Migrant experience workshop : resource folder

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MIGRANT EXPERIENCE WORKSHOP

RESOURCE FOLDER

Sandy Hopkins
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Intercultural Studies Centre
MOUNT LAWLEY COLLEGE
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1. **INTRODUCTION**

The Migration Experience Workshop was conducted in response to Recommendation 14 of the Galbally Report, namely that

"Professionals, including those studying and those currently in practices in areas with large migrant clienteles, should receive assistance in obtaining or upgrading language skills and understanding cultural differences".

The workshop focussed on the latter part of the Recommendation (underlined) largely through an experiential approach based on simulated experiences, media presentations, and direct input from immigrant clientele as well as those professionally involved with them. The overwhelming response from course participants made it abundantly clear that the process of migration and settlement experience is quite traumatic to say the least, and when dealing with immigrant clients, professionals often need to shed the various preconceptions which they have acquired through a lifetime of personal and professional experience. By contrast the follow-up session was almost entirely cognitive in orientation, at the conclusion of which the Resource Folder, was presented to the participants.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the persons, course organisers, participants, resource and support staff alike, (unfortunately far too numerous to list here) for their invaluable contribution to the success of the project.

2. **W.A. POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHY**

Like all other Australian States and Territories, Western Australia's population (particularly in the Perth metropolitan region) has become significantly and increasingly culturally/linguistically diversified, as a direct result of Australia's immigration policy since 1947.

According to the 1976 census data, 31.5% of the total population of the Perth statistical division, was overseas born, of which over two fifths (i.e. approx 13% of the total population) came from non-English speaking countries. A further 16.9% were migrants from other Australian States and Territories. Significant features include 3.1% Italians and an increasing number (2.9%) of immigrants from Asia (Houghton, 1979, p. 16).

However unlike demographic trends in the Eastern States, where as a result of considerable industrialization which has led to a concentration of particular ethnic communities in particular geographical locations, there are no comparable concentrations of particular ethnic communities within the Perth metropolitan region. Nevertheless certain areas of the Perth metropolitan area can be loosely identified with particular ethnic communities e.g. the Portuguese and Italians in Fremantle, migrants from the Mediterranean region and elsewhere in Southern Europe (namely Greek, Italian, Macedonian) in North Perth.

Despite this geographical spread, around 300 ethnic community groups and related organisations are known to be in existence and variously functioning. (See Directory of Ethnic Community Groups and related organisations. Intercultural Studies Centre, Mount Lawley College).
Population by Place of Birth: Perth Statistical Division, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>415,560</td>
<td>51.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere in Australia</td>
<td>135,942</td>
<td>16.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>551,502</td>
<td>68.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K. and Eire</td>
<td>144,554</td>
<td>17.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5,345</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>8,534</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and U.S.S.R.</td>
<td>5,151</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>8,314</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>3,958</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>24,968</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of Europe</td>
<td>9,149</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>5,681</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada and U.S.A.</td>
<td>3,757</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus, Turkey, Lebanon and Egypt</td>
<td>2,436</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of Asia</td>
<td>24,065</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of Africa</td>
<td>5,320</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others</td>
<td>3,015</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Foreign-born</strong></td>
<td>254,247</td>
<td>31.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>805,749</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) 'Error' due to rounding.

3. MIGRANT SERVICES AND AGENCIES IN W.A.

by

Carlo Stransky
1 May 1980

Dear [Name],

Since some members of ethnic communities have stated, on occasions, that they are confused by a seemingly large number of councils and authorities in the area of ethnic concern and that they are unable to differentiate among their responsibilities and spheres of activities, I feel it is opportune to provide some information in this regard.

I am therefore, glad of this opportunity to provide for you a brief summary of the various aspects of the activities of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

You will notice that on page 1 and 2 are listed Councils and Committees which operate mostly from Canberra and do not have offices in Western Australia. They are:

1. Australian Refugee Advisory Council
2. Australian Ethnic Affairs Council
3. Australian Population and Immigration Council
4. Committee on Professional Qualification
5. Committee on the Determination of Refugee Status
6. Institute of Multicultural Affairs
7. National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
8. Independent and Multicultural Broadcasting Corporation

On page 3 and 4 are listed the structures and activities of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in Perth. You will notice that while the Department is structured on three main branches, namely:

A) Migration
B) Ethnic Affairs
C) Post Arrival Services

emphasis has been placed, in this context, on the operations of the Post Arrival Services Branch, as it provides greater opportunity of contact with members of ethnic communities.

On page 5 are listed three independent organisations that play an important role in the development of ethnic communities.

Should you require further information please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours faithfully,

C. STRANSKY
for REGIONAL DIRECTOR
Organisations connected with the Department:

1. AUSTRALIAN REFUGEE ADVISORY COUNCIL (A.R.A.C.)

Functions:
To advise the Minister on reception and settlement of refugees, on the development of new settlement procedures and services and to inform the Australian community on refugee programmes and develop understanding attitudes towards refugees.

Chairman: Mr. Justice Gobbo

2. AUSTRALIAN ETHNIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL (A.E.A.C.)

W.A. Members: Dr. S. Kaldor, University of W.A.
               Dr. R. Pervan, University of W.A.

Functions:
Advises the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs on matters relating to the integration of migrants into the Australian community and, in particular:
- the position of migrants in the community in relation to health, welfare, housing, education, employment, communication, the law and other areas that affect their well being;
- the suitability and effectiveness of existing Government and community services and programs directed to the integration of migrants;
- the promotion and development of harmonious relations within the Australian community; and
- the development of communication and consultation between the Minister and ethnic communities throughout Australia.

Chairman: Professor J. Zubrzycki, C.B.E.

3. AUSTRALIAN POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION COUNCIL (A.P.I.C.)

Functions:
The terms of reference of the Council are to advise the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs on such matters as:
- the regular monitoring of, and research into, population change; major developments and research in Australia and overseas concerning population and immigration; the manpower, regional distribution, educational, industrial, foreign relations, economic, environmental, transportation, strategic, humanitarian, sociological and other implications of population change; the longer-term implications of changing patterns of immigration intakes; ways in which future immigration intakes can be planned to complement other policies; implications of population change for various aspects of resource allocation; and such other matters as the Minister may refer to it.

Chairman: The Hon. I. M. Macphee, M.P.

4. COMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION (C.O.P.Q)

Functions:
The Committee on Overseas Professional Qualification was established in 1969 to evaluate overseas professional qualifications to compare with the
COMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION (C.O.P.Q.) (Cont'd)

standards of qualifications obtained in Australia and to advise Australian assessing authorities accordingly. In June 8 the Committee's terms of reference were amended to extend its responsibilities to include sub-professional, technical and general academic qualifications.

Chairman: Dr. D.M. Myers, C.M.G.

5. COMMITTEE ON THE DETERMINATION OF REFUGEE STATUS (C.D.R.S.)
Functions:
Assesses applications by persons in Australia for the grant of refugee status as defined in the United Nations Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and makes recommendations to the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.
Chairman: I. G. Simington

6. INSTITUTE OF MULTICULTURAL AFFAIRS (I.M.A.)
Functions:
The Institute will commission research into multiculturalism and provide information to Commonwealth, State and local government authorities and non-government bodies, provide training materials for schools, universities and professional bodies, and organise seminars and similar activities.
Chairman: F. E. Galbally C.B.E., Q.C.

7. NATIONAL ACCREDITATION AUTHORITY FOR TRANSLATORS AND INTERPRETERS (N.A.A.T.I.)
W.A. Member: Professor J. D. Frodsham, Murdoch University
Functions:
The principal objectives of the Authority are to establish the standards and conditions leading to professional status, and in so doing develop translating and interpreting in Australia to meet community needs; and to develop the basic infrastructure for the emergence of a national self-regulatory professional body in the expectation that this body would within 5 years assume responsibility for the profession, including accreditation.
Chairman: Sir George Cartland, C.M.G., K.St.J.

