## ETUDES HELLENIQUES

## **HELLENIC STUDIES**

# LA NOUVELLE IMMIGRATION GRECQUE THE NEW WAVE OF GREEK MIGRATION

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## The Greek Immigration to the United States: Yesterday and Today

Aris Michopoulos\*

#### **RÉSUMÉ**

Cet article traite la question de l'immigration grecque aux Etats-Unis du 16ème siècle à nos jours, en se concentrant sur les périodes allant de 1900 à 1924 et de 1965 à aujourd'hui. Les années 1924 et 1965 sont des dates charnières, vu qu'en 1924 l'immigration a été considérablement limitée, alors qu'en 1965 elle a été libéralisée et est devenue plus ouverte. Lors de la deuxième vague d'immigration importante (1965-1980) environ 150.000 Grecs se sont installés aux Etats-Unis. Il y a par la suite une baisse marquée de cette immigration après 1980, qui continue à ce jour. L'article examine et juxtapose le niveau de vie et les réalisations des premiers immigrants à la situation de ceux arrivés après 1965. Enfin cette étude examine l'immigration au cours des treize dernières années et en particulier la période après la crise de 2009 en Grèce. Paradoxalement, on ne constate aucun changement significatif. L'auteur explore diverses voies pour expliquer ce constat. Il s'agit notamment de l'adhésion pleine et entière de la Grèce à l'Union européenne, la variation de son niveau de vie après 1980, la croissance inexistante de sa population ces derniers temps, et enfin la possibilité d'une "immigration masquée" qui prend la forme de «touristes», d'étudiants et de scientifiques.

#### ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the topic of Greek Immigration to the United States from the 16th century to today. Its focus, however, is the 1900-1924 and the 1965-today period. Both 1924 and 1965 are two landmarks, since the first one drastically limited immigration, while 1965 opened it up. The second major immigration wave (1965-1980) brought about 150,000 Greeks to America. There is a marked drop in immigration after 1980, continuing to this day. The paper also examines and juxtaposes the living standards and achievements of the early immigrants to those after 1965. Finally, the paper examined the immigration during the last thirteen years and especially the period after the crisis (2010) in Greece. Paradoxically, it found no significant change. The paper explored various avenues to explain this finding. These include: the full membership of Greece into the EEC, the change in its living standards after 1980, its non-existent population growth lately, and finally the possibility of a "masked immigration" that takes the form of "tourists", students and scientists.

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#### 1. Introduction

This paper deals with the topic of Greek immigration from the time when the United States was a British colony to today. Its focus, however, is the period of 1900-1924 and then the period 1965-2000. The paper then turns to the examination of the new millennium immigration, i.e. the last thirteen years. The first period, which also discusses the sporadic immigration of the last thirty years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in essence deals with the mass migration of 1900-1924, which ends with the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924. While immigration to the States was free during the first seventeen years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, conditions started changing due to internal pressures from the labor unions and thus the first restrictive immigration law was passed in 1917, followed by another one in 1921. Finally the toughest anti-immigration Law was passed in 1924 that was discriminating against South and South-Eastern European countries. From an annual rate of more than 10,000 from 1900-1920, the new law allowed only 100 Greek immigrants per year. Thus only a few thousand Greeks were able to immigrate under various categories from 1924-1965.

The year 1965 was another landmark in the US immigration policy, since the Immigration Law changed again and allowed for a more equitable and better immigration flow. Unlike the Johnson Reed Act of 1924, the new law was fair to all countries and most of them took advantage of it. As a result, we witness a resurgence of Greek Immigration during the 1965-1980-period, when some 150,000 Greeks came to the USA. This new wave of immigrants slowed down during the following decades as data show. Thus for the decade of 1980-89 the number was 37,729, for the next decade, 1990-1999, it went down to 25,403 and for the first decade of the new millennium (2000-2009) it was only 16,841 (2012: Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2, p. 1)

The reader might wonder about this continuous slow-down of this new immigration wave. There are many explanations for that. First, the 1965-1980 period was a difficult period for Greece and there was also a pent-up demand for immigration from the previous decades. The country was still poor and had a growing population that was looking for the "Promised Land." America was an excellent solution to this problem, especially for those Greeks who had relatives there and were willing and able to invite them. The significant slow-down for the period after 1980 can be explained with the new situation of Greece within the European Economic Community (EEC), which was later

transformed into the European Union (EU). By becoming a full member of the EEC in 1981, Greece had some new advantages. One of them was the free flow of people, goods and services among member countries. Thus the freedom of the Greeks to move freely within the EEC to get a job, especially in Germany, than to go to faraway places, like America and Australia, was a great incentive. Additionally, the flow of significant funds from the EEC for the development of Greece had the beneficial effect of increasing wages and prosperity and decreasing unemployment in Greece. Thus for the first time in many decades the Greek people were satisfied with their earnings and the economy and they did not feel the need to immigrate to other countries. As a result, only a few of them would attempt to leave the country and in such cases they would mostly choose the EU countries, because of their proximity and the lack of any entrance barriers, such as visas, etc. The few thousands that would choose to go to America had either an invitation from relatives in the States or were students or temporary workers, who decided to stay in the country permanently after their studies or their temporary work assignment.

Finally, the seemingly low immigration numbers today, despite the recent financial crisis in Greece, might have an additional explanation. This explanation may be found in the possibility that a good number of new "immigrants" have come to the US using their green cards or American passports, but are not recorded. These people, who were living in Greece but returned to America because of the crisis, do not show up in the Immigration Statistics, since they are already American citizens or permanent residents. Finally, another possibility of "invisible immigrants" might be found in the rather significant number of Greeks that come to America as tourists. This number has been steadily increasing over the past ten years and in 2011 it was 84,380, while in 2003 it was 51,813 (2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 26, p. 68). The same could be also said about the Greek students, an average of 5,000 per year, who come to study in the US, as well as about the Nonimmigrant Temporary Worker Admissions (I-94 visas only), which were 2,748 and 2,882 for the years 2011 and 2012, respectively. If a 15%-20% of the above categories would choose to stay in the US illegally, then the picture changes drastically.

Considering the data from the above categories one could conclude that we will have a much clearer picture towards the end of this decade, when many

of these people will have a Green card or citizenship and their number will show up in the US Immigration Service data. Still those numbers in no way are going to come close to those of Germany or even Canada and Australia, which have a somewhat freer immigration policy.

