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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

T H E G R E E K F A M I L Y I N C A P E T O W N

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to

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T.

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Emil Added,
Jerusalem. 1973

I N D E X.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Fragmentation.

On first acquaintance with Greece and Greek society, the stranger is immediately aware of a striking lack of unity in this old-new world; a feature true both of the country-side and of the people. This impression of fragmentation and divisiveness is strengthened by a widening familiarity. The more the stranger acquaints himself with the land and its people, the more an ever-widening and deepening range of aspects is uncovered. The clearer his vision, the greater his awareness of the multiplicity of social units, and he is more readily able to understand the various phenomena and social structures in which this dividedness is embedded. Anthropologists who have worked in Greece confirm this view-point.

Even the geography of Greece is that of a split and divided land - high mountains, valleys, the sea, tiny separated islands with minimal communication between them. And when one glances through the pages of Greek history, both ancient and modern, one finds ample evidence of this division; a country divided into states, often hostile and competitive. This lack of unity finds expression and is clearly reflected in the Greek language. We find three main languages very different from one another, each spoken by many but different sections of the population.

At another level of Greek culture, we find a mythology rich in gods struggling with one another, a world torn, fragmented, filled with conflict, and totally lacking in peace. Yet this continues in modern religion. Even today the visitor to Greek villages is surprised to find a proliferation of saints. Every village, large and small alike, and every family, has its own patron saint and icon.

The recent history of Greece is again one of wars and political

struggles, of emigration and of a scattering of the population to the four corners of the globe. Here again one finds the tragic dichotomy of the peoples of this scattered nation striving for their very existence while simultaneously longing for their homeland.

Together with this dichotomy, and as an organic part of it, the stranger sees another trait characterising the society - that of tension and struggle. "If it were necessary to describe the nature of the villagers' feelings with respect to each other and the world in one word, that word would be 'tension'"....writes John Peristiany of the agonistic quality of relationships among the Cypriot villagers he knows, agonistic in the sense of the classical Greek word 'agon' (a match, or a struggle). When one walks through the fields and asks how the work is going, the common response is 'palevume', "We are wrestling". Such an answer is not a cliché.

These, then, are one's first deep impressions, and they become stronger and more firmly entrenched the further one penetrates into this world. Perhaps the most impressive thing of all is the startling similarity between the geographical and social 'landscape'. To use dialectics, this is perhaps the only harmony one finds: the harmony between the geographic and the human aspects - as though the one were a reflection of the other. And when you come to know this small nation, you learn to understand the deep roots of its way of life. You look at the broken shoreline with its many bays and harbours, at the looming mountains and hills, at the tiny islands, small and distant, their lights winking in the Aegean Sea, and each light representing the struggle against the elements and man.

Just as land and people, the life of the Greek peasant family is sealed with the same dominant and striking element of fragmentation and tension. Thus, any research into the Greek community of Cape Town and the institution of the family within it, first needs to get to the roots of the Greek in Greece. Attitudes, patterns, structures, and concepts

which today prevail in Cape Town, have often been directly transplanted from the homeland. Sometimes, seemingly new in form, the motivating power behind them is Greek 'par excellence'. The dynamics they carry within them is deeply anchored in Greece, the country and its society.

2. AIMS AND OUTLINE.

The aim of this study is to establish what influence the impact of the new environment has on the structure of the Greek family in Cape Town, the impact on the functions which the family fulfils in the socialisation of the children, and on the family's social influence on the intergenerational relationship.

The study will focus on the Greeks of rural origin, as most of the Greeks in Cape Town come from a rural background. Various anthropological studies on the Greek peasant emphasise the centrality of the Greek family in the life of the individuum.

In his book, "The Absorption of Immigrants", Eisenstadt uses the concept 'institutional dispersion', which is "the extent of the immigrants dispersion or concentration within the various institutional spheres of the society". This 'institutional dispersion' serves as one index to the extent of assimilation of the immigrants by the new environment.

In the light of the high concentration of immigrants in cafés, and the family framework of this type of occupation, particularly its isolating character, we could expect a relatively poor assimilation and a reinforcement of the marked family emphasis characteristic of the Greek peasant.

This research will also attempt to trace the interplay of the 'institutional dispersion' of the Greek immigrant and his cultural orientation, the resultant forces that this interplay generates, and the influence of these forces.

The work is divided as follows:-

a) The first chapter serves as an introduction, presenting the general fragmentation of the Greek society, the aims and outlines of this study, and its methodology.

b) The second chapter gives an outline of the peasant and his family in Greece, which will illustrate the structure of the Greek family, its orientations, role distribution, and the nature of the relationships prevailing between different members. The Greek village is presented as the typical environment of the Greek family, showing how the lack of co-operation and the 'agonistic' character of the relationships between the villagers contribute to the reinforcement of family orientation.

c) In chapter three there is a discussion of three aspects of the immigration process, viz:-

i) findings on the causes of emigration, and the relevance of these findings to the motivation of Greek immigration into Cape Town.

ii) a detailed description of the immigration into Cape Town with statistical data on the stream of immigration, i.e. periods of arrival, origin, and background (rural or urban) of immigrants.

iii) a general spectrum of the occupations of the immigrants according to their periods of arrival and places of origin.

The history of the immigration process is important to the present Greek community for it gives a comprehensive picture of the various elements of which it is composed. It shows the process which has led to the formation of the present community. All data is based on a survey conducted over a relatively wide sector of the Greek community.

d) The Greek community in Cape Town today, its communal institutions and regional group relationships are dealt with in chapter four. A description is first given of the formal structure of the community and its formal institutions. The various functions of these institutions and to what extent they succeed in fulfilling them is discussed. Anthropological studies reveal the exclusive local patriotism of the Greek peasant relative to other regions of Greece and even to his nearest neighbouring village. Since the immigrants

come from various regions of Greece, it is important to analyse the relationships between these various regional groups and the dynamics of these relationships. Analysis of the development of such relationships has proved relevant, as it is essentially connected with the marriage patterns and trends among the Greek population of Cape Town. The descriptions and analysis of the informal structure will show the extensive nature of the family ties which link large segments of the population together.

e) The analysis of the informal structure of the community leads naturally to the matter of marriage trends among the new generation. In chapter five three main patterns are analysed:

Intermarriage with non-Greek spouses;

Marriages with Greek spouses not born in Cape Town, which includes

i) spouses from Greece and other places, such as Rhodesia, the Congo, and various other parts of Southern Africa, and

ii) spouses from Greek villages.

All aspects of these patterns will be discussed, including such considerations as choice of spouse, expectations, courtship, and dowry.

f) This is followed by an analysis of the conjugal role distribution and the nature of marriage relationships. The family orientation of the couples and the nature of socialisation is emphasised.

The information dealt with up to this point provides abundant material for an analysis of the tensions and conflicts within the Greek families in Cape Town, and a comparison with the tensions and conflicts which characterise the family relationships in the Greek village. The axis which emerges as the source of conflicts in the Greek village is the disfunctional structure of the Greek family which simultaneously links together and opposes the nuclear and extended families. The analysis shows that conflicts in Cape Town occur around the same axis, but in the new milieu they show different aspects and developments.

g) The final chapter indicates the feelings of the immigrants

towards the homeland, their aspirations and/or intentions of a possible return. This evidence is then discussed. Factors such as occupation, family relationships, and socialisation are the variables which determine attitudes towards returning or not returning to the homeland. In conclusion, an attempt is made to draw logical conclusions of this research.

There is a certain artificiality in the division of this work into various sections. The section on the process of immigration anticipates the one which follows, but it is, in fact, a part of the picture of the Greek community of today. The presentation of the informal structure of the community refers not only to the present in relationships between the regional groups, but also to the developments that lead up to it - in other words, this section also has reference to the process of immigration.

I am well aware of the artificiality of such a division, yet it stems from the very fact that the material in these chapters is organically interconnected. One cannot understand the immigration process without a sound knowledge of the life of the Greek peasant and his roots. Furthermore, there can be no real understanding of the Greek community of today if we separate it from its development which began with immigration, or from the very factors which are responsible for its development.

3. METHODOLOGY.

I was assisted in this research by my wife, who speaks Greek fluently, and who took an active part in the fieldwork, especially by interviewing the Greek women.

We approached this research with very little knowledge of the Cape Town Greek community. We were, however, fairly familiar with the general subject of Greece owing to a two year stay there. But our knowledge was of a general nature and not focussed at all on the Greek peasant, who is the dominant

element in this research.

A search for bibliographical sources on Greece in general, and on the Cape Town community in particular, revealed that there is virtually no literature available specific to the Cape Town community. Only one book, in Greek, dealing with Greeks in Africa, devotes approximately five pages to the communities in South Africa. This information is of an extremely general nature and is concerned chiefly with Greek immigration prior to 1920. Such information was hardly relevant to our study. It was therefore clear, from the outset, that we should have to obtain the information concerning immigration directly from the local Greek communities.

As a first contact we looked through the Cape Peninsula Telephone Directory and noted every Greek sounding name. We tried to establish contact with these people by telephone in order to make an appointment to interview them, but this method was entirely unsatisfactory. The people telephoned did not understand our intentions, and a great deal of suspicion was aroused, which resulted in them refusing to grant interviews and an absolute rejection of any requests for information. At a later stage, when we began to know the community and after studying the general literature on Greek society, it became quite clear that owing to the suspicious nature of the Greek this method could never have succeeded.

We then tried to establish personal contact trhough mutual friends who offered to introduce us. The result was immediately sympathetic and co-operative. We first met a man who had been living here for 40 years. He gave us our first general outline, which served as a guide for drawing up lines of action. He agreed to introduce us to his circle of friends, and we began to familiarise ourselves with the subject-matter through a system of interviews based on general free discussion.

However, we could not limit this study to the social circle

of one man, for there was the obvious danger of meeting only one specific group of the Greek population. In order to avoid this we then turned to other sources, which proved to be most fruitful.

From the Greek Consulate, to which we were kindly given a letter of introduction by Prof. M. Wilson, we received a list of about 400 names and addresses of people registered with them. Although the list was somewhat out of date, it nevertheless proved very useful. There was a possibility, however, that those registered with the Consulate could well be but a particular segment of the community - keen to preserve at least a formal contact with their communal institutions. Those not registered might well form another element, who, for their own reasons, might not have been interested in such formal identification. We decided therefore to use as many different sources of information and contact as possible, including the local Greek priest, the lists we had made from the telephone directory, and the Greek Students' Association. We also checked as many cafés as possible to ascertain whether they were Greek-owned. At the end of every meeting with each of the above we asked them for the names of all their Greek friends or acquaintances, or of any Greeks known to them, even though they themselves had had no direct contact with them. Our list grew immediately.

The meetings were organised in different ways. Sometimes the subject to be interviewed volunteered to initiate and organise additional meetings at which we could meet their friends. We often approached people without previous arrangement and presented ourselves, told them the subject of our research, and conducted an on the spot interview. By contrast with the telephone method, this proved to be very effective and profitable. Personal contact was established at once. We always spoke Greek, which generated both trust and pleasure - it appears that the Greeks enjoy the fact that a foreigner can speak their language - and we were often mistaken for Greek, and even after correcting this wrong impression, we were warmly received and given considerable co-operation. The degree

of hospitality for which the Greeks are famed did not disappoint us. We were most warmly welcomed. In order not to interfere with business, we were careful to visit the cafés only late at night. Often the café-owner was extremely pleased to have company at that hour, for it relieved his long day.

As an integral part of the interviews and discussions we always attempted to broaden our information and requested details concerning the other people on our list. These details were relevant to our statistical analysis and to our selection of a final sample.

After a time we formed some really meaningful relationships with a number of couples and single people. Because of our knowledge of the language, and particularly because of the extent of the hospitality encountered, we were very soon able to extend and vary the circle of people with whom we became friendly and with whom we established informal social relations. We went with them to plays, concerts, films, and restaurants. We were invited to their homes for coffee or for dinner, and we in turn reciprocated. Slowly, together with the structured and specific interviews, we became, as it were, participant observers. We participated in both formal and informal cultural activities: an evening of 'Taverna'[1] at the University, a dance organised by the Greek Womens' Association, a wedding, Sunday church services, meetings of the Greek Students' Association, of which we were made honorary members (and of which I was offered the position of Public Relations Officer!), parties at the Greek afternoon school, and so on.

The evening at the 'Taverna' was most productive. In that informal and light-hearted atmosphere we met a fairly large number of people who agreed to be interviewed. The free atmosphere there gave us an excellent chance for an appraisal of the Greek South African. At all the larger social

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1. A 'Taverna' is a highly popular form of Greek entertainment in which the participants dine and dance in a very lively and traditional Greek way.

gatherings we noticed the difference between the young, locally born Greek men, with their long hair and completely South African appearance, and those young Greeks who had only recently immigrated, who demonstrated their masculinity by carefully cultivated moustaches. But we found them united and identified in a rousing and vital performance of strenuous Greek folk-dancing. Even at this stage of the study we can affirm the striking paradox of the attitudes of Greeks to strangers. On the one hand all agree in defining the Greek as highly suspicious and individualistic, and on the other, his friendly attitude to foreigners is well-known; a reputation he well deserves. It is difficult to reconcile these conflicting attitudes for, we as foreigners were treated in a most friendly manner. People who had not known us even the day before tried to sweep us into the merry circle of dancers, and made us feel at ease and comfortably at home with them.

The two stages of fieldwork.

As already indicated, part of each interview was allocated to collecting information on the community in general - names, addresses, occupations, dates of arrival, and other statistical data. Initially, the questions were on broad lines, aimed at the formation of a general impression on the subject as a whole. It soon became clear that the story of the immigration was a classic and standard one. Every immigrant had gone through virtually the same processes and stages. We were therefore able to collect general information relative to the immigration process and to the peasant family in the Greek village. We noted many stories concerning the problems experienced in educating daughters, marriage, dowry, inheritance, the difficulty of life in Greece, emigration, immigration, earning a living, and the café as the centre here in Cape Town. It was soon clear that we had a relatively homogeneous community (at least for certain groups), and the more contacts we had, the more readily were we able to recognise structures, problems, and tensions, so that the general questions with which we initiated the interviews became more and more specific. In time we learned to

ask questions which were more specifically directed to the core of our interests. As part of a general survey, we collected statistical data on 268 heads of nuclear families.

With as lengthy and detailed a list of people as possible, and when we were more familiar with the subject, we selected a population sample.

At this stage the information collected had been extensive and in the nature of a general, pilot survey, including statistical material. We then selected a sample based on particular questions and hypotheses which would be central to the research. Our independant variable was generation-depth (we accordingly chose three groups of families), and we tried to control other variables, such as bachelorhood at the time of immigration, origin in rural Greece, non-existent professional potential, and minimal economic status.

We interviewed 15 families who arrived between 1925 and 1935. Of these families we were successful in interviewing most of their kin-network: sons, married siblings, and single people. We also interviewed 15 families who arrived between 1936 and 1947, 15 families who emigrated after the second world war (between 1948 and 1958), and 15 families who emigrated between 1959 and 1969. Some of these families included married or single brothers and their grown up children, and consequently the total number of heads of nuclear families (including widows) interviewed in the sample was 77.

TABLE I. SAMPLE OF IMMIGRANTS INTERVIEWED.

PERIOD	Bachelors	Married	TOTAL
1925-1935	3	19	22 (incl. 7 widows)
1936-1947	1	15	16 (incl. 2 widows)
1948-1958	1	19	20
1959-1969	4	15	19
TOTAL	9	68	77

TABLE II. SONS AND DAUGHTERS OVER THE AGE OF 18 BORN TO IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE, AND WHO EMIGRATED IN THE FIRST TWO PERIODS.

PARENTS PERIOD	NUMBER	SONS BACHELOR	SONS MARRIED	SONS TOTAL	DAUGHTERS SPINSTER	DAUGHTERS MARRIED	DAUGHTERS TOTAL	CHILDREN TOTAL
1925-35	19	3	19	22	5	25	30	52
1936-47	15	7	10	17	2	20	22	39
TOTAL	34	10	29	39	7	45	52	91

Although we tried to adhere strictly to this classification, we were not always successful because every family included members who had arrived at a later stage or who had married recent immigrants. In the families of recent immigrants we also found members who had married men and women born in Cape Town. The first and the fourth groups revealed particularly valuable information. The first group had very clear (and seemingly accurate) memories of their fathers' homes, of Greece, and of the immigration process. We learned a great deal from them about the transition period from the homeland to the new country. The fourth group contributed a great deal of information on the Greek village as it is today, and of the institution of the family within it. Their contribution was greatest concerning attitudes to the various subjects; they were recent arrivals, and the information was still fresh in their minds. Further, the comparison between new immigrants and people born here yielded most significant material for our study.

As already indicated, the more familiar we became with the subject, the more specifically we phrased our questions. We had therefore established a well crystallised guideline for structuring the discussions when interviewing our sample.

During the first interviews, we refrained from taking notes so as not to arouse suspicion and inhibitions. We noted data from memory immediately after every interview. My wife accompanied me on most occasions and concentrated on memorising as much as possible leaving me free to conduct the discussions. Afterwards we reconstructed the development of the discussions, the people's reactions, anecdotes, etc. We noted each single thing, often without logical order or structure, and only then did we classify and sometimes quantify the answers and comments, distinguishing therefrom directions and hints for the rest of our research

At a later stage I conducted the discussions while my wife

took notes. At the slightest indication that note-taking disturbed or inhibited the subjects in any way, we stopped immediately. It became fairly clear that any hesitancy was dependent on the number of participants. Note taking never seemed to interfere when discussions took place amongst a fairly large group. The conversation then was lively and free, the informants seemed confident, apparently because of the presence of their friends, or possibly because the large numbers created an impersonal relationship and no one was sure whose opinions were being noted. In any event the larger the group, the less the inhibition (overt or hidden) encountered. There were even occasions when the informants themselves said, "Please don't record this", or, "Please write this down". A phenomenon which reinforces the importance of the number of participants relative to the ease of note-taking is worth noting. It often happened that when we were with a large group at a private home, the conversation became lively, with active and even excited participation. My wife could then take notes quite openly without disturbing anyone. Much later, on such evenings, when most of the guests had left, our host frequently invited us to stay for a more intimate discussion. By then the atmosphere and conversation would have changed. We consequently felt that it would be out of place to take notes in such a situation.

Another interesting detail was that very often, after a particularly heated discussion, when people had talked a great deal and had answered many questions, there would suddenly be a lull, an awkward silence. Someone would then comment: "And you? We have told you so much! But we don't know anything about you. How did you meet your wife? What would you like your children to do when they are older?" We always answered their questions and told our stories quite openly. This seemed to restore the balance. We were all at ease once more.

The interviews were conducted in three different contexts - not always in the way we would necessarily have preferred -

which usually complemented each other.

When interviewing single people, I would conduct the interview alone in order to obviate any feeling of imbalance on the part of the informant, which might have made him feel ill at ease. My wife accompanied me on most interviews with married couples. These were either held in their homes or in cafés. When interviewing entire families, thr group usually consisted of two or three generations; the old father representing his generation, his children and grandchildren theirs. These family interviews proved most productive because lively discussion and even argument between the various generations and sexes was provoked. We witnessed heated clashes of opinion on certain subjects and the outcome was most instructive. The participants completely forgot the purpose of the gathering and argued freely. Sometimes the subject matter was a cause of daily friction between husband and wife, or father and son. Occasionally, the conversation also exposed new ideas which had perhaps been subconscious, but which suddenly became explicit. Whilst these discussions were full of study material, they also gave the participants great pleasure. They were suddenly afforded the opportunity of discussing matters near and relevant to their daily lives and, as they often put it: "It was very interesting....so many things we took for granted....it is good to talk about them!".

CHAPTER II.

THE GREEK VILLAGE AND FAMILY.

1. The Peasant in his Village.

Despite the great geographical, human, and social varieties which characterise Greek village life, there are certain institutions and aspects which are sufficiently widespread to justify a generalised description.

Greece is a mountainous country with only 25 percent of its land arable. "The Greeks have a story that when God made the world he put the earth through a sieve and used the soil to make different countries; but the stones that were left in the sieve he threw over his shoulder, and they became Greece".[1]

Coupled with this deficiency, a large proportion of the population is rural. According to 1940 statistics, 60 percent of the people are directly engaged in agriculture with another 15 percent catering for the needs of the farmer.[2] This rural population usually inhabits small villages and compact hamlets. Quoting the 1951 census, I. Sanders states that 44,6% of the total population lived in 5 473 communes or local political units of less than 2 000 inhabitants. The Greek village is characterised by a standard physical structure; a collection of houses, lanes, gardens, orchards, vineyards, and fields, all of which surround the public buildings such as the church, the school, the community offices and the coffee shops. At the centre of these public buildings is the 'mesochori' - a public square or place.

The family homes present a variety of architectural styles according to the various regions. Double-storied stone

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1. "Cultural patterns and technical change". Ed. M.Mead. Publ. Mentor Books, New York, 1955. p.58.
2. Figures taken from "Rainbow in the Rock - The People of Rural Greece", by Irwin T.Sanders. Publ. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1962

houses, usually sporting a balcony and external staircase are most common. A courtyard with a tree, a separate storehouse and an enclosure, preferably a high stone wall are very frequent. The houses are not usually aligned in a regular pattern. They face different directions and are of irregular shape, typical of vernacular architecture.

The Greek terms 'choriates', 'chorikos', derived from the word 'choria' (village) are the closest approximations to 'peasant'. All Greek peasants live in villages. Sanders[1] suggests that in examining social life throughout the Greek mainland, away from the cities, we can use the words 'villager', 'peasant', and 'rural population' interchangeably.

Because of the scarcity of arable land and the high proportion of people living off the land, the rural population usually lives in great poverty. The peasant has to contend with a continual struggle for existence. In this context and owing to the great population density in relatively small areas, the Greek peasant presents certain characteristics and attitudes towards men and life that make difficult any constant co-operation, exacerbate his social relationships, and load them with tensions. The Greek is known to be very individualistic, extremely jealous of his independence and freedom. His love for his freedom ('elephteria') constitutes one of the integral parts of his attitude to life. This concept of 'elephteria' is coupled with and reinforced by another central component of his attitude, which he calls 'philotimo'. 'Philotimo' - self-esteem - is dear to the Greek to the same extent as his 'elephteria' is sacred to him. Anthropological studies[2] emphasise how important it is for a foreigner to be aware of these when coming into contact with a Greek, for it is important "to pay tribute to it, and to avoid offending it, or as the Greeks say, 'molesting it'".[3] In

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1. ibid.
2. Most of the anthropological works cited in this work.
3. M. Mead, op. cit. p 60

the section on Education we shall see that Greek parents in Cape Town look upon the 'philotimo' as one of the central values that they expect their children to be aware of and to keep intact and unaltered.

M. Mead states that it is on the 'philotimo' that Greek democracy and equality rests, since everyone, both as individuals and as Greeks are equal to everyone else; neither superior nor inferior. Any Greek bootblack is equal to the king to whom he may refer familiarly as 'coumbaros' (wedding sponsor).[1]

Yet this 'philotimo' is not only the awareness of self-importance but also the deep feeling that one has to behave correctly and avoid, at all costs, that which is called 'dropi' (shame).

Together with this marked individualism, his love for freedom and his great concern for his 'philotimo', the Greek is known as being highly suspicious. He will always try to avoid disclosing details of his private life and always considers that any of its detail revealed by others would compromise his independance. His movements and intentions are usually kept secret and any decision in his life is very carefully considered before being implemented. E.Friedl relates the "long group conferences" that take place within the framework of the Greek's family before he makes any important decision. This suspicion puts a stamp on all his relationships with and attitudes towards men. J. Campbell, in describing the physical structure of the village and the complicated, irregular manner in which the houses are built, emphasises that "the effect of this kind of distribution is to make it difficult for one family to keep under observation the activities of more than two or three neighbouring households. . Reliable information about the domestic affairs

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1. ibid.

of others is difficult to obtain, and this is highly prized".[1] The daily life of the Greek is governed by a suspicion of his environment. "A woman will not disclose what she is cooking. A man about to pay a routine visit to a nearby town makes his preparations inside his house and appears at the very moment the bus moves off. He has not had to fence with curious enquirers and this is a small tactical triumph. Conversation between women at the well or between men in the coffee shop is in part a contest to gain information without conceding it".[2] These attitudes are expressed in the concept of the Evil Eye. Those who covet the possessions of others may, through their eyes, evoke a wicked force capable of destroying or injuring the possessor.

The well-rooted principle of 'sympheron' (self-interest) reinforces this suspicion. It is accepted that each individuum behaves according to his 'self-interest'. It is expected and considered legitimate to look to your 'sympheron' in dealings with others. A man who does not consider his 'sympheron' would be termed a fool. Naturally, this awareness and acceptance of the 'sympheron' as a factor governing social relationships makes this suspicion understood and necessary.

Balancing these extremely individualistic characteristics, we find that the Greek tends to seek informal social relationships with his fellows. The daily gatherings in the coffee shop are a pattern spread all over the country. Sanders emphasises the centrality of the coffee shop in the social life of the village. Yet even these informal gatherings are stamped with his individualistic and suspicious nature. The Greek villager sees in these meetings a fresh opportunity to gain information about his friends while still jealously guarding his own private life.

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1. Modern Greece, by J. Campbell and P. Sherrard. Publ. E. Benn, London, 1968. p.334.
2. op. cit.

In this social context filled with 'agonia', the family appears as the only framework where the individual may find a united front against the external world.

2. The Family.

I do not envy others their vineyards and
their gardens.
I envy only those who can stay in one place,
And most I envy those who have brothers and
first cousins
To grieve with them, and to rejoice with them,
And to help each other when anything befalls.

(Cretan Folk Song).

a. Structure.

The family is the most important and the most basic social unit in Greek society. The individual person is usually never an entity in himself; autonomous, apart, and alone. He is part of a family, and from it he draws his identity and personality. He appears in society as a member of a family and is totally moulded within that social unit. The whole socialisation process which he undergoes is intended to prepare him for the fulfilment of his role as a member of the family. J. Campbell finds an essential connection between the central role of the family and the Greek religious concepts: "The family is a divine institution and the figures of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ are in some sense a holy archetype family of which earthly families are an imperfect reflection".[1]

The family unit has many and varied aspects and functions. It does not merely concern itself with bringing up children,

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1. J. Campbell: Modern Greece. p.334.

but also fulfils economic, religious, and social functions. This multiplicity of functions is one of the major influences responsible for the solidarity of its members and their interdependance. This dependance and solidarity provides a potential for intense emotional relationships and expectations. Overt conflict in the family is immediately accompanied by a very high degree of emotional strain. Thus a man's loyalty belongs first and foremost to his family. Initially to his family of procreation, later to his own nuclear family. "In any situation of conflict between his family loyalties and other loyalties, family loyalties will always prevail". All the anthropologists quoted herein who have studied the Greek peasant have observed this family orientation focussing on the family unit.