8. INDEPENDENT AND MULTICULTURAL BROADCASTING CORPORATION (I.M.B.C.)
Constituted January 1980 and replacing:
- National Ethnic Broadcasting Advisory Council (N.E.B.A.C.)
- State Ethnic Broadcasting Advisory Council (S.E.B.A.C.) N.S.W.
- State Ethnic Broadcasting Advisory Council (S.E.B.A.C.) Victoria
- Special Broadcasting Service (S.B.S.)
Functions:
To develop ethnic radio and television in Australia.
Managing Director Designate: Mr. Bruce Gyngell

The Review Group of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants was constituted on 1.9.1977 and completed its report, generally known as the GALBALLY Report, in April 1978, and the Review Group was dissolved.

.../3.
DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC AFFAIRS

Regional Director : Mr. J. B. Mackay

A. Senior Migration Officer
   Mr. D. F. Ferrin
   Entry and Control Branch

   Operations Branch - Mr. L. S. Parker
   Citizenship and Travel Branch - Mr. W. T. Ellis

B. Ethnic Affairs Officer
   Mr. C. Stransky
   - Co-ordination and implementation of Government ethnic affairs policies within Western Australia.
   - Liaise with ethnic and community organisations, Commonwealth and State Departments in connection with the overall implementation of the Galbally Report.

C. Post Arrival Services Branch
   Assistant Director : Mrs. S. Webber

   The Branch comprises four main areas:
   1) The Migrant Services Unit - phone 320 3488
      i) A casework service - welfare officers counsel migrants who are having difficulties.
      ii) A community work service located at Cloisters Arcade, Mount Newman House. Social Workers offer assistance to ethnic groups which wish to develop new structures and programs. Advise on funding sources, likely sites for premises, incorporation procedures etc. as well as helping groups achieve their own goals e.g. classes for their children in their own language.
      iii) Program administration - staff in the Unit administer and evaluate three funding programs:
           - The Grand in Aid Scheme - ethnic groups and voluntary agencies can apply for the salary of a social worker to work specifically with migrants. There are 11 grants at present in Western Australia.
           - Migrant project funding - organizations can apply for grants of up to $5,000 for migrant welfare projects.
           - Migrant Resource Centres - the Department will fund two of these centres in Western Australia this financial year. The Centres have two staff and a total budget of $50,000 per annum. Their primary function is to provide counselling and information to migrants in their immediate locality.

   The Committee of Management of Perth Migrant Resource Centre is composed of the following elected and co-opted members:

   Chairman : Dr. M. Shama
   Secretary : Mr. S. Piantadosi

   Members : Mr. K. Angelkov Mr. C. Vellis
             Mr. C. Economou Mr. M. Vucic
             Ms S. Osvald Ms H. Cattalini
             Mr. R. Raymond Mr. T. Bozic
INITIAL SETTLEMENT SERVICES

i) Hostel Settlement Centre located Graylands Migrant Centre. A Settlement Officer devises orientation programs for newly arriving refugees. These programs are designed to give refugees necessary information about life in Australia and are integrated with the English language programs at the Hostel. Ms N. Siegmund - phone 383 1073.

ii) Community Settlement Centre - located Wapet House. This centre, designed to assist migrants not entering the hostel on arrival, is being set up at present. It will be a drop-in information centre as well as providing structured courses for newly arrived migrants.

iii) Community Refugee Settlement Scheme. This scheme allows individuals and groups throughout the State to sponsor refugees direct from the camps into the community. Australians participating in the scheme undertake to settle the refugees themselves with a minimum of government assistance. Mr. R. Hutchinson - phone 320 3488.

These initial settlement services are overseen by the Migrant Settlement Council, a body of eight, with members from the State and Federal Governments, voluntary agencies and ethnic groups. The council coordinates and evaluates all services for newly arrived migrants.

Appointed and ex-officio members of the Council are:

- Professor R. T. Appleyard (Chairman), University of W.A.
- Miss M. A. Collopy, Catholic Church Office
- Mr. L. S. Brajkovich
- Mr. K. J. Ammerer, State Immigration Branch
- Mr. J. B. Wolny, Commonwealth Accommodation & Catering Services
- Mrs Thuan M. Nicholls
- Mr. L. D. P. Drake-Brockman, Adult Migrant Education Branch
- Mr. J. B. Mackay, Regional Director, Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs.

3) ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION - Mr. T. Hickmott phone 325 0521

Located at Wapet House. The staff in this section are responsible for the funding and evaluation of English language instruction programs for adult migrants in Western Australia. This includes both courses for newly arrived as well as more settled migrants.

4) INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATING SERVICES - phone 322 3366

Located at Cloisters Arcade, Mount Newman House. This provides free interpreting for migrants 24 hours per day, 7 days per week. Where possible interpreting is done over the phone by the small permanent staff who work on a shift work basis or by one of the 200 casual interpreters located throughout the State. Where a telephone service is inadequate, e.g. in a court, medical examination etc., a casual interpreter can be sent in person.

TRANSLATION SERVICE - Mrs. S. Novakov - phone 322 3366

The Unit translates into English documents etc. for individual migrants and also literature such as pamphlets and posters into community languages for organizations and groups trying to reach out to the migrants. The translations are done either by the permanent staff or one of the casual interpreters.
DEPENDENT BODIES IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Radio 6NR - Western Australia Institute of Technology.
Chairman Management Committee: Dr. M. Liveris
Secretary: Mr. B. Ridley
Hayman Road, South Bentley 6102 - phone 350 7469
Station Manager: Mrs. Barbara Keyser

ETHNIC BROADCASTING COMMITTEE OF W.A. INC.
Mr. A. Lutero - President
Mrs. T. Cohen - Secretary
137 Hayes Avenue, Yokine 6060 - phone 349 1780.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION COUNCIL OF W.A. (M.E.C.W.A.)
Chairman - Mr. V. Mandyczewsky
Secretary - Mrs. R. M. Tang
6 Salvado Road, Wembley 6014 - phone 381 5444.
4. REFUGEE SETTLERS

4.1 Being a Refugee  S. Hopkins
4.2 Refugees and East European Settlers in Australian  E. Kunz
BEING A REFUGEE

Sandy Hopkins, Ethnic Liaison, Community and Child Health Services, Western Australia.

Refugees differ from migrants. They do not leave to look for better economic conditions, or from a sense of adventure.

They leave because of persecution, danger or fear, or because they cannot accept life in a country where they and their children are not free.

Most suffer traumatic experiences on the way: attacks by pirates who rob, beat or rape the, deprivation of water and food, extremely cramped physical conditions.

Then they are put in refugee camps. There they are separated from the surrounding population, often by fences of barbed wire. They are not allowed to work or trade. They are cut off from relatives, and fear for the physical safety of their loved ones. They lose contact with friends, and suffer culture shock in their strange surroundings.

Their future is uncertain, and they have no power to influence their circumstances. They may have few medical facilities, very little water, and only limited amounts of food. They face long periods of waiting, many months, perhaps more than a year. And they know they cannot go back.

As the shock of physical danger recedes they may move from stunned passivity to being anxious, critical and giving repetitive accounts of what has happened to them. Later, self accusation and doubts may sap initiative and independence. Apathy and feelings of dependence set in. But most never abandon their longing for a new land and freedom.

When refugees are resettled, they feel great relief. But their problems are not yet over. There is the shock of confrontation with a new environment where everything is different the houses, the trees, the technology, the faces in the street. In consequence, refugees may feel shy and anxious, and hesitate to move around in the community outside their home or hostel. Bereft of language, they feel like children, or like people who have been unaccepted, so that doctors and office workers are forced to accept laboring jobs. This blow to status may provoke extreme quietness and withdrawal. Slightly built men may be asked to do manual labour in competition with taller, heavier Anglo-Australians. Adults may have to go to school again to learn English, like children, and feel that this show of ignorance is a blow to their status. They may be stared at by the curious, or feel puzzled by being ignored by Australian neighbours.

Resettlement is complicated by a lack of material possessions: clothes and household equipment. And many still feel fear, and perhaps also guilt, for those who they have left behind. Depression may set in when they remember the past, or fears of retribution pursue them.