### 1.1. The First Greeks in America and the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924

The Greek Immigration to the United States has a history of close to five hundred years, if we take into consideration that the first Greek who set foot on today's U.S. soil was Theodoros the Greek or Theodoro el Griego, in Spanish. Theodoro el Griego was an important member of the Spanish exploration mission under Admiral Panfilo de Narvaez, which departed from the San Lucar de Baraneda port, of Spain on June 17, 1527, and reached Florida months later. Theodoro provided critical support to the Spanish mission by repairing its ships after a terrible storm in the area of today's Tampa Bay, in September of 1528. Unfortunately Theodoro's participation in this exploration came to a quick and tragic end, when he left his ship along with other Spaniards to find provisions for the crew, but never came back (Papaioannou 1985: 25-26). Nobody was able to find out what happened to them, after they followed the local Indians, who promised to assist them in getting food and water. The next important Greek explorer in North America was Apostolos Valerianos Fokas or Juan de Fuca, in Spanish. He was from the island of Cephalonia and in the service of the king of Spain. In 1592 Focas discovered and very carefully mapped the straits that today separate Washington State from the island of Vancouver in the USA-Canada borders and are known as Juan de Fuca Straits. (From the Life of the Greeks in America, Rethymno, University of Crete, EDIAMME, 2008: 151). Still, for some writers, such as Spiro Kateras, Seraphim Canoutas, Demetrios Sicilianos (Papaioannou, 1985: 24-25) and lately Alexander Langkadas, the first Greek that set foot in the New World was none else than Christopher Columbus, who was born on the island of Chios and was a citizen of Genoa, which at that time had under its sovereignty Chios and other islands in the Aegean.

The first organized Greek immigration into the New World took place in 1768 in Florida with the creation of the New Smyrna colony, at a time when the USA did not exist as country. The organizer of the New Smyrna colony

was Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish doctor, whose wife was from a Greek family in London, but with roots from Smyrna, in Asia Minor; hence the name of the colony "New Smyrna". The colony was comprised of close to 1500 immigrants - of which more than 500 were Greeks (Panagopoulos 1978:52) - coming from the area of the Peloponnese and the Aegean Islands and several other countries of South Europe, mainly Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal. The history of this colony was short and a tragic one. A combination of bad climate and living conditions, along with an equally harsh treatment of the colonists by their bosses, led first to a small mutiny and later on, 1777, to the final dissolution of the colony (Panagopoulos 1978: 129-152). Most of its surviving members moved to the nearby city of Saint Augustine (Panagopoulos 1985: 31-35). Among those first colonists was Ioannis (John) Giannopoulos, who along with his main work, also undertook the task of teaching the Greek language to the children of the Greek immigrants. Thus today the house/school, where Giannopoulos was teaching is still standing and bears the title "The Oldest Wooden School in America", while he is celebrated as the first Greek teacher in the USA (Panagopoulos 1978:181-83).

Despite the sporadic immigration of a few Greeks to various States, such as the immigration of Andrea Dimitry and Marianne Celeste Dracos, who got married in New Orleans in 1799 or of John Paradise, who got married to Lucy Ludwell from Virginia in 1787 (Moskos 1990: 5) or of the first Greek, Michael Uri, who became an American citizen in 1725 in the State of Maryland (Papaioannou 1985:28-29), the immigration to the USA, was not substantial. We should not forget that an intercontinental immigration at that time, when travel was expensive, the distances extremely long, and the means of communication almost non-existent, was a tremendous undertaking. Thus the very few Greek immigrants of the 19th century - amounting to 375 for the period 1820-1879, and 209 for the decade of 1870-1879, 1,807 for the decade 1880-89 and 12,732 for the decade of 1890-99 (2011Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2, p. 6) - that met this challenge were primarily merchants, like Nicholas Benakis in New Orleans, sailors who transported various goods with their ships across the Atlantic coast as wells as inland through the Mississippi and other rivers, and a few more immigrants towards the end of the century, especially in the big cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago.

To the above small numbers, we should also add an equally small but

significant number of young immigrants in the beginning of the 19th century. These immigrants were orphans, whose parents were killed during the Greek Revolution of 1821. These children were adopted by American Philhellenes, who were either in Greece fighting alongside the Greek Rebels or in the USA and wanted to help the Greek Revolution. Some very impressive Greek American personalities emerged from this small group, such as Lucas Miltiades Miller, the first Greek American state and federal Congressman and John Zachos (1820-1898), a multi-talented young man, who studied many sciences, wrote an Ode for the liberation of the blacks during the Civil War (1861-1865) and ended his career as theology professor at the Cooper Union in New York. Another orphan, George M. Colvocoressis, was the first Greek-American, to become captain of an American warship and was the Commander of the famous "Saratoga" during the American Civil War. Other famous orphans were also the brothers Konstantinos and Pantias Rallis, who after their studies at Amherst College and Yale University created a commercial "empire" with headquarters in London and operating in India, the USA, and other countries, and finally Christodoulos Evangelides, who established an American-style boarding school on his island of Syros, and others (Papaioannou 1985: 39-47).

Thanks to the efforts of Nicholas Benakis and other pioneers the first Greek Church, the Holy Trinity (1865), was established in New Orleans, with members from other Orthodox Churches, such as Russians, etc. During the same period another three famous Greeks came to the USA. First among them was Evangelinos Apostolides Sophocles (1820-1883), the first Greek professor at Harvard University (1842), the painter Constantino Broumidi (1805-1880), who painted the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., and Michael Anagnostopoulos or Anagnos (1837-1906), who married Julia Romana, daughter of the famous American Philhellene Samuel Gridley Howe. Anagnos succeeded Howe as director of the world renowned Perkins Institution for the Blind in Boston and one of his famous students was the writer Helen Keller (Moskos, 1990: 6-7).

As mentioned earlier, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century one witnesses a stronger immigration flow whose main cause is to be found in the economic difficulties that Greece faced at that time, but also in the entrepreneurial spirit and activities exhibited by two pioneers from the area of Laconia. The first

one was Christos Tsakonas, also known as the Columbus of Sparta, and the second Eleutherios Pelalas from the area of Vresthaina in Laconia. Pelalas came to New York in 1868 and Tsakonas to Chicago in 1873. Tsakonas returned to his village near Sparta in 1873 and convinced many of his compatriots to immigrate to the "land of many opportunities". Thus within ten years Tsakonas succeeded to bring to Chicago around one thousand of his compatriots.

This immigration wave, which was the largest after the New Smyrna colony, became front-page news in the Greek press of that time and caused serious concern on both sides of the Atlantic. Greece was concerned about the large numbers of immigrants, while the USA about the excessive number of immigrants and especially those from the South European countries that were considered to be less developed. Both countries funded scientific research to examine the causes and consequences of immigration on the economy and other areas. Thus the Greek research conducted by professor Andreadis of the University of Athens (1917), concluded that immigration had negative results for Greece, especially in the social and defense areas, while the American one, known as the Fairchild Study (1911), came to the conclusion that the main causes of Greek immigration were economic ones and were destined to have negative social and other consequences for the USA, if no immigration control was imposed (Papaioannou 1985:47-52). As a result of this study and the fact that the number of immigrants from Europe and especially Southern Europe was considered excessive, there were several debates in the American Congress. These debates led to the imposition of some light immigration measures in 1917 and 1921 and more severe ones in 1924 with the enactment of the Reed-Johnson Act. While immigration was free until 1917, provided the immigrants were healthy, that position changed to the negative in 1921 and in 1924 the "open door" policy ended for good. Thus while the number of Greek immigrants for the decade of 1900-1910 was 167,514 and the decade of 1910-1920 was 184,201, this number was now reduced to 100 per year! (Papaioannou 1985: 50; Moskos 1990: 32). For a better understanding of this new situation see Table 1, which shows both the tremendous immigration wave during the first decades of the 20th century, as well as the results of the Reed-Johnson Act of 1924.