In his successful portrayal of the role of father, son or brother, a man sees the most important criteria for his personal success and his social standing. His primary duty is to his family. His honour reflects on his family and no individual behaviour is out of the family context. Behaviour is carefully conducted within the capacity of father, brother, sister, etc. It is also with reference to his family that a man is identified by other members of the society. When a Greek speaks of another, he refers to him by his family name, and relates to him as being a representative of that family. Any failure in the behaviour of the individual member will be considered as a failure of the entire family and will blemish the reputation of all its members.

Tense relationships can prevail between family members because of an extravagant or drunken husband or father, or because of 'too free' behaviour on the part of one of the daughters. But in spite of all the tensions and crises, the family will always appear to the outsider as a unified group in which each member protects the other. The weaknesses and errors of individual members are hidden from the general community, for the shame of one is the shame of all. A woman may be utterly miserable because of her husband's behaviour, but she will never complain about him

to strangers. This solidarity is organic, stemming as it does from the very strong feelings of interdependance which connect the various family members. Dependance and solidarity result from both internal and external factors which serve to reinforce them. The internal factors are embodied, as we have already mentioned, in the structure and in the many functions of the family. The external factors are the total social environment which classifies and identifies a person according to his family unit.

The characteristic qualities of the Greek may seem paradoxical with regard to the place of the individual person within society. The Greek sets high value on his individuality and freedom. We have seen that his contact with the wider environment is not very intense. The Greek farmer will always try to preserve his independance and autonomy. He does not fully trust his neighbour and he passionately guards his individuality. The concept of freedom - 'elephetria' is sacred for him but his conception of this is distributive: it does not mean freedom from the family structure. This freedom is a precious possession for all the members of the family to share, for even the individualism itself is a family concept. It is possible that this particular trait of suspicion of the social environment and the isolation of the family are amongst the factors that contribute most significantly to the cohesion of the family and to the formation of the collective individuality which characterises it. But there is no doubt that this functions in an opposite direction too, that this strong family collectivity may also lead to a tendency to segregate from the wider social environment.

The family is male-centred. The male occupies the dominant and central position. He has supreme authority. He makes the decisions and regulates the work, and it is he who is responsible for the welfare and cohesion of the family. This centrality of the male figure in the Greek family finds expression in every aspect of life. When a woman marries she customarily takes not

only her husband's last name, but his first as well, plus a suffix '-ena', or '-u', depending on the number of syllables in and the accentuation of the name. This is not a grammatical gender: the suffix means "wife of" and may even be added to nicknames (e.g. Dhimitrios - Dhimitrena). Furthermore, a first born son will be given the name of the paternal grandfather, and a first born daughter that of the paternal grandmother.

Despite what we have said about the centrality of the head of the household, it is nevertheless difficult to define his precise position without other considerations. The roles of husband and wife are so very different and differentiated that they are hardly comparable and it is difficult to assess these roles relative to status and personal qualities for they belong to totally different social categories and fulfil complementary functions. As this will be enlarged upon in the discussion of conflicts mention will only be made here of a few characteristics of sex differentiation.

The man is expected to be strong and courageous - "he achieves and expresses his maleness"[1] through his zealous striving for honour and the honour of his family. One must understand how central this concept of 'philotimo' (honour) is for the Greek male and how central the male is in the family in order to understand how essential and organic the two concepts are - the man and 'philotimo'.

'Philotimo' and the observance of the 'philotimo' of the whole family constitute one of the components of man's self-esteem. In contrast to the man, the woman is expected to be sensitive and modest: "Men assign to women, and women accept for themselves, some other attributes of the young: modesty, greater emotionality... less rationality, and a greater vulnerability which necessitates assistance from their menfolk and from the supernatural".[2]

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1. J. Campbell, op. cit. pp.335 et seq.
2. M. Mead, op.cit. pp.65/66.

The attitude of and expectations from women are complex and ambivalent. Their capacity to bear children is considered their highest value and there is no greater blessing than to wish a woman many children, especially sons. Yet all matters concerning her sexual life are regarded with a certain revulsion. "If it were possible to combine virginity and motherhood these would be the ideal qualities of a woman".[1] Only within a legitimate marriage is sexual activity considered possible and even then, within the framework of this sacred institution, she is expected to remain reserved and to refrain from immodest behaviour. M. Mead notes that very little of the body is mentioned in personal folk songs - "genital organs must never be mentioned, and many women know no names for them".[2]

The sexual honour of the woman is regarded as a central value and any misbehaviour in this regard would leave an indelible stigma on her whole family. J. Campbell states in this matter that "female values are referred to the qualities of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal attitudes, and selfless love".[3]

The family constitutes an economic unit working the land together. Men and women have segregated, but complementary tasks. Women, as well as men, work in the fields, but work distribution is well defined. All work requiring strength and organisation is performed by men, while women perform all tasks requiring nurturing and care.

Greek law requires that property be divided equally among all children, both sons and daughters. The usual method is to divide the land into an equal number of strips for all the children. Over the generations this system has caused a dwindling of the land and the portion each son received has become successively smaller. Aware of this

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1. J. Campbell, op.cit. pp.335 et seq.
2. M. Mead, op. cit. pp65,66.
3. J. Campbell, op. cit. p.335.

process, the Greek peasant has tried to find ways of preventing further fragmentation of his land. Very often, one son would be sent to study or to find employment in town. The money spent on his education would be taken into account in the partition of the patrimony. Another custom is the giving of a cash dowry for the daughter, for she would usually leave her parental home to live with her husband in his parental home.

This reluctance to divide his land, which reinforces his strong familism, results in the Greek peasant often trying to keep his married children under one roof, so that they may work together in the fields under his supervision. In such cases, each married son has a room for his own family. The division of the patrimony will then take place when the father is old and decides to retire.

The honourable settlement of the daughter is regarded as a sign of personal success by which the father and sons gain prestige and esteem in their social environment. This is so because, in order to get a respectable bridegroom, the daughter must have the good reputation for possessing the qualities of the ideal wife. Her reputation reflects on the whole family and contributes to the reinforcing of her 'philotimo'.

Marriage between kindred is prohibited by the Orthodox religion, even marriages between second cousins. In addition to this a young man and a young girl who have the same godfather are considered to be spiritually 'god-brother' and 'god-sister', and marriage between them is prohibited. Moreover, if two families are linked by marriage through one of their members, no additional marriage can take place between other members of the family. Because of these different prohibitions it very often happens that the groom has to be found from outside the village as the choice of unrelated partners within the village has become limited. Negotiations for the marriages are matters which concern the two families and not merely the couple.

Marriages through 'proxemia' (arrangement through a third party) are very frequent, but the 'proxemitis' (match-maker) is seldom a professional and any friend or relative may play the role of 'proxemitis'. The views of the partners are usually taken into account but they are not expected to be motivated by personal sentiments such as love or sexual attraction. Social and economic considerations are paramount.

Whereas the parents have the obligation of doing their best for an honourable settlement for their children through a successful marriage, the children have reciprocal duties as to their parents. Children owe their parents obedience and respect at all times as well as a deep awareness of the solidarity binding them and all the members of the family together. Thus, parents expect their sons to take an effective and active part in the successful marriage of their sisters. An unmarried brother is the natural avenger of a murdered brother or of a dishonoured sister. It is considered right that brothers should delay their own marriages until their sisters have been settled so that the former can protect and care for them without having to share their loyalty between the sister and their own families of procreation. The accumulation of a dowry for a sister is the brothers' primary duty which they would be unable to perform if they had to care for their own families.

The dowry is still today a central and most important institution in the life of the Greek family. It is virtually impossible for a girl to marry without a dowry. It is in fact the daughter's portion of the parental inheritance which she receives during their lifetime and which will in due course pass to her as yet unborn children. The dowry is given to the young couple, but the daughter retains all legal rights to it so that the husband has access only with his wife's agreement and her parents' permission. It is fairly common to find that the husband uses the dowry as working capital and as a source of additional income, but the basic capital always

belongs to his wife.

A dowry may take many forms. Occasionally, a farmer will give his daughter a portion of his land. In this instance, because residence after marriage is usually patrilocal, the husband would have to travel from time to time to cultivate his wife's land. With this type of dowry the husband will usually attempt to exchange it for land nearer his own place of residence or sell it (with his wife's permission) and invest the capital elsewhere. This form of dowry is uncommon as the farmer himself is hampered by a land shortage. As the recurring equal subdivision of land in each succeeding generation creates progressively smaller portions for each generation, the father tends to avoid this type of dowry, and uses another form, namely, cash; a town house if the groom is from the city, etc. Even formal education or professional training may be considered part of the dowry - e.g. if a girl were trained as a seamstress or teacher.

The calculations and considerations involved in evaluating the dowry are thus many and varied, differing from place to place. What is common everywhere is the principle that there must be a certain balance between the two kin-groups. In the marriage negotiations between the two sets of parents therefore, the value of the dowry will be balanced against the value of whatever the groom's family brings to the marriage contract. The dowry may thus serve as an instrument of adjustment between unequal groups, and need not necessarily be expressed through identical values.

In discussing some of the considerations taken into account in establishing the value of the dowry it must be stressed that it is virtually impossible to marry off a daughter without providing a dowry for her. In many discussions with different people we were told, half jokingly, how unlucky is the father of daughters, because he has to provide each one with a dowry for fear that they may remain spinsters at home forever. By contrast, the good fortune of the father of sons was emphasised, for he would not have such

a heavy burden.

We are left with a question. What considerations are taken into account in the choice of a marriage partner? The men say, "Wherever you find the fattest dowry, that is where you go", or, "If you don't have good, heavy, gold sovereigns, forget about marrying off your daughter. She will be left at home with you all her life and you will have to guard her for many years against the 'wolves' who will try to seduce her".

Generally, it is not only the amount of the dowry or the value of the land that is calculated. Many other details of economic importance are also carefully checked and examined. Is the woman healthy and strong enough to provide labour and to contribute to the maintenance of the husband's household? Is she known to be diligent and thrifty? We must not forget that the dowry enables the husband to improve his economic situation in the process of establishing his own household, independently of his father. For this he needs to accumulate as much capital as possible. If the bridegroom is from the city, he may wish to invest in a business of his own; a workshop, a barbershop - or, if he is a professional man, his own private practice.

The bride's parents also assess the situation of the groom beyond his immediate financial position. Is he extravagant and careless? Will he fritter away his wife's dowry? Does he have sisters whom he is obliged to help marry off and is consequently obliged to contribute towards their dowries? How many brothers does he have? What will be his share of his father's inheritance? Does he take his work seriously? These economic considerations are double-edged. A particularly large dowry may frighten off a prospective groom. One sometimes hears the complaint that the wife's dowry may be an obstacle to a happy family life. A 35 year old café owner who has been living in Cape Town for 23 years, said, "A dowry is like a bell - your wife keeps ringing it in your ears to remind you how much

money she brought with her, and this lifts her head too high".

And yet the considerations are never always purely economic. The match may bring economic advantages to one family and social advantages to the other. In this case, the balance between the two sides will not be expressed by identical values. The groom may not be economically equal to the bride. The bride may be wealthy but the groom's family may hold high status. He may be a teacher, a lawyer, or even a barber or tailor in the city (any urban occupation carries a higher status than farming). Here, marriage into a family of high status will not only bring prestige to the bride but to her entire family as well. Again we find the phenomenon where the actions and situation of the person reflect on all the kin.

In passing it may be noted that the choice of an urban groom is a status raising factor, but also has specific economic significance. Family connections in the city are a valuable source of all kinds of economic opportunities and improvements.

There is much for the groom to consider. The girl's appearance could indeed be a factor to take into account. A well-known Greek saying comments half mockingly, half sadly, on an ugly girl: "Her father will have to provide much money to provide her a husband". Her good name and reputation would also be of vital importance. (We shall later return to the subject of honour and its place in the Greek way of life.) If the girl has a doubtful reputation concerning her sexual behaviour, or if she is known to be impertinent, she may well have great difficulty finding a husband, or she may need a larger than usual dowry to atone for her defects.

For the bride's parents, the question is whether their daughter has a good chance of a happy married life. Will he treat her well and see that she lacks nothing? Will he beat her? Will his family accept her as a daughter or will they treat her as a stranger and make her miserable?

In that the bride usually lives with the groom's family there is always a potential conflict situation between her and his sisters or his brothers' wives.

And what of the qualities and functions that seem to characterise the dowry? It appears that a substantial dowry and a successful marriage are thought to express the manliness and social success of the bride's father and are a source of pride to him. The dowry also helps to protect the wife, economically and socially. This has great significance when we consider the traditional residence pattern. In the husband's home she is a foreigner who must adapt to the whole extended family, including other married brothers and their wives. Many tensions occur among the different sisters-in-law. It is therefore important for the woman to hold status in her own right. Even if the couple live in a separate house, the relationship with members of the father's household is very intense. Here, from an interview, is an illustration on this subject: Three generations were present. The meeting was arranged by a member of the community with whom we had established exceptionally good rapport. During the evening free discussion developed on the role of the woman in the grandparents' generation compared to her role today. The young women, mothers of young children, claimed that "the women in those days were miserable and unhappy in the small Greek villages, so utterly miserable that had they been able, many of them would probably have divorced their husbands". An excited argument developed between the generations, with the older women claiming that on the contrary women were very much happier then than now. This will be elaborated later. Here mention is made only on the point concerning the protection of the women. They were all of the firm opinion that in those days it was really extremely difficult for the Greek woman to divorce her husband, for "What would she do if she divorced him? To whom could she turn? Where could she go? How could a single woman possibly look after herself, her children, and her honour? All this quite apart from the stigma with which she would be left for the rest of her life".

The crucial problem that all the women mentioned was that the divorced woman had nowhere to go and no means with which to settle down and support herself. My suggestion that she might return to her parents' home elicited the amused smiles of people who really understand.... They all smiled, young and old alike - and explained that such a woman would be most unwilling to go home as her position would be too difficult. Her parents had other problems, possibly other unmarried daughters, and her children would be an additional burden too heavy to carry. And furthermore, how would she get on with her brothers' wives who would be living there or near by. She would be so dependant on her parents and brothers that "she wouldn't be able to open her mouth". Every moment she would be reminded that the family was supporting her and her children.

The dowry, therefore, functions as a mechanism offering the woman maximum prospects for success as well as securing her status and security in her husband's home. In addition to the protection it affords in marriage, should a divorce take place, the dowry, belonging to her as it does, is ineffective without a husband. It also enables the young couple to start married life and eventually to build a house of their own. "It actually serves as a mechanism to separate the couple from the family of origin and helps in the process of establishing a new household as an autonomous unit in itself".[1] Furthermore, it provides a means of avoiding additional fragmentation of the land. By giving the dowry, and in so doing removing the daughter to the husband's home, the farmer reduces both the number of people living off the limited land and those who would have to share it as an inheritance. The dowry is also instrumental in adjusting the differences between families of differential status, but, in addition, it has the outstanding quality of fluidity. It can change form, and as we have seen, can have different values: economic, social, personal, moral.

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1. E. Friedl, 1963

This seems to be the most important characteristic of the dowry, and the most significant for the Greek community in Cape Town. Later, when we consider the topic in relation to the Cape Town community, we shall see how clear this quality of fluidity is and how the forms of dowry may be so entirely new that they may never have existed in Greece. Yet, despite these external changes, the institution still remains.

3. Conflict.

This section is important for a comparative study of the Cape Town Greek community because there appears to be a projection of the patterns of conflict prevalent in the small Greek village into the new network of relationships emerging in Cape Town. The immigrant brings those same patterns of behaviour and relationships with him to the new land. These are the attitudes which make up his personality and life view. These self same attitudes are the result of a certain reality in the small village, where the structure of the society, the economic conditions, the kin structure, the form of allocation of property, all constitute important sources and factors in the formation of his attitudes to others, to his various kin, and to life in general. In considering conflicts in a Greek village,[1] it is useful to differentiate between two different structural levels: the intracommunal level and the intrafamilial level.

The system of inheritance causes a land sub-division and land therefore becomes like merchandise - easily bought and sold. As a result of this process of constant re-division, family plots often pass into the hands of strangers. The groom who receives a portion of land from his bride will usually attempt to exchange it for one

1. Based mainly on "Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology" by P. Bialor. 1963

closer to his home. The urban groom, interested in investing in business or household property, will try to sell the land. Even the father, if forced to pay a cash dowry, would probably sell land to do so. It is therefore quite clear that land is not property that necessarily remains in one family for many generations. In fact, it is characterised by its convertibility. From this it follows that many people will be found to be owners of neighbouring land and also that there is a high rate of exchange of neighbours. But in this situation the boundaries between the plots are not formally marked or defined, which often brings about a great deal of confusion. A tree, or any other object, may serve as a marker for certain boundaries. This situation very often sparks off many disputes between neighbours. Land ownership can become a bone of contention which may be perpetuated through a number of generations to the extent that many families continue hostile relations long after the cause of the original quarrel has been forgotten. Along with this shortage of arable land, and coupled with the poor water supply there remains, in addition, many a cause of bitter quarelling and conflict between neighbours and kin. We must add here the 'natural' disposition of the individual person in his relationship to his neighbour. The suspicious nature of the Greek farmer is set in childhood by his family's method of socialisation. As is shown in the chapter on child education, the Greek child very soon learns to relate with extreme care and suspicion towards those round him and will always question their motives.[1] Various family relationships too, for structural reasons may be characterised by stresses or, conversely, by free and amicable relations.[2]

The mother is the expressive figure of the family. She exudes warmth and understanding, particularly to the daughter. At a later stage, when the daughter moves to her husband's

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1. See the section on "Education in the Greek Village".
2. Based mainly on "Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology", by P. Bialor.

home, all the mother's concern is transferred to all her sons or to one of them especially. Yet until the daughter's marriage, the mother-daughter relationship is very close and warm. The daughters spend most of the day with the mother, working at home and in the fields. They are work and leisure companions. The mother teaches her daughters housework and cooking. Most activities are done together: they experiment with innumerable little means of economising on the household budget; they work to keep the home warm, comfortable, and pleasant; they worry about and prepare for the father/husband who must have a warm meal ready for him when he gets home. The mother prepares her daughters for their future role as wife and mother. They prepare the trousseau together - they sew, embroider, and chatter in the company of the neighbouring women. Together they prepare for the great day when the daughter will leave her home for that of her husband. The mother educates her and encourages in her a desire and ability to bring honour upon her prospective husband, and to fulfil all her obligations. It is quite common for the mother to endeavour to protect a daughter from her father's anger, or to cover up for the daughter's behaviour should it be likely to anger the father. And finally, great sadness tinges that ultimate day when the daughter leaves home. Her departure represents a great social and emotional loss for the mother. . The daughter, too, goes with mixed feelings for not only does she leave a close friend, she also leaves a never ending source of warmth and security. There is a touching custom of handing a daughter a last glass of water when she stands in the doorway just before leaving for her new home.

Much has been written about the relationship between husband and wife. Friedl emphasises the difficulties of describing this relationship as agonistic. It is true that the wife must be obedient and respectful to her husband. The older immigrants paint a very similar picture of the Greek wife of their generation. The younger people, recent arrivals in Cape Town, fully endorse this. As already mentioned,

the woman has to organise the home and keep it clean and must always have a warm meal waiting for her husband on his return from work. She never goes to public places on her own. One of the old immigrants told us how he had 'trained' his wife from the beginning to know her place and limitations: "On our honeymoon, I asked my wife where she wished to go one evening. She wanted to go to the Metro Cinema, where she said there was a good film showing. I said: 'You want the Metro, we'll go to the Metro'. We went there, and after she had looked at the pictures outside, she changed her mind, and decided that the film didn't look interesting enough. She decided that we should go across the road to the Colosseum. But I answered her very strongly saying, 'You wanted the Metro, so the Metro it is. Not the Colosseum!! Next time you'll think twice before you decide. I'm not a second-hand husband. You can't twist me like that!'. From that day on my wife knew who she was dealing with and she learnt her lesson". This anecdote clearly illustrates the husband-wife relationship. Each one's role is clearly defined and there can be no ambiguity.

There are many stories about the husband and wife in the fields; the husband astride his donkey with his wife walking behind him. The Greek family is typically patriarchal with the father absolutely central as the regulator and decision maker. In certain villages the wife will not sit at the table with her husband if guests are present. This is thought to indicate her feminine modesty. However, one must not over-interpret these specific items and draw hasty conclusions about the lowly status of women for this is a complex matter which must be seen in the total social context of Greek society. To judge according to accepted Western European criteria is likely to distort the real meaning of these customs. All the external signs of deference which the wife shows her husband are norms and customs which do not necessarily detract from her own dignity.

In practice, the wife exerts more than a little influence

on the decisions of the home. She acts quietly, subtly, seeming not to influence, but in a pleasant, unobtrusive way, she is in fact partner to many important decisions. Many husbands consult their wives before making important decisions.

As has been noted, the wife is always a moderating factor in the relationship between father and children. She will endeavour to protect her children's activities and will intercede on their behalf when there is conflict with their father. All these factors must be borne in mind when discussing the changing status and role of the Greek wife/mother in the immigrant situation. But despite this, all the anthropologists repeatedly emphasise and warn that one must not see the husband-wife relationship as antagonistic, competitive and strained. The contrary seems true. The roles in sociological terms seem complementary. The father appears as an instrumental figure of authority and the mother as expressive. Furthermore, the respective worlds of men and women are so differentiated and separated that the points of tension are minimized. There is a clear definition of roles and expectations. General consent concerning these roles and expectations and even the essence and quality of the men's nature is defined as radically different from that of the women.

Husband and wife do not spend much time together. Their interests are different. Women spend their leisure time in the company of other women (daughters, relatives, neighbours) gossiping, preparing the trousseau for a daughter, etc; while men spend most of their free time in coffee houses. This will later be discussed more fully.

Between father and son the opportunities for overt conflict are few. There is a network of factors which support the authority of the father and the readiness of the son to accept it. The son is dependent on the father from whom, at some stage, he will inherit an, as yet, inexact

portion of his estate. He works in the fields with his father, is disciplined by him, and relates to him with the respect and honour socially accepted as his father's due. The father's authority is not open to question particularly by unmarried sons who are totally dependent on him. The son honours and respects his father and always shows him deference. The son will not smoke in front of his father if the latter disapproves. They do not usually frequent the same coffee house as this is considered disrespectful and the son would not feel at ease.

The father's authority may be weakened if the son has married and has already received his portion of the inheritance, for he is then not as dependent on his father. If the father has already stopped working this may also undermine his authority somewhat for he is then no longer fulfilling an important economic function. But again, to the father's benefit, we have the whole set of accepted norms which oblige the son always to behave towards his father with at least external respect. One of the means the father has of reinforcing this system of authority, even in his old age, is the 'yerokomio' - that part of the inheritance which the old man retains for his own security, and the distribution of which will only be made known after his death. Bialor adds another factor for potential conflict between father and son - the possibly strained relationships between the son's wife and his parents.

In the case of siblings, the social field is potentially rich with conflict and even bitter quarrels. Brothers are expected to guard the sexual purity of their sisters. There are a number of reasons for this very strict practice. Again we mention the Greek concept of honour, 'philotimo'; that precious possession in the eyes of the whole family. The consequence of a girl's too free behaviour is likely to bring shame on her entire family. Not only would such shame result in an ineradicable stigma on the honour of the family, but it would also create difficulties in finding a spouse. This would automatically increase the dowry necessary to find a young man willing to marry

a girl of such a reputation, and would naturally place a financial burden on everyone. The sons in turn would be likely to suffer additional harm because the sister's behaviour would make it more difficult for them to find suitable wives. It is clear that here we have a parallel though opposite effect - in order to find a bride, the sons would have to be satisfied with a poorer girl whose lack of material wealth would not allow her to discriminate against such a husband.

The observance of proper sexual behaviour is thus so central in village life that sometimes immoral behaviour on the part of a sister would oblige the unmarried brothers to avenge the family honour. Although in recent years the brothers are no longer expected to react to the extreme of spilling blood, at the beginning of the century there were still instances where a brother was forced into blood vengeance for his sister's honour.

It often happens that brothers will exert pressure on a sister not to be too selective in her choice of a husband. They force her to get married quickly in order to release themselves from their obligation of looking after her. Because parents wish daughters to marry before sons and are unwilling to allow the opposite, a girl's hasty marriage would enable sons to find wives for themselves.

In one of the families interviewed, one brother in the presence of his married sister and her husband, related how relieved he had been on her wedding day, and how he had said to his new brother-in-law: "Please, take her. I hand her to you with pleasure....she's altogether yours". We shall return later to this comment and to the nature of the relationship between brother and sister in Cape Town because it seems that despite the element of strain and despite the brother's typical remark, a new element has entered into this relationship, one not present in Greece. It seems that there has been a softening in the relationship - a genuine closeness and affection seems to have taken the place of the tension that was

characteristic in Greece. The reasons for this postulated change will be discussed elsewhere.

There are also many opportunities for conflict between brothers, the most common and fundamental hingeing on the question of inheritance. The method of distribution is usually legally established by the will, and only if the father dies intestate does the law of equal division among all unmarried children apply. (The married children usually receive their portion at marriage, or with their move to independent families).

Unequal division or unclear distribution bring about sharp quarrels. The quarrel may often centre on an ill-defined distribution of land. Disputed boundaries are thus the most frequent cause of friction. The ultimate distribution of the 'yerokomio' is also the subject of never-ending disputes. Although the law provides for an equal division of the inheritance, there are many reasons for a lack of clarity on this subject. A son who supported either one or both parents in his own house will lay claim to all the inheritance, or to the larger part of it, on the grounds of his support.

In the chapter on the distribution of property we stressed that this distribution is not always made with identical values, but from a desire to avoid fragmentation of the land. The inheritance need not always be in the form of money or land. Each son's inheritance may take a different form, land, education, professional training, or capital. So, clearly, it is difficult to reach an accurate evaluation which will be acceptable to all. Against the background of this difficulty are set the tensions, the emotions, and the frustrations existing between brothers.

A factor, inter alia, which leads to conflict between brothers, is their wives. Usually, when a number of brothers live in the same house, or near by, or even if they live separately but often see each other, the men will usually blame their wives for the conflicts which flare

up between them.

