.<sup>5</sup> Until the late 1970s, the governments of Greece and Cyprus did not play a very active role in the promotion of Hellenism. The influence of these countries in South Australia came about largely through mass migration. The migrants, in conjunction with the earlier Greek settlers and their already established institutions, had developed a strong tradition of self-reliance and independence from Greece and Cyprus. They had to carve out their own destinies in Australia.

However, they set about implementing measures designed to protect and promote Hellenic values and characteristics. These included handing down from generation to generation within a family and communal context, strong collectivist Greek traditions, customs and mores that emphasise family solidarity. The communities formed by families have been and are still held together by the Greek Orthodox Church that traditionally has been one of the major bulwarks of Hellenism.

The mass migration of Greeks to South Australia in the post-World War II period has been very significant in maintaining and developing a sense of ethnic identity and allegiance as the new migrants revitalised the shared living customs and traditions and strengthened the communities' capacity for mobilisation in support of common causes.<sup>6</sup> The new migrants brought with them the cultural developments in the form and content of Hellenism as they had evolved at the time of their migration. This brought the existing settlements into direct contact with these developments and their numbers more than replaced those Greeks lost to the Greek communities through death, repatriation, migration elsewhere and assimilation.

While there is some controversy about the size of the Greek community of South Australia in the post-World War II period, there can be no doubt about the dramatic increase in the number of Greek-born and Cypriot-born.<sup>7</sup> The accelerated growth of the Greek community in South Australia in the 1950's and the 1960's was due to the Australian government's mass-migration programme and Greece's desperate socio-economic condition and the turbulent political state following the Nazi Occupation of World War II and the Civil War (1946-1949):

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>Greek-born in S.A.</b>
1954	2 809
1961	9 476
1966	14 660

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

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

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>Greek-born in S.A.</b>
1971	14 717
1976	14 709
1981	14 205
1986	14 455
1991	13 628
1996	12 598 <sup>9</sup>

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

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>Cypriot-born in S.A.</b>
1971	n/a
1976	793
1981	1 787
1986	1 771
1991	1 634
1996	1 548 <sup>10</sup>

Mass migration to Australia from Cyprus started later than that from Greece. Furthermore, much of it occurred after the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the Turkish occupation of 37% of the northern portion of the Island State. This invasion created over 200 000

refugees, a number of whom made their way to South Australia. Indeed, slightly less than half of the Cypriot Community is composed of these refugees and their children.

The migrants hoped for a better life for themselves and their children. They had no thought of surrendering their Greekness. Moreover, they expected that their children would also be Greek. However, a number of factors would make the realisation of this latter hope very difficult.

The overwhelming majority of the Greek-born and Cypriot-born has been cut off from continuous contact with their homelands for many years. Indeed, 11 791 out of a total of 13 628 Greek-born in South Australia in 1991 (ie. 86.5%) arrived in Australia before 1971 and 1 006 out of a total of 1 634 Cypriot-born in South Australia in 1991 (ie. 62.2%) arrived in South Australia before 1971.<sup>11</sup> Despite visits to the mother countries and various forms of contact (telephone, audio/video tapes et al), very extended lack of continuous contact with and replenishment from Greece and Cyprus have meant that the migrants have lost touch with the nuances of change in those countries, let alone the dramatic changes that those countries have undergone.

Moreover, they had migrated to a country that was deeply suspicious of aliens and that did not value Greek culture, language and civilisation. This came as a shock. Until the early 1970's Australia openly promoted a policy of assimilation. In addition, in the crucial years of this mass migration (the 1950's and the 1960's) the Greek State and the newly formed Republic of Cyprus had not established an effective network of diplomatic representatives to impart their views to these recently arrived migrants or to help them in their endeavours to maintain and promote their Hellenism.

In this climate the Greeks were on the defensive; they found themselves in a situation where their Greek characteristics, which included their strong commitment to Hellenism, were being called into question by the Australian authorities and by many Australians. The deve-



lopment of a defensive, protective and conservative attitude became embedded in the Greek institutions they established. Through a complex network of institutional, social, regional and familial arrangements they set about preserving those values and characteristics that they deemed essential to the continuity of their ethnic identity.

The concentration of the Greek and Cypriot migrants in particular suburbs of the Adelaide metropolis and, to a lesser extent, in a certain number of non-metropolitan centres, helped these Greek immigrants to function more effectively and as reasonably cohesive communities.

Greek preference for urban settlement had been evident even before the post-World War II mass migration.

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>Percentage of Greeks in Adelaide Metropolis</b>
1911	63.2%
1921	52.0%
1933	39.2%
1947	60.3% <sup>12</sup>

In the non-metropolitan areas the Greeks were concentrated in industrial and port towns like Port Pirie.