Table 1

Decade	Number of Immigrants
1881-1890	2,308
1891-1900	15,979
1901-1910	167,514
1911-1920	184,201
1921-1930	51,084
1931-1940	9,119
1941-1950	8,973
1951-1960	47,603
1961-1970	85,969
1971-1980	102,000

Source: Papaioannou, 1985: 50

This law was in force for over forty years (1924-1965). During this forty-year period the only way for someone to immigrate to the USA was to have relatives that would invite him/her there or if s/he would marry an American citizen or finally, if s/he was a refugee or a victim of the Civil War in Greece (1946-1949). Another favorite way of staying in America for sailors and others was to visit the country as a crew member and then "miss the boat". Adding up all the above categories of legal and illegal immigration, mainly of sailors, we come up with the number of about 70,000-80,000 people for the period 1921-1950. Moreover, these figures are as follows for the decades 1931-1940, 1941-1950 and 1951-1960 respectively, 9,119, 8,973 and 47,603, as appears in Table 1. These data are in broad agreement with similar data presented by Charles Moskos, who writes that the total of Greek immigrants from the end of World War II to 1965 was around 70,000 (Moskos 1990:53).

#### 2. The New Immigration Law of 1965

As previously mentioned, the 1924 Immigration Law was replaced by a new one in 1965. This new law did not use quotas based on how developed or

underdeveloped the country of origin was, but used a simple and "equal" treatment for all the countries. More specifically, the law provided for an annual immigration of 170,000 people from the eastern hemisphere and another 120,000 from the western hemisphere (Moskos 1990: 54). It also provided that each country was allowed a maximum of 20,000 immigrants per year. Countries with a larger number of candidates would transfer the last applications to the next year. This new law was slightly favoring countries with small populations that in many instances were poorer and needed the immigration. In addition to this number of legal immigration, there was still in force the old provision of "family reunion", as mentioned earlier, as well as the cases of marriage of an American citizen to a citizen of another country (of a Greek citizen, in our case). A new category was also added, i.e. Category C, which included people "with extraordinary ability/achievement" and later on another category for refugees and people seeking political asylum. The addition of all the above possibilities allows for a significant number of citizens from a small country to take advantage of the provisions of the new law.

The case of Greece offers us a good example of how this new law applies to a relatively small developing country. In 1965 Greece was a rather poor but rapidly developing country. The salaries were rather low and there was high unemployment. The USA on the other hand was a far more developed country with high salaries and a relative ease of finding a job. As the decades passed and the economic gap in incomes decreased, one also notices a decrease in immigration applications. More specifically, while for the decades of 1960-1970 and 1971-1980 the Greek immigration to the USA was 85,969 and 102,000 respectively (Papaioannou 1985: 50), that rate decreased to 37,729 for the following decade (1980-1989) and even lower, i.e. to 25,403, for the decade of 1990-1999. In other words, from an average of 9,350 per annum for the twenty year period of 1960-80, the rate fell down to 2,500 for the decade 1990-1999. This is a great reduction over the previous period. Finally during the first decade of the 21st century (2000-2009) this number fell even further to 16,841, or 1,680 per annum.

What, then, were the reasons for this significant decrease? The most important reasons were again economics and politics. In 1981 Greece became a full member of the European Economic Community (EEC) with many financial and other benefits. One of those benefits was the free movement to

other countries of the EEC, precursor of today's European Union (EU), along with the wages and other benefits offered by these developed countries, which were comparable to those of the USA. For example, there was not a big difference in salaries and benefits between a German and American worker after the 1980s. Even the economic growth rate between the EU countries and especially Germany was comparable to that of the USA. A Greek worker, therefore, did not have any strong incentives to immigrate, after 1981, to the USA or another country outside the EU, especially at a time when even the Greek economy was doing well. Moreover, anyone who faced economic problems would prefer to solve them by immigrating to another EU country, especially Germany, than to look for an "adventure" overseas - be that the USA, Canada or Australia. Last but not least, one should not overlook the fact that a substantial number of the post-1965 immigrants, came under the category of "family reunion". This substantial immigration of close to 200,000 (85,969 +102,000, see Table 1 above) that took care of most of these "family reunion" cases, might partially explain its rather sharp drop after 1990.

#### 3. Profile of the Immigrants "Yesterday and Today"

#### 3.1. Characteristics of the "Pioneers"

Many books have been written about the life of the early Greek immigrants in the USA. Most of them revolve around the history, life, travails and the "Days and Works" of the "Pioneers." Saloutos, Malafouris, Moskos, Zotos, Burgess and many others provide a vivid picture of their life and chief characteristics. The Pioneers were chiefly young men, many times below twenty, and were coming from large, poor families. A great percentage of them were originating from the mountainous areas of the Peloponnese, i.e. Arcadia, Laconia, etc., which were the backbone of Greece, before the Balkan Wars. As Moskos states, four out of seven Greek Americans claim a Peloponnesian origin (Moskos 1990: 33). After the Balkan Wars and the doubling of Greece, one observes immigration from other parts of the country as well.

The majority of immigrants were going to America for economic reasons and many times to provide for the dowry of sisters in Greece. Their educational level was quite low - most had only a primary education - especially

when compared to that of the Americans. As a result, the employment they would find in America was that of unskilled workers and many times would require manual labor. So a good number of them in the beginning would work laying railroad tracks or in mines and construction. Many of them, however, would soon jump into the area of small business and especially the restaurant business, creating thousands of restaurants all over America and especially in the big cities, like New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Lowell, etc. Thus in a short time the pioneers who were miners and construction workers, became small business owners in various areas. In some exceptional circumstances, such as the one of Alexander Pantages and the Skouras brothers, the "Greek genius" performed miracles, since primary school graduates, such as Pantages, and High School graduates, as most of the Skouras brothers, became within a few decades extremely wealthy by American and world standards, either through the "Pantages Theaters" company during the decade of 1920s or the 20th Century Fox of the Skouras brothers in the 1940s and beyond (Moskos 1990: 45).

The work ethic, entrepreneurship and daring of the pioneers were inculcated to their children. Under the full support of their parents, the children of the pioneers left an indelible mark in the US Educational System. For the first time in the history of American education the children of immigrants had a higher achievement than the children of "Native White Americans". Especially the study of Bernard C. Rosen (1959) showed that the Greek Americans had "the highest achievement motivation compared to white Protestant Americans and a sample of other ethnic groups in America" (Moskos 1990: 111). This special achievement was confirmed by the results of the 1960 and 1970 US Census, which showed that the second-generation Greek Americans had the highest level of educational attainment among twenty four second-generation nationality groups and trailed only the Jews as far as income was concerned (Moskos 1990: 111). These results on Greek American educational attainment are clearly depicted in Table 2, presented by Moskos (Table 5-1, p. 112) in his statistical analysis of the 1970 Census data.