No less important is the great emotional load which pervades the brothers' relationships throughout their shared lives. The whole family structure and its values continuously emphasise common responsibility and family unity as the basic and most central value for a man. Therefore the relationship carries great emotional intensity which is transformed into tremendous powers of energy during a quarrel. The man is thrust into a conflict and the more loved the opponent, the more dramatic and intense it becomes.

The relationship between father and daughter is not characterised by much tension. As the mother is the one responsible for the daughter's education, there are few meeting points or points of confrontation with the father. The possibilities for conflict are more likely to concern the sexual behaviour of an unmarried daughter. But the normative system is so well institutionalised that instances of deviation are rare.

CHAPTER III.

THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS.

1. The Motivation.

The history of emigration seems to have a set pattern. Almost everyone tells the same story, one of the emigration of bachelors who leave their villages to seek new sources of income. A life of poverty, the impoverishment of the land, and the dwindling number of arable plots - all encourage the young bachelor to emigrate. Letters and stories from emigrants inflame the imaginations of the young people at home. The emigrant who returns after a considerable sojourn abroad is the veritable "uncle from America" who has become wondrously rich. The whole subject of emigration is presented to the young boy as a journey to a land of dreams. Furthermore, Greece is noted for its long tradition of emigration. Amongst the peasants there is a widespread attitude that emigration well solves economic problems.

Some of the findings of research into motivation and attitudes towards migration in the Greek countryside provide useful detail.

Calliope Moustaka[1] has investigated the attitudes towards migration (mainly internal migrations to the cities) in two villages. He found that on the part of parents, spouses, siblings, and relations, there was a 94,05% approval of the migrant's departure. He also noted, inter alia, that more people wish to emigrate than not, that more men than women wish to emigrate, and that of 556 persons wishing to emigrate, 434 or 78,06% wish to leave permanently, 97 or 11,45% temporarily, and 25 or 4,49% did not stipulate any time period. This last finding of Calliope must be considered with some reservation as his investigation was focused on internal

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migrations, whereas our research shows that overseas emigration is usually considered temporary.

Amongst the reasons for wishing to emigrate first comes the purpose of finding work (33,09%), second the search for a better life (22,66%), third the wish to be near their families, especially their children, who settled in the towns (22,3%). Reasons for not wishing to emigrate are attachment to the village, ownership of property, and work. In the case of attachment to the village, it is not the village as the land of their fathers, but as a centre of family, society, and way of life. This finding of Calliope Moustaka seems to confirm the assumption of Friedl concerning the instrumental attitude of the Greek peasant to the land. We shall see that this attitude is very prevalent amongst the immigrants in Cape Town.

Chrysos Evelpidis[1], in a study of the causes of rural migration in Greece, points out that for many years the rural population has shown a steady decrease. In 1879 the rural population accounted for 82% of the total population of the country. Then in 1907 it accounted for 72% of the total population, in 1928 for 67%, in 1950 for 63%, and in 1961 for 53,4%. Evelpidis suggests that the main causes for the depopulation of the countryside are both economic and social. He lists as economic factors the small acreage of arable land; the introduction of farming machinery, resulting in less work being available to the rural community, and the development of urban industry which brought in its wake a collapse of the artisan class in the village. Among social factors, he suggests that life in the countryside is sober and monotonous. Living conditions are rudimentary, social life is undeveloped, entertainment is non-existent, and above all, the prospect of amelioration in living patterns is not promising. Any comparison with the leisure and living conditions available in the towns serves only to strengthen any aspiration to

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emigrate. Evelpidis adds to these factors descriptions of the better living conditions given by the emigrants, and especially the profits the emigrants make in their new homes - for they send back money....

All the abovementioned reasons seem to be relevant when one considers the motivation of immigrants from rural areas to emigrate to South Africa. Economic factors seem to be primary, but in the course of time, an additional factor seems to have arisen among the latest immigrants: a tendency to join the family already established in Cape Town.

Of the 77 informants in our sample, we received the following answers to the motivation for emigration:

To improve financial situation.	To join the family.	Other reasons.	No answer.
49	12	10	6

Among "other reasons", we find answers such as: "There was nothing to do there"; "When I came back from the Army, my father was already dead, my brother married, and I had no one there with whom to stay"; "I wanted to try my luck somewhere else".

This new factor of joining the family appears during the course of time. It seems to be particularly significant as it may explain the failure to return to the village. This position will be discussed in Chapter VI.

2. The Population of 1972 and the Stream of Immigration.

The Greek community in Cape Town today numbers +- 5 000 souls. It may be estimated that this number comprises +- 1 000 family units: the estimate being based on the assumption that the average size of each family unit is 5 souls (father, mother, and three children). This

estimate is tentative since many families have a widowed mother, or an adult, bachelor brother, or a widowed aunt living with them. Therefore it is apparent that this is a maximum figure.

It is difficult to rely on the formal registration of the Hellenic Community of Cape Town since many Greeks are not registered members. Membership may not be sought for several reasons. Since the community is composed in the main of people with a rural background, without formal, higher education, there is a clear tendency among the few professional and academic people to remain apart from the affairs of the community and not to adhere formally to its institutions. These people are, however, well known to the community, and although not registered, they are spoken of with mixed feelings of pride and a certain degree of alienation. Registration may well not include those of 'mixed marriage' which, in itself, is likely to cause alienation and even a cutting off from the community. There is also the important individualism of the Greek, who is not keen on co-operation and not inclined to enter any formal framework unless compelled. But since the community is small and relatively dense, there is no doubt that most Greeks are known to each other. It therefore seems that we can accept as reasonable the numerical estimate of the Committee.

As mentioned in the Chapter on Methodology, the following data is based on a survey conducted on 268 heads of nuclear families:

TABLE III - STREAM OF IMMIGRATION.

Year of arrival	1925	1936	1948	1958	TOTAL.
%	24,63	13,04	33,33	28,98	99,98

This table indicates an immigration stream more or less

equal, smooth, and continuous in all the periods barring the second.

"The first arrivals in the Cape were mostly seamen from foreign ships, who disembarked and remained in Cape Town, and the number of people who settled in this southernmost section of Africa cannot be accounted for prior to 1856.... in 1898 the number did not exceed 60.....by 1902 their number had increased to 1 000, after which year they started to move northwards to the Transvaal and Free State, at the same time, also settling in various towns and country towns of the Cape Province.

This stream of migration decreased the community in Cape Town to such an extent, that in 1915 they did not number more than 250 Greeks - men, women and children. The families were considered to number 40 completely Greek families and 10 mixed families. In general all over the Cape Province, including the number in Cape Town, there were about 400 Greeks".[1]

1925

Starting from about 1925, immigrants began settling in Cape Town and constituted a stable and permanent element. The Committee began to organise itself and develop during these years. The organisation "The Hellenic Community of Cape Town" came into being in 1903, in which year the Greek Orthodox Church was built. But the year 1925 is significant for the large, intense stream of immigration.

The overwhelming majority of immigrants were bachelors. The very fact that they were bachelors, together with the traditionally central position of the Greek family, set its stamp on the immigration process which, although gradual, still remains continuous. The immigrants later

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1. "Directory of Greek Communities in Southern Africa", by C.C. Nikolaides, 1922.

brought out brides and have, to this day, continued to bring out relatives and friends and to absorb them into their midst. This continuous and gradual bringing out of relatives is reflected in the numbers appearing in the table. Except for the war years there has been practically no cessation in immigration.

1936-1947

The decline in the numbers of immigrants between 1936 and 1947 seems to be a result of the war, during which immigration almost ceased. This decline has important effects and will be discussed in the sections on relationships between the regional groups and marriages.

1948-1958

After the war, particularly from 1948 to 1958, which is taken as the third period, there was a great increase in the number of immigrants from Greece. The civil war which followed the Second World War caused a deep sense of dissatisfaction and frustration in all segments of Greek society. The drastic changes in the Government were accompanied by bloodshed, arrests, exile of large sections of the population, and a fragmentation of Greek society. These social conditions also reinforced the economic motivation for emigration. Add to this the establishment of the I.C.E.M. (The International Government Committee for European Migration). This body aided those who wished to emigrate and arranged emigration for skilled workers. Therefore, in the section on employment it will become clear that in the immigration figures for this period, urban and skilled elements are more evident, more so than in previous periods.

1959-1969.

Since the war and up to the present, immigration continues at an increasing rate. One must however regard with some caution the data obtained concerning immigration in

recent years. It is possible that the number of immigrants over the past ten years is somewhat higher than is shown in the tables for, as they are still new, not all of them are well-known to the wider Greek community. It is possible, therefore, that their numbers are not reflected in a correct proportion in this survey. Despite this reservation, however, it can be assumed that the difference is not very great as the community is not as large as in other metropolitan areas, and knowledge is therefore more likely.

Within the framework of this survey, we interviewed among others, the local priest, the Bishop, the teacher, the official interpreter, the sworn translator, a Greek lawyer; all people known for fulfilling central roles in immigration and for their membership of various committees of the Community. There are today groups of immigrants from various places which henceforth will be called "regional groups". The main regional groups are as follows:- Mytilene (from the island of Lesbos): The Pelopponesus: Epirus: Cephallonia-Ithaca: Lymnos: Asia Minor: The various islands (Imbros, Rhodes, Cyprus, Chios, Crete): Egypt: Athens: Africa (Zambia, the Camerouns, the Congo, Tanzania): Rhodesia.[1]

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1. See Diagram 1 in "Visual Method" (Map of Regions of Origin).

TABLE IV - DISTRIBUTION OF ALL IMMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO REGIONAL GROUPS.

GROUP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Origin	Mytilene	Pelop-ponesus	Epirus	Cepha-llonia/ Ithaca	Lymnos	Asia Minor	Various Islands	Egypt	Athens	Africa	Rhode-sia	TOTAL
%	26,08	25,36	4,34	8,69	11,59	0,72	4,34	8,69	4,34	4,34	1,44	99,93

Table IV shows that the places of origin of immigrants are very varied. There are eleven regional groups, the category "Various Islands" including all the islands mentioned above. Despite this great heterogeneity, it is possible to divide the population into two categories, according to the social element which characterises them:

1) all the regional groups of rural origin (Groups 1-7)
2) all the regional groups of urban origin (Groups 8-11)[†]
   This latter category includes not only those coming from Athens, but also those coming from various African urban centres.

The numerical comparison between these two categories shows an overwhelming preponderance of rural origin groups over urban origin groups.

TABLE V - RURAL AND URBAN ORIGIN GROUPS.

Rural groups 1-7	Urban Groups 8-11	TOTAL
81,15%	18,84%	99,99%

In the rural groups, the groups from Lymnos, Pelopponesus, and Mytilene predominate, constituting 63,03% of the total population, and 77,67% of all the rural population.

After these three large groups, there follow in order of size: Cephallonia/Ithaca; the various Islands; Epirus; Asia Minor.

In the urban population the predominant group is from Egypt, despite the fact that it is not large relative to the total population.

[†] See diagram 2 in "Visual Method".

TABLE VI - DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS FOR EACH PERIOD ACCORDING TO ORIGIN.

ORIGIN		Mytilene	Peloponesus	Epirus	Cephallonia/ Ithaca	Lymnos	Asia Minor	Various Islands	Egypt	Athens	Africa	Rhodesia	TOTAL
First Period	%	50	38,23	8,82	2,94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	99,99
Second Period	%	16,66	16,66	11,11	5,55	22,22	-	5,55	5,55	5,55	11,11	-	99,96
Third Period	%	17,39	30,43	-	17,39	13,04	2,67	4,34	4,34	8,69	-	2,17	99,96
Fourth Period	%	20	12,5	2,5	5	15	-	7,5	22,5	2,5	10	2,5	100

Period One: A comparison of the period of immigration by area shows that immigration began mainly from two large rural areas - Pelopponesus and Mytilene. The rest are divided between Epirus and Cephallonia/Ithaca.

Period Two: From 1936 the composition of immigration changed. Mytilene and Pelopponesus lost their numerical advantage. Mytilene constituted 16,66% of the whole immigration of this period and a similar percentage was recorded for Pelopponesus. At the same time there appeared in Cape Town a relatively large group from the island of Lymnos, which constituted 22,22% of all the immigrants arriving in this period. The remaining immigrants were from various places, which up to then had not served as sources of immigration to Cape Town. They came from islands such as Chios and Rhodes. Similarly, a small number of emigrants began to emigrate from Egypt and Athens, but their number was very small. Thus, the three noticeable characteristics of immigration for this period are:

1. The small number of immigrants relative to the total number of immigrants (13,04%)
2. The heterogeneity regarding variety of the regional groups.
3. The rural origin of immigrants is still dominant.

The small number of immigrants during the war years period and the variety of the regions of origin, emphasise the fact that each group is very small in number. This factor will be clarified in greater detail when the immigration stream is presented according to each separate regional group.

Period Three: Immigration increases in almost all groups including Mytilene, and especially Pelopponesus (this group accounting for 30,43% of all immigrants in this period). Immigrants continued to arrive from Lymnos and a relatively large group came from Cephallonia/Ithaca. In the urban groups, there is a certain increase from Athens but the urban groups are still a small minority in proportion to the rural

groups.

Period Four: Immigration from Egypt and various urban centres in Africa increased. The urban groups constituted 32,5% of the total immigration for that period.

Up to now the proportional representation for each regional group has been examined according to the various periods. Now the stream of immigration is presented for each separate regional group.

See Diagram 3 in "Visual Method" (Stream of Immigration).

TABLE VII - STREAM OF IMMIGRATION WITHIN EACH REGIONAL GROUP.

	REGIONAL GROUPS										
Period of Arrival	Mytilene	Pelop-ponesus	Epirus	Cephal-lonia/ Ithaca	Lymnos	Asia Minor	Various Islands	Egypt	Athens	Africa	Rhodesia
I	47,22	37,14	50	8,33							
II	8,33	8,57	33,33	8,33	25		16,66	8,33	16,66	33,33	
III	22,22	40		66,66	37,5	100	33,33	16,66	66,66		50
IV	22,22	14,28	16,66	16,66	37,5		50	75	16,66	66,66	50
TOTAL	99,99	99,96	99,99	99,98	100	100	99,99	99,99	99,98	99,99	100

Pelopponesus and Mytilene: Except for the decline in immigration during the war years, the stream has continued to the present day, with a great increase from Pelopponesus immediately after the war. Generally it appears that in these two groups, immigration is divided more or less equally between the periods before and after the war. This fact indicates the family characteristic of a continual bringing out of relatives. The section on employment will show that these groups do not bring out relatives only, but also friends and acquaintances from their village for the purpose of absorbing them into various businesses.

Lymnos: This group underwent a similar process to the two first groups, despite the fact that immigration from here started in the second period. It is worth noting that in the period 1945-1955 the Greek government initiated extensive cotton cultivation in Lymnos. After a time, the prices fell, the project failed, and as a result a mass exodus took place from there.

Cephallonia and Ithaca: The main emigration from this area took place in the third period. 66,66% of all immigrants from Cephallonia arrived during this time. In 1961 a violent earthquake shook the whole area of the Eptanissa Islands in which Cephallonia is situated. In its wake, Greeks all over the world collected money to restore the damage and the government did much to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants. Houses and roads were built. These possibly are factors which explain the fall in emigration from this region during the fourth period.

Athens: A few immigrants arrived from Athens in the third period, that is, after the civil war, which resulted, as already noted, in a difficult social climate.

Egypt: Emigration began slowly during the second and third periods, but increased sharply over the last ten years. The nationalisation of property by Colonel Abdul Nasser caused a mass exodus of foreigners. Many Greek emigrants went first to Athens, tried their luck there, and then

departed from Cape Town after having failed to adapt to the homeland. These immigrants are characterised by high geographical mobility.

Africa: It appears that the rise of nationalism in the African countries and their liberation from white rule led many people to leave these countries.

The data and these hypotheses were obtained through interviews with various informants. However, we may add that external factors, such as a fluctuation in the immigration policy of the South African Government have also had an influence on the immigration flow, the place of origin and the nature of various immigrants. It seems that the South African Government at times adopts a more selective policy, and imposes various demands and limitations.

In conclusion, the following characteristics have become evident from the data described above:

> Immigration takes place in streams which are more or less continuous and well illustrate the standard process of the gradual bringing out of brides, relatives and friends.
> During the war years, with its considerable decrease in the number of immigrants, immigration began to assume a heterogeneous pattern as regards the origin of groups, but all the groups were still very small in number.
> At first, immigration was very homogenous. Two large central groups (Pelopponesus and Mytilene) dominate, but heterogeneity then increases in regard to place of origin. This process of heterogeneity and variety of regional groups continues and is noticeable up to the present with its three predominating large groups, (Lymnos, Pelopponesus, and Mytilene).
> While at first all immigration was from rural areas, urban elements arrived after the war and this is on the increase.

Despite this increase an overwhelming numerical superiority of rural groups remains (81,72% rural against 18,12% urban).
The urban element thus constitutes a small minority but they also arrive at a later date, joining a settled community of rural origins.

3. Occupations.

The socialisation that man undergoes in a small Greek village is forcefully expressed when he is confronted with the choice of occupation in a new environment. 82% of the immigrants who came to South Africa in the 1930's opened cafés[1], tea-rooms, fruit and vegetable shops, and there seem to be two main factors repsonsible for this choice of occupation:

The overwhelming majority of immigrants arriving here were formerly villagers whose work was of an agricultural nature, such as the cultivation of olives and vineyards. The immigrant rarely had other skills. Intellectuals and professional people are not drawn to South Africa, although they may emigrate elsewhere. In many spheres, people with academic qualifications from institutes other than those of the British Commonwealth are not permitted to follow their professions in South Africa. Furthermore, South Africa, not being a heavily industrialised country, does not attract trained technicians and skilled workers, and the occupational possibilities open to newly arrived

1. In the South African urban context, a café does not carry the same connotation as for example the side-walk café in Paris. The café described in this thesis is a mixture of small grocery shop and general dealer, although there are some that have a number of tables and chairs, and supply light meals. The café is best known in South Africa as the "corner shop", or "the shop down the road", whether it be so situated or not. It has the convenience for the suburban residents of being open for business from early morning to midnight, when all other cigarette, soft drink, milk and bread suppliers are closed.

immigrants are therefore limited.[1]

The second factor which influences the choice of occupation concerns the personality and general orientation of the individual immigrants. The Greek peasant's characteristic of viewing others with suspicion is illustrated in his attitudes to life in general and towards those of his wider community. Suspicion and tension, instilled into him from childhood, acquire additional reinforcement when as an immigrant he enters strange surroundings. The self-interest principle "Your success must in some way be at my expense" gains emphasis. If a person tends not to believe in or rely on his neighbour in the familiar environment of his own home village, how much more will this be true of him when in a strange land with foreign customs and language? From the very beginning his whole orientation is towards a search for something new; a special type of occupation, one in which he would not have to rely on others, share his life's secrets, or establish close social relationships. This is how he sees the situation. Greek individualism explains the immigrant's orientation to café work. The natural individualism of the Greek peasant, his never wearying love of freedom and independance, prevents him from choosing an occupation in which he would be an employee dependent on a master. The "employer-employee" relationship is foreign to his spirit. He was certainly subject to the superior authority of his father when he was at home, but this was compatible with the cultural definition of family individualism. To accept orders or instructions from a stranger is intolerable for him. Any dependance on others would damage the self-esteem so precious to him.

These factors combine to influence the immigrant in his choice of occupation from the limited selection before him. To all these factors we should perhaps add one more; the popularity and centrality of the coffee house in the Greek

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1. In addition, in South Africa, most unskilled occupations are, by convention, open to non-Whites only.

village and in Greece generally. The café in South Africa has, of course, a totally different character, for instead of being a social centre where men meet their friends and relax, it is essentially a grocery shop.

Of course, these factors were most relevant when first the Greeks began to emigrate to Cape Town. With time it became a pattern adopted by new immigrants and which took root as a result of the tremendous experience the immigrants acquired in this field.

Together with the formation of this pattern or tradition, the considerations of experience, and the practical aid given by relatives already established in this type of work, the psychological and sociological factors mentioned above are nevertheless very powerful and their influence is clear.

We frequently asked café-owners why they had chosen that type of work, for it involved hard, long hours. The answers were consistent: "It is better to eat dry bread than to have a 'boss' over one's head", or, "With us, everyone is a captain".

The statistics we have collected show that the more successful café-owners try to expand their businesses into supermarkets or wholesalers. But usually, in addition to running the café, the successful business man will speculate in land and property. Once more, we see that in his property dealings he is able to limit as far as possible the number of people on whom he is dependent and on whom he must rely.

Occupations have been divided into the following categories:

1. Café owners.
2. Property dealers. This category includes those who describe themselves as pensioners and widows. It was decided to include them in this category because most of them continue to deal in property even after their formal retirement from business.
3. Factory owners. Among factories are included

bakeries, button factories, knitwear manufacturers, etc.
4. Company directors. Mainly of ship-chandling firms. Although this occupation is usually a family one, we have differentiated it from the next category (extended business) because of its much wider context.
5. Self employed business men. (Extended business). The owners of wholesalers, outfitters, supermarkets, bazaars, dry-cleaners. Because of the purely family character of this type of business, this category has been differentiated from factory ownership. (This category will be referred to as "Extended business").
6 Self employed skilled workers. For example, electricians, mechanics, television technicians, building contractors, as well as unqualified bookkeepers.
7. Employees (wage earners). This category includes three sub divisions:

a) semi-skilled wage earners: including clerks, salesmen, travellers, bank employees, etc.
b) skilled wage earners: technicians, electricians, unqualified bookkeepers in employment
c) professional wage earners: teachers, doctors, engineers, architects.

In many cases we experienced difficulty in placing each person in a specific employment category because many of those interviewed had more than one occupation: e.g. many café-owners also deal in property; wholesale merchants and outfitters also deal in property and lease café premises to new immigrants, which occupation includes guidance and supervision in the running of the business. For this reason we decided to place such persons into that category which corresponded to their declared and officially defined occupation and to consider any other occupational involvement as secondary.

Likewise, it was necessary to omit from the "company director" category all those not actively engaged therein - e.g. Young women who, although registered as such, are not active directors. (This registration is done solely for tax assessment and, quite understandably, constitutes an attractive marriage dowry).

TABLE VIII - DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONS

	%	%
1. Cafés, fruit and vegetable shops	39,85	own business 84,74
2. Property dealers and retired	22,46	
3. Factory owners	2,89	
4. Company directors	1,44	
5. Extended business	12,31	
6. Self employed skilled workers	5,79	
7. Employees:- a) semi-skilled	5,07	employed by others 15,20
b) skilled	8,69	
c) professional	1,44	
TOTAL	99,94	99,94

This data shows that the largest group is made up of café-owners; the second largest group consists of those dealing in property; and the third largest group is engaged in extended business. These three groups total 74,42% of the entire working population. In addition, it is clear that professional people are in the minority (1,44%) followed by skilled workers who constitute 15,92% as against the 84,62% for semi-skilled workers, such as merchants, café-owners, managers, and so on. Similarly, employed workers constitute a 16,2% minority compared to the 85,74% majority of self employed workers. Furthermore, the number of those simultaneously engaged in more than one occupation has increased. This finding is not expressed in the statistical data because of the need to put interviewees into a particular category and also because of the objective difficulty experienced in obtaining precise information. Those interviewed were not eager to reveal

the extent of their unofficial business activities to a stranger because such information would disclose their income. However, there is no doubt that this duality in business is prevalent.

TABLE IX - OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION RELATIVE TO EACH PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION.

	PERIOD OF ARRIVAL			
OCCUPATION	I	II	III	IV
	%	%	%	%
Cafés, fruit and vegetable shops.	17,64	38,88	54,34	42,5
Property dealers and retired	52,94	38,88	6,52	7,5
Factory owners		5,55	2,17	5
Company directors	2,94		2,17	
Extended business	26,47	11,11	13,04	
Self employed skilled workers		5,55	13,04	2,5
Employees a) semi-skilled			6,52	10
B) skilled			2,17	27,5
c) professional				5.
TOTAL	99,99	99,97	99,97	100,00

This data gives some idea of the occupational mobility of the immigrants, particularly those of the first two immigration periods.

Those immigrants who arrived in the first period now account for only 17,64% of the café-owners (as against the very high percentage from other periods). It has already been mentioned that of the first immigrants, 82% were initially café-owners. This decline in the number of café-owners is in favour of property dealers (52,94%) and those engaged in extended business (26,47%). It seems that the occupations of first period immigrants

underwent a transitional process from that of café-ownership - usually through an intermediate step of extended business - to property dealing.

Of the second immigration period, the percentage of café-owners equals that of property dealers, while the remainder is mainly involved in extended business. Despite the fact that in the second period the percentage of those involved in extended business is lower than that in the first, it is nevertheless the third largest in size.

It seems that the immigrants of the second period also underwent a transitional process more or less similar to that of the first period, i.e. café-ownership to extended business to property dealing.

The immigrants of the second period tend, however, to go more directly from café-ownership to property dealing. During the same time, while 26,47% of first period immigrants are still engaged in extended business, those of the second period, who are younger, show a clear tendency to move directly from café-ownership to property dealing.

The characteristic framework of the extended business is the extended family: the extended business being in fact an extended independent enterprise as regards the family framework of the employees and the size of the investment as well as the extent of the business.

This factor lies behind an essential difference between the immigrants of the two periods: in order to go from the café to the extended independent business, the immigrant had need of an extended family. Immigrants of the first period had extended families, whereas the families of the second period immigrants were smaller in number, originating from a variety of regional groups, and subject to a frequent incidence of mixed marriages.

In comparison with previous periods, the percentage of café-owners in the third period is the highest (54,34%).

The reason is obvious. As the latter are still in an early stage of settlement, the new immigrants seem to follow the same process as the veterans. However, while 82% of the first immigrants start in the café trade, a lower percentage of third period immigrants do so. The distribution of occupations now appears more varied.

Two main factors seem to be responsible for this extended distribution, the first being that a more heterogeneous element arrived in this post-war period. Among them were urban elements, many immigrants from Pelopponesus who were minor artisans, and a high percentage of immigrants from Pelopponesus. A second reason is that many of the new immigrants later married daughters of settled immigrants and were absorbed into their extended businesses. This last factor will appear more clearly in Table XI.

Of the fourth period, café-owners are still in the majority. Once again, when compared with the veteran immigrants and even with those of the third period, it is clear that fewer immigrants now start in this occupation.

The wider variety of occupations is now more marked than in any previous period, including the third. The second largest group is now that of the wage-earner. The semi-skilled, skilled, and professional wage-earner now account for 10%, 27,5%, and 5% respectively, making a total of 42,5% of the whole.