The pattern of settlement established by the Greeks pre-World War II in combination with the availability of relatively cheap housing, nearby employment opportunities, the high cost of private transport, as well as a natural desire to be close to ones compatriots resulted in the continuing concentration of the Greek-born and Cypriot-born in the Adelaide metropolitan area.

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>No. of Greek-born</b>	<b>Percentage in Adelaide</b>
1966	12 185	79%
1986	14 455	88.3%
1991	13 628	90.5%
1996	12 598	89%

<b>Year of Census</b>	<b>No. of Greek-born</b>	<b>Percentage in Adelaide</b>
1991	1 508	92%
1996	1 548	94.3%

The concentration of Greeks in the metropolitan area and especially in suburbs to the west of the inner city, as well as, to a lesser extent, the east and south, was a natural consequence of the necessity of adjustment to a new and strange environment. However, it hindered integration within the broader community; it thus contributed to the maintenance of a strong sense of Greek ethnic identity. In these areas of relatively concentrated settlement they established their Greek Orthodox Churches, their Greek Community schools, their Greek shops and their regional brotherhoods.

Social commentators have singled out three core elements for the maintenance and promotion of an authentic Greek ethnicity. These are the Greek language, the Greek Orthodox faith and certain Greek customs and traditions such as the collectivism and solidarity of Greek family life including elected kin.<sup>15</sup>

When Greek Orthodox Churches were established in Adelaide, Mile End, Norwood, Unley, Goodwood, Croydon, Port Adelaide, Salisbury, Noarlunga and Athelstone, as well as in several non-metropolitan areas, the communities formed around them set up community schools to teach the Greek language to the rapidly growing number of the children of these recently arrived migrants and subsequent generations. The growth-rate regarding the number of children of school age was so great that it placed enormous strains on the resources of all the communities. There were simply not enough people with adequate qualifications to teach the Greek language and culture effectively. As the communities had to rely on their own human resources, their plight was desperate. Most of the migrants had had little opportunity for educating themselves in Greece.

By 1972, there were 3 001 students in South Australia attending Greek Ethnic Primary Schools (after normal school hours or on Saturday mornings).<sup>16</sup> The enormous strains in financial and human

terms were becoming overwhelming. The quality of teaching was rapidly becoming attenuated. For a number of years the Greek communities of South Australia had sought in vain teaching personnel and other forms of assistance from Greece. The Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Inc. turned to the Australian Labor Party State Government for assistance "...to sustain Greek language and culture".<sup>17</sup>

This public request for the support of the South Australian State Government was made at a time when both the Federal Australian Labor Party (ALP) Government and the South Australian ALP Government were moving rapidly towards embracing a policy of multiculturalism that promoted language and cultural maintenance for ethnic communities. In South Australia the Greek communities had earlier established a close relationship with the State ALP. This enabled them to lobby for support to meet the educational needs of their children. They needed qualified teachers and teaching resources.<sup>18</sup>

In 1972 there had been an attempt to introduce the teaching of Modern Greek at the University of Adelaide as a means of providing qualified teachers.<sup>19</sup> The Don Dunstan ALP Government of South Australia had urged the Adelaide University to consider the appointment of a lecturer for Modern Greek with the promise of financial support for the lectureship.<sup>20</sup> Many rationalisations, including fears of intrusion into the "University's freedom of action," were elaborated. The University appeared to be opposed to the proposal.<sup>21</sup> Despite protestations of interest in introducing Modern Greek, the University's real attitude seemed to be overly conservative and resistant to community and political pressure.<sup>22</sup> When pressed further, the University of Adelaide insisted on conditions that the State Government seemed unprepared to meet.<sup>23</sup>

Prior to these negotiations, the Association of Greek University Students of Australia had organised a Hellenic Students' Convention in Adelaide for May 1971. An organiser of the Convention, Mr. Nick Bolkus (now an ALP Senator and formerly a Government Minister in a number of Federal ALP Governments) forwarded a number of resolutions to the ALP State Minister of Education, Mr. Hugh Hudson,

concerning the education of migrant children. Among these were the need to improve the teaching of English to migrant children, the need to remove discriminatory practices and the need to promote the teaching of Modern Greek at Secondary and Tertiary institutions.<sup>24</sup>