Despite this, most refugees are deeply grateful to be in a free country. They are glad to have found their new land, keenly desire to work, and are anxious to learn English and to find their place in the Australian community. Given our support, they will succeed.

Child Health Circular, Vol 10, No 4., April 1980
SOURCES

Ly Yia. "Refugee Traumas", Clearing House on Migration Issues, N.D.

David Cox. "What it can mean to be a refugee," Migration Action, Vol III No. 2-4, 1976-78.


Nelly Siegmund, Settlement Officer, Graylands Migrant Centre.
In this issue of the Bibliography references to literature on refugees and eastern Europeans have, for convenience been grouped together. This should not, however, be taken to imply that all refugees who eventually settled in Australia originated in eastern Europe, or that eastern Europeans who came to Australia either recently or in the more distant past have all been refugees. Nevertheless the refugee movements which since the mid-1930s have brought considerable numbers of settlers to Australia have consisted predominantly, though not exclusively, of eastern Europeans.

This in earlier times was not always the case. Although refugees from eastern Europe figure in earlier sporadic movements, dissenters from other areas of Europe were not less numerous among Australia's refugee arrivals. In the 1830s religious repression of German Lutherans resulted in German settlements in South Australia. After the abortive revolutions of 1848-49 numbers of German, Italian, Polish and Hungarian revolutionaries arrived alongside with Greek activists. In the 1890s Finnish Utopian Socialists came to Queensland in search of freedom and a better life. Throughout the whole century there were sporadic arrivals of Jews from central and eastern Europe, fleeing from shorter or longer flare-ups of anti-semitism in their countries of birth.

Towards the turn of the century young men who chose to evade foreign military service by absconding to Australia included Finns and Poles unwilling to serve in the army of the Czar, and also Dalmatians and Croatians evading conscription for the Hapsburg army. They were followed by sporadic arrivals of socialists and other dissenters from many countries of Europe. Most of Australia's Greek families from Smyrna came to escape Turkish retaliation after the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks in 1921-2, while the combined pressures of poverty and foreign domination brought a steady trickle of Balkan Slavs to Australia during the turn of the century. The collapse of post World War I revolutions in Hungary and Finland and the fall of the Weimar Republic in Germany resulted in the eventual arrival of a few score of emigrés to Australia. Even at the present, Australian immigrants include small groups of political dissenters from Portugal, Spain, Greece, South Africa and other countries around the globe.

Following Australia's decision to take 15,000 refugees of the Nazi regimes, some six thousand Jews and non-Arians arrived from Germany, Austria and eastern Europe. Between 1946-48 their number was supplemented when about two to three thousand surviving friends and relatives of these earlier arrivals joined them in Australia. Then between 1947 and 1953 some 170,000
refugees originally coming from the Baltic lands, Poland, the Ukraine, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria arrived under the I.R.O. Australian Displaced Persons Scheme. Some of these refugees were displaced by the military events of the war, others by the consequences of the Yalta Agreement, which had placed their countries under Russian rule and consequently under Communist domination. The arrival of these non-British refugees increased Australia's population by approximately 2 per cent. As a high proportion of them were in the working and reproductive age groups, they gave great stimulus to Australia's economic and demographic growth; also to public discussion and the scientific study of migration, settlement and ethnic minorities. In the following two decades the Hungarian refugees of 1956-57 and the Czech refugees of 1968 arrived, reinforcing already established refugee ethnic minorities in Australia.

The study of the origins and the history of these groups and their demographic and sociological characteristics was somewhat delayed. Under the international and internal political pressures of their evacuation from Europe the identification of the characteristics of the individuals—particularly ethnic origin, education and occupational skill—was poorly documented. This and the multiplicity of the languages the refugees spoke and their ethnic, cultural, historical and political fragmentation within each citizenship group retarded research, until scholars with sufficient background knowledge and insight could be found to look behind statistics derived from documents often misleadingly or inexpertly drawn up during the pressures of the D.P. migration scheme when expediency had to give preference to accuracy.

The position is especially difficult with the Slovene, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian components of Yugoslav immigration, and the Czech, Slovak and Ruthenian components of Czechoslovak immigration; official statistics rarely distinguish between these ethnic groups. Although descriptive studies and sample surveys cast some light on their identity and history and the problems they face in Australia, much of the relevant literature is still very restricted or over-generalized. This for the time being necessitates an arrangement by country of origin rather than by individual ethnic group; which explains why, both in the Bibliography and in this introductory essay, this arrangement is used for all groups except Jews and Ukrainians.

WORKS ON INDIVIDUAL REFUGEE GROUPS:

Bulgarians

Apart from a few Bulgarian farmers and labourers arriving in the 1920s and 1930s, most Bulgarians came in the post-war years as political refugees. Because of their small number (1,224 in all in 1954) they seldom appear separately in statistics: little is known of them except they seem to be widely dispersed and to include a high proportion of well educated and professionally qualified refugees. Neither the Bibliography of 1966 nor this issue has located items on Bulgarian refugees in Australia.
Czechoslovaks

Czechoslovaks in Australia belong mainly to four 'vintages': the arrivals escaping from the German occupation of 1938; the 'surviving friends' group of 1946-48; the Displaced Persons of 1948-53; the refugees of 1968. Ethnically and politically Czechs and Slovaks appear to follow separate existences in Australia, while most Hungarians born in areas allotted to Czechoslovakia after 1919, and many of the Sudeten Germans arriving after 1952, who arrived as Czechoslovak citizens, quickly amalgamated with their ethnic brothers after arrival. The present total of Czech-born persons - about 12,000 in 1970 - therefore overstates the number of ethnic Czechoslovaks.

While the 'feel' of a Czech Displaced Person's life and his adventures during the war were perceptively presented in V.L. Borin's novel The Uprooted Survivel no printed analytical or descriptive study of Czechs or Slovaks seems to have been published in the past two decades. In the absence of these M. Cigler's studies in typescript partly fill the gap.2 Both Czechs and Slovaks have entered a wide range of occupations and achieved considerable material success. The study of their integration remains an urgent desideratum and it is hoped that the arrival of the 1968 refugees will give impetus to new studies.

Estonians

Estonian migration to Australia can be traced back to the gold era. They remained, however, few in number until after the First World War an interesting rural group arrived, many of them settling as farmers at Thirlmere, N.S.W. Most Estonians now in Australia came as Displaced Persons between 1947-53, the whole population totalling 6,549 in 1954. Estonians have published a considerable amount of material - however almost all their output has appeared in the Estonian language and are principally poems, short stories, novels and drama produced with an eye to language maintenance and the preservation of ethnic identity.

Though many of these literary pieces deal with the Estonia of the past, some are travelogues and novels set in Australia and may be of use to students able to read Estonian. Through the labours of Peeter Lindsaar a history of Estonians in Australia and New Zealand was published, part in Estonian and part in English, in 1961, and recorded in the last issue of the Bibliography.3 A well presented, well balanced article published since in German, though it contains less than his previous work, commends itself for

2. See entries for M. Cigler in Bibliography, Part L-b.
its clarity and concise presentation of demographic data on Estonians. The article also supplies a useful summary of Estonian community activities in Australia.  

As Estonians in Australia appear to strive for ethnic cohesion their settlement patterns, churches, ethnic organizations and rates of inter-marriage deserve study. Their strong efforts to maintain their language and culture amongst their children suggest that second-generation Estonians in Australia may be of interest to sociologists looking for inter-generation conflicts and could serve as useful basis for comparative studies.