Three other inter-related factors are also apparent. There is a higher percentage of skilled workers than in the third period, the first small group of professionals appears in the community, and none of the immigrants are engaged in extended business.

All the occupational characteristics of this period seem to relate to the arrival of a relatively higher percentage of urban elements - mainly from Egypt - than in the previous period, and of a continuing flow of skilled workers from Pelopponesus (See Table IX). It appears that the last two

periods of immigration are characterised by a wider range of occupations, with a marked tendency in favour of skilled and wage-earning workers. The proportion of immigrants of each period relative to the various types of occupation clearly indicates this tendency.

TABLE X - PROPORTION OF IMMIGRANTS OF EACH PERIOD RELATIVE TO THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS.

	PERIOD OF ARRIVAL				
OCCUPATION	I	II	III	IV	TOTAL %
1. Cafés, fruit and vegetable shops	10,9	12,72	45,45	30,9	99,97
2. Property and retired	58,06	22,58	9,67	9,67	99,98
3. Factory owners		25	25	50	100
4. Company directors	50		50		100
5. Extended business	52,94	11,76	35,29		99,99
6. Self-employed skilled workers		12,5	75	12,5	100
7. Employees a) semi-skilled			42,85	57,14	99,99
b) skilled			8,33	91,66	99,99
c) professional				100	100

(See Diagram 4 in "Visual Method" (distribution of occupations of rural populations))

The statistical data on employment in extended business or company direction indicates a clear connection between the first and third periods, for most of the immigrants engaged in these occupations are from these two periods. The majority of third period immigrants engaged in extended businesses are the sons-in-law of the immigrants of the first period engaged in the same occupation. These

men, who arrived in the years 1948 to 1958, married the daughters of the immigrants who had arrived here 25 to 30 years earlier.

A look at the occupations of the first locally-born generation shows that a high percentage of the sons entered extended businesses with their fathers-in-law, and also with their brothers-in-law who had arrived in the third period. There are no such connections between immigrants in the second and fourth periods. The reasons for this difference may be that the percentage of immigrants of the second period involved in extended businesses is lower than that of the first period, and because many immigrants of the fourth period came from urban centres and since they were skilled workers or employees, they were not drawn towards the extended businesses.

TABLE XI - (extracted from TABLE X) - PROPORTION OF IMMIGRANTS OF EACH PERIOD INVOLVED IN EXTENDED BUSINESSES AND COMPANY DIRECTION.

	PERIOD OF ARRIVAL				TOTAL %
	I	II	III	IV	
Percentage involved in extended business	52,94	11,76	35,89	-	100
Percentage involved in company direction	50		50		100

(See diagram 5 in "Visual Method" - extended business).

The data on the café, extended business and property dealing (Table XII) indicates that a high proportion of those immigrants emanating from rural areas are involved in café-ownership, extended businesses, and property dealing.

TABLE XII.

Occupation	Percentage of the total population	Percentage of the rural population
Café trade	39,85	47,32
Property dealing and retired	22,46	23,21
Extended business	12,37	14,28
Company directors	1,44	1,78
TOTAL	76,12	86,59

On his arrival in Cape Town, the immigrant will, for the first few months, often work in a café for an uncle, a brother, or some other relative. This arrangement does not usually last very long. He then opens his own business. Of the 30 household heads of the first two periods who were interviewed, 17 began working for relatives (uncle, brother, brother-in-law, or father-in-law), and of these, 14 broke away from them within the first few months. Breaking away from a father-in-law or brother-in-law was far less frequent than from an uncle or brother. Break-aways involved a serious and intense emotional crisis, and of the 14 mentioned above, 6 ended in a general breaking off of relationships. This crisis will be analysed separately.

The veteran immigrants (from the 1930's) told us how difficult it was to make a living. At the end of the day they would count the pennies, and when various café-owners met one another, they would ask, "How much did you take today?". The answer, so these informants told us, was always evasive and diplomatic. The café-owner was embarrassed by his small income and used to say, "I took 25" - without specifying whether the number referred to pennies or pounds. Besides enduring poverty, they worked very hard, long hours: from 6.00a.m. until midnight,

and often even later. At first they lived on the café premises, and thus the shop served as their place of abode and work. It was the entire closed world of the immigrant. People came to buy and sell. They chatted to the owner and then left, but his world was virtually limited to the threshold of his shop. With the passing of time the business flourished and grew, and although the owner expanded it, the hours still remained long and inconvenient. He remained as enclosed within these four walls as ever before. This situation had an immediate and significant result; the well-established central social institution of the small Greek village, the coffee house, vanished.

The immigrant, bound to his shop or tea-room, had no leisure time in which to socialise either often or regularly. The geographic spread of residences also contributed to his isolation. The coffee-house, as the centre for social gatherings, for communication, and even for informal social control, could no longer function. With it disappeared one of the most important mechanisms for the crystallisation of an all-male voluntary group which meant that the Cape Town Greek - who later might have found the leisure time for it - lost one of the mechanisms for segregation of the sexes.

> "We tried to meet over a glass of 'ouzo'....for a game of cards.....sometimes we managed....we wanted to meet...we looked for opportunities...who had time?.. how could one rely on others to safeguard one's own interests?".

But even these efforts to meet were limited to immigrants of the same origin group.

This background of long working hours, an unwillingness to rely on strangers, the looseness and unstructured nature of social life, and the isolation of the immigrant, sheds a special light on the continuation of the absorption process.

The most significant points which emerge are the 'importing'

of a wife, the prospects of her changing her functions, of reinforcing her status, and the genesis of a new set of relationships between husband and wife.

Once the immigrant had managed to adapt and had opened his own business, he reached the stage of seeking a wife.. Apart from the natural desire to marry and raise a family, the immigrant had additional and obvious considerations which directed his motivation. He was usually nearing thirty years of age, and this according to the norms of the Greek village, was considered a suitable time for marriage. He also desperately needed an obedient and trustworthy assistant. Partnership with a brother or relative was, in the long term, not successful. In most cases he himself had brought out one of his own relatives to help him in the shop, but this partnership too was eventually dissolved. The business had grown sufficiently to support a wife as well, or even a full partner. Not only did he now earn enough on which to live, but he was also accumulating profit. There is no partner more faithful than a wife with children. If we remember the focus on the family unit, then we shall understand that there is in fact no framework more ideal for working in partnership. No less important are the factors of social isolation forced on the man, his limited leisure time and the restricted and fairly unvaried forms of entertainment available to him. The coffee house had been left far behind in the small village. Meetings with male peer-groups were irregular and infrequent. The need for a companion in life became very real indeed.

Thus was created the pattern of bringing out a wife. Sometimes a man returned to the village to seek a wife himself. He might go to follow up a prior arrangement he had to marry a woman he knew only as a child, or whose family he knew, or whom he remembered only vaguely. In some instances he travelled overseas to marry a woman he had never met; an arrangement concluded through a marriage broker. Sometimes, if the girl had come to visit relatives - and the reason for such a trip was usually to find a husband - the

meeting of bride and groom took place in South Africa. Often the girl had been brought out by her brothers who had already settled here, and in such cases, the responsibility for her marriage rested on them.

One of the most common patterns was that of a bringing a bride to Cape Town. In such a marriage pattern the importance of the dowry was apparently reduced. The girl and her parents were not expected to make any material contribution whatever. When the bride arrived she usually lived with relatives or with a family of friends for the first few months before her wedding. In the case of one couple interviewed, both partners were relatively recent immigrants. He had been living here for six years, she eight months. The match was arranged by correspondence through a third person, as the couple had not previously met. In fact, they had already gone through a civil marriage so that she could obtain a residence permit for South Africa, but they had not yet been married according to religious rite. As the man still had to finalise various financial, accommodation and other matters, she resided with relatives of her future husband. Their friends said they were still not freely going about together and were always chaperoned because no religious marriage ceremony had been performed. (It may be noted in passing that there are certain areas in Greece where, immediately following a couple's engagement, they may quite freely go about together, without any chaperone, and may even live in the same house, but it is expected that they will refrain from consummating the liaison before marriage. I did not manage to establish the custom in the home village of the couple referred to above, but it seems clear that the need for supervision was felt to be stronger in Cape Town).

A general picture of the shared life in the café is central to much of immigrant life. The young couple stand together in the struggle for existence. The wife is immediately incorporated into the working routine, and the children are usually born within the first few years. Although the couple will probably rent a flat, the café

remains the centre of family life. They are extremely busy. The wife assists her husband considerably and divides her time between the café and the care of the children. The main focus is on the café and not on the home, for little time is spent in the latter. The wife is responsible for meals, but these are usually eaten in the café, and she may relieve her husband for an hour or two while he rests. In this way the wife too spends most of her day in the café, rushing between customers, children, and home.

For the children in particular, the effect of the café-centred life could be marked, setting them apart from their school fellows. Many detailed descriptions of the daily activities and life in the café attest to this, and to the fact that it is a shared experience for most of the community. All the 20-30 year olds who were born here speak with mixed feelings of this fact of their experience. There seems to be both a longing for the days when the whole family was united and closely-knit, as well as an awareness of the difficulties that all had experienced in those years. The following is a most vivid description:

> "All the memories of my childhood are somehow bound up with the café. Whenever I was free I would go and help my father. I would go straight from school to the café, grab some food, and immediately begin to help. Sometimes I would have to get up in the middle of a meal to serve: there were rush hours. The café was next to a cinema, so that intervals and the end of the film were very busy periods. Everyone's help was enlisted - my brother's and sister's, my mother's and mine. At times we were so busy that there was no time to talk. But there were quieter times too, and then my sisters and I, to pass the time, would sit and chat and laugh secretly about the customers".

When asked about home life, he replied:

"At home! At home we would mainly sleep or meet for social occasions. I hardly remember the house. Only long afterwards, after we had sold the café, then we began really living at home. Actually, our home was really the shop (he suddenly defines it for himself). I remember that I did not like staying at home. It was cold, lonely, boring. I even did my homework at the shop".

This story is characteristic of all the families interviewed. His cousin, today married to a Greek architect, tells the same story. The café is then the real functional home for a man.

Another informant stated:

"There was hardly any time for entertainment; I had many hidings from my father in this respect. After school, my friends would take part in many extra-mural activities, while I had to be in the shop. The only way I could get out of work was by preparing lessons for school. That was sacred. My father knew no compromise on that subject. But as to enjoyments, my father used to say, 'We are not English. We have no time to waste on sport and such nonsense. We must work'".

The same informant went on to tell us of his frustrations when his friends would pass the café and call him to play football. His father would always say, "Later, when you have time. Now there is work". The informant added, "Of course, there never was time".

Any limited leisure time was usually centred round the family. A family visit to relatives or friends, an invitation to a baptism or wedding, Greek national festivals, when everyone would meet at the church. Occasionally they would decide to close the shop and go on a picnic - but that would occur very rarely, because on public holidays business at the café would be particularly brisk.

The café as a business is well suited to the nuclear family framework, i.e. father, mother, and young unmarried children. Running it requires the unskilled abilities of the immediate members of the family, under the supervision of the father. There is no need or room for another adult. The father, supported by his wife, is quite competent to perform the responsible tasks of bookkeeping, ordering stock, etc.... while the children are able to help with the simple tasks of serving, selling, and cleaning. It could be contended that an additional adult assistant would ease the burden on the couple of the long working day, but we must remember the individualistic and suspicious nature of the Greek and his strong desire to use to the maximum his own abilities and time to increase his profits. It then becomes clear that any outside assistance would not only be superfluous but undesirable, especially if this additional assistant were himself a breadwinner, responsible for the economic support of his own family.

For these reasons, the harmony of the family running the café changes only when the sons and daughters grow up and marry. It is partly in this context that the transition from café-ownership to extended business may occur.

The transition is generally achieved within the framework of a commonly accepted pattern. Before the extended business is opened, all the steps and prospects involved in such a move are carefully considered during a series of discussions in which all members of the family participate. Much discussion over a considerable period of time may ensue before a decision is reached, and even when it has finally been decided to open an extended business, the café is not immediately closed. On the contrary, the new extended business is opened while the café continues in operation. Both will be run simultaneously until the new business proves itself profitable and secure. Sometimes a year or two may elapse before it is finally decided to close the café and to concentrate on the extended business.

Certain conditions must be fulfilled for such a transition to take place. Firstly, the café-owner must be economically stable; he must have at his disposal sufficient capital with which to open the new business. His capital must in fact be large enough to enable him to run the two businesses simultaneously. As the new business usually requires a much larger adult staff than the café - and here younger children can obviously not be of much help - it requires the organisation of a team of workers. It also requires more complex organisational and bookkeeping activities, which only adults are able to perform. Furthermore, the adult workers must be reliable. In the transition stage, which may last quite a long time, the owner must divide his time between the old and the new businesses. While he is engaged in developing and establishing his new business he will frequently be absent from his café. Therefore he also requires a mature and responsible person to run the latter; someone who will neither neglect it nor exploit the owner's absence to the detriment of the business. The extended family is the ideal answer to these needs. The suspicious Greek would certainly not rely on strangers to assist in the running of either or the two businesses.

In all the businesses of the sample, the transition was carried out under certain family situations, such as when two brothers had worked together in a café for many years. This occurs when one of the brothers is a bachelor living with his married brother's family, -in the sample we found two such cases, but not a single case of two brothers, both married, working together - or when two brothers-in-law who were partners in a café, decided to open an extended business together. The change may also occur when the sons of a family have grown up and are able to take an active part in the management of the business, or when another brother-in-law joins the family, and lastly, when relatives are brought out.

On investigating the extended businesses in this sample, the abovementioned family frameworks were found. Of the 60 families investigated, eleven were found to be engaged in

extended, independent business (including managers of companies). These eleven families constitute 18,33% of the total population sample - this proportion is a little higher than the percentage for this occupation group in the survey of the immigrants from rural areas (16,06%). The eleven families are the families of immigrants who arrived in Periods I, II and III. There are no extended businesses among the immigrants of the fourth period.

The combinations of the various members of the families involved in extended business vary: sometimes sons only; sometimes father and son-in-law; sometimes father, sons and sons-in-law.

TABLE XIII - FAMILY COMPOSITION OF EXTENDED BUSINESSES RELATIVE TO THE IMMIGRATION PERIODS.

Number of families	Period of arrival and family members involved.			
	I	I & II	I & III	II & III
4	Father and sons			
1		Father and son-in-law		
5			Fathers and/ or sons, sons-in-law, older bachelor brother	
1				Brothers & brothers-in-law
TOTAL 11				

Owners of extended businesses are concentrated in periods I and III, and immigrants from both these periods are in partnership. These findings correspond to the findings obtained from the general survey, in which it was established that the majority of owners of extended businesses were from

these same two periods. This exemplifies what has been said concerning the transition from café-ownership to extended business and the suitability of the extended family for extended businesses. This transition becomes possible when the sons have grown up - approximately 20-25 years after the arrival of the parents - or on the arrival of sons-in-law, who usually belong to the third period.

The extended business has many advantages of which the immigrants are only partly conscious. Sometimes these advantages are not at all clear or specific.

There is a reciprocal relationship between the extended business and the extended family, for, as has been stated, the extended family facilitates a transition to the extended business without the requirement of assistance from outsiders. At the same time it prevents the dispersal of capital and thus enables it to be fully exploited. From the point of view of family structure the extended business contributes to the strengthening and consolidation of the extended families. It facilitates the maintenance of ties with the sons by creating employment for them. This is made possible because the business does not require skilled workers. A little good will and the sharp business mind of the Greek, already trained in spare time, are sufficient. This absorption thus avoids the dispersal of the sons and they consequently do not leave home. It equally facilitates the absorption of sons-in-law, usually also unskilled, and binds them to the bride's home, which in turn averts the daughters leaving the framework of the parental home.

But the development of this different type of business also has other effects on the family. It frees the women from working in the shop and enables them to devote their time to the care of the home and children, while, likewise, it may also free the children from the shop, and accordingly creates common interests between close relatives and reinforces their mutual dependence. Despite expansion, it still acts as an isolating factor from the wider social

environment. Apart from the specific, universalistic customer/seller relationships, most of the social relationships are among relatives and business partners. Perhaps, most importantly, it preserves and intensifies the supreme authority of the father, who is the manager of the business and controller of the work of the sons and sons-in-law. This authority, besides its normative basis, is strengthened by the important fact that the father retains for himself the majority of the shares in the business.

The mechanisms of the process clearly illustrate the reciprocal relationship between the extended business and the extended family. The transition is possible because of the employment of members of the extended family. This very transition ensures, in its own way, the existence and continuation of an extended united family as a corporate unit.

Another important economic tie which binds Greeks as members of an ethnic or regional group is the leasing of café premises. This pattern involves the bringing out of relatives and friends from the immigrant's original village, and the leasing to them of café premises. It is difficult to obtain precise figures for the prevalence of this pattern owing to the understandable reluctance of the 'importers' or the 'patrons' to impart information, owing to economic interests, taxation, etc. Nevertheless this is a pattern which is decidedly widespread. Some companies or large families which own wholesale businesses and outfitting shops are well known to the Greek community as providers of such facilities. One family is said to have 'imported' about 500 people. Even if this number is exaggerated, it is certainly some expression of reality.

Settled immigrants who bring out relatives and friends lease cafés to them, concern themselves in their first absorption arrangements, and guide them in their work. In return for this service, they at first collect a monthly fee. Once the new immigrant has acquainted himself with the work and has settled into his new business, he slowly acquires

ownership of the café from the lessors. The sons of owners of extended businesses, the lessors, invariably act as advisors, supervisors, and rent collectors.

Humanitarianism is the declared motive for this type of activity on the part of the lessor. The Greek in the street attributes it to purely economic motives. He explains that the wholesaler who lets the café assures himself of a secure market for his stock, since, by an explicit condition of the leasing contract, the lessor supplies all the goods required by the café. Besides this there are the large profits which the lessor enjoys from leasing the premises, and in the long run, from the sale of the café. The relationship which thus develops between the lessor and the lessee is reminiscent of the common pattern of patronage, accepted among villagers vis-a-vis townsfolk.

Once the extended business is established and developing, the veteran immigrant turns his attention to a new kind of economic activity. As the sons and sons-in-law are now trained and take an active part in the business, the old Greek immigrant, with his characteristically endless dynamism, very gradually retires from the extended business and builds up his own individual economic sphere. He starts buying plots and buildings, and becomes a property speculator, an occupation which gradually proves itself successful and feasible.

What are the motives which push the veteran towards this new kind of endeavour?

The informants were obviously reluctant to disclose many facts in this regard as it involved financial matters. However, remarks passed by many of them gave clear enough hints as to the situation, which can be outlined in general terms.

Economically the business is doing very well and there is a need to find new horizons or avenues for investment.

"Money must work and must not be allowed to languish in the coffers of the bank", says one immigrant. Investment in property is safe and therefore suits the prudent Greek businessman. He starts very gradually with small investments while the extended business continues to provide security and a living. Such investments suit the nature of the Greek, who is never keen to show his books to any outsider.

But the central question is why the veterans break off on their own to enter this new field. Why do they not extend the existing business or build up a larger one within the framework of the family? Sometimes, but very rarely, the sons are partly admitted into this new field, but always in a very small way. The most usual pattern is that of the father dealing in property entirely on his own and for his own account.

Here the hints given by the older men seem to indicate a very interesting direction:

> "It is time to worry about myself and my wife..."
> "The days of my old age are coming, and one must worry about oneself and get ready to retire..."
> "The children are getting older. They are becoming harder and much more demanding...."
> "The children each have their own families - I must care for mine...."
> "The youngsters are getting too clever...."

Sometimes the same ideas are formulated in a gentle and softer way:

> "It is time I started letting the children worry about themselves..."
> "One must always keep a watch over them, but one day they will have to learn to fly with their own wings..."

The hint is clear, unambiguous. The father prepares for his retirement and concerns himself with his own security for his old age.

The family situation at this stage is very similar to that in the Greek village when the time comes for the father to retire. The married children are very often living under the same roof and are usually working together under the direction of the father. Now property dealing appears as a new form of 'yerokomio', but contrary to the usual pattern in the Greek village, in South Africa the father does not completely relinquish his leadership, nor his part in the business. He continues to hold important shares in the extended business and in this way keeps an eye on its administration.

The father's working day is described by S in some detail:

> "Every morning he first goes shopping, sometimes with his wife. Then he drives round to check on his properties, collecting rents, checking the progress on one of his buildings under construction. Later in the morning he arrives at the extended business for a 'cup of coffee with the children'. There he helps in various little office tasks. He may telephone to arrange some of his own business affairs, but", says S with a knowing smile, "he turns round to see that the children are up to no nonsense".

The process is a very gradual one and his retirement is almost never complete and definite. On his death his properties are usually inherited by his wife, while the extended business is divided among his children, and, sometimes, in addition to the properties, his wife is also allocated a share in the business. The widow continues to collect the rents and all other income from the properties of her late husband, and is very often assisted in these matters by one of her sons.

We see in this occupation an additional, different, and significant step in the occupational life cycle of the immigrant. His entire life has been characterised by a consistent trend: the setting up of occupational frameworks that may reinforce family cohesion. By turning to property the immigrant acts in a completely new and opposing direction. He is breaking away, as far as

occupation is concerned, from the extended family. Yet this breaking away is not a definite one, for he still holds shares in the extended business, which is his way of expressing his intention of having some control and a 'say' in the continuation of the process.

In the general discussion on the findings of this research we shall deal in greater detail with the deep social and family significance of such a development. However, it is worthwhile to anticipate and to note here that there is a clear tendency among the siblings at a certain stage to reach greater independance by breaking away from the partnership to build up their own individual businesses.

Property dealing appears then as a step towards such a development. The father definitely does not intend to initiate the break, but because he is aware of it, he seems to anticipate it. This anticipation seems to work in two directions; to assure security for both his wife and himself in old age, and also to assure for himself the means of keeping as much control as possible over the situation, e.g. by keeping shares in the extended business.

TABLE XIV - DISTRIBUTION OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF SONS BORN IN CAPE TOWN.

Occupation	Number	%
Café-owner	6	15,38
Property	-	-
Factory	-	-
Company director	3	7,69
Extended business	14	35,89
Self-employed skilled	4	10,25
Employed semi-skilled	4	10,25
Employed skilled	1	2,56
Employed professsional	7	17,94
TOTAL	39	99,67

As indicated above, the dominant occupation amongst the sons is in extended business (35,89%), yet if we add the company directors to this occupational category, which in itself is also a kind of extended business for it has the same family character, but with broader investments, then the sons dealing in extended family business constitute 43,58% of the population of working sons. The second largest group consists of professionals (17,94%). This is divided into doctors, architects, civil engineers, chemistry lecturer, and neurologist.

Café-owners comprise the third largest group. Of the 6 sons working in cafés, 4 are bachelors working with an elderly father, and two run their own cafés. Sons working in family businesses constitute 58,96% of the total, as against 41% engaged in non-family occupations.

TABLE XV - SONS IN FAMILY/NON-FAMILY OCCUPATIONS.

FAMILY OCCUPATIONS		NON FAMILY OCCUPATIONS	
Occupation	%	Occupation	%
Café-owners	15,38	Self-employed skilled	10,25
Company director	7,69	Employed: semi-skilled	10,25
Extended Business	35,89	skilled	2,56
		professional	17,94
TOTAL	58,96		40,90

Sons who are self-employed constitute 69,21% of the total as against 30,75% who are wage-earners.

TABLE XVI - SONS WHO ARE SELF-EMPLOYED/WAGE-EARNERS.

Self-employed		Wage-earners	
Occupation	%	Occupation	%
Café-owners	15,38	Semi-skilled	10,25
Company directors	7,69	Skilled	2,56
Extended business	35,89	Professional	17,94
Skilled	10,25		
TOTAL	69,21		30,75

Sons who are skilled constitute 30,75% of the total as against 69,21% who run cafés, business, and those who are unskilled.

TABLE XVII - SONS WHO ARE SKILLED/UNSKILLED.

SKILLED		UNSKILLED/SEMI-SKILLED	
Occupation	%	Occupation	%
Self-employed (Television, electrician, bookkeeper)	10,25	Café-owner	15,38
		Company director	7,69
		Extended business	35,89
In employment	2,56	In employment	10,25
Professional	17,94		
TOTAL	30,75		69,21

From these findings we discern certain trends that characterise the type of occupation of the immigrants, i.e., the preponderance of family businesses, mainly within the extended family framework, self-employed, and unskilled or semi-skilled occupations (mainly trades).

But among the sons we find a wider range of occupations, and also that they adopt completely new occupations, neither of which findings is applicable to the parents.

TABLE XVIII - COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS AND SONS (FOR THE COMBINED FIRST TWO PERIODS).

OCCUPATION	FATHERS		SONS	
	Number	%	Number	%
Café-owners	8	23,52	6	15,38
Property	16	47,05	-	-
Factory	-	-	-	-
Company director	-	-	3	7,69
Extended business	10	29,41	14	35,89
Self-employed skilled	-	-	4	10,25
Employed: semi-skilled	-	-	4	10,25
skilled	-	-	1	2,56
Professional	-	-	7	17,94
TOTAL	34	99,98	39	99,96

From the above table we see that the fathers are concentrated in café-ownership, property, and extended business, while the sons are spread over all the various occupational categories. A first group of sons appear in professional capacities. Further, despite the fact that the trend for self-employment is continuous, it is losing some of its force. (See diagram 6 in "visual method" - comparison of occupational distribution between fathers and sons).

A comparison of the occupational distribution between fathers and sons for the first two periods taken separately shows that more sons of immigrants of the first period were in extended business than sons of immigrants of the second period. (All bachelor immigrants have been excluded from the table which follows).

TABLE XIX - COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN FATHERS AND SONS FOR THE FIRST TWO PERIODS TAKEN SEPARATELY.

	First Period				Second Period			
	Fathers		Sons		Fathers		Sons	
Occupation	No.	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Café-owners	3	15,78	2	9,09	5	33,33	4	23,52
Property	10	52,63			6	40		
Factory								
Company director			2	9,09			1	5,88
Extended business	6	31,57	10	45,45	4.	26,66	4	23,52
Self-employed skilled			2	9,09			2	11,76
Employed: semi-skilled			2	9,09			2	11,76
skilled							1	5,88
Professional			4	18,18			3	17,64
TOTAL	19	99,98	22	99,99	15	99,99	17	99,96

In the sample there are 52 daughters over 18 years of age born to parents of the first two periods. Of these 45 are married, and 7 are spinsters.