A deputation representing all sectors of the Greek Community of South Australia and organised by the Adelaide Greek University Students Association under the leadership of Mr. Nick Ganzis, a lecturer at the Adelaide Teachers' College, approached the Deputy-Director of Primary Education, Mr. A. E. Wood.<sup>25</sup> There was some resistance to the deputation's proposal that Modern Greek be taught systematically in State Primary schools. There was even resistance to a request that teachers with a knowledge of Modern Greek be appointed to Primary Schools with large concentrations of children of Greek origin so that they might act in a liaison capacity between the school and the Greek parents.<sup>26</sup> However, the Primary Schools Headmasters' Association was more positive and responsive to this latter request.<sup>27</sup>

The situation was to change rapidly. The Public Examinations Board, responsible for the examination of subjects at Matriculation level that opened the way to Tertiary Education, was keen to have the discipline of Modern Greek introduced as an examinable subject for matriculation.<sup>28</sup> Qualified teachers would be required. In response, the Education Department supported the training of teachers so that Modern Greek could be introduced as soon as possible. Indeed, the Education Department was prepared to release appropriate teachers on full pay for them to acquire the initial basic skills of Modern Greek language, literature and culture, as well as the rudiments of teaching Modern Greek.<sup>29</sup>

The lack of effective progress in the negotiations between the State Government and the University of Adelaide over the introduction of Modern Greek convinced N. Ganzis and the executive of the Greek Students' Association to adopt an alternative approach for the education of teachers of Modern Greek at the Primary and Secondary levels. With the full support of the Greek Students' Executive, N. Ganzis approached the Principal of the Adelaide Teachers' College,

Mr K.R. Gilding, with a proposal for the introduction of the teaching of Modern Greek to that Tertiary institution. This approach was made at a time when the Adelaide Teachers' College was soon to become a College of Advanced Education in line with the recommendations of the Martin Report. The new institution would need to broaden its vocational and teaching base. Consequently, Mr. Gilding favoured the proposal.<sup>30</sup>

When Mr. Ganzis suggested that the State Government's proposal to the University of Adelaide be transferred to the Adelaide College of Advanced Education, the Greek Community leaders responded quickly and positively. The Dunstan ALP Government, through its Minister of Education the Hon. H. Hudson, accepted the proposal with alacrity, as it helped the ALP fulfill its obligation to provide teachers for the Greek communities.<sup>31</sup>

Negotiations with the Board of Advanced Education and a submission for the triennium 1973-1975 resulted in special funding being made available for an intensive course in 1973 for which selected teachers were released on full pay. Regular course work was to commence in 1974. The initial scepticism and resistance of the Chairman of the Board of Advanced Education was overcome primarily, it seems, because of political pressure from the State ALP Government, supported by Federal ALP colleagues. The Colleges of Advanced Education were to prove, at this stage, that they were more responsive to community needs than the universities.<sup>32</sup> With the completion of the intensive course at the end of 1973, Modern Greek was introduced into the State Secondary schools in 1974.<sup>33</sup>

Statistics for matriculation students in Modern Greek (Year 12) over the period 1976 to 1986 reveal initially a rapid rise in the number of students undertaking the study of Modern Greek. By the end of this period the numbers began to plateau.<sup>34</sup> The Senior Secondary Board of South Australia statistics for students who sat the Year 12 Matriculation Examination highlight the decline from 245 in 1987 to 95 in 1997. This is paralleled by the decline in Year 12 State School enrolments from 112 in 1992 to 52 in 1997. The number of State pri-

mary and secondary schools offering Modern Greek has also been reduced to parallel the declining enrolments.<sup>35</sup> Declining enrolments are also evident in the State Primary Schools where Modern Greek is part of a Language Other Than English (LOTE) program whereby students are exposed to a number of languages over the primary years without developing any in-depth understanding of any one language. Between 1992 and 1997, the number of students exposed to Modern Greek almost halved.<sup>36</sup> Exposure usually means one lesson per week, which is, at best, very superficial. Once the Primary School LOTE program finished in Year 7, a dramatic drop at the first year of Secondary schooling usually occurs. In 1993 there were 707 Year 7 students "studying" Modern Greek; in 1994 there were 225 Year 8 students studying Modern Greek. Declining enrolments are also evident in the Greek Ethnic Schools, the community or parish schools set up usually by the Greek Orthodox Churches with classes conducted outside the normal hours of the State and Private schools. In 1972 there were 3 001 students attending Greek Ethnic Primary Schools in South Australia. By 1987 the numbers had declined to just over 2 000 and the decline continued and barely exceeded 1 600 in 1998.<sup>38</sup> The only private day school fully supported by the Greek Archdiocese of Australia, the College of Saint George, has been developing successfully and it provides an environment within which Modern Greek has become an integral part of the School's educational philosophy. It has only recently grown beyond the junior secondary school level but the prognosis for the school's success seems good. However, it does not meet the needs of the majority of Greek Orthodox children.<sup>39</sup>