Hungarians

Hungarian presence in Australia was continuous though numerically negligible for a hundred years after the arrival of the first recorded Hungarian in 1833. Up to a hundred Hungarians came to the goldfields of Victoria and New South Wales after the fall of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-49. In the wake of Hungarian business expansion beginning with the Compromise of 1867, for fifty years a steady, though limited flow of industrial experts and businessmen came to Australia. They were followed by miscellaneous groups of emigrés fleeing from events connected with the First World War. Most Hungarians at present in Australia - some of whom are listed both in the birthplace and nationality statistics under Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania - arrived between 1936-57. Almost all were members of one of the four migration waves containing five, at times sharply antagonistic refugee vintages: the 1936-40 refugees from Hitler; the surviving friends group of 1945-47; the 'Westwarder' group of evacuees and the Anti-Communist refugees who together formed the D.P. wave of Hungarians; and the Revolutionaires of 1956. Since then a few hundred Hungarians have arrived with the Czechoslovak refugees of 1968. Though figures are not available it is believed that Hungarians from Yugoslavia are arriving in considerable numbers as free, assisted migrants, within the framework of the Yugoslav-Australian migration agreements. The present total of persons born in Hungary, according to census figures is 29,841, but the number of ethnic Hungarians is probably closer to 33,500.

Though united by language and culture, and traditionally overlooking religious differences, Hungarians in Australia are strongly divided by subgroup consciousness based on educational attainments and by vintage differences representing numerous political faiths. The number of Jews and ex-Jews among Hungarians in Australia is high and extremist anti-semitism on the one hand and revanchism on the other, are divisive factors.

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4 See P. Lindsaar, Esten in Australien, in Bibliography, Part L-c.
Blood and Gold: Hungarians in Australia by Egon F. Kunz is a definitive historical account of Hungarians migrations to Australia. It describes the motivations which brought the various vintages between 1830 and 1960 to Australia, and presents a comprehensive view of Hungarians in Australia in the mid 1960s. The study also contains an extensive bibliography.

Of works referred to in the earlier bibliography, Taft and Doczy's study of Hungarian intellectuals is still of interest, while Doczy has since used Hungarian adolescents as sample groups in his studies of the second-generation. Aspects of Hungarian migration and assimilation have been the subjects of theses of varying quality. Though much remains yet unexplored Hungarians have received more scholarly attention than most refugee groups in Australia.

The yet undocumented, but presumed arrival of Hungarians among assisted Yugoslav migrants may bring important changes in the age, educational, occupational, religious and sex composition of Hungarians, and could affect the present pattern of low involvement by Hungarians in ethnic affairs. Also following the work of Szabó reported in the 1966 issue this Bibliography contains two new entries of material published in Budapest signifying an increased interest by current Hungarian authorities in former refugees outside Hungary, including Australia. Both the increased migration from Yugoslavia and official Hungarian interest in migrants abroad are developments which may have important effects on the assimilation pattern and ethnic harmony of Hungarians.

Latvians

The 1966 Census gave the number of those born in Latvia as 15,395. Almost all Latvians now in Australia left Latvia between 1939 and 1945 as part of one of six vintages of refugees displaced by events of the war. These consisted of Latvians repatriated by Hitler to Germany with the Volksdeutsche in 1939; civilian refugees of June 1940; forced labourers deported to Germany, 1940-41; soldiers of 1941; evacuees of June 1941; refugees of 1944-45. The six vintages, of which apparently the last was the largest, united into one wave arrived to Australia in the early years of the Displaced Persons scheme.

5 See E.F. Kunz, Blood and Gold: Hungarians in Australia in Bibliography, Part L-d.
7 See entries for A.G. Doczy in Bibliography, Part H.
9 See entries for Magyar Hirek and M. Szántó in Bibliography, Part L-d.
Although a sizeable group within the Displaced Persons scheme and containing a high proportion of well-educated men and women, Latvians have somewhat surprisingly failed to document their migration and their past and present Australian existence in the English language. This is the more surprising as they have produced a considerable amount of material of literary merit and their year-book Archivs edited by Professor Edgars Dunsdorfs in Melbourne since 1960 contains some scholarly evaluation of their lives in the diaspora. However, this valuable material is lost to the non-Latvian researcher, and in the absence of material published by Latvians themselves most English language items which the two issues of this Bibliography could locate have come from their political critics. The M.A. thesis of I. Kukurs\(^1\) and the B.A. Honours thesis by Miss Grantskalns\(^1\) though both unpublished consequently gain special significance. Some articles written in German and published overseas, though marginal on Australia, have been included in this Bibliography to provide a wider reading for the non-Latvian student.\(^1\)

Given the Latvian community's interest in ethnic matters, it may not be long before systematic efforts are made to meet this lack of English-language material. The publication of English summaries of the articles in the Archivs - perhaps even a special volume containing selected studies dealing with Latvians in Australia from past issues and translated into English - would certainly be a welcome addition to the literature of Australia's refugee groups and could gain nothing but friends for the Latvian settlers of Australia.

Lithuanians

Lithuanians formed one of the smaller groups of Displaced Persons and altogether 9,894 arrived between 1947-1954. This Bibliography contains one item of restricted interest only: no comprehensive study of Lithuanians in Australia has yet been located.

Poles

Migration of Poles to Australia, though not extensive, goes back to the early years of the settlement, and Polish refugees of successive revolutions in nineteenth century Europe became a small but noticeable elite in the various colonies.

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\(^1\) See I. Kukurs in Bibliography, Part L-e.

\(^1\) See E. Grantskalns in Bibliography, Part L-e.

\(^1\) See entries for E. Dunsdorfs (Letten mit akademischer Ausbildung), A. Namsons, J. Rudzitits and P. Urdze.
In 1933 there were 3,239 Poles in Australia, many of them Jewish in origin. This number increased when just before the Second World War more persons, mainly Jewish, escaped from the gradually extending German influence and occupation of Europe. Soon after the War 1,457 Poles arrived under the Polish Ex-Servicemen Scheme, and also some Polish Jews, survivors of the concentration camps. Another 64,856 Poles followed during 1949-53, through the I.R.O. Displaced Persons Scheme.

These waves were composed of the most diverse vintages of Poles; all displaced by their defeat or imprisonment by the Germans after 1939 or by the subsequent advance of the Russians. They lived between 1939 and 1947 under a great variety of circumstances in a large number of countries. In addition to those in war-torn Europe some lived as refugees in India, Africa and the Middle East, while others served in Polish units alongside the fighting services of the United Kingdom. Airmen and soldiers with unbroken service between 1939-1945, prisoners of war, forced labourers, deportees, internees, refugees to neutral countries who rejoined Polish units as war progressed, and survivors of death camps, Christian and Jewish made up this, the largest group of post-war refugees. 13

Considerable historical research has been completed by Lech Paszkowski of Melbourne on the history of Poles in Australia prior to 1940. He has published some articles in English. His book published in Polish with the title Polacy w Australii i Oceanii contains numerous useful biographies and is accompanied by a detailed bibliography,14 An English version of this major work on Poles in Australia is in preparation at present.

Post-war Polish arrivals have been the subject of studies by George Zubrzycki15 and more recently by Ruth Johnston. Johnston who is of Polish origin invariably uses Polish samples in her studies of the home life, values and attitudes of first and second generation migrants in Western Australia.16

Poles are one of the two eastern European refugee groups in Australia sufficiently large to be specified as separate ethnic groups in most general studies of immigrants. Therefore such general works should be consulted for additional information about Poles. In particular they have been part of Lancaster Jones' studies of ethnic concentration in Melbourne17 and of

14 See L. Paszkowski, Polacy w Australii i Oceanii, 1790-1940 in Bibliography, Part L-g.
16 See entries for R. Johnston in Bibliography Parts F, L-g and Q.
17 See F.L. Jones, Ethnic Concentration and Assimilation in Bibliography, Part F.
Zubrzycki's present investigations of occupational stratification. Moreover, their distribution is shown on the 'Immigration' sheet of the Atlas of Australian Resources published by the Department of National Development, and is discussed in the accompanying commentary by I. Burnley.

In addition to being one of the largest post-war refugee groups in Australia, Poles suffered, with a few exceptions, the longest displacement before migrating to Australia; their experiences of subjugation, uncertainty and instability are second only to the experiences of Jews persecuted by the Germans. They are also unique in their strong ex-servicemen organization which, because many served under an Allied command and a number of them took part in the Battle of Britain, has been recognized by Australian ex-servicemen organizations. This longer displacement before migration and allied status on arrival have differentiated Poles sharply from most other ethnic groups and are important factors in comparative studies.