TABLE XX - OCCUPATIONS OF DAUGHTERS.

In employment		Housewives	
Number	%	Number	%
11	21,15	41	78,84

The distribution among the eleven employed daughters is:

1 clinical psychologist
1 high school teacher
1 lawyer
5 clerks
1 dancer
1 dress maker
1 extended business (outfitter).

Besides the first three aforementioned, there are two who have obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Cape Town, which brings to five the number of graduate daughters. Most of the remaining 47 have completed a high school education. Of the eleven in employment, one works ar home (dress-making), and another in an extended business owned by her family. The remaining nine are in outside employment (19,51%), and of the 41 housewives, 12 help their husbands in his business.

From this data we conclude that there is an accentuated tendency for daughters to complete high school, although very few continue to University (5 - 9,61%), and of those employed, only 17,3% work outside the family circle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN CAPE TOWN IN 1972 - INSTITUTIONS AND GROUPS.

1. Communal Institutions.

The purpose of detailing the various institutions of the Greek community is to investigate points relevant to the subject matter of this survey; that is, the possible functions for which these institutions are intended. Concurrently, an investigation is undertaken as to the extent that the structure of these institutions makes possible the successful and efficient performance of these functions. At this stage we distinguish between manifest and latent functions, and investigate the latent functions.

We quote first two articles of the Constitution of the Hellenic Community of Cape Town. These articles define the aims of this communal organisation:

CONSTITUTION OF THE HELLENIC COMMUNITY OF CAPE TOWN.

CHAPTER A

FORMATION, NAME, DURATION.

Article 1 The 'ASSOCIATION FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE' formed in 1898, in 1900 developed into a Community with the name 'HELLENIC COMMUNITY OF CAPE TOWN' with an unlimited duration, governed and represented henceforth according to that as set out hereunder.

CHAPTER B.

AIMS

Article 2 The aims of the Community are:-

a) The spiritual, moral, social, national and religious service to its members.

b) The founding, keeping, maintenance and functioning of a Greek Orthodox Church, Greek School, gathering place, sports club, as well as every other expression with a view to the elevation of the members of the Community within the framework of the Greek traditions.

c) The effort through every manner and means, that the members of the community become very good citizens of their new country, the Union of South Africa and useful members of society.

d) The rendering of material and moral support to needy fellow-countrymen.

e) The assistance and financial support within its power, of benevolent foundations and associations in the Union of South Africa and Greece.

f) The keeping and increasing of the Community's assets of whatever form and of the Community's immovable properties.

g) The collaboration and co-operation with other Greek Communities in the Union of South Africa, that is, participation in the Federation of Greek Communities in South Africa and more generally the pursual in the exterior of every noble aim in a National framework, contributing to the progress and elevation of Hellenism.

h) The arbitrative effort of the Administrative Committee in office from time to time, in settling differences between fellow countrymen to prevent court cases and the publicity resulting therefrom. The above aims are mentioned indicatively and not restrictively, the Administrative Committee of the Community, in office from time to time, having the right of broad interpretation of this article in order to pursue aims not specifically named herein, except for those referring to the spirit, the existence and the functioning of the Community.

Originally the organisation was defined as an "Association for Mutual Aid", but it soon acquired the general title

"The Hellenic Community of Cape Town". In other words, the original, confined aims of the organisation, were, within a period of two years, broadened to cover ethnic, spiritual, moral, social, national, and religious fields. The national and religious bases of these aims were emphasised.

In the constitution, mutual aid, the prime aim, became secondary and failed to maintain its central position as originally intended. Perusal of the constitution shows that this aim soon lost all real significance. In fact, among the various committees provided for in the constitution, no mention is made of a mutual aid committee or any other mechanism for the absorption of immigrants. At present there is still no official body in the community specifically designated to deal with this matter, one which is prominent and relevant to this study. Perhaps the family character of immigration did not create a vital, pressing need for an institution of this nature. However, its very absence certainly intensified the dependence of the immigrant on his family, relatives, and friends, and also indicates the non-existence of any integrative, general community framework for new immigrants. When we investigate the non-formal social structure of the community, the strong tendency toward social segregation between the various regional groups becomes evident. In addition it is clear that the mechanism for inter-group closeness is not conscious, directed, or institutionalised. The non-existence of such an institution also exemplifies the small degree of co-operation which characterises the immigrants from Greek villages. Another factor which emerges from the constitution is that together with an orientation towards education aimed at good and loyal citizenship to the new country, there is a conscious desire to maintain a connection between the various Greek communities in South Africa by means of an emphasis on a common national framework.

From the outset, the ethnic organisation was bound up strongly with the religious organisation. The initial project which brought the first immigrants together was the building

of a church; not an organised institution for aid or assistance to immigrants. The constitutional definition of aims encompassed both national and religious foundations. However, just as in the section on mutual aid, this aim is not formulated in a very concrete or concise way, nor is it possible to find any means for the realisation of this aim, either in the constitution or in practice. It seems that its formulation is mainly to emphasise the national basis of the community organisation.

The Greek Orthodox Church is the community's main institution. It is, today, almost the only official, permanent place where Greeks can gather and meet. Its name well expresses the interplay between religious and ethnic aims.

The church, situated in Woodstock, seats 400 - large enough to accommodate the numbers who attend on feast days. On national religious festivals a crowd of faithful worshippers can usually be seen listening to the service from outside. However, on an average, not more than 150 attend Sunday services. The services are conducted and the sermons preached in classical Greek.

The priest's house adjoins the church. Definition of the priest's functions covers a few lines in the constitution, viz:

> Paragraph e) "The priest conducts the Holy Services and is in charge of the personnel associated therewith".
>
> Paragraph f) "The priest is responsible to the Archbishop and the Community as the employer in the execution of his Holy duties in accordance with the Faith, Worship, Discipline, and Orders of the Greek Orthodox Church. He keeps the Registry Books for Weddings, Baptisms and Deaths".

The duties of a priest are governed by Church regulation, and there is therefore no need to detail them here. However,

a dominating thread in the constitution dealing with the employment of the priest is the constantly repeated emphasis of his dependance on the Administrative Committee and his responsibility to the Bishop. In twelve sections devoted to the priest, eight concern limitations on him and emphasise his duty to accept the authority of the Administrative Committee. One paragraph even states that the priest "is to co-operate in complete harmony and accord with the Committee member or members of the Church Supervisory Committee, avoiding every friction and every scandal" (para. h). His dependence on communal leaders emphasises his position as an employee of the community and limits his ability to serve as an effective spiritual leader, with the result that his well-defined duties are, in fact, mainly specific and ritual, rather than of a spiritual and leadership nature.

The Bishop is the official representative of and is appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria. He is the highest religious authority, resides in Cape Town, and has jurisdiction over the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, and Natal. His status in the priestly hierarchy is very high. External signs of this authority are the vestments of the Emperor Constantine, which he wears during ritual functions, and on which are embroidered the eagle, symbol of Orthodox Byzantium. It is worthy of note that Constantine Paleologus, last of the Orthodox Emperors, perished fighting the Turks. The fall of Byzantium during this war initiated a period of Turkish conquest and domination lasting 400 years. The faith and hope that one day Constantinople and the great and holy Church of Hagia Sophia will once again be restored to Greek hands is deeply rooted and accepted by the people. On that day, a new emperor named Constantine will arise and head the church. Thus the Bishop symbolises the existence and continuity of Byzantine Orthodoxy as well as the personalisation of the idea of a national revival. Here, therefore, the national definition of the Greek church is explicable. The religious concept is interwoven with the concept of national

uniqueness and unity. In an interview with the Bishop we attempted to clarify the qualitative basis of this synthesis. The explanation given was historical and the decisive role of the Church in the process of liberation from the yoke of foreigners was emphasised.

For our study, the important factor is that the official torchbearer in the cultivating of national values in the community is the head of the Church. The community was undecided as to whether to bring out the Bishop or build a Greek school. Much discussion took place. There were differences of opinion, but the majority prevailed and eventually the Bishop arrived.

The Bishop defines his role in South Africa as one of responsibility for leading the communities in religious and national spheres; of protecting his flock from "harmful influences of modern trends and preserving the purity of traditional family values, dear to the Greek religion". His practical tasks are the supervision of the various churches under his patronage, checking the correctness of various community activities, confirmation, marriages, etc., and the carrying out of religious ceremonies as required. The performance of a religious ceremony such as marriage or baptism by the Bishop adds a festive dimension, dignity, and solemnity to the event. Most of the wealthy families thus prefer the services of the Bishop.

While the community sees to his salary, his exclusive responsibility to the Patriarch of Alexandria, and the fact that he is generally a cultured and respected person, afford him autonomy and great freedom of action, far exceeding that of the priest. However, this very role and standing, prevent him from maintaining an informal and intimate link with his flock. In addition, his ignorance of the English language makes it difficult for him to make contact with the younger generation who do not speak Greek. His literary style of speech too, does not constitute an effective means of communication. Most of the Greeks come from villages and their spoken language is

'Demotiko', a spoken folk language. The complaint is frequently heard among the local born younger generation that the Bishop's very appointment by external agents from Alexandria adversely affects his leadership. They maintain that a man who is not rooted in a specific social environment cannot understand the special needs of the community he heads and therefore cannot create a real bond with it or respond effectively to its problems. Another recurring complaint concerns the conducting of religious services and the preaching of sermons in classical Greek (the ecclesiastical language). Inability to understand robs the ritual of any interest and significance. This latter complaint is perhaps, in part, a good excuse for the younger peoples' lagging attendance at religious services, but this poor attendance can also be interpreted as a weakening of their ritualistic, religious life.

Except for Sunday services and festive ceremonies of a religious and national nature, we found no other activities within the church framework (for example, religious study groups). We may conclude then, that the central institution bearing official responsibility for the community's religious and national functions suffers from structural difficulties in the performing of these functions. The incumbents in the central posts in this institution lack the means or the conditions for effective performance of these functions. This finds expression in the paucity of any real participation in ritualistic life. If we compare the great influence which the church has on the totality of life - national, religious, and social, - of the man in Greece we discover that in Cape Town the church as an institution has lost much of its ability to perform these functions. Yet it seems that we should not regard the structure of the institution as the only factor in the weakening of the religious life of the community. Certainly, the weakening of social control and the type of employment which demands long hours are also possible factors in this phenomenon. It is however clear that the church performs an important function by its very existence. It serves as a symbolic centre for all members of the congregation. It concretises feelings of belonging. It enables its

members to define and fix their national and social identity as well as their link with the homeland.

The Greek school has been in existence for only a few years. Prior to its formation the priest taught some of the children of the community. Because Greek families are scattered throughout the city and environs, and because of the distances involved, Greek school classes are held in certain suburbs (which serve those surrounding) each weekday afternoon from 4.00 to 6.00p.m. Classrooms and school halls are hired by the community for this purpose. The teacher travels from suburb to suburb. Tuition centres are located in Claremont, Bellville, and Sea Point, as well as in the town of Stellenbosch. In practice, each child attends one study period a week. The small number of pupils in each class makes the organisation of regular classes difficult and therefore the "graduated system" of tuition is used - by which children of varying ages attend simultaneously in the same class. The teacher devotes some time to one age group while another group is occupied with independent study. There is no compulsory or official syllabus. The choice of teaching material is entirely in the hands of the teacher who attempts to adapt it to the needs of the Greek child in Cape Town.

The teacher agreed to formulate for this investigation the aims of the teaching, which covers the teaching of spoken Greek to children of Greek immigrants as well as the keeping of Greek customs and traditions <u>as far as possible</u>, and the teaching of Greek history, national traditions, and the Greek Orthodox religion.

The teacher indicated that a pupil completing the whole course in a proper way (i.e. by attending regularly throughout the years) is expected to have reached the standard of knowledge of a primary school pupil in Greece (the equivalent of Standard IV). He defined the educational aims of teaching as, "To make the children lovers of Greece, or <u>at least</u> friends of Greece", this because it frequently occurs that as the child grows older, he becomes

estranged from Greek society. He does not participate in social functions, except as a result of parental pressure.

> "The Greek child spends two-thirds of his time in the South African school. Very early he learns that he belongs to a world very different from other children. The comparison with the outside world is not to the credit of his own world. He regards the world surrounding him as a world of better values and modes of behaviour, and he is drawn to it. He develops a sense of inferiority. Thus, the realistic aims of education must be directed in the main to educate children so that they will be lovers of Greece or at least her friends".

The teacher emphasised the parents' expectations. The school, in the parents' opinion, should cultivate Greek identity, which would express itself, inter alia, in an identification with Greece as the homeland, and a desire to participate regularly in the social and religious life of the community (i.e. regular attendance at church, a desire to spend time in Greek company, etc.). In the teacher's opinion these expectations are not realistic, "partly because of the surrounding culture which is a competing factor, and partly because of the limited possibilities of the school".

From what has been said, a picture emerges of a small and amateurish institution whose structure does not allow any reasonable chance of effective results. The Greek child spends an hour a week at school. Obviously this is not time enough in which to acquire any formal learning. Because children of different ages attend classes together, only part of the lesson is devoted to any individual child. In this weekly lesson the child is supposed to learn language, history, customs, and religion.

The modern educational outlook regards educational material not merely as cultural wealth in its own right, but also as a means by which the student is educated. The educational force of this material operates in three fields.

Pitting oneself against the material is an intellectual challenge which, when crowned with success, is a source of purely personal satisfaction. This satisfaction is the natural, organic, and internal motivation for study. Educational material of quality is also able to create in the student a deep emotional identification with personalities, attitudes, and values. In modern psychology this identification is considered as an important lever in the transformation of attitudes. In addition, educational material is absorbed by the student if it is meaningful to his personal life. The strength of all world literature lies in the fact that the problems and values raised are of significance for all time. It should give an answer or express the problems and struggles and aspirations of the times. On the practical level, the possibility of practical application of the educational matter and its utilisation add significance and motivation.

However, the educational matter transmitted to the Greek pupil in Cape Town does not have the potential of evoking any response on these three levels. Because of the language difficulty, the educational material chosen is too simple. The pupils intellectual ability is much higher than the material offered him. He studies material written for 8 year olds, and naturally takes no interest in it. It therefore cannot be a challenge and a source of intellectual satisfaction. Moreover, because of the need to make the language comprehensible use is made of material dealing with matters suitable to a younger age group. This does not suit the students' emotional maturity, and therefore does not bring about the desired identification. The most practical contribution of the school is perhaps that it teaches the child the basics of reading and writing. Achievements in reading and conversation are very limited. An important factor is that the language learnt is 'Demotiko' - spoken Greek. The teaching of classical Greek is not possible because of its complexity. The school is therefore unable to open for the child the gates of classical Greek culture which is the cornerstone of national Hellenistic culture.

Similarly, the world of religious ritual remains closed to the immigrant child.

From the social point of view, because it is scattered over several suburbs, and because each class is composed of various age groups, the school does not serve as a social meeting place for children of similar age. Apart from this geographical dispersion, the teaching system itself converts the lesson into a "private, individual lesson". There is no chance of a group lesson in which children can exchange opinions and get to know one another. There is also no chance of any informal meeting after school hours. The parents transport the children to the lesson and wait to take them home again. Apart from events such as the distribution of prizes, celebrations of national holidays, there are no other organised or even non-organised activities.

It must be mentioned that efforts have lately been made by an elderly lady to fuse some social activity into the school. She is active and enterprising but her endeavours are, as yet, of a very limited nature.

In conclusion, we find that the school in Cape Town is not able to perform its important function of cultivating Greek identity in the fields dealt with, namely, culture, community, and society. It is also unable to serve as a social integrative institution for children of immigrants. Nevertheless, one can say that the school certainly does perform an abstract function. It has an important symbolic value. Its very existence is a component in the creation of and gives expression to the desire on the part of the immigrants to maintain a symbolic centre. Like the church, the school serves mainly as a framework for identification; it satisfies a real need for separateness and for ethnic, cultural affirmation, and is a source of pride. In my visits to the homes of those investigated, this symbolic function was made manifest in a striking way. The children were asked to read from their Greek study books for the investigator. Even though the reading was elementary and hesitant, the pride of the parents, and their

excitement, were evidence of this symbolic function.

Another institution for other age groups is an amateur football club, which of its very nature is restricted to those young men who are good at this sport. This framework can serve as a meeting place for many young people or contribute to social integration among them. The club constitutes a perennial source of pride to most of the male members of the community.

Apart from the school and the soccer club there is no other integrative or cultural framework. It is known that in Johannesburg, for example, there is a sports' centre and a large, well-organised Greek school. In Cape Town, not only is there no youth movement, youth club, or group activity, but the existing institutions do not initiate or organise any activities of this nature.

Other communal institutions for adults comprise the Greek Womens' Association, the Hellenic Football Club, and the Sunday cinema.

The Greek Womens' Association has a committee of nine members who initiate and organise various social events, such as national celebrations, the collection of money for Greek or general philanthropic projects, etc. Amongst other activities feature voluntary assistance to the needy - not necessarily of Greek origin - and assistance in events organised by the community or the students' organisation.

This is the only organisation which contributes in some way to the social activities of the Greek community. They organise functions where Greeks may meet informally, but these events are sporadic, and here again, there is no evidence of a permanent framework giving continuous and frequent opportunity for the various segments of the community to meet one another.

The Hellenic Football Club's committee is almost identical to that of the committee of the Hellenic Community of Cape

Town. This might seem to point to the centrality of this activity in the community. As in all professional teams, the players are not concerned with ethnic considerations but rather with an ability to play soccer. As a result of this, there is in fact only one Greek player in the team, yet its sporting activity is a matter of great interest to every Greek. On the Friday nights when the team plays, most members of the community throng to the soccer stadium. Young and old alike take an intense interest in the achievements of "our team", and follows its fortunes with the Greek's characteristic exuberance. This is, in fact, the communty's most important place for informally getting together. The soccer outing is usually a family event, including parents, children, grandchildren, aunts and uncles. Bachelors attend in their own peer groups.

We have mentioned that "soccer night" is an important social get together. However, it is not a meeting of a personal nature where people join in a common activity such as a chat or a game. Many come as spectators which is not comparable to social club meetings. Here there is no opportunity for a chat or some other common activity. Although it does take place on a family level, it does not allow for social relations to take place among members of the various immigration groups. However, the lively, intense interest which every Greek displays in his team's fortunes, the heated discussions which ensue, all indicate that it serves as an important focus for group identity and imparts a feeling of belonging.

Every Sunday, two continuous screenings of a Greek film take place at the Broadway Cinema. Viewing, according to South African law, is open only to members of the Greek community. These shows were at first screened at two different cinemas, one showing run by a private owner, the other by the community. This separation benefited neither show for patron numbers were divided. After discussions, they combined and the enterprise is now conducted jointly by the two parties. Hence, two screenings of the same film take place at one venue.

About 500 people, consisting mainly of immigrants and their families, attend on Sundays. This is the only permanent and continuous cultural activity of the community. Here again, from the social viewpoint, this is not a meeting where people gather informally. They come as spectators, not as active participants. However, this activity is significant in the lives of the immigrants, because it preserves their traditional Greek values. Although the films are chosen at random, the community, because of its preferences, is a guiding factor.

A look at the ten films which this investigator attended at random indicates a clear direction in the choice of films. Six dealt with family themes and relations with the family, while five dealt with Greek village life (some dealt with both themes simultaneously). The element of family relationships among various family members appearing in most of the films included mutual assistance among brothers, rivalry among brothers, family solidarity aiding general welfare, hatred among sisters destroying home life, and, the woman's place is in the home. In the sixth film, the hero, on discovering that his death is near, decides to return to the village of his family, to spend his remaining months there, since this type of life seems preferable. An additional, though less common element in the films, is love of the homeland.

Besides the aforementioned institutions, three Greek newspapers appear weekly in Johannesburg. They report on news from Greece and that of the local Greek community. In addition, a daily newspaper arrives from Greece. However, not more than 150 people receive at least one of these papers. This estimate was obtained from a member of the community connected with the affairs of these newspapers. In the sample of this study it seems that the reading of a Greek newspaper is linked with immigrants of the first period. Generally, however, very few immigrants were found to read the newspaper regularly.

In conclusion, most of the institutions investigated

exhibited two central characteristics. The Church, school, football club, and film society serve as factors composing a symbolic whole or unity - namely, cultural and national identity or belonging. But there is, in fact, nothing in the structure of these institutions which fosters a real social integration among the members on the one hand and the various groups of origin on the other. They do not encourage members to actively participate in any social or cultural fields.

Of course, participation in Sunday services, or watching football, or a film, do require a certain activity, but it is mechanical and individualistic. The only social aspect of these activities is that they are performed in a group framework, and this contributes to a feeling of togetherness and belonging. An element of real participation or co-operation is lacking and in almost all cases the activity is on a family level. In all these institutions, no provision is made for inter-group or peer-group activity or getting together, and there is no stimulus for intellectual leadership.

2. Regional Group Inter-relationship.

"Papoutsi ap ton topo sou ki as ke balomeno".
(Rather the shoe from one's own place, even though it be patched - a popular Greek saying).

The concept 'patrida' means 'homeland' in Greek. Greece is the 'patrida' of the Greeks, just as France is that of the French, and South Africa that of the South Africans. However, when the Greek farmer speaks of 'patrida mu' he always means the village in which he was born. E.Friedl tells of the way in which the Greek farmer speaks of his village with warmth and admiration and ascribes to it very special and unique characteristics. The village is the source of the farmer's pride; it is the true homeland of the man. Once his first loyalty is given to his family,

his second is to his homeland.

"To the world at large, a man may be a Greek, but to other Greeks, he is a Macedonian, an Arcadian, or an Epirot. More than this, he comes from a particular village of which he is very proud and whose honour he competes with other villages".[1]

Friedl sets the personal and mystic bond between the northern farmer and his land against the pragmatic and instrumental bond of the Greek to his land. Therefore it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the bond with the land and the bond with the village. In conversation with various immigrants no feelings of longing or love for the fatherland were observed. At most the people investigated mentioned that they had land somewhere in their village which they had received as an inheritance. Their attitude to that piece of land is, as has been said, basically one of instrumentality. It is an attitude towards material possessions comparable to that of any other possession of economic value and, as such, devoid of any emotional aspect. However, when the immigrant speaks of the village of his birth, a great emotional surge becomes evident. It is difficult to define this attitude but its basic quality is certainly social and family orientated. The words 'patrida mu' then, have a very special significance. They apparently give expression to his birth-place, the place where he spent his best years. These words are laden with warm and pleasant memories embodying the idea of the cradle of his childhood; where he grew up and developed. By the very expression of the words and the accompanying emotion, a stranger cannot help being impressed by the idea that the central place in the core of the Greek's feelings and attitudes is held by his deep feeling of belonging. Friedl defines the basis of this feeling of belonging: "The people of one's own village were 'endopyi' (home folk) in contrast to 'kseni' (strangers)

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1. M. Mead, op. cit. p.60.

and the term 'kseni' was used equally to refer to a man from Parori, two miles away, and to us from the U.S.A., thousands of miles distant".[1]

Sanders also emphasises that: "Any study of village life will reveal the parochialism of many villages, which in the developing countries means that they are not bound by any loyalty greater than that to their family and their village".[2]

In the light of this deep feeling of local patriotism, and the fact that the Greek immigrants come from different areas and villages, the question of the nature of the relationships between the various groups of origin arises.

When one examines the attitudes amongst the various regional groups, one must take into account factors which are already known from this survey - factors which may have a possible influence on the nature of the relationships under consideration.

It seems that it is possible to divide these factors into two categories, namely, factors of segregative nature and those of integrative nature. These concepts, segregative and integrative, refer to inter-group , and not intra-group, relationships.

Apart from the deep feeling of 'patride mu' indicated above, we mention the individualistic and suspicious nature of the Greek, frequently mentioned in sociological literature on these people. In this survey it has become clear how pronounced is the absence of any desire on the immigrant's part to co-operate with others. Reinforcing this is the family character of this individualism and the pronounced family character of their occupations which do not encourage encounters between the various groups. The type of occupation creates great family dependence which serves as

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1. E. Friedl, op. cit. p. 104
2. M. Mead, op. cit. p.278

a unifying factor for the family, but also as a divisive factor from the wider environment. In addition, the process of bringing relatives and friends from the home village also emphasises how the group factor creates wide family ties within itself.

There is a paucity in the immigrant's social circle owing to the little time he has available for leisure. This is especially marked in the early years after immigration. On this subject the immigrants contend: "There was no time for entertainment, and if on any occasion we closed the shop we would visit family".

A feeling of the temporary nature of the "sojourn in exile" is also a factor militating against the development of any permanent non-family social relationships.

It is reasonable to assume that, in practice, the above enumerated factors act as unifying factors within the group itself, but as divisive or segregative factors in relations between the various regional groups. Despite all these, there are factors in the existing situation which may serve to bring about closeness, and even integration, among the various regional groups.

The whole community, numbering no more than 5 000 souls and, until recently, certainly smaller, composed as it is of various regional groups all sharing the same situation of a high degree of potential conflict with the wider environment, finds a need to carve a way for itself in a world which is seen in the immigrants' eyes to be both alien and hostile. In addition he has to withstand the feeling of being an immigrant belonging to a minority group. This minority feeling is accompanied by a certain frustration and discrimination. The term "bloody Greek" has a heavy and painful emotional connotation. One must remember how intense is the Greek's feeling and concern for the integrity of his 'philotimo', his self-esteem. This feeling of discrimination certainly creates an awareness of a common destiny.

Above all is the fact that the confrontation is not limited to the economic and social spheres. This confrontation with the environment also touches the cultural, where higher values are endangered. The immigrant's family is confronted with trends and waves which threaten to draw the young ones into a world of values considered essentially negative. The wider environment carries within it dangers liable to draw the young growing boy or girl far from those traditional family values dear to the Greek farmer. The young children have to be protected not only from these influences but also from the possible physical and concrete consequences; mixed marriage, alienation from the family and the Greek community, and assimilation.

In his book, "The Functions of Social Conflict", Coser argues: "Conflicts with some produce associations or coalitions with others. Conflicts through such associations or coalitions, by providing a bond between the members, help to reduce isolation or to unite individuals and groups otherwise unrelated or antagonistic to each other.....once groups and associations have been formed through conflict with other groups, such conflict may further serve to maintain boundary lines between them and the surrounding environment...". In the Greek community the various groups are confronted, as has been said, by the same conflict with the new surrounding environment, and it is possible that this common conflict will be instrumental in integration among the above-mentioned groups.