The rather grim picture of Modern Greek education at primary and secondary education has been replicated at the tertiary level. Modern Greek at the College of Advanced Education level was already in a state of serious decline by the early to mid-1980s. This was brought about by a number of factors including the effective exclusion of University students from the program because this course work was not recognised by the Universities for the purposes of accreditation and because the College insisted on being funded for teaching these students even if they undertook these studies as extras beyond the

needs of their first degree. Of even greater concern was the reduction of teaching positions for the College graduates as the number of schools offering Modern Greek began to decline. By the time of the amalgamation of the Colleges of Advanced Education with the Universities in the early 1990s, the teaching of Modern Greek had virtually ceased. No new enrolments were accepted into these courses.

A similar fate was to befall the College of Advanced Education's "Interpreting and Translating" course that had provided another avenue for the maintenance and promotion of Modern Greek. The Migrant Task Force set up by A.J. Grassby, the Minister for Immigration in the Gough Whitlam Federal Australian Labor Party Government of the early 1970s, recognised the need to provide interpreting and translating services for the great number of migrants who had little understanding of English. Greek people were identified as one of the key groups needing such assistance.<sup>40</sup> The Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ), seeking to promote professionalism in the training of Interpreters and Translators, acknowledged the tertiary level program proposed by the Adelaide College of Advanced Education (formerly the Adelaide Teachers College).<sup>41</sup> The College had commissioned Mr. N Ganzis to conduct a survey of interpreting and translating needs in South Australia and, on the basis of this survey, a submission was made for the introduction of courses.<sup>42</sup> Powerful lobbying of State and Federal politicians by welfare and educational organisations, as well as a very public campaign of radio and television interviews and strong press reports, led to the establishment of short-term courses at the Technical and Further Education level in 1976.<sup>43</sup> In 1978 the Associate Diploma in Interpreting/Translating in Modern Greek and Italian began, following more intensive lobbying at the political level and within the tertiary education hierarchy. In practical terms, this achievement meant that there were employment opportunities using Modern Greek in addition to those of teaching. By the late 1980s, however, it was clear that many institutions in the broader Australian community were not prepared to avail themselves of the services of trained Interpreters or Translators and, especially, if this meant having to pay for such ser-

vices. At the time of the amalgamation of the tertiary institutions in the early 1990s, the decision had been taken not to enroll any more students into "interpreting and translating" courses which were discontinued.

The virtual exclusion of University students from the Modern Greek tertiary courses and /or the non-accreditation referred to above led the Modern Greek Languages Teachers' Association to propose in June 1980, the introduction of Modern Greek into one of the universities. Following a meeting of interested parties, a committee was set up with the purpose of setting up courses of Modern Greek at one of South Australia's two universities. The Secretary of the Committee for the Introduction of Modern Greek to a University in South Australia (Committee), Mr. N. Ganzis, was requested to prepare a submission in support of the proposal. The basis of the proposal was three fold: that a population base large enough to support a university program existed in South Australia; that the educational infrastructure in South Australia for providing matriculants in modern Greek was indeed producing the numbers needed to make a program viable and that matriculants were interested in undertaking such studies and, finally, that the study of modern Greek was academically acceptable. There was little difficulty in assembling the necessary statistics concerning the population base or the numbers of students studying modern Greek at all three levels of education. Evidence was assembled to indicate that a considerable body of internationally recognised literature in modern Greek existed and that courses on this body of literature and modern Greek Language were taught in the most prestigious non-Greek universities of the world, including Princeton and Harvard in the United States, McGill in Canada, Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham in the United Kingdom as well as many universities in Continental Europe. Moreover, Modern Greek was being taught at the universities of New England, Sydney and Melbourne in Australia.<sup>44</sup>

The Committee had the full backing of the Greek communities of South Australia in approaching both Adelaide and Flinders Universities to ascertain the level of interest in introducing such a pro-



gram.<sup>45</sup> At that time the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Committee (CTEC) and the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs had requested submissions for the introduction of Community languages to Universities.<sup>46</sup> The Committee secured the support of the Tonkin Liberal State Government for its submission for the funds on offer.<sup>47</sup> This initiative was also supported by the Tertiary Education Authority of South Australia (TEASA) and the Principal of the recently established South Australian College of Advanced Education (SACAE) formed by the amalgamation of all the Colleges of Advanced Education in this State. Indeed, the Principal, Dr. G. Ramsey, suggested that close cooperation between the College of Advanced Education sector and the Universities should occur in this area.<sup>48</sup>