Romanians

The Bibliography contains no items specifically dealing with the small group of Romanian born immigrants, at present numbering about 4,700, of whom over a quarter may be ethnic Hungarians and Germans. The Bulletin of the Australian Romanian Association, however, is of interest. Now in its eighteenth year of publication, this duplicated Bulletin appears partly in English and is a useful source of information on past and present trends among the politically active anti-communist Romanians in Australia.

Russians (excluding Ukrainians but including White Russians)

Since the turn of the century several waves of Russian refugees have reached Australia. Most of these migrants left Russia as part of four vintages: Russian Jews who left Russia before 1917 as a result of the Pale policy of the Czars and the periodic pogroms; left-wing revolutionaries, particularly those coming after the political upheaval of 1905; anti-Bolshevik refugees who left during and after the Civil War of 1917-20; and the Displaced Persons of the Second World War. Of the refugees belonging to the second vintage many chose to return to Soviet Russia after 1917.

Most of the 17,000 Russians in Australia at present belong to the third and fourth vintages. Of these, the Displaced Persons came in one wave. Part of those leaving with the 1917-20 vintage arrived soon after the Civil War, but others lived in widely scattered countries of Europe and Asia for decades, and eventually drifted to Australia, individually or in small groups. Of these groups the most notable are the refugees who arrived after the

18 See J. Zubrzycki in Bibliography, Part Q.
19 See Commonwealth Department of National Development in Bibliography, Part C.
Japanese take-over in Manchuria, those who later joined the Displaced Persons in Europe and Asia and arrived in Australia with them, and those who, after the establishment of the Communist government in Peking came to Australia from China under the auspices of the Australian Council of Churches.

Writings on Russians are limited and research based on questionnaires or case studies is hampered by strongly held political views and fear of agents provocateurs, a fear which is sustained by the continued interest of the Soviet regime in Russian émigré groups. C.M. Hotimsky's study reported in the 1966 Bibliography gives a short historical account of Russians in Australia while A. Konovet's thesis is valuable for its attempt at establishing a demographic background from difficult data, and for its description of Russian community organizations and their roles in the Sydney area.

As both the belonging to a national Orthodox church and a faith in the political importance of émigré groups is a living tradition among Russians, their assimilation patterns against the centripetal forces of politics and church would be of great interest.

Ukrainians

The same political events which caused the migration of Russians also brought Ukrainians to Australia. They sometimes appear separately in the birthplace columns of various statistical tables but at other times are included with Russians. A number, from the old Ukrainian areas of Poland and the Ruthenian areas of Czechoslovak also appear in the Polish and Czechoslovak columns. In nationality statistics, if not naturalized, they are usually described as Polish, Russian, Ukrainian or Stateless.

The majority of the estimated thirty thousand Ukrainians at present in Australia came with the D.P. wave of migrants between 1947 and 1953. They belong overwhelmingly to the Catholic Unit and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church both following Ukrainian traditions and using Ukrainian language. Ukrainians are well organized and the proportion participating in ethnic affairs is high. Ukrainians in Australia a volume of over 800 pages written in Ukrainian and published by the Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia is a heavily illustrated volume describing Ukrainian organizations, activities, personalities and achievements.

Having lived for centuries as an ethnic minority, Ukrainians can apparently preserve inward looking and cohesive organizations, a fact which is not only illustrated by the volume published by the Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia but also was noted by Zubrzycki when he

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21 See A. Konovet in Bibliography, Part L-h.
22 See Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Bibliography, Part L-i.
examined the social integration of Ukrainians of Newborough in Victoria, and
found them homogeneous, well integrated, with a core of leaders well known to
the community. 23

Reputed to be hardworking and quiet, Ukrainians are seldom in the
news. It is a pity that the Ukrainians, who like the Latvians apparently
possess the unity and the means to do so, have not published anything sub­
stantial in English on their community life and history in Australia.

Yugoslavs

South Slavs, mainly from coastal Dalmatia, began arriving in notice­
able numbers during the second half of the nineteenth century, and ever since
have remained a constant though fluctuating factor in Australian immigration.
A number of those arriving in the early twentieth century were young men
avoiding Hapsburg conscription and others were Peasant Radicals who left the
country in the 1920s because they felt harshly treated by the Serbian
establishment.

By 1947 there were 5,866 persons of Yugoslav birth in Australia.
The D.P. wave augmented their number to 22,856 by 1954. Catholic citizens of
Yugoslavia — mainly Croats as well as Slovenians, Italians and Hungarians —
formed about three quarters of the refugees while Eastern Orthodox Serbs, who
in Yugoslavia predominate, made up most of the other quarter.

After the refugee wave of 1947-53, with the consolidation of the Tito
regime, free immigrants in search of labour began to arrive. Successive
Yugoslav-Australian immigration agreements broadened assistance to Yugoslav
migrants, increasing substantially the flow. In the four years between mid
1966 and mid 1970 55,388 Yugoslav settlers arrived in Australia, the highest
yearly intake in 1969-70 reaching 26,086. The present Yugoslav population is
estimated to be nearing 120,000.

Charles Price in his Southern Europeans in Australia dealt with the
complex geographical and cultural background of the South Slav immigrants
who came to Australia prior to the Second World War. 24 His study analysed
the emigration and settlement patterns emphasizing the 'folk' coherence of
the South Slavs. i.e., the strength of Slovene, Croatian, and Serb loyalties.
Furthermore, because many arrived at the bidding of migrants already in
Australia, they tended to cluster by processes of chain migration in distinct
occupations or areas of settlement according to area of origin.

23 Jerzy Zubrzycki, Settlers of the Latrobe Valley : a Sociological Study of
Immigrants in the Brown Coal Industry in Australia, Canberra, Australian
As Yugoslavs form a major immigrant grouping, they are specified in most general studies of settlers in Australia. In particular, their distribution is shown on the 'Immigration' sheet of the Atlas of Australian Resources and is discussed in the accompanying commentary by I. Burnley. However, no work comparable to that of Price has been done of the Yugoslavs who arrived after the Second World War. Divided by folk, religion and political loyalties, the political and ethnic life of the various South Slav groups of the Displaced Persons wave is sharply polarised and highly volatile, making studies based on personal involvements or interviews extremely difficult. Any such study will have to deal with a population presenting in an intense form all the ethnic, cultural and political contradictions of post-Versailles Yugoslavia, and will perform lean heavily on documents and information held by the Serbian Orthodox Church in Australia, the Croatian Catholic chaplains, and to a lesser degree Slovenian Franciscan Fathers in Melbourne and Sydney. Such study may well concern itself also with the social and ethnic functions of the various Croatian and Serb soccer clubs which, because of their wide following appear to reflect the ethnic and political sentiments of a wide cross-section of South Slav migrant groups.

No study has yet been made of the more recent 'free' Yugoslav immigration. Because of the great variety of ethnic groups in Yugoslavia and the great difference between their educational standards, values and politics, a study of the composition of this new immigration, as well as its relations to the various South Slav groups already established in Australia is a difficult though urgent task.

Jews (Bibliography Section M)

The existence of Jews in Australia is co-terminous with the establishment of the colony. Since the very beginning, Jews formed a minute, though recognizable part of the Australian community. Although, in the century following 1830 the absolute number of Jews grew, their proportion in the population by 1933 declined from 0.57 per cent to 0.36 per cent. Arrivals since 1934 — mainly pre- and post-war refugees — raised the declared number of Jews in Australia to 63,271 by 1966 — over 0.55 per cent of the total population.

Though the Jewish population at present contains a number of British Jews, as well as numbers of native Australians descended from early Jewish settlers, works on Jews are included in this chapter both because many Jews, whether fleeing from pogroms and anti-Jewish sentiment or caught up in national upheavals in their places of birth, came to Australia as refugees; and because Jews from eastern Europe have always been a significant element within the Jewish communities of Australia.

Jews have been studied more than any other ethnic group. Publications on Australian Jewry, particularly historical and biographical material are

See Commonwealth Department of National Development in Bibliography, Part C.
extensive. For this reason the present Bibliography only lists items of
demographical, sociological and political interest.