**Table 2:** "Fathers And Sons" - Educational Levels of Native American Whites, Greek Immigrants, and Second-Generation Greek Americans, 1970

Educational Level	Native White Males (45 years and older)	Native White Males (25-44 years old)	Male Greek Immigrants (45 years and older)	Male Second- Generation Greek Americans (25-44 years old)
8 Years of Less	33.6	13.4	65.8	5.1
Some High School	21.9	17.4	11.1	13.1
High School Graduate	26.9	36.5	14.6	31.1
Some College College	8.3	13.9	3.7	19.0
Graduate	9.3	18.8	4.8	31.7
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population: 1970. Subject Reports: Educational Attainment, Final Report PC(2)-5B, pp. 3-6; National Origin and Language, Final Report PC(2)-1A, p. 115.

The reader will realize from Table 2 that while 65.8% of the Greek American parents had eight or fewer years of education compared to the 33.6% of the other White American citizens, their children had a much higher educational level that the rest of the White American children. More specifically, while 31.7% of the Greek American children had a college degree, only 9.3% of the American children had such a degree (Moskos, 1990: 111-112). As expected, the very high level of education of the pioneers' children changed the entire picture of the Greek American society after 1940 and especially after 1950. The areas that would draw the attention of these children were medicine, law, education, the sciences and only secondarily the traditional sectors of restaurants, hotels, real estate and business.

Despite the educational difference between parents and children the Greek American family remained strong, united and intact. The divorces during this period were very rare and frowned upon, despite the fact that there was often a big age difference between the two parents. Usually the pioneers were working for many years to support their families in Greece, before they would decide to have their own family in the USA. Thus when they would decide to get married many of them would be close to forty years old, while their spouses were usually below thirty. The well-known motion picture "The Brides" affords an excellent idea of this situation. The parents were taking very good care of their children and the children were reciprocating. The work of mothers outside the home was something rare during this period. A study conducted in Chicago in 1909 showed that out of 246 women who were asked that question, only 5 responded positively (Moskos, 1990: 28).

Thus, all together these immigrants created the solid infrastructure that was found by the future generations of Greek immigrants. This infrastructure included hundreds of churches and schools, as well as the various organizations and foundations that the Pioneers created. Among those is the St. Basil Academy in Garrison, NY, the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Pomfret, CT that was transferred to Brookline, MA and evolved into today's Hellenic College and Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology, the plethora of associations and other organizations, such as the "Philoptochos" Society, AHEPA, GAPA, the St. Michael's Old Age Home and many other professional organizations and associations. This was the infrastructure that the Greek Immigrants found when they came to the States after 1965.

#### 4. New Immigrants (1965-2000)

#### 4.1. Causes And Ways of Immigration

The Greek Immigrants of the last third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were quite different from the "Pioneers." The majority of them were people with a secondary education. Some of them also had some college education or were college graduates, especially those that immigrated to the USA towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to the Pioneers that were crossing the Atlantic for weeks on such great ships as "*Queen Frederica*" and other, mainly Italian or British liners, that made their trip quite of an experience, the new

immigrants would come to America within one or maximum two days by plane and their trip was often a pleasant one. For many years, when "Olympic Airways" was flying to the USA and Canada, even the food served on the planes was many times Greek, as well as one of the languages used by the crew.

The reasons for immigration by the New Immigrants were to a great extent the same as those of the Pioneers. Many of them did not have good jobs in Greece or were unemployed and all of them felt that they would have a better future in the USA. Most of them, however, did not live in serious poverty, as the Pioneers, nor did they come from large families to the same extent. The Greek family had already started to "shrink" in the 1960s. Another significant difference was the society in which the New Immigrants grew up. While the vast majority of the Pioneers were coming from villages, mainly of the Peloponnese, and were coming to America with \$20 in their pocket (Malafouris 1948: 91-113), the New Immigrants were coming from cities, at least half of them, and various parts of the country. Another significant difference was the composition of the immigrant picture. While over 95% of the Pioneers were young and single males when they came to the USA, the majority of the New Immigrants or Neometanastes, were married and many of them had small children. Moreover their urban living in Greece made their adjustment to the new country much easier than that of the Pioneers. As mentioned earlier there was a segment of these immigrants who not only had a higher education, but also a good knowledge of the English language. Another difference between the two categories was the nature of immigration per se. While the Pioneers were coming to the USA for a few years, planning "to make it" and then return to Greece where they would be the village leaders, the New Immigrants were coming with the purpose of living permanently in their new country. This inclination was confirmed by a recent study conducted by EDIAMME of the University of Crete (2007) about the Greek education in the USA. For this reason the New Immigrants came more prepared, knew the language, and two-parent employment was not unknown to them.

#### 4.2. The Settlement Process and Socialization in the New Country

During the period of the Pioneers, that is, until 1924, the immigration to "The Promised Land" was free, provided you were healthy and with no

disabilities. The New Immigrants, however, needed a US Government Visa, before they could buy a ticket for the New World. Many of them already had friends and relatives, who had invited them to come to the USA. Some others were coming to marry a Greek American and for those there were no problems at all. The New Immigrants also had some advantages unimaginable for the Pioneers. If they would go to New York and especially to Astoria, they would find stores with Greeks inscriptions and Greek products, as they would find Greek Real Estate Offices to rent a room or an apartment; they would find a Greek School for their children and a church in their neighborhood; they would listen to one or more Greek Radio Stations and could buy or become subscribers to a Greek American daily newspaper, either the *National Herald* or the *Atlantis*, until 1974 when it closed, or the *Proine* and other weeklies, which were usually bilingual.

All these conveniences, amenities and other benefits experienced by the New Immigrants, were making their life much easier compared to that of the Pioneers. The New Immigrants coming to New York or another city with a strong Greek presence, would come across a big network ready to offer them its many and varied services. Services that met their living, social and spiritual needs. At the same time the dynamism and organization of the American economy made their life quite easy and comfortable. Thus in a short period the New Immigrants had solved their housing problem, through friends, relatives, agents or ads in the newspapers, along with the problem of employment. Again through this network of friends and relatives they would be able to either work within a Greek environment or an American one, if they had a basic knowledge of the language. If they had children, then the Greek school in their area, with its low tuition, would solve that problem, too. If there was not a Greek Day School in the area, then the local American school would be the solution. On Sundays and holidays the Greek Church in the neighborhood would be at their disposal. And after the Liturgy there would be a coffee hour, usually at the basement of the Church or at an adjacent building, where they could talk with their friends or get to know other immigrants like themselves and make contacts related to their profession and interests. And if per chance they were single, then they could meet parishioners of the opposite sex.