The University of Adelaide was as negative as it had been in the early 1970s and queried the viability of such a discipline.<sup>49</sup> Flinders University, however, was definitely interested and it prepared a submission for part of the funds set aside for the promotion of community languages.<sup>50</sup> Once the Greek Government became aware of the submission, it indicated its support with an offer of \$US 3,000 for the Chair provided the submission be successful.<sup>51</sup>

The bid for this funding failed but the Greek communities were not informed until January 1982, even though there had been a press release in Canberra before Christmas 1981. The Greek communities took this as a slight. It was widely believed that the allocation of the funds for the expansion of modern Greek teaching in Melbourne smacked too much of political pork barrelling. Despite its disappointment, the Committee indicated its intention of continuing its efforts to introduce modern Greek to a University in South Australia.<sup>52</sup>

The SACAE then dealt another blow to tertiary Modern Greek when it announced that as it would not be funded by the Federal Government for single unit enrolments, it had no option but to restrict the number of such students. In practice this meant restricting the number of university students who would be allowed to enroll in Modern Greek in the College.<sup>53</sup>

The leaders of the Greek communities made their position quite clear. They did not have the financial resources to pay for the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek at Flinders University. The community representatives did, however, support the Committee's proposal to approach the Australian Labor Party (ALP) Opposition at both State and Federal levels to determine ALP policy on issues related to the maintenance of Modern Greek.<sup>54</sup>

The South Australian ALP declared its support for modern Greek at University level.<sup>55</sup> The Federal ALP had endorsed, as part of its national platform, its strong support for the teaching of ethnic languages.<sup>56</sup> The Committee, however, sought a very specific commitment from the Federal ALP. To demonstrate the extent of Community support for the project, the Committee conducted a petition that had the support of the local Greek newspaper and Senator Nick Bolkus. The 4 000 signatures in support of the petition for the introduction of Modern Greek, gathered in a matter of weeks so as to convince the ALP to make a formal commitment well before the upcoming Federal elections, gave impetus to Senator Bolkus's efforts to get a specific commitment from J. Dawkins, the Federal ALP spokesperson for Education.<sup>57</sup> The petition, together with the support of Mick Young, Member for the House of Representatives for Port Adelaide, enabled Senator Bolkus to convince the Federal ALP to give formal backing to the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek at Flinders University. The announcement was made in Adelaide on the 29th October 1982.<sup>58</sup>

The victory of the Federal ALP in the elections did not bring about the immediate realisation of the promise. Indeed, considerable pressure had to be exerted on the Minister for Education, Senator Susan Ryan, who was embroiled in a conflict with the bureaucracy of the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Authority (CTEC) as to the source of the funding for the new Chair. The ALP wanted the funds to come from within the existing triennial budget that had already been determined, while the CTEC wanted extra funding to cover the costs of the Chair for the triennium 1985-1987.<sup>59</sup> Eventually, on the 16th of August 1985, Senator Ryan and Special Minister of State,

Mick Young, announced that the ALP Government would provide earmarked funds for the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek at Flinders University.<sup>60</sup> The Federal ALP Hawke Government would provide \$250 000, the South Australian ALP Bannon Government would provide \$50 000 and the Greek communities of South Australia would provide \$40 000 for Library resources. Unfortunately, the Greek communities had raised only \$13 000 by February 1986, \$5 000 of which had come from the Greek Community of South Australia Incorporated. Mr. C. Karabetsis, the Consul General of the Hellenic Republic, saved the situation. He persuaded the Greek Government to provide the remaining \$27 000 to make up the Greek communities' obligation.<sup>61</sup> Even so, it was difficult to find a suitable candidate to fill the Chair and Prof. D. Dimiroulis was appointed in mid-1988.

The courses began in 1989 and there was an initial burst of enthusiasm and a reasonably high level of enrolments. Unfortunately, the enrolments declined in the negative climate of the early 1990s and the Department of Modern Greek was compelled to shed much of its staff. When Prof. Dimiroulis resigned to take up a position at the Panteion University in Athens, the Chair was abolished. At present, there are only two full-time staff who are struggling with the assistance of part-time ancillary staff and some tutoring staff. Indeed, so precarious had the situation become that in 1997 the Greek State had to rescue the Greek Department at Flinders University with financial assistance. This, together with subtle political lobbying from sections of the Greek communities' have ensured the bare survival of the University courses in Modern Greek at Flinders University.<sup>62</sup>