While the centre of Jewish historical studies is in Sydney, where the
Australian Jewish Historical Society's headquarters and library is located
and its Journal is published, most recent sociological work has largely come
from Melbourne, particularly from the studies of Taft, Lippmann and Medding.\textsuperscript{26}
Medding's \textit{From Assimilation to Group Survival},\textsuperscript{27} which is the most extensive
work on Jews listed in this issue of the Bibliography, analyses the effect
of the pre-war and post-war refugee waves of Jewish migrants on the then
proportionately decreasing Jewry of Australia, and deals with the cardinal
problem of group survival, identity, and political unity within Australia's
oldest and most successful ethnic group.

WORKS ON ASPECTS OF MIGRATION WITH SPECIAL RELEVANCE TO
EASTERN EUROPEANS

A number of works have appeared since the publication of the 1966
Bibliography dealing either with groups of eastern European settlers or with
certain aspects of the lives of one or more eastern European immigrant
groups which they took as samples or as subjects of inquiry. In addition
some general works on immigrants to Australia include useful information on
eastern European migrants. Such studies cannot all be mentioned here in
detail, and the reader should study carefully Sections A - J of the Bibliogra-
phy as well as the General section introducing Section L. However some
of the most relevant works deserve special attention.

\textbf{Demography}

With the increase in intake of British, southern European and Dutch
immigrants to Australia from the mid-fifties, and the cessation of the
Displaced Persons programme in 1953, the proportion of eastern European
migrants in Australia diminished despite periodic or sudden intakes from
Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Consequently some eastern
European groups became eliminated as separate entities from published
censuses and statistics with the result that no recent monograph has dealt
with the demography of eastern Europeans with the same detail as \textit{Zborzycki's
Immigrants in Australia}, which was based on the Census of 1954, the year which

\textsuperscript{26} See entries for W.N. Lippmann, P. Medding and R. Taft in Part M of this, and
the 1966 Bibliography.

\textsuperscript{27} See P. Medding in Bibliography, Part M.
marked the culmination of the Displaced Persons' Scheme. 28 Nevertheless a
number of articles published since 1966 have assessed the demography of
Australia's post-war population, throwing light on new developments within
the refugee groups. Among several of Charles Price's studies in this field
'Post War Migration: Demographic Background', is of special interest because
it focuses on mixed marriages and the children from such unions; many such
intermarriages arose from the surplus of male immigrants most evident among
post-war refugees from eastern Europe. 29

Mental Health

The study on 'Family Life and Mental Ill-Health Among Migrants'
outlines some of the findings by J. Kurpinski and A. Stoller, 30 both of whom
have considerable publications in the field of mental health. Kurpinski and
Stoller, though dealing with all immigrant groups and comparing them with
the Australian born, find it necessary to pay more than average attention to
eastern Europeans in mental institutions and to seek the cause of their high
admission rate in the demographic character of the intake and in the
unsettled and often tragic circumstances in which these refugees found
themselves in Europe.

Social Psychology

In the field of social psychology Taft's From Stranger to Citizen
summarises some of the most important work completed up to 1966. 31 Though
this volume encompasses studies on groups of various backgrounds, the volume
is of considerable interest to students of eastern European refugee groups.

Immigrant Press

Miriam Gilson's and J. Zubrzycki's The Foreign Language Press in
Australia, 1848-1964 32 deals with the foreign press in Australia with a

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28 Jerzy Zubrzycki, Immigrants in Australia: a Demographic Survey Based Upon
29 Charles Price, 'Post-War Migration: Demographic Background', in A. Stoller,
30 Jerzy Kurpinski and Alan Stoller, 'Family Life and Mental Ill-Health Among
31 Ronald Taft, From Stranger to Citizen: a Survey of Studies of Immigrant
Assimilation in Western Australia, Perth, University of Western Australia,
1966.
32 See M. Gilson and J. Zubrzycki in Bibliography, Part F.
A heavy emphasis on newspapers published since World War II. The volume contains an extensive bibliography of the immigrant press. The majority of the entries relate to materials published by refugees.

THE STUDY OF REFUGEES

Apart from the MS of an extensive thesis on Displaced Persons in Australia, completed in 1953, this issue of the Bibliography has been unable to locate any monograph dealing with refugees on a broad scale. A considerable amount of useful material touching on important refugee problems has appeared dispersed in various studies, but there is no recent monograph which can, for example, compare in scope or orientation with Jean Martin's earlier Refugee Settlers.

The widening sources of immigrants to Australia, the growth of the voluntary immigrant element within the population, and the appearance of the second generation in schools and the workforce, has brought an increased pre-occupation with immigrants as settlers. Consequently, differences in immigrant backgrounds have become somewhat blurred, and the corresponding under-playing of the role of pre-migration factors has all too frequently led to the implicit assumption that both voluntary immigrants and refugees, because they live in the same Australian geographic socio-economic environment and are subject to the same host attitudes, are equivalent immigrant groups and can be appropriately matched. Such an assumption is inadequate because it overlooks the dissimilarity of the 'push' motivations which triggered these migrations. It is suggested that historical and near-historical appraisals, and comparative studies testing the strength of the refugee/non-refugee variable, would be of great theoretical and practical value. What is singularly missing in the post-war immigration literature is a theoretically oriented overview of refugee migrations. Although the problems of some individual refugee groups have found evaluations in studies on their ethnic activities, assimilation attitudes and the particular stresses which they are liable to exhibit, these studies have not been integrated as a whole. Because of the differing experiences and motivations, refugees may need to be studied within the framework of concepts of referent more correlated and consistent with refugee phenomena.

As shown by Price the key to the understanding of most non-British voluntary migrations is the process of chain migration whereby immigrants already established steadily sponsor relatives and friends, producing the occupational and residential concentration of families from the same area of origin; this in turn, reinforces close family ties, ethnic and religious

33 See M.L. Kovacs in Bibliography, Part L-a.
35 Price, op. cit. (1963), various pages.
unity, and the maintenance of local dialects and customs, especially when the immigrants are, as many of them have been, from the peasant areas of Europe. Refugee movements present an entirely different picture: scattered places of origin, usually high educational status, arrival in waves rather than in chains, and occupational diversification with low residential concentration after arrival. Conflict among voluntary migrants may be incidental—among refugees conflicts dominate: refugees are created not by the blending forces of common poverty but by the divisive events of politics and war. Underneath the broad national classifications of the voluntary migrants are a range of ethnic and regional communities; behind the lofty flags of political and national refugee migrations one should discern the particularity of waves and the uniqueness of component vintages. Though they arrive in broad waves, refugees leave their homelands as "constituent members of various emigrant 'vintages', each distinctly different in character, background and avowed political faith."  

Refugee groups differ from voluntary migrants not only in variety of home background, but also in the initial motivations to leave their country of birth, usually to a country of first refuge. Then from there they are nudged to move further on by the exhaustion of charity funds, restrictions on their employment and often also by uncongenial life in refugee camps. Unable to resist these pressures put on them they finally reluctantly accept offers of permanent settlement elsewhere. This 'push-pressure-pull' kinetic of refugee movement contrasts strongly with the 'push-and-pull' pattern of voluntary migrations. Not only the motives behind the refugee's initial step are different from the 'push' which sends the voluntary migrants overseas, but unlike the voluntary migrant, the refugee chooses the new land not in preference to his country of birth, but in preference to a country of asylum, where he is no longer tolerated or no longer able to live. The émigré spirit of political activism which on the one hand is created, and on the other hand sustained, by the hope of a return to the motherland, provides the refugee during this 'midway-to-nowhere period' with stresses and experiences not shared by the voluntary migrant and makes him vulnerable to emotional and health hazards.  