#### 4.3. Movement, Settlement and Employment

As previously stated, the travel of the New Immigrants was either by air or a combination of airplane-train-car, if they were not going to one of the major Greek centers in the United States. To a great extent their housing problem was solved in advance, if they were going to their relatives. In case they did not have relatives, then the local Greek Community was capable of assisting and supporting them. Many members of the Community had apartments for rent, other members were real estate agents, others had furniture stores, others were car dealers or insurance agents and others were independent owners of business or professionals with their own offices. Finally, many young Greek Americans who were doctors, lawyers, or educators, were ready to support them with their expertise.

This plethora of specializations and professions that were at the disposal of every New Immigrant from the first week in the New World was of significant assistance and made one's decision to immigrate tolerable and profitable. Of course the New Immigrants would experience times of loneliness and nostalgia. And naturally they would remember the many joyous events and other celebrations in the old country and would miss the holy days and festivals, along with the beautiful Greek beaches and the wonderful Greek climate. They knew all these things well and felt a strong nostalgia. At the same time, however, they knew that work in Greece did not pay that well, nor were the jobs plentiful. They knew that the services offered by the government were not of a high caliber. They knew that the material things enjoyed by the average American were many more than those of the average Greek and last but not least, they knew that their future, as well as that of their children, was better in America than in Greece. Moreover, they believed, like the Pioneers, that they would make so much money that they would be able to frequently travel to Greece to visit family and friends. Indeed, a good number of them turned this dream into reality. But for the majority of them things were a bit more difficult. The air tickets were not that cheap, nor the vacations in Greece. If they had not managed to have a business of their own, it was quite difficult with one or even two salaries and expenses for the children, to frequently travel to Greece. Moreover the daily expenses, especially for those who had children, were considerable. And if they had educational expenses for themselves or their children, then things were getting worse. The positive

aspect here is, as mentioned above, that a good percentage of the New Immigrants established their own business, i.e. restaurants, pizza places, travel agencies, dry cleaning, garages, furniture stores or electric appliances stores or became plumbers, electricians and real estate agents. In contrast to the Pioneers a good number of the New Immigrants with college education were quickly acculturated into the American business system and soon their career experienced significant development and progress. Under this category fall the thousands of doctors, engineers and other scientists from Greece, who after their graduate studies in the USA became part and parcel of their respective profession and American Association.

A good segment of the New Immigrants comes also from the large number of Greek students, who either came to study in America or came as small children with their parents and quickly ended up in various American universities for higher studies. More specifically, the number of Greek students and academic exchange visitors that came to the USA in the year 2011 was 4.905, according to the data of the American Immigration Service (2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 28, p. 77). In some of the above instances these young men would graduate from elite universities and would start a distinguished career. As a matter of fact some of them would become professors at their own alma mater. For example, the number of Greek Americans and Greeks who study at such universities as Harvard, MIT, Tufts, Boston University, Boston College, Babson College, Lesley University, Simmons College, Suffolk University, the University of Massachusetts, etc. comes to thousands. Perhaps, it should be stated here that the last three Prime Ministers of Greece (Samaras, Papandreou, Karamanlis) are graduates of universities in Massachusetts. In many of these universities these students have created their own Student Associations, which parade along with the other Greeks during the celebration of March 25th. At the same time hundreds of Greek and Greek American professors teach at those universities. For example, MIT employs about thirty Greek and Greek American professors. A similar picture appears at other big universities in Boston, in the State of Massachusetts and other states with big universities. It is also reported that the number of Greek and Greek American professors in the United States is close to that of Greece. A comparison between this picture and that of the Pioneers is really a striking one. While at that time the Pioneers could hardly speak English, the New Immigrants know the language, sometimes even before they leave Greece for America. While the Pioneers had the Greek *Kafeneion* of their city as the main communication center with friends, colleagues and compatriots, as well as their post-office, the New Immigrants have their Church, the various community and other organizations, the many local and regional societies or their professional and scientific associations. And whenever they wish to communicate with their friends and relatives in Greece, they do not have to write letters as in the "good old times", but they just pick up the telephone or Skype and get the news right away. Even the newspapers, which in the past were an important source of information for the Pioneers, today play a secondary or tertiary role in the information of the New Immigrants, who have at their disposal the local Greek radio program, the Greek or Greek American TV, and during the last decade the internet, which tends to replace the press, the radio, and TV, since a knowledgeable user of the internet can use it to read Greek newspapers or listen to a Greek radio station in Greece or finally to communicate, through Skype, for free, with his friends and family in Greece.

#### 5. The Immigrants of the New Millennium (2000-2013)

**Table 3:** Permanent Residents after the year 2000

2000-2009	16,841
2010	966
2011	1,196
2012	1,264

Source: 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 2, p. 1.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security Office of Immigration Statistics.

One might say that the immigrants of the new millennium (see Table 3) are in many respects a copy of the immigrants of the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their differences may be found in their educational level and the younger age of the new immigrants. For the majority of them the main

reasons for immigration were the many opportunities for advancement and success in the USA. Until 2010 these reasons were the main attraction point for their decision to immigrate. However, the economic crisis that hit Greece in 2010 and is still in full force increased the reasons to emigrate. Thus one main reason today is the extremely high unemployment that has hit all the strata of Greek society, especially the young and even the public employees, who until recently were secure in their jobs protected by law. In addition to the unemployment a host of other negative factors came to the surface, such as the reduction of salaries and pensions, reduction of benefits, the unprecedented increase in taxes, the fall of quality in the health sector, etc. The combination of all the above created an explosive cocktail and for the first time in the last fifty years, one observes such an urgency to leave the country, that someone would have to go back to the decades of the 1950s and 1960s to encounter a similar situation.

The difference between the 1960's and today's immigration situation may be found in the "quality" of the immigrants. The "Millennium Immigrants" are to a great extent individuals with some college or college education, they know foreign languages, some of them have studied outside Greece and returned there, but are now forced to leave again perhaps for good. As was mentioned earlier, most of these people are in the most productive stage of their life, i.e. 25-44 years old, and usually married with one or two children. They are children of the internet era, of the iPhone, the iPod, the iPad, Skype, and the many apps. All these marvels of contemporary technology make their "immigration" rather painless and almost "virtual", since they can communicate with their family on a daily basis, almost for free; they can read Greek newspapers and magazines through the internet; they can listen to Greek music through their computer and watch Greek TV channels through the American TV by paying a reasonable monthly subscription. All this ease of communicating with family and friends significantly decreases the pain of departure and the nostalgia of return, especially when these Millennium Immigrants find a good job abroad and know that their prospects in their own country are dismal, at least for this decade. All the above tend to make these millennium immigrants risk-takers.

This tendency for daring and risk-taking is confirmed today by reports about recent arrivals of Greek "tourists", whose aim is a permanent residence in the

USA. In order to get a better idea of the number of Greek tourists, I present the data (Table 4) of the American Immigration Service for the decade 2002-2012. Their average number during this period is over 60,000 per annum with an increasing rate during the most recent years. We believe that the percentage of these "tourists" that will try to stay in the USA will increase during the current decade. Various educators and administrators of Greek Schools informed this writer of the presence of a small number of children who try to enroll in their schools, while their parents are illegally in the country. Some of the parents even offered to teach in these schools, so that they could earn a small income and at the same time to be able to look for another job, that might offer them permanent and legal employment.