Despite any deficiencies in the provision of education facilities for the teaching of Modern Greek language and culture, the fact remains that the Greek communities have had at their disposal, for over twenty years, a fully-fledged system of Modern Greek education from the Primary School level in State and community schools, to the secondary level in State and Community schools and finally to the Tertiary level at Technical and Further Education level, at College of Advanced Education level and at University level. In addition, there

exists the Greek Orthodox College of St. George. The provision of all these educational services and facilities has not been able to stem the decline in enrolments in the study of Modern Greek. The provision of educational services in modern Greek, considered essential by many for the preservation and advancement of Hellenism in South Australia, has not proved sufficient to stem the tide of what many see as the inexorable process of assimilation into the broader Australian community. The provision of the opportunity to learn Modern Greek language and culture may well be necessary for the survival of Hellenism, but in itself is insufficient. The Greek language may well be the bearer of our religion, history, culture and traditions. In Greek lands it is also the daily means of communication for all social, political and economic activities. To know Greek in Australia may well keep people in touch with their culture and the traditional form of their faith, but it is not needed for an increasing number of social and economic purposes. As heretical as it may sound, the Greek language is not, for most, essential for maintaining their Orthodox faith.

The reasons for this state of affairs are many and varied. The initial impetus for the promotion of Modern Greek language and culture came from the post World War II migrants who did indeed have a stronger sense of belonging to a community than exists today. They came largely from a similar socio-economic background and, finding themselves in a strange and what seemed to them a hostile environment, they sought to remain close to each other both geographically and socially.<sup>63</sup> For most, home was Greece or Cyprus; not Australia. They had a natural desire to perpetuate what they saw as being of paramount importance: their language, their culture, their customs and traditions and their religion. However, after thirty or more years of settlement in South Australia, they have aged considerably, and they have neither the drive nor inclination, in many instances, to change their way of life as they developed it in Australia.<sup>64</sup> This way of life no longer closely parallels that in Greece, as it once did. This way of life is also alien for many of their children, not only because of a generation gap, but also because their children have been educated to a higher level than their parents and, more significantly, in an alien

language and culture. Moreover, the level of socio-economic differentiation, not so evident in the early years following migration, has now become more pronounced as has the dispersal of the members of the community over a wider socio-economic geographic area. The growing numbers of mixed marriages makes the maintenance of the Greek language more problematic.

While the second and third generations remain attached to their parents, they do not necessarily remain attached in a significant manner to all the values of their parents and grandparents. Many of the migrants' children are, more or less, able to communicate in Greek, but the preferred language of communication for most seems to be English. Once the first generation departs, will there be any pressure to have the children learn Greek? The increasing rate of mixed marriages only accentuates this tendency.

The number of Greek Orthodox children in this State has not shown any sign of increasing over the years. The children of the migrants have adopted the general Australian trend for families to have fewer children. Consequently, to rely on children of Greek descent for the maintenance of programs in the education system at all levels is unrealistic in the medium to long term.<sup>65</sup>

The fact that the second generation now outnumbers the first generation is an indication that the Greek communities, associations and brotherhoods in South Australia are at the crossroads. Serious consideration will have to be given to handing over the reins to the second generation if these organisations are going to renew themselves. Other ways of using existing resources and building on them may need to be found if Hellenism is to survive. The existing fragmentation of the Greek communities into a whole host of parochial and regional sub-groups tends to dissipate valuable resources that might be used more effectively in meeting the social needs of the community.

Divisions between the two major organisations of Hellenism in South Australia, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Australia and the

Greek Orthodox Community of South Australia Incorporated, that have been perpetuated since 1959 have only served to disenchant and alienate many of the second and third generation. The apparently unbridgeable differences at this level and the socio-regional fragmentation mentioned above have undermined any genuine sense of community on a broader scale.

A strong sense of Community is essential for the survival and growth of Hellenism and this demands a strong sense of shared values and experiences. Much thought will have to be devoted to this issue of community and, without doubt, Greek Orthodoxy will constitute a central element. However, the Church needs to give further consideration to broadening its social role in conjunction with community organisations as part of the process of maintaining and developing a sense of social cohesion. The College of St. George is indicative of the kind of initiatives needed. Greek leaders and institutions must find ways of providing for common and shared experiences based upon a common set of values to ensure the perpetuation of a sense of Hellenism.

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18. N. Ganzis, "Greeks and Education: a Progress Report". Unpublished document prepared for the Education Sub-Committee of the Adelaide Greek University Association. 4th October 1971, p.3.
19. **Panhellenic Keryx**, 14 August 1972. G. Tsamantanis
20. Minutes of the Faculty of Arts, University of Adelaide, 9 and 10 May 1972.
21. Minutes of the Education Committee, Proposed Teaching of Modern Greek, 24 May 1972, p.1.
22. *Ibid.* It was even suggested that if the government wanted teachers of Modern Greek it would be more economical to get them from graduates in Modern Greek at Sydney University where Modern Greek had just been introduced. This suggestion ignored the obvious fact that New South Wales would for some considerable time need all



of Sydney's graduates in Modern Greek for the community schools of that State. The University of Adelaide did not appear to be very responsive to the needs of a significant section of South Australia's population.