If the selective factors affecting the composition of refugee groups different from those controlling voluntary migrations; if the motivations, purposes and kinetic of their migration are at variance; it is highly likely that the attitudes and careers of refugees after arrival will differ from those of voluntary migrants, and that the social network and institutions

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37 cf. Jerzy Krupinski and Alan Stoller, op. cit.
they both develop will have different meanings and purposes. Former suppressed minorities e.g. Jews may form exceptions, and may from the beginning resemble voluntary migrants at least in some respects. Nevertheless, is it possible to talk about 'immigrant politics', 'ethnic associations' or 'immigrant press' without distinguishing between voluntary migrants and refugees? Should not refugee activities, particularly in the early years of arrival be considered rather 'émigré politics', 'émigré associations', 'émigré press', and be examined as sui generis products of national refugee life at variance with similar activities of voluntary migrants?\textsuperscript{38} If most refugees differ in their background, motivations and experiences from voluntary migrants, it is not unlikely that they would differ also in their patterns of assimilation, naturalisation, settlement, re-emigration and return, and thus their contribution to the life of the host country would be also different. Presumably many refugees in time move from the predominantly home-oriented emigré outlook towards the attitude of the intending settler. If so, is time the only factor involved? Finally to emphasize the relevance of these questions: are Australian born children of refugees different from the children of voluntary immigrants in their attitudes, assimilation and outlook?

The 1966 edition of the Bibliography and this 1971 issue together are evidence that our knowledge of these matters has increased during the past twenty years. Nevertheless they also indicate that we have not yet found satisfactory answers to most of these questions, nor to a number of others which are just as important. Refugees - as Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 have shown - may be with us at any time, unplanned and unexpected. Studies based on the assumption that refugees, even after immigration, act at variance with voluntary migrants, and may contribute in different ways to our national life, could pay substantial results.

\textsuperscript{38} Mirian Gilson and Jerzy Zubrzycki in \textit{op. cit.} have found that the assumption that emigré press and the press of voluntary migrants differed in coverage of news and in attitude is correct.
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<th>5. SELECT IMMIGRANT GROUPS AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES</th>
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VIETNAMESE ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES

BY VU HUY DUNG

FOLLOW UP PAPER NO. 1 OF THE MIGRATION EXPERIENCE WORKSHOP, NO. 1.

Held at the Graylands Migrant Centre April 14 and 15, 1980 under the direction of Sandra Hopkins, Mount Lawley College, and funded under 'Recommendation 14' of the Galbally Report.

Until nearly 2 centuries ago, Vietnam was under an absolute monarchy. The organisation of the society as well as the government hierarchy was clearly defined by Confucianism. The king, the supreme and absolute ruler, was referred metaphorically as the "son of God". He reigned and ruled with absolute power. No one was allowed to mention his name, or to look straight at his face (which was referred to as the "FACE OF THE DRAGON: long face"). His order had to be carried out at all cost, as he was infallible. An offence to the king could result in the death sentence of the offender, or his parents, his brothers and sisters and wife and children as well. But alongside the power, the king had his responsibilities toward his subjects. The mother of a Chinese emperor once told her royal son that "The subjects are most important, the land and territory comes second, and the king last". That was to remind him of his responsibilities. The universal order wanted the 3 elements of the universe: Sun, Earth and Heaven to be in perfect harmony. If the king was kind and wise, his dynasty would last long, peace would reign over his people, and the harvest was good. Otherwise, the country would be in a turmoil, catastrophes would destroy the crop, and eventually, a wise noble man backed by the people's and Heaven's will lead a successful rebellion, put the king to the Bau Dynasty, and start a new dynasty.

Every three years, a imperial examination was organised presided over by the king himself. The candidates who had spent all their youth studying the Chinese, confucianist classics had to write essays about the art of ruling the country, of defending the country.... the successful candidates became mandarins, (officials) of different ranks according to the merit of their essays. So the government officials were learned people, a respectable social class. They had lots of privileges allotted to them proportionately to their rank. They also had absolute power in their region, and were responsible only to the king who had his Inspectors to control their righteousness. The mandarins were referred to as "the people's parents" (phu mau chi dan). They were respected and obeyed by the people, and also had their duties toward the people. But they only looked after the people, not served the people, the latter were unquestionably inferior to them. If they were kind, impartial and righteous, they were venerated and loved by their subjects. If they were greedy, and indulged themselves in bribery, graft or immoral conduct, the people would try to avoid falling into their hands. If a corrupt mandarin was the judge, a culprit could well get away with it by bribing the judge - that was one of the reasons why there was a popular saying "It is a misfortune to come to the court.

Coming with the XX were radical changes in the government. The French colonial government became well-established. The king still existed, but was a simple ornamental figurehead, his court and his mandarins formed a puppet government. The scholars who were still loyal to the confucianist ideology either retired or organised the resistance forces. A new social class arose: the mandarins who collaborated with the French colonial government, and the opportunists who servility worked for the French officers. These people were granted many privileges, and power by the French colonial government who needed their help to suppress the resistance and opposition. This new race was labelled "CIVIL SERVANT" but was despised and feared by the common people - Bribery were popular then. The common people, especially the poor people in the country became even more inferior to their "civil servants" who worked for the French authority than ever before. The businessmen, and rich people were much better off because they had the power of money. The educated people, especially French educated people were much better off because they could have connections with the new ruling class.

In the later half of XX, with the decline of colonialism, people became aware of their rights. But while democracy was still in the embryonic stage, the war raged throughout the country. So before the people could exert fully their citizen rights, they had to learn to sacrifice part of their personal freedom for the demand of the country in war. This was quite sensible and legitimate, but after corrupt government officers used it as a pretext to extort money ... from the simple citizens. Bribery, corruption during the war in a developing country was as impossible to eradicate as epidemics during the flood. Although theoretically, the citizens were protected by the constitution and the laws, the laws still had loopholes, and the modern corrupt officials were much more subtle than their predecessors, So, in dealing with those officials, the people always had a certain amount of distrust.

From the foregoing sketch of the relationship between the common people and the government officials, now we can draw some conclusions.

(1) Confucian ideology was deep rooted in our culture traditionally, the government officials were learned, well-educated people, and were more often than not, elders. They were regarded as the incarnation of the Law and the Ruling Power. So they had at least three reasons to be respected. Coming to see a government officials, people had to wear the best clothes available, had to present themselves with their best manners, had to appear modest and humble. They expected the officials to be their decent superiors, deserving their respect, to be kind, understanding and ready to help them.

As civics is taught in school, the new generations understand that the government are just civil servants who have the same rights and duties as anyone else. However, the remnants of the traditional attitude are still detectable in the attitude of the present day people, and are more so in the country folks, the old and the uneducated people (As in any country, the people in the rural area, the people of the lower socio-economic classes, and the old people are less liberated from the ancient tradition than the well educated city dwellers).
2. Having seen and heard of many instances of corruption, many people are suspicious and always approach the government officials with a certain degree of reserve and even of distrust sometimes. (I would like to underline that I'm talking about the attitude of the Vietnamese people in the society torn by war and its ensuring social vices. I do not imply that this apply to the Vietnamese refugees in Australia).

3. This last conclusion apply to the Vietnamese refugees in Australia. In Vietnam, until some years ago, with the spread of the education and information services, people could see the civil servants in the right perspective - their attitude towards the civil servants were not much different from what you have here in Australia except for the influence of the tradition as mentioned in (1). But now, many government institutions or organisations here were unheard of in Vietnam for many Vietnamese, e.g. the C.I.S., the department of Social Security. Many people do not quite understand the role of a welfare officer or a social worker. Many are uncertain of or even unaware of the services offered by the C.I.S., the social security department... So when they approach these government officials, this uncertainty, bewilderment, together with the cultural differences and language difficulties are reflected in their attitude which can easily be misunderstood.

Another fact is that in the Vietnamese culture, people try to solve any problem within the family or within the close circle of kinship... The court, the police are only the last resorts when the conflicts cannot be sorted out among the family or families concerned. People are reluctant to discuss the family problem with anyone outside the family, because this is considered as washing their dirty linen in public. Family counselling and the like are not popular. Old parents never ask for any help from a welfare service unless it is desperately needed, because it is embarrassing to the family that they are not supported by their children... Being aware of this fact can be of great help for you to understand the "strange" attitude of your clients. However Vietnamese folk tales and history are full of stories about friends who swore to be brothers and are closer and more faithful to each other than many blood brothers - using friendly and understanding approach, you will certainly gain the confidence of the Vietnamese people, and be considered as a member of their family.
THE COMPLEXITY OF "YUGOSLAV" CULTURE AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY

Branka Cop

For the Migration Experience Workshop, Graylands Migrant Centre, April 14 and 15, 1980.