**Table 4:** Nonimmigrant Admission (I-94 Only) by Selected Category of Admission and Region and Country Greece

2002	48,723
2003	51,813
2004	53,086
2005	58,821
2006	58,282
2007	63,145
2008	74,199
2009	67,984
2010	70,885
2011	74,418
2012	68,362
2010 2011	70,885 74,418

Source: 2012 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 27, p. 2

In addition to the above category there is also the category of Greek students, graduate and undergraduate, at various American colleges and universities, as mentioned earlier, a great number of whom are trying to get a permanent resident status and stay in the country after their graduation. In the past most of them would return to Greece to start their careers there. A perfect example of the daring and persistence of the "desperate" Millennium

Immigrant to stay in this country could be found in the following "tragicomic" incident that took place recently. A young man on his way to the Church to get married was picked up by the Immigration authorities, as an illegal immigrant, and was deported back to Greece!

The category of "Millennium Immigrants" could also be augmented by the immigrants of the 1980-2000 period, who had returned to Greece and were working there. A good number of them, who lost their jobs due to the recent crisis and did not have any other solution, used their green card or American passport and came back to the US. Thus several thousands of them have returned and work in the US but it is almost impossible to estimate their number, since they do not appear as immigrants.

Adding up the data of the above categories one might say that we will have a much clearer picture of the current situation towards the end of this decade, when many of these "immigrants" will have a Green card or citizenship and their numbers will show up in the US Immigration Service data and the next Census. Still those numbers are expected to be lower than those of Germany or even Canada and Australia, which have a somewhat freer immigration policy.

Based on the above analysis we expect that the immigration numbers to the USA will be reversed this decade and will move higher, after the continuous fall of the last three decades. As mentioned earlier the numbers for the decades of 1980-1989, 1990-1999 and 2000-2009 were 37,729, 25,403 and 16,841, respectively. Although the numbers for the years 2010, 2011 and 2012 were 966, 1,196, and 1,264 respectively, as we saw earlier, the probability for a substantial increase in these numbers during the coming years is quite high and this decade might approach the decade of 1980-1989.

#### 6. Organization: Self-Organization in Social Networks "Yesterday and Today"

#### 6.1. Organization "Yesterday"

Saloutos, Malafouris and Moskos, offer a quite vivid picture of the organization and social connections of the Pioneers. Reading them we see, that it was not unusual to find the Pioneers living in a cheap apartment six or more individuals at the same time. The organization of that "small society" shows us the spirit of the time. One of the six room-mates would not work,

but would stay at "home" to take care of its needs that is, cleaning, shopping and especially cooking. The rest of the room-mates were paying his "salary," as if he were working outside the house, like the rest. The reader is also surprised by the diet of the Pioneers. By today's standards, we would say, that they were leading a "Spartan" life, since meat was on the menu only once per week, on Sunday, while almost every day included hot dogs, potatoes, soup, beans or lentils. This combination of poor diet and hard work was causing the Pioneers to contract TB with its known negative results, as Moskos points out (Moskos 1990: 19-20).

This Spartan approach to living extended to other areas as well, such as clothing, entertainment, etc. There were many reasons for that: these young people did not earn good wages, they were always running the risk of being unemployed for some time and thus they had to be ready for any eventuality. Foremost, however, in their mind was that they had come to America to earn enough money to help their families in Greece and then return there after having amassed a satisfactory amount for themselves. Their extremely ambitious plan required a lot of sacrifices to be successful.

When they had free time, the Pioneers would go to the local Greek Kafeneion. This place was playing the role of an entertainment center, a match-making place, a post office, an employment office, the center of political discussions and many other activities. There they would develop friendships, would establish professional connections, would speak their own language, they would sip their Greek coffee and play backgammon or some other game of cards and make plans for the future. If there was a Church, that one would cover another big part of their social and other activities. In the big urban centers they could become members of the local AHEPA or GAPA chapter. Finally, on some occasions there was also an association from the old country, which was bringing them closer together and offered them an additional form of socialization, entertainment and solidarity. Until the 1920s their social activities were very limited, since they were working for many hours, six days a week, and the vast majority of them were single men. Thus there were not many opportunities for family or social gatherings, such as weddings, baptisms, funerals, that one can find in a society with deep roots. With the passing of time, however, many things changed and their life took on a more normal rhythm, after 1925 and especially after 1940.

#### 6.2. Organization "Today"

When the New Immigrants or Neometanastes set foot on the USA, they did not encounter the same situations as the Pioneers. Even the society that they were coming from was different from that of the Pioneers. The Greeks of the 1960-1980 period were more educated than the Pioneers, a good number of them spoke English and those who did not know it had a better Greek education that facilitated their learning of English. Finally, extremely few were coming to the States to provide for the dowry of their sisters at home. But also the American environment had changed for the better. As the Pioneers used to say, the New Immigrants "found the table set" and did not suffer like them. They found Greek businesses ready to offer them employment, they found Greek schools for their children, they found offices and professionals of any kind, lawyers, doctors, accountants, and for entertainment they found much more and of better quality than the "Kafeneion" of the Pioneers.

In addition to these favorable factors, the New Immigrants were lucky in another aspect. America itself had changed. The USA of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century had various organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), who were persecuting the blacks, non-WASP whites and new immigrants and were instilling panic and fear in them. At that time you had to be a WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) in order to advance within the social structure of America. Thus, the main goal of the Greek organizations of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) and GAPA was to unite the Greeks and protect them from the harassment and attacks of KKK and similar organizations, especially in the South and West (Papaioannou 1985: 157-58).

The Civil Rights Movement that came to its peak in the 1960s, with the demonstrations of blacks and many whites and ended successfully with the abolition of racial discriminations with the Law of 1964, ushered a new epoch. America had become a more open and tolerant society; it had become multiethnic and multicultural and many of its old bigotries and animosities had fallen by the wayside. Thus the New Immigrants came to a different America from that of the Pioneers. All the persecutions that the Pioneers had experienced, as for example the disastrous anti-Greek demonstration that took place in Omaha, Nebraska in 1909 (Moskos 1990: 16) and the armed struggle of the Greek miners who were striking in Ludlow under the leadership of Louis Tikas, which ended up in the "Ludlow Massacre" of Colorado in 1914

(Moskos 1990: 14-15), were things of the past.

All the above mentioned factors helped the New Immigrants to get organized in a very short time and thus be able to devote their time to other areas of interest. Thus they had more time to become members of their local and national associations or become members of organizations that were related to their profession or other specific interests. They could become members of the Philoptochos Society or be elected to the Board of their Church or become members of the AHEPA, GAPA or the Daughters of Penelope and Sons of Pericles, while their children could join the GOYA or YAL. Those who had higher ambitions could enroll at the local community college or university to get the degree they were dreaming of from their youth. And the most daring of them sometimes would dare enter the American political scene.