23. Minutes of the Meeting of the Faculty of Arts, Wednesday 21 June 1972, p.3. 'The Faculty resolved to agree to the development of teaching in Modern Greek on the understanding that this was adequately funded to provide a Chair and lectureship together with ancillary and special library and language laboratory services and accommodation, and it was recognised as being extra to the submission made by the University, and without prejudice to them or to existing activities either during the 1973-1975 triennium or later. The University was asking for indefinite special funding, a proposal that any State Government could not possibly accept.

24. N. Ganzis, *op. cit.*, pp.1-3.

25. *Ibid.* p. 7.

26. *Ibid.* p. 13-17.

27. Mr. A.E. Wood to N. Ganzis, 6th October 1971. Mr. Wood provided a list of Primary Schools whose student population contained 10% or more "Greek" children.

28. D.F. Morris, Head of the Public Examinations Board, to N. Ganzis 25th May 1972.

29. N. Ganzis to K. Barter, Director of Secondary Education 20th November 1972. W. Forbes, Acting Director of Secondary Education, to N. Ganzis 21st November 1972. J.H. Pash, Inspector of Languages, to N. Ganzis.

30. K.R. Gilding to J. Kiosoglous, Greek Archdiocese Representative; K.R. Gilding to N. Manos, President of the Greek Community of South Australia Inc. 15th November 1972. K.R. Gilding to J. Kiosoglous 21st February 1973 and J. Kiosoglous to K.R. Gilding 22nd February 1973.

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35. Statistics provided by the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia (SSABSA) and the Education Department of South Australia.

SSABSA Statistics	YEAR 12 Students	Education Department Statics
1987	245	
1988	200	
1989	205	
1990	213	
1991	183	
1992	155	116
1993	137	88
1994	120	97
1995	115	65
1996	82	52
1997	95	52

36. Statistics provided by the Department of Education and Children's Services.

Primary Students "Studying" Modern Greek: Reception to Year 7

1992	5 771
1993	5 811
1994	6 179
1995	6,381
1996	4 699
1997	3 783

Participation in South Australian State Secondary School Modern Greek Programmes

Full Year Courses	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Year 8	220	170	225	154	219	222
Year 9	180	136	199	133	144	137
Year 10	149	130	121	111	80	93
Year 11	84	111	n/a	42	37	36
Year 12	105	88	n/a	65	52	52

It should be noted that from 1998 onwards State Secondary schools have been implementing LOTE policy that requires junior secondary school students to undertake studies of a language other than English and that this has led to an increase of numbers in the lower secondary school that fall away rapidly. Some schools have chosen Modern Greek as one of the languages offered.

37. M.P. Tsounis, *Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia*. Australian Immigration Monograph Series No. 1, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1974, p.17.

38. Statistics provided by the Ethnic Schools Association of South Australia Inc. and its successor the Ethnic Schools Board of South Australia. The Ethnic Schools receive financial assistance from both the State and Federal Governments on a per capita basis along with some minor grants from time to time to meet particular needs.

## Greek Ethnic Schools Enrolment Statistics 1987-1998

Year Total* Authorities	Greek School	Schools		Pre-School	Primary	Secondary	Adults
1987	23	61	16	1 660	513	4	2 189
1988	25	65	33	1 588	518	24	2 139
1989	23	59	39	1 440	536	11	2 015
1990	23	60	68	1 342	426	10	1 836
1991	21	53	73	1 327	375	22	1 775
1992	22	54	74	1 394	316	27	1 784
1993	21	54	64	1 485	300	16	1 849
1994	21	56	80	1 511	290	5	1 881
1995	20	55	48	1 422	278	3	1 748
1996	20	55	40	1 458	289	37	1 787
1997	19	55	56	1 414	250	17	1 720
1998	18	45	43	1 312	250	5	1 605

\* Total does not include statistics for adults.