Yugoslavia comprises six republics and five "nationalities".
(The republics are: Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro)

The main languages are Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian and Slovenian.

All of these are mutually unintelligible except Croatian and Serbian. Serbian was traditionally written in Cyrillic characters, and older Serbs may only know this alphabet. There is no such language as Serbo-Croat, a word sometimes used to describe Serbian written in Latin (non-cyrillic) characters, like Croatian, which uses Latin letters. Since Croatians vastly outnumber Serbs in Western Australia it would be far more tactful to ask a client if they speak Croatian, not "Yugoslav" or Serbo-Croat.

Though Croats outnumber Serbs, early post World War II migration was mainly from Serbia and this has helped cause some confusion.

"Yugoslav" (Croatian) migrants may suffer from not being aware of benefits to which they are entitled. They are familiar with a different governmental system.

They may also not know what level of pay they should be receiving, or anything about the benefits they are entitled to since "private" (ie non-group intake migrants such as the Vietnamese) get little if any orientation from Australian authorities.

Rural people, as many Croats are, tend to see government people as "high". They feel shy and inadequate and this may manifest itself as aggressiveness, really a mask for their shyness.

In Croatian culture males claim superiority over females. Women are supposed to be submissive and housebound. Working wives may be under pressure from husbands who feel uneasy about the arrangement, but some women "make the break" and go out to work despite this. At present the women in Yugoslavia are a considerable part of the workforce. They have equal rights and responsibilities according to our Constitution, but within the house there is still male dominance.
GREEKS AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY

Sandy Hopkins

For the Migration Experience Workshop, Graylands Migrant Centre, April 14 and 15, 1980.

Directed by Sandy Hopkins, Mount Lawley College and funded under Recommendation 14 of the Galbally Report (Migrant Services and Programs, Australian Government Publishing Services, Canberra, 1978.)

The Greeks have a long history of harsh overlordship. For 400 years they were ruled by a foreign power - Turkey, which literally owned not only the land but even the people. The Greeks were subjected to sudden requisition of their foodstocks, animals, and even stealing (capture) of their women.

They developed survival tactics. Chief among these were a certain reticence about their personal affairs, particularly to "officials", a tendency to hide their stores when necessary; a protectiveness of their women, sometimes amounting to a degree of seclusion, and a perhaps deliberate attempt to minimize good looks in ill-fitting working clothes (except on ceremonial occasions, where the beauty of Greek costume is undeniable).

They also developed "means" (meson) of getting things done against presumed opposition, and a finely-tuned ability to make use of any opportunity that presented itself.

When the Turks left (and they did this most reluctantly, and by degrees, so that Greece as we now know it was only complete by about the nineteen twenties, and small pieces were added as late as after World War II) the Greeks did not automatically fall into a state of unity with their fellow Greeks. Out of habit, perhaps, some still continued to take advantage of others and to preserve self motivation behind most of the acts of others. Only Greeks who came to Australia from outside * the Greek nation state might have had an easier, more leisured and perhaps more "Westernised" life-style, and an easier relationship with bureaucracies.

Greeks come to Australia with the presumption that "means" (meson) are vital, and that connections with important people are the best kind of "means".

Australians, of course, are not free of a toned-down version of the same idea.

However, in Greece, "means" are vital. John Campbell's book Honour, Family and Patronage (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964) makes the following points:

A Greek owes allegiance to his family and his family honour, not to the idea of the Greek state. Greek rural people may be ignorant of the law and suffer from feelings of inferiority. They lack confidence in encounters with officials.

* e.g. Egypt, Asia Minor.
They are accustomed to delay, centralisation, and the fact that
government officials may have to keep up their status by not
condescending to help mere country bumpkins.

They assume that they need a patron to conduct business involving
the government, and tend to choose lawyers and doctors. Politicians,
if accessible, are favoured patrons too, as are any persons with education
and connections to the towns. Such persons may be asked to stand as god
parents to their clients' children, and god parents are accepted sources
of help in official situations. Rural clients cultivate relationships
with patrons for use in time of need. Food gifts, money bribes are
accepted as part of this insurance, or used as reciprocation for favours
received.

I am not suggesting that Greek migrants simply transplant these ideas intact
to Australia. But this is the "cultural baggage" with which they arrive.
They find a new system, in which fairness is supposed to prevail and the
above rules do not apply.

Perhaps an effort to understand the new system may account for some puzzlement
and frustration, at least at first.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RESOURCES AND FURTHER READING

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## MIGRANT EXPERIENCE WORKSHOP 2

### APPENDIX A

(Day One: June 30, 1980)

**LOCATION:** Guildford Recreation Centre, Kalamunda Road, Guildford

**CO-ORDINATORS:** Sandy Hopkins, Karen Appel, Rob Mykytiuk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.00am</td>
<td>S1. Registration</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Dining Room Block 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resource Person: Le Quan Vinh</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10.30am</td>
<td>COFFEE/TEA BREAK &amp; Introduction</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Dining Room Block 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.00am</td>
<td>S2. Culture and Multiculture</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Media Room Block 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Co-ordinator: Sandy Hopkins</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Technical Co-ordinator: Karen Appel</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.30pm</td>
<td>LUNCH</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Dining Room Block 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.30pm</td>
<td>S3. Being-a Migrant Films</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Media Room</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Discussion with migrant resource</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Dining Room &amp; Media Room</td>
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<td>persons</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.30pm</td>
<td>COFFEE/TEA BREAK</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Dining Room Block 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.15pm</td>
<td>Board bus</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>New Oxford, Leederville</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.00pm</td>
<td>S4. Film: Hester Street</td>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>Yugoslav Club, Jones Street, Balcatta</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.00pm</td>
<td>S5. Dinner &amp; Entertainment</td>
<td>Combined</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.00pm</td>
<td>Board bus for return</td>
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<td>9.00am</td>
<td><strong>S6. Being a Refugee</strong></td>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
<td><strong>Media Room Block 1</strong></td>
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<td>Films: Restless Wave</td>
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<td>Neither Here Nor There</td>
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<td>Discussion</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vietnamese Resource Persons.</td>
<td><strong>Small</strong></td>
<td><strong>Media Room Block 1</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Dining Room Block 2</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10.45am</td>
<td><strong>COFFEE/TEE BREAK</strong></td>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dining Room Block 2</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>11.00am</td>
<td><strong>S7. Discussion: Attitudes to</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dining Room Block 2</strong></td>
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<td>Government bureaucracies in Countries of Origin of</td>
<td><strong>Security</strong></td>
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<td>Migrants and Refugees</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F. Capone, R. Chelliah, B. Ėop, Le Quan Vinh.</td>
<td><strong>Mixed</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S8.1 Interviewing Migrants</strong></td>
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<td>Resource Person: Emmanuel Stamatiou</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.30pm</td>
<td><strong>LUNCH</strong></td>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dining Room Block 2</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1.30pm</td>
<td><strong>S8.2 Interviewing Migrants</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social</strong></td>
<td><strong>Media Room Block 1</strong></td>
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<td><strong>S7.2 Discussion: Attitudes to</strong></td>
<td><strong>Security</strong></td>
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<td>Government bureaucracies in Countries of Origin of</td>
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<td>Migrants and Refugees</td>
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<td>3.00pm</td>
<td><strong>COFFEE/TEA BREAK</strong></td>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dining Room Block 2</strong></td>
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<td>3.30pm</td>
<td><strong>S9. Simulation Exercise</strong></td>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
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<td>Resource Person: Le Quan Vinh</td>
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<td>4.30pm</td>
<td><strong>S10. Small Group Discussion</strong></td>
<td><strong>Small</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Including follow up information</td>
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<td><strong>Dining Room Block 2</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.15pm</td>
<td><strong>General Discussion &amp; Evaluation</strong></td>
<td><strong>Combined</strong></td>
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