At the same time the opportunities for entertainment were plentiful. The New Immigrants had many opportunities to attend weddings, baptisms, birthday celebrations, festivals of their own or of a neighboring church, various festivities and other school celebrations related to OXI Day or March 25th, various theatrical or music ensemble presentations, either from Greece or the USA, and then there were various other cultural activities, such as lectures, recitals, or exhibits at the local Cultural Center, where at times they could also listen to political speeches from visiting Greek politicians or fundraisers for Greek American politicians. And in case they did not have time or interest to attend those activities they could pick up the phone and call family and friends either in the USA or Greece to catch up on the latest news.

In addition to the above forms of socializations, the New Immigrants had also activities of a narrower character. These were activities related more to their professions or careers, i.e. communicating with other colleagues, lawyers, doctors, educators, engineers, real estate agents, etc. In those meetings and interactions they would get more information and insight about their profession, new opportunities and plans of collaboration or of action in the future or related to the structure or elections in their organization. During periods of national crisis, such as in 1974, with the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey, the New Immigrants along with the older immigrants would rush to mobilize their organizations and offer their support to Greece and Cyprus to counteract the Turkish menace.

#### 7. New Immigration and Education

As mentioned earlier the New Immigrants are people of high educational attainment. Those who came after the year 2000 possess an even higher educational level. A good percentage of the 1965-1980 immigrants, who had an average education, have slowly entered the "veteran" stage, i.e. entered their "golden years" period. Their children in their vast majority are college graduates and have become part and parcel of the American society. These immigrants supported a lot the Greek education during this period. Indeed, the majority of the New York Day Schools was established during this period, since 5 out of the 9 Day Schools were established after 1960, including the St. Demetrios High School in Astoria (2013 Yearbook, GOA, p. 109). Something similar took place within the Church as well. About 200 new churches were established during the same period and most of them offered Greek school once or twice a week. More specifically, in 1979 there were 410 churches in the USA (Moskos 1990: 158), while today there are close to 550. At the same time the total of the Afternoon/Saturday Schools is 340 with 22,650 students (2013 Yearbook, GOA, p. 107) and the Day Schools 29 with approximately 4.000 students.

The significant decrease in the number of new immigrants (37,406) during the 1986-2012 period had also consequences for the Greek American Education. Indeed we notice a stabilization, but at a lower level, in the number of students during the last years, both in the Day and Afternoon/Saturday Schools. Thus some Communities saw the creation of the Charter Schools as a solution to the reduction in the number of their students and to their financial problems as well. The case of four Day Schools that closed recently in New York City (The National Herald, June 29-July 5, 2013, p. 1) - two of them were transformed into Charter Schools with a limited Greek program – shows the serious problem facing the Omogeneia. Its economic success during this period, led to its dispersion to expensive suburbs, where there was an insufficient number of children to establish a Day School. Moreover, the New Immigrants (Neometanastes) at times select elite private schools for their children or high quality public schools in the expensive suburbs and leave their children's Greek education to the Afternoon Schools. Other reasons for the decrease in the number of students and the closing of the schools is the low fertility rate of the Greek Americans, the mixed marriages, as well as the

reduction of the Greek Immigration, as noted above, during the last twenty years. A combination of all the above led to the present situation, which is not the most desirable.

Despite all this one might be able to discern some positive elements in the above mosaic. Such a positive element can be found in the fact that the Charter Schools contribute to the dissemination of the Greek education to wider segments of the American society. In most of these schools the majority of the students are not of Greek origin. Thus we can talk about an "export of the Greek education and culture" to a wider American environment. These Charter Schools train the body and mind of future Philhellenes with beneficial effects for Hellenism. Some of these students will become successful entrepreneurs, scientists, politicians, etc. and will not forget the benefits of the Greek education that they received during the most formative years of their life.

Finally, the Millennium Immigrants are going to bring another change in the Greek American scene in general and its education in particular. They will become the new "blood-donors" of the Omogeneia. They will bring a new "fragrance" from the "old country" and will provide valuable services in many areas. One of them is education. Many of the Millennium Immigrants will become teachers in the Day and Afternoon Schools, now that the immigrants of the 60s and 70s are receiving their pensions and others will assist the Church and its various organizations, such as the Philoptochos Society, the YAL, the Leadership 100, the Faith Endowment, the Old Age homes, etc. Many of them will assist in the preparation and organization of the various activities and festivals and will send their children to the Greek American Schools, advancing thus the Greek American education, as well as the other cultural, political and economic activities of the Omogeneia.

#### 8. Future Perspectives

As discussed earlier, one might divide the immigration to the USA into three large periods: the immigration from 1873 to 1924; the 1925-1965 period; and the period from 1965 to today. During the first period there are 535,000 immigrants, that is 15,000 for the 1873-1899 period and 520,000 for the 1890-1924 period. For the period of 1925-1965 there are 105,000 immigrants and for the 1966-1989, 185,000 (Moskos 1990: 156). The total of all immigrants from 1873 to 1989 comes to 825,000 and from 1990-2009 to 42,244

(25,403+16,841). The grand total of the Greek Americans today is estimated from a minimum of one and a half to three or a maximum of five millions, depending on the various writers and their analyses. The American Census Bureau gives us the number 1,311,844, or 0.4% of the US population. However, many specialists believe that this number is very conservative. Moreover, the Census Bureau does not count individuals beyond the second generation, further distorting the real number. Last but not least, the Census Bureau informs us that 325,747 people were using Greek at home (US Census Bureau, 2009).

As mentioned earlier, the Pioneers faced many difficulties in the realization of their "American Dream". Not only did they arrive with scant educational and other resources to this highly developed country, but they also faced the enmity and antagonism of other ethnic groups that saw them as competitors and opponents in their own quest for the "American dream". With their indomitable Greek spirit, their creativity, and hard work ethic, they not only managed to survive, but to also thrive in a very short period of time. They managed to build strong structures, building hundreds of churches and schools, thousands of small and large organizations and to claim the top position in the area of education. Within a generation the children of the Pioneers had climbed to the highest step of college education and the second highest in income, as cited earlier. During the same period some 45,000 of them volunteered and fought for their motherland in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Moreover, for many decades they were assisting their families in Greece and especially the Greek people during the German Occupation (1941-1944).

All the above did not stop them from engaging in the American political scene. Indeed the children of the Pioneers became deeply involved in the American political life with good results. One of them (Spiro Agnew) reached the second highest Office of the land, becoming Vice President of the United States. Another one was almost voted to the highest Office (Michael Dukakis), while three others (Paul Tsongas, Paul Sarbanes and Olympia Bouchles-Snowe) became U.S. Senators. Dozens of others became U.S. Congressmen and many more State Senators and Congressmen. A few others became State Governors in Florida, Maryland and Massachusetts, and many more Mayors in various cities of America. Over a dozen of them became Secretaries or

Undersecretaries under Democratic and Republican Administrations and even more became American Ambassadors to various countries around the world. A few others were drawn to the Armed Forces. Thus while George P. Colvocoressis became the first Greek American US Admiral, the most recent one is James Stavridis, former head of NATO; General William Pagonis, on the other hand, played a key role in the Gulf War, while George Tenet was serving as head of the CIA during the same period.