## 39. Statistics provided by St George's College, 1984-1998

Year	'84	'85	'86	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'94	'95	'96*	'97*	'98*
Rec.			16	16	20	21	24	25	26	25	26	49	77*	95*	102*
	17	14													
Yr.1			15	12	22	22	25	25	25	25	23	25	52	45	53
		15													
Yr.2	7			18	15	22	22	25	27	23	27	22	27	56	48
		18	17												
Yr.3	13			20	21	18	20	25	25	30	19	26	25	30	56
Yr.4		18	22	16	11	21	16	19	21	25	39	25	26	31	31
Yr.5				20	15	27	22	15	17	23	24	32	25	29	32
Yr.6				16	13		7	21	14	17	23	26	31	32	31
Yr.7					14	11	15	19	20	14	19	24	24	32	32
Yr.8														22	28
Yr.9															24
Tot.	37	65	70	98	131	142	151	164	175	182	200	229	257	3	51 417

\* For the years 1996, 1997 and 1998 the statistics for Reception include the pre-school enrolments.

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41. COPQ Interpreting training and the Establishing of Standards, February, 1974, p.15.
42. N. Ganzis, **Report on Projected Courses for Interpreters and Translators**, Adelaide College of Advanced Education, October 1974.
43. N. Ganzis, member of the steering committee for the promotion of interpreting and translating courses. Submission to the Australian Council of Awards in Advanced Education through the South Australian Board of Advanced Education on an Associate Diploma in Interpreting/Translating, July 1977, p.3. Appendix C.
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51. A.A. Camilos, Consul General to Vice-Chancellor Hancock, 14th September 1981.

52. N. Ganzis to K. Hancock, Vice-Chancellor Flinders 18th March 1982; N. Ganzis to W. Fife, Federal Minister for Education, 18th March 1982; N. Ganzis to Dr. D. Tonkin Premier of South Australia, 18th March 1982. In subsequent correspondence the Committee sought specific information concerning costs for the establishment of a Chair of Modern Greek.

53. K.R. Gilding, Chairman TEASA to N. Ganzis, 24th May 1982; ΊΥιò Èüöïïò, Monday, 7th June 1982.

54. Minutes of Meeting between Community representatives and the Committee, 27th April 1982.

55. N. Ganzis to L. Arnold, 18th June 1982; L.M.F. Arnold to N. Ganzis, 26th July 1982.

56. N. Ganzis to J. Dawkins, Opposition Spokesman for Education, 18th June 1982; J.S. Dawkins to N. Ganzis, Education Platform, p.5.

57. Minutes of Meeting held at West Adelaide (Hellas) Soccer Club Rooms, North Tce. Saturday, 21st August 1982.

58. Press Release, Friday 29th October 1982 at Theo's Restaurant, Hindley St., Adelaide.

59. Guidelines to the CTEC for the 1985-1987 Triennium Minister for Education and Youth Affairs, Senator the Honourable S. Ryan, 5th July 1984.

60. News Release; Minister for Education, 16 August 1984.

61. Most of the communities, associations and brotherhoods did not even bother replying to letters of request for assistance to meet the commitment for the establishment of the Chair of Modern Greek.

62. Statistics provided by the Department of Modern Greek at Flinders University show that enrolments have suffered over the past decade. The Equivalent Full-Time Student ratio shows that the Department can barely justify two full-time staff.

University Modern Greek-Enrolments as Equivalent Full-Time Student Units

YEAR	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
One	9 244	7 994	13 464	13 875	10.25	9.25
Two	10 317	7 318	6 806	7 969	[     ]	[     ]
					[10.621]	[12.453]
Three	9 157	3 494	3 992	3.16	[     ]	[     ]
Honours	1 75	1,5	1.25	1.75	0.5	4
Post Grads.	1 75	4	4	4.5	6.75	6
Total	32 218	24 306	29 512	31 254	28 124	31 713

These figures reveal a very heavy dependence on postgraduate students to maintain EFTSU figures, without a commensurately large undergraduate base. The overwhelming number of the students are of Greek origin and, until the appeal can be broadened, the situation will remain precarious.

63. G. Hugo, **Atlas of the Australian People: South Australia, 1986 Census**, Canberra, Bureau of Immigration Research, 1990. 2nd Edition. P.16, pp.135-136, p.139.

64. According to the 1996 Census more than 55% of the Greek-born and more the 42% of the Cypriot born are more than 55 years of age. Australian Bureau of Statistics, **1996 Census of Housing and Population Birthplace Profile Greece and Cyprus**. Table 4.

65. Australian Bureau of Statistics. 1991 Census of Population and Housing. Ethnic Community Profile. Religion Profile. Greek Orthodox. Table 4. The statistics for the 5 to 11 years of age group for

1991 and projections to 1996 (largely borne out by the 1996 Census) are as follows:

1991	2 795
1992	2 828
1993	2 881
1994	2 928
1995	3 019
1996	3 031

While these figures reveal a slow increase, they are being more than counterbalanced by a rapidly increasing rate of mortality among the elderly migrants.