Thus we have seen that in the social field many different and opposing forces are at play. Forces which urge segregation among the various groups and those which urge integration. We must therefore investigate how these forces inter-relate and where they are leading the Greek community today.

Examination of the nature of the relationships between the various groups has been done on the general social and the family level.

The General Social Level: This investigation has been done around three criteria, namely, the existence or non-existence of formal regional group organisation, of work relationships or associations among the groups, and informal social relationships - leisure activities.

Varied research in America revealed that Greeks from a certain village or area were organised into an exclusive regional group framework. It is known that in Johannesburg there are Brotherhood groups of immigrants from certain villages. In Cape Town no formal group organisations exist. Yet, on examining possible group participation within the framework of existing institutions, we found that although there was no apparent group representation in the various institutions of the community, the composition of the Administration Committee shows a certain dominance of the group from Pelopponesus. The Community Board is composed as follows:-

Immigrants from Pelopponesus	3
Immigrants from Mytilene	1
Immigrants from Egypt	1
Immigrants from Ithaca	1
Immigrants from Asia Minor	1

This indicates a clear numerical preference for immigrants from Pelopponesus. This numerical superiority acquires a practical significance by virtue of the fact that all other groups have one representative (not official) and the man with real power, who pulls the strings, although not a member of the Administrative Committee, is also from Pelopponesus.

If one judges according to the composition of the Administrative Committee which is virtually identical to the football team committee then the group from Pelopponesus predominates in its influence. One must, however, regard this finding with caution, as the influence of the few communal institutions over the Greek community is not very great.

Events at the last Annual General Meeting of the Community exemplify the indifference of the Greek community to its highest institution: At this meeting there was no quorum for new elections, as required by the constitution, which stipulates:- "If a minimum of 40 members are not present a second meeting must be constituted, which only then will be valid, independent of the number present". Despite this provision, it was decided to conduct the elections at the first meeting. The members argued that "in any case there won't be a quorum at the next meeting either". Elections were duly held.

The two interesting aspects here are the certainty that a larger number would not attend the second meeting (which clearly seems justified), and the audacity to override the constitution without fear of communal protest in the wake of such irregular action. Indeed, there was no communal unrest.

Another occurrence at that same Annual General Meeting was that despite the constitutional requirement that 50% of the outgoing committee vacate their seats to new members, the newly elected committee was made up of almost all the outgoing members.

We may conclude therefore that although very great importance should not be attributed to this institution as a possible means of contact between the groups, there is nevertheless an indication of the relative centrality of the Pelopponesus group over all the other groups. In investigating the inter-group work relationships, it became evident that, except for three isolated cases of friends from different groups maintaining a business partnership, partnerships are generally not accepted or common. The Section on Occupation highlighted the family group character of the occupations: isolated examples of partnership between the groups are the result of merely hazard development.

It is worthy of mention that those individuals who come into contact through their work with members of different groups, are communal office-bearers or special office-bearers, to whom, because of their specific field, the Greeks turn in time of need. They include the local sworn-translator whose services are needed by most of the community for the translation of documents, the drawing up of contracts, and for legal and administrative help in matters of work and integration. There is a Greek lawyer, who does not practice as such, to whom company directors and business men turn for advice and guidance because of his knowledge. The local Greek architect designs and draws up buildings for most members of the community. Furthermore, there is a bookkeeper who supervises the accounts of members of the various groups, and the Bishop, as well as the local priest, who come into contact with most members of the community

As mentioned, these are people holding specific posts, who through work and assistance, are often drawn into friendly relationships with members of various groups. Because of the small number of these people in these posts however, their influence is not far-reaching on general inter-group relationships. We must regard them as marginal phenomenon only.

We are left with the third criterion of the general social level, namely, informal social relationships.

The local patriotism of the immigrants often expresses itself in the various attitudes of each immigrant to the other groups. There are attitudes and beliefs which express themselves in stereotypic images of immigrants from various areas. Every immigrant is well versed in the differences between himself as coming from, say, Mytilene, and people from other villages. We quote here a range of the stereotypic images gathered from various informants:

> "The people from Mytilene are the Jews of Greece, because they are engaged in business, and they

> think and behave like Jews. They have the sense to make money, they help one another, but do not give money because they are very greedy. Altogether, they have been completely influenced by the Turks".

The people of Epirus, too, earn the epither 'greedy', but the people of Pelopponesus are the "hardest people, dangerous, they do not forget and they never forgive. One cannot believe them or rely on them. They are political". In passing, we shall show that the revolution began in Pelopponesus and from there many political leaders went to Greece. Here in Cape Town as well, it is clear that the people of Pelopponesus are the most active in the community council.

The people of Lymnos are simply 'trellos' - crazy. A listener cannot help smiling at this but the subject continues in all seriousness and with conviction.

> "Something is lacking. They are good people, but they are a little crazy. They believe in superstition, they fear white cats, and summon the priest to chase away spirits. In addition they are crafty in business".

"The people of Cyprus are donkies, not civilized animals". There are many donkies in Cyprus and this is perhaps the source of the belief.

"The Egyptians, the Cypriots, and those born in Cape Town are not true, pure Greeks. They are second-class Greeks".

"The people of Crete are very stubborn".

"The people of Athens are people of the pen. Not 100% men, since they are office people".

"The men of Ithaca are spoilt and hard on their wives. The mother runs after her husband and son, and behaves to them like a servant to her master".

These forms of expression highlight the stereotypes and polarised categorisation - 'they' as against 'we', but these are the statements Greeks of one group make about countrymen of another group. Are they merely accepted expressions, or do they express a valid and deep feeling of group identity? We asked those investigated in our sample a series of socio-metric questions. They were requested to name three of their best friends with whom they spent their leisure time. Only after they had answered this were they asked two additional questions:

1) Where did these friends come from (i.e. place of origin)?
2) How did the friendship arise?

The last two questions were deliberately not phrased together with the first in order to obviate any possible distortions in answers that may have resulted had the three questions been put simultaneously.

TABLE XXI - FRIENDS ORIGINATING FROM SAME OR DIFFERENT REGIONAL GROUPS.

All from same Regional Group		1 friend from different Regional Group		2 friends from different Regional Group		All friends from different Regional Group		No information		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
40	51,94	18	23,37	11	14,28	4	5,19	4	5,19	77	99,97

All those who named less than three friends, which friends were from their own Regional Groups, are included under the heading "All from same Regional Group".

These findings indicate a pronounced tendency for friendships within the same group of origin. 75,31% have at least two friends from within the same group. However, there are also indications of some friendships that cut across the regional groups.

We may assume that these two opposed tendencies are the result of the segregative and integrative factors mentioned above.

A classification of these findings according to the variable: period of immigration, will provide a better and deeper understanding of the interplay of these factors. (See table overleaf).

TABLE XXII - FRIENDS ORIGINATING FROM THE SAME OR DIFFERENT REGIONAL GROUPS RELATIVE TO THE PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION.

PERIOD	All from same Regional Group		1 friend from different Regional Group		2 friends from different Regional Group		All friends from different Regional Group		No information		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
I	18	81,81	2	9,09	1	4,54	-	-	1	4,54	22	99,98
II	4	25	4	25	4	25	3	18,75	1	6,25	16	100
III	5	25	8	40	5	25	-	-	2	10	20	100
IV	13	68,42	4	21,05	1	5,26	1	5,26	-	-	19	99,99
TOTAL	40	51,94	18	23,37	11	14,28	4	5,19	4	5,19	77	99,97

The veteran and the newly arrived immigrants seem to seek or maintain friendships within their own Regional Groups, whereas among immigrants of the second and third periods, the group factor is more balanced. They are therefore inclined to maintain friendships with members of other Regional groups as well as their own.

It will be recalled that in the first period of immigration only two large groups arrived - from Mytilene and Peloponesus, apart from a marginal number of immigrants from other places. On arriving in Cape Town they found no structured community or cohesive society, but an empty social vacuum. There were no efficient communal integrative institutions nor was there any institutionalised assistance for them. As a result these immigrants were entirely dependent on their relatives and friends of their own group of origin for their absorption.

Consequently, all the possible segregative factors previously mentioned are particularly relevant for the immigrants of this period. Conversation with them seems to confirm this. Most of them relate their initial suspicion of the environment, and the natural need they had of turning for help to relatives and friends from their own villages.

Besides this need for concrete help, most of them explain that their social and emotional needs were accentuated by the loneliness which café life created. It was natural that they should seek the company of people of their own group because they had much in common. Despite and because of their very limited free time their rare social contacts were centred on "home boys". "There was something to talk about with friends from the village. We used to meet sometimes late at night, and play cards, or talk about affairs in the village. We would phone one another to send regards or pass on news from the village. At these brief and hasty meetings we would read letters from home, and advise each other about the girls there who were likely marriage prospects". One of those interviewed described how contact between him and his wife had

come about: "My friend received a letter from relatives in which they suggested to him a girl who I had known as a child. He came to me for advice about this girl. A few of us sat together, joking and chatting. In the end, he married the sister of one of the group, and I took up the suggestion re the girl. I started to correspond with her, and that was that. I went to fetch her".

The bringing out of brides and relatives from the village and the continual absorption of family from the village also gives expression to the vital and unbroken link of the immigrant with the village of his birth. This continuous absorption strengthened the preference of group links over non-group links. The immigrant created for himself a close and familiar environment from the 'patrida', and mistrusted members of the other regional groups.

The attitude towards members of the other regional groups is well expressed by the following: A man from Pelopponesus says of the people of Mytilene in this period, "They are very clannish, they only help each other". And the people of Mytilene complain about the people of Pelopponesus, "They are hard people, it is difficult to come to terms with them; they are dangerous, and it is not worth getting involved with them". A man from Mytilene tells of his brother-in-law, a man from Pelopponesus, married to his sister (one of the few instances of marriage between different groups in this period), "People gossip about him (the brother-in-law) and say that he has become a complete Mytilenean. They say that he has changed completely; that he behaves like a man from Mytilene and even denies his group of origin". He added with a smile, "He has in fact become more of a human being..."

An additional factor, highlighted by the immigrants in the cultivation of this sectarianism, is the feeling of temporariness which characterised the immigrant of this period. It was generally felt that their sojourn here was only temporary. "We always thought that after we had made money, we should return to our 'patrida'". The

link which the immigrant maintains with his village is very pragmatic - he writes and sends money.

In conversation with immigrants of the second period it becomes obvious that most of the factors which strengthened the sense of group identity of immigrants of the first period have weakened. But the most conspicuous factor in the second period was the difficulty in creating a close and familial environment based on the village of origin. This second period began in 1936 and was relatively short because of the war years, which virtually brought immigration to a halt. Immigrants arrived from many places, in small numbers, and the process of bringing out brides and relatives was soon held up.

An examination of the replies made by those interviewed to the third socio-metric question throws a new light on the whole structure. Responses to the question: "How was the link between friends established?" are divided into two categories; the acquaintance and friendship occurred through various circumstances: "We arrived together"; "We met at friends' parties and became friends"; "We were neighbours", etc., as well as through family ties.

Among the 18 subjects interviewed who had a friend from outside their regional group, 14 were found to be connected by family ties, and the other 4 came to know these friends through various circumstances. Among the eleven who indicated that they had two friends from outside their regional group, 7 had family ties with some of them, and 4 got to know them through various circumstances. Among the 4 who had all their friends from a different regional group, 1 was linked to some of them by family ties, and 3, having no family (parents) of their own in Cape Town, were married to girls from different groups. That is to say, the 3 had completely lost their link with their group, and were assimilated into the group of their spouses. The other one, married to a non-Greek, was entirely estranged from the Greek environment.

From the foregoing data we may conclude that the family link (marriage between groups) constitutes one of the most important factors in the combining of groups of differing origins. These findings naturally lead us to deal with group relationships on the family level. Only then will a clear picture of the differences between immigrants of the four periods be possible.

Up to this point, discussion on informal, social relationships was conducted around the general social level. We now examine the family level.

The majority of immigrants agree that marriage with a partner from the same regional group has a greater prospect of success. The common reasons for this are: "We are different from each other. They conduct themselves in one way with their wives, we in a different way". "A worn shoes is worn, but at least it is your own".

TABLE XXIII - REGIONAL GROUP OF THE WIFE RELATIVE TO THAT OF THE IMMIGRANT HUSBAND.

Wife is from same Regional Group		Wife is from different Regional Group		Wife is non-Greek		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
44	64,7	17	25	7	10,29	68	99,99

Clearly shown here is the preference for a wife from the same regional group.

TABLE XXIV - REGIONAL GROUP OF THE WIFE RELATIVE TO THAT OF THE IMMIGRANT HUSBAND AND RELATIVE TO THE PERIOD OF IMMIGRATION.

Period	Wife from same Regional Group	Wife from different Regional Group	Wife non-Greek	TOTAL
I	87,5%	12,5%	-	100%
II	56,25%	18,75%	25%	100%
III	44,44%	44,44%	11,11%	99,99%
IV	63,15%	26,31%	10,52%	99,98%

These findings indicate similar trends to those found in the socio-metric questionnaire and strengthen the assumption that, in fact, marriage away from the group is the mechanism for the formation and cohesion of friendships among members of different regional groups.

The immigrants of the first and last periods show a pronounced tendency to marriage within the group, while in the case of the immigrnats of the second and third periods, more marriages with other groups or with non-Greeks occur. However, there is a clear distinction between these two latter periods. In the second period there are many mixed marriages with non-Greek women (25%), whereas in the third period there are more marriages with Greek women from different regional groups.

Characteristics of the second period, discussed in the chapter on Immigration, were the small number of immigrants, and the heterogeneity of the regional groups of the new arrivals. This period was difficult from the social and economic points of view. The newcomers found a small community composed of the two groups from Mytilene and Pelopponesus. These two groups tend to be socially closed to any other regional group. The immigrant coming from Cephallonia, for instance, is not welcomed by the people from Mytilene. In contrast with the various new regional groups arriving in

this period, immigrants from Mytilene or Pelopponesus tell how they were brought out and helped in the process of absorption by the veterans.

Together with the isolation of immigrants from the various small regional groups (except those from Mytilene and Pelopponesus), they encountered an additional and decisive problem. When war broke out emigration from Greece came to a standstill and it was virtually impossible to bring out a bride from the village of origin. The veterans of the first period were also lonely at first, but in those days they could bring out brides and relatives and in this way build up their own familiar environment. Those who arrived in 1936 were denied this opportunity and thus turned to foreign brides, hence the resulting relatively high percentage of mixed marriages. A look at the origins of those married to non-Greek women confirms this immediately. Barring one from Pelopponesus, all those married to non-Greek wives are from these small groups:

> 1 from Lymnos; 1 from Egypt; 1 from Epirus; 1 from Crete; 1 from Cephallonia, and, 1 from the Congo.

It seems that in the third period a new development occurred in the relationships between the various groups. Immigration increased and the regional group frameworks opened up. Again, the main reason for this opening up seems to be bound up with marriages among members of different regional groups. Children of the first immigrants, especially the girls, who tend to marry earlier, reached marriageable age. This applied as well to the young brothers and sisters brought out by the immigrants.

Here, one must mention an additional and decisive factor which is the driving force in marriages between members of different regional groups. There was a limitation of choice of a marriage partner from the same regional group because of religious prohibitions. This was brought about because the family and group character of the immigration

created family ties among many of those of the same group. After a while it was very difficult to find a partner not already connected by family ties. The problem was complicated further by ties of spiritual relationship created by godfathers and godmothers sponsoring children at baptism.

There is also a clear tendency among locally born sons not to marry South African born Greek girls of the same regional group, or girls from the same village. This fact further restricts the bridegrooms'[1] choice and prompts their marriage to non-Greek girls. Another factor seems to be the change in South African immigration policy which has become more selective, restricting immigration from certain regions, and encouraging immigration from other regions.

All these factors create a scarcity of bridegrooms and the framework thus becomes more flexible to the extent that girls turn to other groups in their search for a husband.

The order of preference in the choice of partners for their children is "First of all, a Greek from my village, and if not, at least he must be a Greek".[2] "Of course, I prefer a girl from my village for my daughter. It is safer - I know what it is. But if not, then at least a Greek, not an entire stranger".

The concern of safeguarding the girls from the company of strangers and of finding them Greek bridegrooms, creates an openness and readiness to accept other regional groups. It also becomes clear that marriages between persons from different regional groups are not a natural result of any development of friendship between them, for such friendships did not often exist. On the contrary, friendships began to flourish only as a direct consequence of marriages

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1. See the Chapter on "Marriage of Sons".
2. In the section on "Marriage of daughters born in Cape Town" we shall find that 44,44% of the marriages are with spouses from different regional groups.

between members of different regional groups.

A glance at marriages between members of different groups in the fourth period confirms this conclusion. These newcomers, still at the beginning of the process, are as yet socially segregated. They do not maintain frequent social relationships with persons of other regional groups. The low percentage of marriages between members of different regional groups shows a close correlation with this social segregation. We may presume that in time they may undergo the same process as immigrants from previous periods.

The Group Factor Among Cape Town born Sons: The same socio-metric questionnaire was put to the Cape Town born sons. The following findings were obtained:

TABLE XXV - FRIENDS BELONGING TO THE SAME OR DIFFERENT REGIONAL GROUPS.

All friends from the same Regional Group		1 friend from a different Regional Group		2 friends from a different Regional Group		All friends from a different Regional Group		No information		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
12	30,76	10	25,64	7	17,94	6	15,38	4	10,24	39	99,96

We find that the tendency to form friendships within the same regional group is less marked among the sons than among the immigrants, but here again, many of the friendships outside the regional group are as a result of marriage links (brothers-in-law, etc.).

Despite similar trends, it appears that these findings must be explained differently, as there is an essential causal difference in this phenomenon. When we put the second question (place of origin of their friends) to the sons, the initial reaction of many informants was one of surprise. They suddenly realised that there friends were

mainly from their own group of origin. This frequent reaction is very significant. When choosing friends they were not consciously choosing friends from their own regional group. The friends very often belonged to their regional group but they were, up to then, not even aware of this.

When they tried to answer the third question and to explain how such friendships came about, they realised that it was as a result of a natural development of affairs. Their parents were friendly with other parents and the children of these parental groups quite naturally grew up together and became friends - "It was just a natural process...". Obviously they had more chance of meeting friends from their own regional group, although they also met others.

As far as these other friends (from different regional groups) are concerned, they explain that they (the others) were the only Greeks at school and naturally they all sat together and played together; or, "....we met through family ties - his sister married my brother-in-law...", or, "....he is my brother-in-law". Friendship then with members of the same and with members of different regional groups are the natural result of circumstances and not an a priori choice.

As a conclusion, we might underline the son's difference of approach to friendship with members of different regional groups. We quote an excellent differentiation made by a young locally born man, whose parents are from Mytilene: "If my father had social relationships with people from Pelopponesus, it was out of necessity, because of the situation. We had to find a groom for my sister... in spite of the fact that he disliked people from Pelopponesus, he had no alternative....and later on he and the family from Pelopponesus became real friends. The opposite is somehow true for me - if I had friends from my own regional group it was from a kind of indirect necessity, because they constituted my main environment.

We became real friends later. In other words, my father chose his friends from among his own people, and eventually came to accept people from other regional groups as his friends out of necessity, whereas I often chose my friends from other regional groups, and to some extent at first merely accepted, but later consciously chose, friends from among my own regional group".

CHAPTER V.

THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN CAPE TOWN - 1972: MARRIAGE: EDUCATION: CONFLICT.

1. Marriage in the first generation.

In the section on social structure, marriage trends amongst immigrants and the first generation were discussed as an aspect of the system of inter-group relationships. This section will deal with marriages of the first generation. Its specific aim is to serve as a background for understanding the new relationships which develop between various members of the family. Findings will be presented on expectations of and considerations in the choice of marriage partner and on the frequency of marriage patterns. Only then will consideration of their effects on the system of family relationships be possible.

The data quoted here is based on married children of immigrants in the sample, but is confined mainly to children of the immigrants of the first and second periods.

There is a general consensus among parents concerning the suitability of a bride or groom for their children. It is however so general that it obviates any need for statistical support. All the immigrants have a deep-rooted attitude towards their childrens' choice of a spouse. The ethnic consideration is all important. The future spouse, they declare, should be Greek.

Obviously, other possible and desirable factors are considered together with this criterion, but all these seem to be secondary. However, the various social and economic considerations that were accepted in the Greek rural society have weakened for two main reasons. Firstly, in the small Greek village, the economic situation of the peasant was so critical that the financial contribution of the second family constituted an important economic base for the young people. Secondly, marriage

with a spouse of a higher social status (especially urban) gave the whole family a better social standing as well as a source of economic improvement.

In the Greek community of Cape Town in 1972 the economic consideration seems to have lost its urgency. The situation of the settled immigrant is excellent, their businesses are generally successful, and, although the economic factor is as important to them as it is to any other normal family, it is certainly not vital. Similarly, the social standing of the potential spouse does not carry much weight, and, while this research does not specifically focus on social strata, noticeable class distinction is not discernable. The common rural origin of the immigrants, their occupation distribution which is characterised by general horizontal mobility, and the absence of academic professionals, are all factors which emphasise the homogeneous character of the community.

The only conspicuous differentiations to be found in the investigation of this community are the existence of different regional groups, and the position of the settled veterans in contrast with the newcomers.

In the section on social structure it became clear that group differentiation is weakening. Marriage is the mechanism for this weakening. It will again become apparent in this section that the differentiation of veteran/new immigrant frequently loses its acuity through this mechanism. The shared potential conflict as regards the wider environment and the danger of assimilation compel the immigrant to mobilise all the means at his disposal in order to keep his children within the ethnic framework. The criterion of the ethnic regional group of the spouse therefore assumes first priority.

Statements from parents concerning mixed marriages, and the reasons they offer for their negative approach can be classified into four categories, the most common being that

the Greek woman is an ideal housewife compared to the foreigner. (Yet, statements on this, interestingly, reflect the central role of the male). "It cannot succeed. The foreign girl thinks only about outings and working outside the home, about clothes and entertainment. Her husband will be unhappy all his life". "A Greek girl knows how to care for her husband and home. With a stranger he will suffer because he will not have a home". They relate examples of Greek men unhappily married to foreigners, because they have to perform 'womens' work' at home. Their wives neglect the home and run round to all kinds of meetings and tea parties. They speak of the unfortunate young man "whose wife drags him three times a week to a restaurant as she does not like cooking". "He probably longs for his mother's cooking".

The element then that is missing from non-Greek marriages is that the Greek wife respects her husband and accepts his authority. They speak of the foreigner. "She will not give him his due respect. Foreign girls are too demanding". "He was not accustomed to it in his father's home where a man is a man". "With us Greeks the man is master".

Explicitly too, the views reflect the importance of the sense of belonging and uniqueness that comes from membership within an ethnic group. "She will not be able to adapt to our society, even if she were willing to do so". "We are very different". "We speak Greek at home; she will not understand". "Even if she were willing and tried very hard, a foreigner remains a foreigner". "She will never be able to become a real Greek".

But underlying any statements on mixed marriages is the ultimate fear; the danger of assimilation. "She will estrange him from us". "In the end he will be estranged from his fellow Greeks". "X was not able to stay here - she dragged him away". They speak of Y who went to another country with his wife - "She turned him into a stranger among his own people".

The attitude in respect of the girls is very deeply rooted and the phenomenon of mixed marriages for girls is so rare that it is hardly a topic of conversation among the parents. When asked about the possibility of mixed marriages among the girls and their attitude to it, their reaction is one of incredulity. The chances of it happening are so rare that it does not warrant any discussion. It is clear to them, therefore, that if a girl marries outside the Greek community it would mean 'losing' the daughter. Her severance from the family and the Greek environment would be complete.

Research into marriage among the male population produced the following findings:

TABLE XXVI - THE MARRIAGES OF THE SONS.

To wives of same origin		To wives of different origin		To non-Greek wives		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
6	20,68	15	51,72	8	27,58	29	99,98

The noteworthy trend is the high percentage of marriages with foreign brides, which marriages will henceforth be referred to as "mixed marriages". Even among those who marry Greek girls the tendency is toward marriages outside the regional groups (15 outside as against 6 within the group), and if we combine mixed marriages with marriages to Greek girls outside the group, then the tendency is even more pronounced (23 outside as against 6 within the group). For a complete understanding we shall have to examine the regional group origins of Greek brides.

See Diagram 7 in "Visual Method" (origin of children's spouse).

TABLE XXVII - DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE.

Wife born in Cape Town		Wife born in Greece		Wife born elsewhere		Wife non-Greek		TOTAL
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	
7	24,13	6	20,68	8	27,58	8	27,58	29
Husbands of same difft origin		Husbands of same difft origin		Husbands of same difft origin		Husbands of same difft origin		
4	3	2	4	-	8	-	8	29

See Diagram 8 in "Visual Method" (Birthplace of children's spouses).

An important finding is the small number of men who marry local girls. Only 7 men married girls born in Cape Town whereas 22 men married foreign girls or Greek girls born in other places. This finding is important. It substantiates one of the possible reasons for the shortage of Greek grooms insofar as locally born girls are concerned.

The number of Greek brides born elsewhere is slightly higher than those born in Greece and investigation into each individual case reveals:

a) Girls born elsewhere =
   4 in Rhodesia
   2 in Port Elizabeth
   1 in Pretoria
   1 in the Congo.

b) Girls born in Greece
   Only two who arrived a few years previously were born in and came from the same village as their groom. The rest were born in and came from Athens. (The common factor among brides is that they are of urban origin).

Not one bride had academic professional qualifications. However, most of the brides born elsewhere (except the one from the Congo) commenced attendance at the University of

Cape Town only to terminate their studies on marriage.

Investigation into the occupations of married men with foreign wives shows a strong link between mixed marriages and academic professionalism.

TABLE XXVIII - MIXED MARRIAGES RELATIVE TO THE OCCUPATION OF THE HUSBAND.

Occupation of the husband	Number married to foreign wives
Professional	5
Extended business	
wholesaler	1
outfitter	1
Café-owner	1

Of the two husbands engaged in extended businesses, one married a nursing sister who he met through his brother, a doctor, and the other is a son of a mixed marriage - his mother is a non-Greek.

On the other hand, in the list of marriages for sons in the community, we find only 2 professionals as against 9 other occupations (café-owners, businessmen).

TABLE XXIX - DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE.

Husband of same origin as wife		Husband of different origin from wife		Husband non-Greek		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
22	48,88	20	44,44	3	6,66	45	99,99

See Diagram 7 in "Visual Method" (origin of children's spouse).