The great part of Greek Americans, however, turned to the world of business to such an extent that today the Greek American Community hails twelve Greek American billionaires and the 50 richest of them have a combined wealth of around \$40 billion (National Herald, March 2, 2013:1-25). Many others became CEOs of large or Fortune 500 Companies, such as the ABC TV, the Boston Scientific, Merck, Mobil Oil, Sheraton Corp., Dow Chemical, JPMorgan Bank, Raytheon, International Paper and Wall Street firms, such as Blackstone, Calamos Investments, Kynikos Associates, etc.

But the highest rate of success is to be found in the world of academia and education in general. A great number of the children of the Pioneers became scientists of the first order. They entered the world of Academia either teaching or doing research or becoming administrators. Some of them became Presidents of large universities, such as John Brademas at New York University, Constantine Papadakis at Drexel University, Peter Liacouras at Temple University, C.L. Max Nikias at USC in Los Angeles, Peter Diamandopoulos at Adelphi University, etc. Many more became Deans, Provosts or high executives in prestigious universities. Finally, the world of Hollywood drew a lot of the children of the Pioneers – from the famous Andrews sisters during WW II, to Telly Savalas, Jennifer Anniston, Melina Kanakarides, etc. Finally, the Skouras Brothers ushered a new epoch in Hollywood and the film industry in general. The same could be also said about the Greek American presence in the world of sports, music and other areas.

The new immigrant wave that came after 1965 built on the achievements of the previous generations and managed to contribute more in a shorter period of time. It is not a big surprise, for example, to meet a famous Greek American scientist, businessman, artist, or academic, who achieved all this within one generation, i.e. his own generation. Thus, we have cases of Deans or University Presidents, who came to the USA for graduate studies, then became professors

and administrators and finally presidents. When someone adds the children of the Pioneers that became professors to the New Immigrants and their children that became professors, then one comes to a number of Greek American professors that is very close to that of the professors in Greece. In the world of business there is a similar situation, when some top businessmen climbed the ladder of success within one generation. The case of George Hatsopoulos is a good example. He came to the MIT in the 1950s and after his graduation he became a professor and then created two large companies, i.e. Thermo Electron and Thermo Fisher Scientific. The last one had over \$12 billion in sales last year (MSN Money).

Many of these successful people have joined the work of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and its various organizations, such as the Leader100 and the Faith Endowment Fund, mentioned earlier. Each donor of the L100 Fund gives \$100,000 over a 10 year period and the donors to the Faith Endowment contribute \$1 million over the same period. All the proceeds from these funds aim at supporting the many programs of the Archdiocese and the Omogeneia in general, but they also go beyond the needs of the Archdiocese. Of the \$35 million expended so far by the L100 Fund, some millions have gone for philanthropy and projects around the world, including Greece, Albania, Africa, etc.

Moreover, a number of successful Greek Americans have donated money for the creation of schools in various cities or funded Greek Studies Chairs at American universities, or have become great benefactors to museums, universities, etc. Others supported the creation of the two Greek lobbies in Washington, DC, i.e. AHI and UHAC, of the AHEPA and GAPA, and such other organizations as the IOCC and OCMC, the GOYA and the YAL, Orphanages and Old Age Homes. Beside these very successful Greek Americans there are also many other people who assist in the daily running of the many institutions and organizations of the Archdiocese and the Omogeneia. They assist in the smooth running of the 340 Afternoon and 30 Day Schools, of the 550 churches, of cultural and other centers or are employed in businesses that serve the Greek Omogeneia. Finally, this mass of Greek Americans is the backbone of the Greek parades for the March 25th celebration in New York, Boston, Chicago, as well as for demonstrations in support of Greece.

As a result, there is a fairly harmonious cooperation among all the immigrant generations. The most recent ones offer their services as Greek school teachers, translators, bilingual lawyers, doctors, etc. The older ones have their own specialization in such areas as Wall St., banks, financial world in general, large corporations, political and military life, movies and theater. And these generations united, support Greek American candidates for the various public offices, offering volunteer work or their money, without separating the candidates into Democrats or Republicans. When one thinks of the political disputes and in-fights among the immigrants of the first decades of the 20th century, one realizes the great progress that the Omogeneia has made since then. Related to this area of conflict we find that both the old and the new immigrants are law abiding citizens, who very rarely have dealings with the police. Especially for the recent period we have the data of the American Immigration Service, which records the deportations for criminal activities. Indeed the pertinent data for the 2002-2011-period is quite revealing. The average number of Greeks deported from the country for criminal activities was not larger than 25, while countries with the same population had much bigger numbers. But even countries with a smaller population like Albania, Israel, and Lebanon had double or triple the number of deported citizens than Greece (2011 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Table 41, pp. 107-113).

Despite all these achievements the Greek Omogeneia should not rest on its laurels. The forthcoming Immigration will create new situations and new obligations. The new Immigrants, as the old ones, cannot count on aid from the American Government, as was the case with the Greek immigrants that went to Germany during the 1950-70 period or other countries. The USA never offered strong incentives for someone to immigrate there. On the contrary, the Reed-Johnson Act (1924) that was in force for forty years, sought and achieved the drastic restriction of US immigration. Thus in a way the immigrants to the USA are characterized by a strong dose of risk-taking and independence that assist them in adjusting and overcoming the obstacles they encounter.

For all these reasons the Omogeneia of America should take the right measures for its future survival, since its reinvigoration with "new blood" from this unexpected flow of new immigrants will not be as strong as that one of the 1965-1980 period. Thus, it behooves it to take the appropriate measures

to reduce the negative effects of the all-taming time.

Indeed, slowly but steadily the Omogeneia is losing its language; slowly but steadily the mixed marriages dilute, to a point, its cohesion; slowly but steadily the bonds with the mother country are getting weaker; slowly but steadily the century-old legacies of solidarity, mutual support and philanthropy lose their dynamism. It is not proper, for example, for the Omogeneia, with its tremendous financial resources, to lag in matters of philanthropy and be far behind from the Jewish Community although their financial resources are not much different.

These, then, are some of the areas that the Omogeneia must work hard during the coming decades, if it wishes to pride itself as the "Flagship of the Greeks Abroad". At the dawn of the new century and the new millennium, it should plan a new course that would maximize the many blessings that God bestowed upon it, along with the products of its own hands. The blessings of its unrivalled educational achievements and economic prosperity, along with the invaluable historic, cultural and spiritual inheritance, press upon it the appropriate, judicious and prudent use of all the above, both for the benefit of the Omogeneia itself, but also for the benefit of Greece that is going through a crisis this moment, for the benefit of Hellenism across the globe and for the benefit of the entire "ecumene". That would be the best memorial of today's generations to the heroic memory of the Pioneers, who with scant means and minimal resources laid the solid foundations of today's educational, spiritual and economic miracle of the Omogeneia.

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