The number of mixed marriages among daughters is very small. Only three are married to foreigners. One case concerns

a young widow, the mother of two small children, who went to work after her husband's death. This was not through economic necessity. She had a wealthy father who was prepared to support her provided she stayed at his home. But she felt a need to get out of the house and find some occupation, as she had to have some centre of interest. "I never had the chance of being independant or to get acquainted with the world". With the help of friends at work she made contact with a young Englishman, and married him. The other two cases concern two sisters who lived with a widower father for a long time. Members of the community speak of his strictness in contrast to the comparatively free life he himself led. In these three cases the common factor is the absence of a strong and stable family background.

The number of girls marrying into their own regional group is slightly higher than the number marrying out of their regional group. If we compare the marriages of daughters with those of the mothers we observe a new trend, for the mothers married only into their own regional groups.

Investigation into the birthplace of the groom offers interesting and significant findings:

TABLE XXX - DISTRIBUTION OF HUSBANDS ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE.

Husband born in Cape Town		Husband born in Greece		Husband born elsewhere		Husband non-Greek		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
9	20	31	68,88	2	4,44	3	6,66	45	99,98
Wives of same origin	difft	Wives of same origin	difft	Wives of same origin	difft	Wives of same origin	difft		
3	6	19	12	-	2	-	3	45	

See diagram 8 in "Visual Method" (birthplace of children's spouse).

Only nine girls are married to Greek men of the first generation born here, whereas 33 are married to immigrants who arrived in recent periods (chiefly the third). Furthermore, there is a marked preference for immigrants from the same village of origin, whereas in marriages with the first generation born here, there is a marked preference for men from a different place of origin.

Whilst their numbers are small, they fit so well into all that is known to us from this survey, that it is reasonable to assume that they are significant and not accidental.

If we compare the composition of marriages of sons with those of daughters it is very clear that there is a serious shortage of grooms among the first generation. Reasons for this shortage include the fact that the absolute number of sons born here is smaller than that of daughters. Of the total number of children born in this period, according to our sample, 39 were males, 52 females. However, this is not sufficient to explain satisfactorily the shortage of husbands of the first generation.

The shortage of grooms also stems from the fact that the men turn to foreign girls or to Greek girls from other places. It is understandable that the girls should turn to immigrant husbands out of a real necessity. Even when men of the first generation are desirous of marrying girls of the same generation, the religious limitations and ramified family connections hinder their finding a bride from the same place of origin. Therefore, among the total number of girls married to men of the first generation, only three are married to men from the same place of origin, whereas six are married to men from different places of origin.

A comparison of the marriages of the men and the women reveals an important additional finding that, except for one in the entire sample, men marry girls of urban origin, and girls marry immigrants who, barring two, come directly from the villages. The preference is usually for a groom

from the same village of origin (same village 19: different village 12). If the groom is locally born however, his origin does not appear to be important.

If we compare this state of affairs with the expectations of the parents we find that girls generally behave in accordance with these expectations, whereas many of the boys do not.

Discussing the relationship between sex distribution and the extent of polygamy, Sonnabend[1] refutes the common belief "that an excess of female births is a 'sine qua non' condition for this form of marriage". He suggests that "the essential condition of such a situation is to be sought in the difference between the respective ages at which the two sexes normally contract marriage". This point seems to be a very relevant factor in creating a shortage of bridegrooms born in Cape Town. Although accurate figures concerning the ages of the daughters were difficult to obtain, it is clear from general impressions that they marry in their late teens, while the sons marry in their late twenties.[2] The data on the marital status of the children born in Cape Town confirms this point; of 52 daughters, only seven (13,44%) are still spinsters, whereas there are 10 bachelors out of 39 sons (24,66%).

The effect of the marriage age on the creation of a shortage of bridegrooms is well reflected in the difference of marital status between children of immigrants of the first and second periods of immigration. Though the daughters of the first period are older, a higher proportion of them are spinsters than the daughters of the second period (16,66% against 9,09%). When daughters of the first period reached the accepted marriage age, most of the young men were approximately of the same age, and therefore were not potential bridegrooms. The importation of 'soghambros' appears as one of the possible solutions but does not completely balance the shortage. In contrast,

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1. H. Sonnabend. "The South African Journal of Economics", edited by S. Herbert Frankel and Robert Leslie. Vol 2, 1934. pp. 319-321. 2, see page 203.

sons of the first period are potential husbands for the daughters of the second period, and a shortage is less likely.

TABLE XXXI[1] - MARITAL STATUS OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS OVER THE AGE OF 18 BORN TO IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE INCLUDED IN THE SAMPLE, AND WHO EMIGRATED IN THE FIRST TWO PERIODS.

Parents Period	Number	Sons Bachelor	Married	Total
I	19	3 (13,66%)	19	22
II	15	7 (41,17%)	10	17
TOTAL	34	10 (24,6%)	29	39

Parents Period	Number	Daughters Spinster	Married	Total	Children Total
I	19	5 (16,66%)	25	30	52
II	15	2 (9,09%)	20	22	39
TOTAL	34	7 (13,44%)	45	52	91

Disparity between the expectations of parents, and reality, as in the case of sons, stems from three main reasons; socialisation, degree of exposure of sons to outside world, and, ineffective parental control.

The socialisation of the son in the Greek family is orientated towards moulding an independent, masculine, authoritarian person. The son is groomed to fulfil his future role of husband and father. He is, however, also bound to accept his father's authority and to maintain an attitude of respect towards him. Over the years, an ambivalent attitude develops towards this authority. This ambivalence flows from his very identification with his

1. This table is taken from the section on Methodology.

father's role. The boy learns that in the fulness of time he is destined to merit the preferential status of authority and leadership. His father too finds himself in a similar ambivalent position with reference to his sons. He demands discipline and respect from them, but expects that they develop a strong, masculine image, and abilities of leadership.

This ambivalence does not exist in the relationship with mothers and sisters, for they come to see the central image of the male in the sons and brothers, and they relate to them accordingly.

Alongside this aspect of the role of the son as an independent, authoritarian male, there is a greater tolerance of their sexual and social behaviour. "A man is a man", say the Greeks.

As already indicated in the section on the café, from an early age the son is drawn into external society and is more successful than the daughter in overcoming the opposition of parents. This he achieves at the price of conflict and daily friction with his father's household. Despite this, however, contact is made with outside society.

The supervision of the daughter is severe: for instance, she is not allowed to participate in any non-formal extra-mural activities at school. In contrast with her, the son enjoys greater freedom, for it is difficult to prevent him from playing football with his non-Greek friends. This leads to an unpleasant situation at home, yet, as one of the fathers says: "It is difficult to hold him back all the time - a boy is a boy!".

The degree of exposure of the son to the outside environment varies in accordance with the path he follows after completing his studies at school. If in extended business, his degree of exposure increases because of the privileges he may enjoy as he gets older. This is

especially so after his sister's marriage, for he is then relieved of the task of taking her out with him wherever he goes. Now he is able to enjoy outings with his peer group. Very often he is obliged to seek out the company of non-Greek girls, as Greek born daughters are so strictly kept and watched that they are not regarded as suitable partners on outings, or in free and informal relationships.[1] Even a Greek girl from elsewhere is preferred to a Cape Town born Greek girl. The former has usually undergone a certain degree of emancipation and, as she often lives with relatives who do not have strict control over her, her local family ties are less binding.

Despite his increasing exposure (with age) and his attraction to non-Greek girls as well as to Greek girls from elsewhere the son works with his father and is very dependant upon him, and the purely Greek environment. Contact with the wider environment is only made during his leisure time, while at work he is surrounded all day by the members of his family, in fact, a total atmosphere of Greek values and orientations.

Sons working in non-family businesses, and especially those studying at the University, have more opportunity of close contact with the non-Greek environment and the absorption of South African values and norms. In addition to the contacts made in the framework of his leisure time and groups, a son who works or studies with non-Greeks is afforded daily opportunities of making comparisons with his own traditional background, and identification with the non-Greek culture. Such daily contacts lead the young Greek boy to a general cultural exposure.

Parental control over sons, both in the family business, and in non-family businesses, becomes increasingly difficult. Because the sons tend to marry at a late age (approximately 30) parental control is difficult and ineffective. As the son grows older, he demands a status of independance. The socialisation has inculcated into him an awareness of

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1. See further: The attitudes towards Greek girls born in Cape Town.

his status as a man, independent and strong, and as the years slip by, he demands more and more relief from his father's authority. Obviously, sons in non-family businesses, and especially students, find an easier escape from parental control.

There is then, a basic difference in attitudes to and the socialisation of the daughters. It is reflected most clearly in their marriage patterns.

Analysis of the marriages of daughters will be made in accordance with the same three criteria used in the analysis of the marriages of the sons, namely, socialisation, degree of exposure to outside influences, and control by parents and by the environment.

To the same extent that socialisation is aimed at preparing the youth for his role as male leader of the family, the education of the daughter is directed towards moulding her into the traditional image of a devoted wife; disciplined, modest, and a model housewife.

Whereas the attitude of the father towards his son's education is marked by ambivalence and a basic dichotomy, his attitude to his daughter's education is free of all dichotomy. She expects to be disciplined both as the daughter of her parents and as the future wife of her husband. There is no contradiction between her role as a daughter and her future role as a wife. Among the girls born here there is, however, a certain yearning to free themselves somewhat from family control, but this desire is soon set aside and usually does not reach the point of a serious questioning of traditional foundations.

The large number of girls whose marriages to rural bridegrooms were arranged, is in itself convincing evidence of the socialisation process. If we take into account the fact that most of the locally born girls completed some form of high school education, and that they later married simple farmers who lacked any serious, formal education,

we have an indication of acceptance without any great conflict, of family norms. If we further take into account that the parents do not force their daughters to marry against their wishes, we then add a measure of depth to the success of the socialisation process. The decision to marry an immigrant is not merely the result of authority willingly accepted, but a deep internalisation of values.

In the chapter dealing with relationships between members of the family it will become clear that the internalisation of values, educational differences and outlooks, liable as they are to create a certain rift between a husband and wife, do sometimes rise to the surface.

We have seen that the daughter is not very exposed to the wider environment. She is so strictly supervised that she has few opportunities of freely meeting friends and getting to know them. At school she was forbidden to participate in non-compulsory extra-mural activities. When she grew up and finished school she was only allowed to participate in social activities which involved girls. This situation is well illustrated by the story of K: K was born here, the daughter of a comfortable family. She tells how she exerted pressure on her father to permit her to study at the University. He refused. She then asked to be allowed to work outside her home. Permission was again refused. After much persuasion she was allowed to enrol in a course in floral arrangement, one which only girls attended, and the reason why her father acceded to her request. Eventually her father took long leave and went with her on a world trip. She often went on outings with her brother, usually within a very closed family framework of brothers and cousins. Even when only other Greek boys were involved, they refrained from approaching her or behaving in too informal a way. This story brings us naturally to the question of control.

It seems that strong control over the daughters is one of the reasons why they marry at an early age. It has been mentioned that the only accepted entertainment for a girl

is within the family framework. As she grows up the pressure to be free of family control greatly increases and so too does her yearning for other centres of interest. As in the case of K, the parents are likely to withstand this pressure, with the result that the period of spinsterhood is as short as possible. Of 52 girls in the sample, only 7 were over 20 years of age and unmarried.[1]

This short period of spinsterhood is attributable to two additional factors, which demonstrate the importance and urgency of early marriages. A girl over the age of 20 is a source of serious anxiety to her parents, not only because control becomes more difficult, but also because they fear that she will never find a husband. (There is usually a great age difference between bride and groom). A girl of this age is also a subject of gossip in the Greek environment; a fact which certainly aggravates the problem of finding a groom. These factors seem to explain the great difference between marriages of sons and daughters.

Because of the girls' small degree of exposure and the accepted low marriage age (which also helps to lessen the exposure period) it is easy for the parents to suggest a bridegroom acceptable to the bride, acceptable because she too is worried that she may remain a spinster. Where there was a shortage of grooms among the first generation, the parents turned to possible grooms from different regional groups, as well as to immigrants from the same regional group. From the data it is evident that the immigrants constitute the main source of grooms for girls of the first generation. Marriages of new immigrants to daughters of old settled immigrants who enjoy a firm economic status creates a typical groom, who is rarer in Greece - the so-called 'soghambros'.[2]

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1. See section on Marriage.
2. Very rarely, when the old couple had no sons to work in the fields, the son-in-law (especially if he were poor) would come to live in his bride's father's home. This son-in-law was called a 'soghambros'.

Because of the very limited exposure of the daughter, the usual form of marriage is by way of 'proxemia' - a matching of the couple by way of proxy.

In the previous section, the story of F hinted at an accepted practice for the marriage of girls - the 'arranged' meeting, or 'proxemia'. The girl's consent is sought but there is no compulsion. The choice of groom is the affair and responsibility of the parents. This practice arises because officially there are not many opportunities for girls to meet young men in a more intimate manner. The central role of the 'proxemites' is filled locally by a middle-aged woman (an immigrant from the Congo), who, it is jokingly said, arranges the marriages of half the Greeks in Cape Town. But as was the practice in Greece, the marriage may be arranged by relatives or friends.

The following report testifies to the depth of responsibility of all members of a family in the marriage of a daughter: L was born here. He had a young sister who had reached marriageable age. His parents were from Mytilene. L had a good friend N, also locally born, and whose parents came from Lymnos. N went to Athens to find a bride with whom he was already corresponding. (The phenomenon of a locally born man travelling to Greece to find a bride is very rare). L followed N to Athens, persauded him to marry his sister, and they returned as future brothers-in-law. On their arrival in Cape Town, N became engaged to L's sister. Today they are married and the brothers-in-law are excellent friends.

To conclude this chapter on the marriages of sons and daughters of the first Cape Town born generation, and before we come to deal with the 'soghambros', we present the findings from interviews with the 10 bachelors in the sample. In this interview, we tried, amongst other things to investigate the bachelors' views of Cape Town born Greek

girls as prospective brides.[1] All but one defined a Greek girl according to the traditional image: the potentially ideal housewife, soft, honest, and caring for her family. Yet the great respect and deference shown her seemed to be the very reason for seeking out non-Greek girls or Greek girls from elsewhere.

We relate here the various opinions and attitudes expressed by bachelor sons about Greek girls born in Cape Town as prospective wives, or even as leisure partners. Most of the informants gave more than one comment on the subject. Opinions are detailed here in order of frequency.

	Frequency
a) Because of her purity and innocence, one has to be careful to avoid humiliating her or hurting her feelings by a free sexual behaviour.	9
b) It is almost impossible to take her on any informal outings (free and informal leisure) not only because she is always under strict control, but also because everyone would know, and would talk about it, thus spoiling her reputation. - "And one should not do that to a Greek girl".	9
c) To take out a Greek girl would result in social pressure on the boy to marry her. "And indeed he would have the obligation of doing so, as he has caused her to be exposed to public criticism".	7
d) Greek girls are too serious and puritanical. "Her mother teaches her how she must behave in her conjugal life - but her mother's own experience is limited". "Though she would be a perfect housewife	5

1. We differentiate here between Cape Town born Greek girls and Greek girls born elsewhere because, as mentioned, the Greek girl born elsewhere has undergone a process of emancipation, and in the eyes of the boys she enjoys a status different from locally

she would be a very boring partner.

e) Marrying a Cape Town born Greek girl would result in too much involvement with her family and a loss of independence and privacy.[1] "It means that your in-laws, especially your mother-in-law, would invade your privacy by coming at all times and interfering in your life". 4

f) A foreign girl is much more accessible and easier for fun and free sexual relationships. 6

g) The foreign girls are more interesting. 5

These comments seem to reflect a complex attitude towards the Greek girl: on the one hand a great admiration and respect for her image and an awareness that she is the ideal housewife (but not always an ideal partner - as the five informants pointed out when they said that she would be a "boring partner"): on the other hand the sons speak of the foreign girls with a nuance of derogation - "She is easier - she is good for fun". Despite the admiration for the locally born Greek girl, and perhaps <u>because</u> of it, there is a certain fear of hurting her, or of getting involved with her, for "with a Greek girl it is a serious matter".

A few informants in our sample (fathers and sons) suggested that the following may be an explanation for the tendency to intermarriage: because the Greek girl is so inaccessible and because of the great respect our boys have for her, they seek foreign girls for their fun, leisure, and for free sexual relationships. Their initial motivation is only to have a good time, and at first they do not contemplate any real, serious, and permanent relationship, nor consider

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born girls.

1. The section on residence patterns shows the tendency of Cape Town born Greek girls to live near their families.

them a concrete prospect for marriage. But "they are often caught at their own game" - they fall in love, get involved (sometimes without falling in love), and this leads them to marriage.

Undoubtedly there is much truth in this explanation, but it is also clear that other factors come into play - as expressed in comments such as "The foreign girls are more interesting", or "By marrying a Greek girl you get too involved with her family". The fear of involvement with the girl's family and the attraction exerted by the foreign girl seem to indicate a desired tendency to get away from the closely-knit framework of the extended family coupled with an orientation towards a non-Greek environment (in the case of the non-Greek girls), or towards a looser Greek environment (in the case of the Greek girls born elsewhere).

Paradoxically, to the argument brought forward by many that the Greek girls are boring, most of the informants (8) stated a Greek girl with an academic education "was not, in any case, a desirable wife" as "the husband has to be the leader and consequently to be on a higher standard", or "because a wife with such an advanced education would not be able to do her duties as a housewife, but would be interested only in study and a career". The same attitude was expressed in very many interviews by fathers who considered that academic education for a daughter would drastically reduce her chances of finding a husband.

A glance at the distribution of occupations of the daughters and their marital status seems to confirm this view. As stated then, of the seven spinsters in the sample, we found the following:

1 clinical psychologist
1 high school teacher
1 lawyer
3 clerks
1 dancer.

From the findings on this section a paradoxical conclusion comes to light. The Greek community in Cape Town tries to keep a strict control over the daughters and to limit their exposure to male company. Education is aimed at moulding a modest, pure wife, after the image of the Greek wife of the village who"must be governed by a sense of shame 'dropi', which is an instinctive revulsion of sexual activity...".[1] Thus Greek society in Cape Town builds up a set of barriers to protect daughters: internal barriers (the internalisation of values through the process of socialisation), and external barriers (through physical isolation from the wider environment and from the company of men).

By keeping the daughters in this closed and narrow framework, and by erecting a series of barriers, Greek society in Cape Town itself causes a breaking away of the sons. Since they are more exposed, marry at a later age, and are less controlled, they seek companionship, leisure, and informal relationships with the opposite sex. Because the locally born Greek girl is inaccessible, physically and morally, and because of her high sexual standards, the sons turn to external sources for their social, emotional, and sexual needs. The choice of local Greek brides is further limited by the prohibition of marriage between kin.

By so ardently protecting the daughters, Greek society in Cape Town contributes unwittingly and unconsciously to the breaking away of the sons, who are themselves already attracted to girls outside their immediate environment. Because sons turn to foreign brides, or to Greek brides from elsewhere, the daughters have no alternative but to regard Greek immigrants as prospective husbands. In this way the 'soghambros' comes to play a vital role in the Greek pattern of life in Cape Town.

The 'soghambros' is rare in Greek villages, but has become very common in Cape Town. The system started modestly

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1. J. Campbell, op. cit.

in the early years of immigration. Brothers who had emigrated here, once settled, brought their brides and also, generally, their near relatives to South Africa. When a sister arrived the responsibility for her marriage devolved upon her brothers. In cases where the sons arranged for the father to emigrate as well, the latter was unable to take responsibility for his daughter's marriage as he was dependant on his sons. Marriage of the daughter thus remained the brothers' affair. They, being well established, sought a husband for their sister among the unmarried immigrants. When a seemingly suitable groom was found (mostly from the same period and regional group) the brothers usually absorbed him into their business. At that stage there was no possibility of the brothers, still in the initial stages of their consolidation, providing a dowry in the form of financial assistance. The most natural way, therefore, was to take the new brother-in-law into the family business. It has incidentally been pointed out that despite the fact that partnerships among brothers usually dissolved, in the case of brothers-in-law, this was not so. It was found that one of the brothers usually continued to work with his brother-in-law for some time.

A classic and interesting example of a family "dynasty of soghambros" endured in a certain Cape Town family. This was an almost ideal situation in that it was a continuous and gradual chain which clearly exemplifies the process: P, an old man, married the sister of the brothers MM, who owned two cafés. When P, in an interview, was asked his opinion of dowries, he laughed and denigrated the approach of new immigrants who demanded dowries. He indicated that he had not received a dowry at his marriage. However, during the interview, he revealed an interesting development. His brothers-in-law MM put him in their café, and after a while one of the brothers M transferred to another business, and left the café in his (P's) care. P's business succeeded and a deep friendship developed between the two of them, which has lasted to the present. Of course, P had to pay M for the café, but this transaction

was arranged on easy terms over a long period of time. P eventually sold his café and transferred to an independent dry-cleaning business. In the meanwhile he had become the father of two children - one a lecturer in the north of the country, and a daughter who is married to V. V is an immigrant who arrived in the third period. By means of an arranged meeting he was introduced to P's daughter, whom he married. V, as the son-in-law, did not receive a dowry, but underwent a process similar to P, who took him into his dry-cleaning business, instructed him, and at first paid him a salary. After some time V received part of the profits and became his father-in-law's partner. After a few years, P retired, and left the business in the care of his son-in-law. P is now an old man, and deals in property. P dealt with V just as his own brothers-in-law MM had dealt with him. P did not give V the business; he sold it to him in part, reserving shares in it for himself. Then V, who was well established, despite not being an independent businessman, brought out his parents and his married sister. He helped them to settle and helped his brother-in-law to open a business of his own.

In other words, the roles of 'soghambros' and of patron to the newly-arrived brother-in-law are played in turn.

Just as P was a friend of, and remained friendly with his brother-in-law M, so V and his father-in-law P remained close. They live together harmoniously. Now V and his brother-in-law X who arrived five years ago also maintain a very friendly relationship. X received help and guidance not only from V but also from V's father-in-law P, who is known to be a successful businessman. P in fact chose the area in which X acquired his café. P guided him and today the café has the reputation of being a "gold mine". The three families are very close. Despite the fact that V is closer to his wife's family than to his own, the parents of V live with his sister and her husband X. It may be further indicated that meanwhile M, who was the patron of his sister's husband, now has 2 daughters. One of them is married to an immigrant (A) of the first

period from the Congo. A has in turn been helped by his father-in-law to settle into work.[1]

The position of the 'soghambros' may be compared with that of a son-in-law who has been assisted by his wife's family. They may be regarded as 'soghambros' on account of their living patterns.

Common forms of dowry, accepted in Cape Town, can be divided into three categories, according to the accepted marriage patterns among the Greeks.

1. Marriage between an immigrant and an 'imported' bride.
2. Marriage between partners both born in Cape Town.
3. Marriage between partners where the bride is born here and the groom is an immigrant.

After detailing the various forms of dowry, the topic will be discussed on a comparative basis in relation to the different functions which the dowry plays in each case.

A bride, brought out by an immigrant, is usually from a poor, rural family and she does not bring any real tangible dowry with her.

When both the bride and groom are born in Cape Town, it is the practice of the bride's parents to provide the young couple with a house, or a sum of money, or perhaps shares in the family business. In the latter event, the bride is appointed as a director of the family company. A house would usually be registered in the bride's name. If the dowry consists of money, it is earmarked for deposit in the wife's name, or invested in the husband's business.

Despite the objective difficulties in obtaining exact information on this subject, the impression obtained was that if the husband is the owner of a business, the money is used to consolidate and enlarge it. Should

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1. See diagram 9 in "Visual Method" (a dynasty of 'soghambros')

the groom be a professional man, the money is then either deposited in a savings scheme, or invested in property which would be registered in the bride's name. Cases were found where, although the groom was a businessman, the money appeared to be invested in the wife's name. The accepted explanation for money or a house being kept in the wife's name is that the economic security of the couple would be assured. The bride's share constitutes provision for difficult times or business failure.

It will be recalled that out of 45 married girls, 33 were married to immigrants. There was no possibility of providing exact statistical support where the dowry took the form of property or money. However, when the bride is born in Cape Town and marries an immigrant groom ('soghambros'), the events in the lives of the couple, the manner in which they came together, the way they organise their joint lives, provide rich and reliable information on the topic of dowry.

Here the dowry can be divided into two types:

i) The most common: the groom is an immigrant with a rural background and no formal education.

ii) More rarely: the groom has an urban background and completes his studies at the University of Cape Town.

As has been said with reference to the local born bride and the 'soghambros' groom, the bride's parents do not give a house or a sum of money. The help usually involves taking the groom into the family business. Where the father has already retired, the dowry takes the form of opening a business, a dry-cleaning establishment, or a café. What is characteristic of the help is that it is hardly ever directed towards the young couple's immediate independence. If the groom is absorbed into the business he remains on an employee level for a long period. Thereafter he becomes a partner by acquiring shares, but even then the father retains some shares in the business. Where the father has retired and the

groom is helped to open his own business, it is not presented to him as a gift. The groom is bound to return the investment at least in part, but he acquires his share in time. Since the bachelor immigrant usually arrives here alone he is naturally absorbed into the bride's family. The young couple usually lives with or near the parents. Sometimes they get a room in the same house or a flat in the same building.

A comparative analysis of the various types of dowry will revolve, inter alia, round two central questions, namely, the large variety in the types of dowry, and the dowry as the maintenance of a certain balance between the parties concerned.

To what extent are these two characteristics still to be found in the Greek community in Cape Town?

Despite the fact that an immigrant bride marrying an immigrant groom does not bring any dowry with her, it can be said that her dowry is of a latent nature by virtue of the vital functions she will fulfil in their joint lives. Since she is Greek, and from his village, she has no substitute in the eyes of the young and lonely immigrant. A foreign bride does not "enter the picture", not only because she is foreign, but also because the thought that he will one day return home intensifies the immigrant's need for a Greek bride from the village. She constitutes a valuable economic factor, since she has the normal village girl's great potential for hard work. This characteristic is of a loyal, reliable, and disciplined nature. For the groom, the bride constitutes an almost exclusive social and emotional environment. On the other hand he is the real economic force; the functional leader. Insofar as the bride is concerned, her groom also constitutes a source of emotional and social security in a foreign country. We may, therefore, conclude that the principle of balance between the spouses is still at play.

The contribution of the bride in marriage with a 'soghambros' is clear. The immigrant is in a similar position to the female immigrant, except that the situation is reversed. In the previous pattern, the husband is the economic force, whereas the immigrant bride has nothing. In this pattern, the bride, aided by her parents, brings him economic security through marriage, since he is absorbed into a business. This help is of very great value. The groom arrives alone, without trade, profession, or means. His absorption into employment, or his obtaining capital, be it only a loan, gives him wider scope. As much as he is without a profession or means, so too he is without a social environment. He knows neither the language nor the accepted modes of living in a foreign country. He is essentially a rural person. His bride gives him a home and family, relatives, and a social group. She is also well acquainted with the language and the way of life.

What then does he contribute? Like the immigrant bride, his most outstanding characteristic is his being Greek. This ethnic factor is a valuable contributory asset. These, thus far, are common factors between immigrant bride and immigrant groom. However, whereas the immigrant bride brings other potentially essential functions with her, the immigrant groom does not. They are, in any case, not as essential.

The bride's parents are economically well-established and are not in vital need of his working capacity, although this family type of working capacity is preferable to that of an outsider.[1] It is not essential, however, and sometimes it is far from being a necessity. Thus, to absorb the new husband, the bride's father may assist him to open a new business. From this it is apparent that the groom does not fulfil a vital, economic function. Likewise, the bride born here, unlike the immigrant who brings out a bride, is not lacking in social and emotional security. Her parents, together with a network of

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1. See the section on "Extended Business".

relatives, are with her, and she has grown up in this environment. It is the groom and not the bride who draws security from this environment. The bride, further, has an additional advantage over the groom, because she is from the city and, as such, possesses formal education as well as urban non-formal learning or 'schooling'.

If we place the single contribution of the groom alongside the greater contribution of the bride, it seems that at first glance, there is hardly a principle of balance at play between the two sides. From this point of view we must take into account the following two important factors. Firstly, the weight of the ethnic factor in the given situation: what, we ask, is the nature and significance of the ethnic characteristic of the groom for the bride's family? Secondly, what is the balance principle in the dynamic perspective of the longer term?

It seems that in conditions prevailing in the Cape Town community, the ethnic characteristic of the groom is notable for its rarity. It is a valuable and vitally important characteristic. The considerations of the parents in choosing a marriage partner for their daughter have been examined. It was emphasised that the ethnic factor was pre-eminent.

From the data on the marriage of the sons it was evident that there is a great shortage of Greek grooms, and simultaneously a great urgency to marry off the daughters. This ethnicity of the immigrant groom is thus of inestimable value. If we apply the concepts of supply and demand, then the demand for Greek husbands is great, and the supply comparatively small. It may be added that in the third period the population of the Greek community was smaller than at present; a factor which limited the supply even further. The existence of this supply and demand process was clearly seen in the atmosphere which prevailed between the settled population and the new immigrants.

"They think only of the dowry"

"They think that they deserve everything, they

merely exploit us".
"They think that this is America and that we are as rich as Croesus, and that we owe them everything".

It may well be that this attitude expresses the first formulations of the various impressions of settled immigrants as against the new immigrants. Certainly it expresses feelings of frustration arising out of a position of dependance. Perhaps the rarity of Greek grooms restores the balance between the sides. Despite what has been said, the balance is perhaps fully understood when one examines the development of attitudes between the two sides in the perspective of time.

The ethnic character of the groom is remarkable for another important characteristic; the "temporary value" of the ethnic characteristic of being a Greek. It is important and valuable during the period of negotiation, but after the marriage the groom is not able to exploit this asset further. The moment he marries he cannot again benefit from this ethnic asset because divorce is not accepted, because he is dependent on the family for a long time, and because of the normal emotional relationships which develop between him on the one hand and his wife and family on the other. In other words, by marrying he has in fact surrendered his one and only trump card. His asset, once used, has no further value.

This characteristic is noticeable in the light of the share of the bride's parents in the exchange. They usually do not give the groom a great deal of money, nor do they often provide a separate home. His partnership, which they arrange in the business, is gradual, and creates a dependance of long duration. Even when he is finally independant, the expectation of an inheritance continues to influence a bond of dependance on the bride's parents. In other words, in contradistinction to his contribution which is final and irrevocable at marriage, the contribution of the bride's parents only then begins.

In the light of the development implicit in the agreement between the partners, the concept of balance acquires its full significance. He gives very little at first, but in the course of time he surrenders his very dependance. Of course, the husband can ensure his position in the new family by loyalty to it. His proficiency at work and proof of business acumen can make him an important and necessary factor for its continued success. This is a difficult task because of the experience and suspicion of the veteran immigrant, but it is possible for him, in the course of time, to turn the balance in his own favour. In the section on the structure of family relationships we shall discuss the consequences of this new situation and the question of balance will then take on another dimension.

Where the bride is married to an immigrant with formal education, the latter has an advantage over the rural immigrant. In addition to his being Greek he has completed his studies or will do so. Attainment of an independent profession and status is thus assured. His share in the business does not lose its value at the time of marriage, for his contribution has a reproductive value. His status will benefit - as is accepted among Greeks - not only his bride, but also her whole family. No relationship of dependence is created between him and her family. Generally, in addition to financial aid to help him over the study period, he receives such further assistance as is necessary to enable him to settle into the new situation and to start work.

In interviews with young couples of the first generation, the men expressed certain attitudes concerning the dowry, which differed according to their occupation.

The academically qualified all displayed indifference, or even a disparaging attitude to the custom of dowry. In the main, they regarded it as an old-fashioned and negative custom. All but two argued that monetary considerations should not enter into marriage matters. Marriage, they maintain, is an emotional affair between partners and love

should be the only link binding them.

N is amused when he speaks of his brother, a doctor, because the latter did not know, until the last minute, that his future wife had shares in her father's business. He is, at present, still completely indifferent to this fact. B, an architect by profession, strongly opposes the demand for dowry by the grooms. When his sister married, he and his brother (the father was no longer alive) helped their brother-in-law to establish himself. However, he emphatically states that had his brother-in-law stipulated the dowry as a condition for marriage they would have rejected it outright.

Of 15 married men engaged in commerce, 4 expressed a positive attitude to the dowry. They claimed that if the bride's parents had money, it was right and logical that they contribute their share and assist the young couple. Three expressed a negative attitude, arguing that it could mar the chances of a successful marriage, as a dowry could upset the harmony between partners. Six were in conflict over the matter, being simultaneously for and against it. Two expressed no opinion. Whereas the professionals had an unambiguous, declared, clear attitude, the men engaged in commerce displayed conflicts characterising a certain ambivalence.

The attitude of the professionals can best be explained as a consequence of their exposure to and absorption of outside values, more liberal and modern; an abandonment of values and customs which appear to be outdated. In the case of those engaged in commerce, a number of factors contribute to their attitude. They consider the dowry useful, usable capital with which to improve their economic situation or to enlarge the business. There are still conflicts in their attitudes to symbols, customs, and values, being still bound to the family and living in close proximity to them. However, the husband, as the male, is considered to warrant a position of leadership and authority. Should the dowry be dropped, his leadership would be jeopardised.

Despite these attitudes, it seems that in most cases the dowry is in fact given. It appears from the attitude of the parents that they regard it as a duty not to be neglected. The parental emphasis placed on the dowry indicates that they regard it more as a privilege than a strict duty, which privilege is not to be surrendered under any circumstances.

If we examine the status and position of both parties, then one of the functions that the dowry performs, in this case, is to protect the daughter. Indeed, the status of the grooms born here is far better than that of the immigrant grooms. The locally born groom has the same rare and valuable ethnic value, for he too is a Greek. But, in addition, he has many other advantages. He is city bred, and thus has status. His wife will not work, and he is not reliant on her family. The whole economic function is his responsibility and in most cases his wife leaves her parents' home to live with him. They may live near his family and she would have to be absorbed into it, especially so if the groom is involved in a family business. Moreover, his economic position is sound. Not only does he enjoy economic security through having a business, or being a partner in a business, but he is also ensured of an inheritance. Add to this his own social confidence. He has a family; a network of relatives and friends. Being Cape Town born he is at home in the environment and does not encounter the same social integration difficulties of the rural immigrant. Finally, he is known, and has respectability - his family is known.

In addition to the accepted functions of assistance to the young couple, the dowry serves to protect the girl who leaves her parents' home. An examination into the attitudes of locally born men to the question of a choice of a bride reveals a fear that relations with the bride's family may be too close. Here too the principle of balance has been maintained. The groom, being in greater demand, has a greater scarcity value; he has status and security and it is in this way that the dowry is paid.

In the case of an immigrant groom with formal education, one who is completing his studies at the University of Cape Town, the bride's parents assist him financially to complete his studies. In this survey three such cases were found: two were studying medicine, and the third, architecture. One is still studying, and is engaged to be married. The other two have now completed their studies and have left Cape Town with their brides, one to practice medicine in Rhodesia, the other, in Athens.

2. Husband and Wife

In analysing the development and changes in the relationships between immigrant spouses in cafés, it is worthwhile to compare them with husband and wife couples in a small mining community. Such a comparison is particularly interesting since it shows how opposite effects result when completely contrary occupational and social factors come into play. To demonstrate this, we quote from the book, "Coal is Our Life - an Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community":

> "Because of a tradition in Ashton of a lack of facilities for female employment, because of the exclusively male character of mining, and because of the fact that in Ashton coal-mining provides employment for the vast majority of working men, there is an important division between men and women in social life. Institutional leisure activities are predominantly for males, and there is virtual or definite exclusion of women from many social activities.
>
> But just as significant is the fact that the social life of Ashton creates groupings which cut across the individual family rather than demanding from it a simple conformity. In particular the sharp cultural division between the sexes, and the attitudes consequent upon it, run right through the community and produce tension within

> the family itself. The demands made on behaviour by this division are in conflict with the demands of the life of the family as a unit.
>
> The fact clearly emerges that the family can be understood in relation to other social units in which its members participate".[1]

In their analysis, the authors emphasise the dichotomic influence of the collieries on the lives of the miners; how the collieries exert integrative as well as segregative tendencies on social and family life. The authors suggest that "the nature of the work and the history of the industry in Ashton have thrown the men together in this....they have exerted an opposite or centrifugal influence on the women".[2]

When we consider the development of social and familial relationships among the Greek immigrants in Cape Town, we find that they too are characterised by dichotomic tendencies. But contrary to the case of Ashton and its colliers, these tendencies seem to be working in opposed directions. For the Greek in Cape Town, impact with the new environment and the work in the café exert, on both husband and wife, a centrifugal influence away from society at large, as well as a segregative effect from their own sex groups on the part of each partner. In the case of the Greek immigrant we could then formulate a statement completely opposed to that formulated by the authors of "Coal is Our Life":-

> The nature of the work has thrown the husband and wife <u>together</u>, and caused the isolation of the man from his male friends.

Life in the café, when compared with the distribution of conjugal roles in the Greek village, well illustrates these dichotomic tendencies in process. The newly-arrived wife is swiftly integrated into café work and in many

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1. "Coal is Our Life - an Analysis of a Yorkshire Mining Community", by Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter. Publ. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1956, pp 248/9
2. ibid. p.14

respects soon becomes a valuable source of labour. As in the small Greek village, she is still required to have a warm meal ready on demand, to see that clothes are clean and mended, and to look after the children. But now, besides her maternal and domestic duties, she shares with her husband the practical work in the café. In the village she contributed to the productive work of the farm by working in the fields, the cow-shed, or in the olive-grove. But there the differentiation between sexes in the division of labour was sharply demarcated and defined, although during the very busy harvesting seasons men and women could be found working side by side. This, however, was clearly recognised by all as a special case. For the rest of the year the differentiation was strictly observed.

In Cape Town, particularly in the café, the sex differentiation in work is losing its sharpness. Husband and wife work together in the café for long periods. They share the same experiences and perform much the same duties, such as buying, selling, serving customers, rearranging shelves.

Apart from the sex differentiation in work, the woman in the village usually found herself working next to her friends, daughters, or sisters-in-law. The work was carried out in the company of other women. Leisure time, too, was spent in the company of other women; chatting, gossiping. The man was also in a parallel situation. He used to spend his leisure hours in the coffee house, where he found pleasure and encouragement in male company, as well as reinforcement for his own beliefs and norms. Now, fully occupied in the café, he no longer has the time to meet friends regularly. He is cut off from the male company to which he was accustomed.

Husband and wife find themselves alone in what they regard as a hostile world. To the lack of leisure time we must add another factor which contributes to social isolation,

namely, the geographical dispersion of the community. The choice of residential area is determined by economic considerations. When buying a café the Greek immigrant takes into account the suitability of the area for such a project. This often forces him to live far away from friends and relatives. Although he will always try to avoid any great distance, this is not always possible.[1]

The result is an increasing mutual, economic, social, and emotional dependance, as well as a certain blurring of previously well-marked boundaries of the roles of the sexes.

The wife is still responsible for the care of the children and the home and the husband is still in a position of authority, making decisions for all, facing the relatively unknown external environment, and generally preserving his authority and status. But he feels that something has changed in his relationship with his wife, something hardly perceptible, a tiny crack in his absolute self-confidence by which the mutual roles and expectations had previously been defined. A relationship of understanding and friendship is slowly established.

Before we present concrete expression of this new daily relationship, it is worth considering a few anecdotes, memories and comments of immigrants relative to this process which they have so often experienced. M tells of his wife:

> "She was so dedicated, such a good worker and so humble. How well she knew her place. She gave me the respect which is the husband's due". Here he stopped for a moment remembering an interesting incident, which suddenly changed something in him.
>
> "It happened over a long week-end. The shop was closed. I went to some friends to play cards - we played, drank, and enjoyed ourselves. I stayed there the whole night and the whole of Sunday. On Sunday evening my wife arrived. She had apparently looked for me at a number of places before she found me

1. See the section on "Residence patterns".

and she looked upset and disturbed. I was boiling with anger. How could she damage my honour in front of my friends and come to look for me to call me home? I decided to rebuke her severely on the way, to really reprimand her, so that she should remember. But quickly she said, 'Why didn't you tell me where you were? That you went to play cards? I was so worried about you....I thought something had happened'".

Here M stopped. Then he said,

"It was like a cold shower. I had thought she would complain - why was I playing cards and neglecting her? But she was simply worried, concerned about me. Since then I haven't played cards. I stay with her, and when we go out, we always go together".

P tells of his wife during their shared life in the café:

"She used to work very hard. She was a wonderful mother and wife. At 7.00p.m. every evening, after a busy day, she would rush home to bath the children, feed them, and put them to bed. And she still managed to be back at the café by 9.00p.m., which was our busy time. The flat and the café were in the same building. I installed an 'intercom' telephone between the two, and I told her that if there were any problems, she was to give me a ring. I would leave the boy in the café for a moment and run up to help her".

This seems to be an excellent illustration of the increasing closeness in the relationship between the sexes which did not exist, to the same extent, in the village. This last story also illustrates a blurring of boundaries in the sexual roles. Not only is the wife taking part in the husband's work, but there is a certain reciprocal participation, for while behind the counter at the café, he is still attentive to a possible call from his wife, and is ready to rush to her assistance.

The comment of C on his parents' relationships are also

very significant. Today C is a doctor. His family had a café, and like most of the informants he describes the cohesion of the whole family united in café work. At a later stage of their lives, his father opened a factory, and then sold the café. When asked how this had affected their family life, he replied:

> "This was definitely not good for our family life, mainly for my mother. I remember that my father was always very busy at the factory and did not spend much time at home. My mother was not happy about it, but he in turn complained that she was spending too much money. He had never said that before".

We now present the statistical data concerning the shared life in the café. The questions put to the informants focussed on the following subjects:

1. Percentage of wives helping in the café.
2. The nature of the help (dealing with salesmen and dealers)
3. Shopping and organisation of the family budget.
4. Decision making.
5. Patterns of leisure time.

TABLE XXXII - PERCENTAGE OF WIVES HELPING IN THE CAFE.

Period	Number of wives helping	Number of wives not helping.	TOTAL
I	1	3	4
II	4	4	8
III	9	2	11
IV	8	1	9
Percentage:	22 68,75	10 31,25	32 100

From this data we see that the majority of wives do help their husbands in the café. Those who do not help full

time, do come for at least part of the day to relieve the husband and allow him to have a rest. The later the period, the more the likelihood of the wife helping the husband in the café, as the couple are still young and at the beginning of their business careers. In the first periods we found that there were four sons working with their fathers in the cafés, which explains why the wives can find time to attend to the home. Even most wives who do not help, or who help on a part-time basis, used, until a certain stage of their lives, to take an active part in the work of the café.

Stock purchases and the dealing with the various merchants is the husbands concern. Sometimes he orders the goods, and very often he goes to choose fruit and vegetables from the market himself. He is in charge of all financial negotiations and operations. He pays the rent, electricity, and so on. Insofar as all these matters, as well as bulk purchasing, are concerned, the wife is informed as to what has been done, for it very often happens that salesmen or agents call on business when the husband is away. Naturally the wife will never undertake any new or major business deal on her own, but for ordinary routine orders and transactions, she must be able to act in his absence, for fear of a loss in turnover resulting from shortages in certain lines. She must be able to check that the goods delivered are of good quality, and that the salesman has been honest in his dealings.

> "Very often the agents or salesmen try to be clever and they arrive just at a time when they know that I am usually out on business or resting. They hope to take advantage of my wife, because she is a woman. But I do not worry, for she is much cleverer than they. First of all, she will never make an unusual deal on her own, and for the usual business they will never make a fool of her, for she knows the job and has good eyes. They will not give her the wrong stuff....she will catch them immediately if they do".

These remarks were repeated to us almost as a universal motto - with variations. They seem to be part of the "professional jargon" of café-owners.

Because of the normal needs of the business, the wife is required to assist her husband not only in the physical side of the work; selling, arranging, etc., but also on the business side; bargaining, buying, and ordering. In order to do so, she learns to move easily in the "business jungle", developing a new personality capable of coping successfully with people and dealers. Here she is given a chance to prove herself capable of meeting a challenge.

From the café-owners' descriptions and comments about wives, it is clear that they are well aware of the new functions they fulfil, and they seem both pleased and proud about all this. This leads naturally to a very close co-operation between the spouses in their formation of a united front against the "business jungle".

What becomes obvious then is that the differentiation of conjugal roles is losing its sharpness. The wife fulfils many of her husbands tasks and responsibilities and their role distribution becomes, to a certain extent, similar to the pattern defined by E. Bott.

But this differentiation of roles is losing its clear boundaries mainly at the expense of the wife. In addition to her role as a wife, she is much more likely to enter into her husband's role, and does so to a much greater extent than he ever enters into her role of wife and mother. Naturally, the café being virtually the home, he will by chance have to look after the children, and even to feed them while she is away, but this will happen only occasionally. On the other hand, she definitely becomes his recognised partner in the business. This results in a greater dependancy of the husband on his wife. But despite this greater dependancy, it must be noted that the husband continues to be the unchallenged leader, and any special business matters have to be referred to him.

The fact that the goods sold in the café are so varied seems to have minimised the need for a separate budget for household expenses. As P explains:

> "It is difficult to keep a separate budget for the house as many of the goods we need are available in the café. My wife and I just take what we need from the shop".

Similarly, the money in the cash register serves for daily expenses. The café-owner does not usually keep special, separate accounts of his personal needs. This leads to a more or less free approach to the cash on the part of the wife. Most of the café-owners mention that their wives would usually ask before they spent money on anything special, on clothing, for instance.

The change in differentiation of roles is reflected in changes in decision making.

The questions put to the informants were focussed on business, home acquisition, and the education of their children. Unfortunately, we could not get clearly differentiated answers, as the informants considered all these to be on a par. We then left out the question relating to the education of the children, which was discussed later in the interview.

The following data concerns questions such as running the business, new investments, the buying of special appliances, etc. The informants added such items as going out for outings, organising a trip to Greece, bringing out and absorbing a relative from Greece, etc.

TABLE XXXIII - CONSULTATION OR LACK OF CONSULTATION OF WIFE

Period	Husband does not consult wife.	Husband does consult wife	Together	TOTAL
I	1	2	1	4
II	3	3	2	8
III	2	7	2	11
IV	4	4	1	9
TOTAL	10	16	6	32

The attitude of the husband seems to reflect greater co-operation between the spouses, coupled with a clear and firm maintenance of his leadership. If we combine categories 2 and 3 we find that, for the greater part, the husband's reply is that the wife's advice is at least asked and considered.

The informants of the last period give us an interesting hint. They seem to be the most authoritarian husbands. Almost 50% state that they do not consult their wives. It is difficult to know to what extent their answers are true, for it is possible that their responses are coloured by peasant norms still fresh in the minds of these relatively recent immigrants - in particular the accepted image of the husband's authority. There are, as a result, certain doubts as to the validity of these answers. Sanders notes that although the husband is the recognised leader and is jealous of his authority, behind the scenes the wife in practice will have a great influence on her husband's decisions.

In fact, we suggest the following interpretation of the answers of all the informants:

- Since the answers cannot really serve as a valid indication for a decision as to whether the wives are in fact not consulted, we may assume from previous anthropological studies that they usually are consulted and have a real influence on the

husband's decisions.

The answers may then indicate to what extent the husband is aware of consulting his wife, or to what extent he is prepared to admit that he consults her. If we accept this as a valid interpretation we may then explain the different percentages in the answers thus:

- The older immigrants are at a later stage of development in their relationships with their wives. They are already aware of this new relationship and have come to accept it. The newcomers, on the other hand, still under the influence of Greek village norms, are as yet unaware of the influence of their wives on their decisions. Alternatively, they refuse to admit any influence because such recognition may be interpreted as a challenge to their authority.

The common attitude of the great majority of newcomers, as well as veterans, is that the last say is theirs. Only six admit that matters are decided jointly between man and wife.

A glance at the socio-economic status of the nine widows in the sample serves as an edifying indication of the changes which have come about in the status of the immigrants' wives in the course of the shared life of the couple. The widows, as subjects for research, are of advantage in providing examples of the last stages in the process. In other words, the changes which have occurred in the status of the immigrant wives, because they were so gradual, are often imperceptible, but the present status of the widow appears as a crystallisation of this process.

Of the nine widows in the sample, none live with their married children, although three live with bachelor sons or spinster daughters. Five widows run their own businesses (usually left to them by their late husbands),

two in conjunction with a bachelor son, and the other three on their own. From hints given by the widows themselves or by their children, we clearly understood that in six instances the wife inherited most of the estate in terms of her husband's will, indicating deliberate action on the part of the late husband.

L, for example, says quite explicitly:

> "My father said that my mother was his best friend. She worked hard with him, suffering the vicissitudes of life with him, and therefore he did not want her to be dependant on the children after his death. He left her everything and said that she would help those children who were good to her".

A tells how he came to buy his new home:

> "The price was above my financial means, but my mother encouraged and assisted me by contributing a significant sum towards it".

Mrs R. owns a block of flats and other properties. She controls them on her own; collects rents, and supervises generally. The contrast with her soft and docile daughter, who is married to a Greek immigrant, is most striking.

The general emerging impression is that the widows are economically and socially very independent. 'I' explains that she would like her mother to live with her, but that the old lady would never renounce her independance. This marked desire for independance is usually reinforced by the widows' reluctance to live with a daughter-in-law who is "no longer the Greek housewife to whom she was accustomed", or, as Mrs R explains, "I would never be able to accept the modern way of life of my son-in-law. I am better off living on my own".

Although the widows do live apart in order to avoid clashes, friction, and dependance on their in-laws, this clearly indicates that they have both the financial and the

emotional ability to do so. R relates that her mother visits her three times a week, either to take her shopping, or for various social activities:

> "When my mother arrives in the morning it is like a fresh and irresistible wind suddenly blowing into the house..."

The old Mrs S is a regular gambler at the races (although it must be said that she is an extreme case).

The pleasant and happy attitude to life which most of these widows appear to enjoy left the deep impression that only a person who had made use to the full of their abilities and potentialities could develop so healthy, active, and balanced a personality. Thus the emerging picture of the widows, as well as the older immigrant women is very different from that given by Peristiany:

> "The fact that the women soon become disillusioned partners of what seems to grow into a unilateral relationship may provide one of the clues to the change that sometimes comes over them soon after their wedding and to what can only be characterised as the hysteria they bring into many of their social relations. Extremely hard-working and 'modest' in matters which may affect their 'honour', these women may grow into bad neighbours, poor housekeepers, indifferent mothers and sources of perpetual discord".[1]

When we compare the characteristics of relationships between the Cape Town born sons and their wives with that of immigrant couples we find that there are major and essential changes. We shall see that all the combined factors which we mentioned as leading to a greater closeness between husband and wife no longer exist. All those same factors which lead to the husband's increasing dependance upon his wife are no longer operative, or, if still present, are certainly not as extensive. It seems that the Cape Town born son's wife does not fulfil many of the functions of the immigrant's

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1. Peristiany, op. cit.

wife. The latter does not seem to enjoy the same status as the former. Conjugal relationships between the Cape Town born son and his wife have become more complex and appear to have a greater potential for tension.

Before presenting the findings on this subject it is necessary to recall and reconsider the general background of the spouses.

The social environment of the son is entirely different from that which the immigrant had to face on his arrival. Unlike his father, the son has never undergone an uprooting process. He grows up naturally in a familiar environment within the framework of his family, relatives, and friends. He has no communication problem with the wider society; his English is fluent, and he has absorbed many of the behavioural norms, at least the external ones, such as manners. Not being confined to the café, he interacts either in the wider framework of the extended business, or as an employee. He works in the company of men who are often members of his own family, and he has more time available for his various activities and for making contact with people than the café-owner.

In other words, unlike the immigrant, he is not cut off and isolated. Consequently he does not have the same vital social and emotional needs for an exclusive partner. Unlike the immigrant wife, his wife does not have the monopoly of having to provide for her husband's social and emotional needs, because other factors contribute thereto.

Whereas the great majority of immigrants in the past are, or were, café-owners, only 15,38% (six sons in the sample) run cafés, and of these, only two are married. All other married sons are in extended business or other occupations. The café allowed for and even required the active participation of the wife, but the sons do not need the wife's help in their businesses. In their occupations there is no room for the wives. Sometimes, a wife's participation may actually be considered as undesirable or even

detrimental,[1] and as a Greek woman, she is obviously not permitted outside employment, which means that she is excluded from the occupational sphere and fulfils no economic function. Her husband is the sole breadwinner of the family, without her assistance.

TABLE XXXIV - PERCENTAGE OF WIVES WHO ARE WORKING.

Wives helping husbands in their business		Wives working independently of husband		Wives who do not work		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
4	13,76	1	3,44	24	82,75	29	99,95

Of the four wives helping in their husbands' businesses, two help him in his café, and two help him in his capacity of self-employed skilled worker (electrician, garage-owner). The wife employed independently of her husband is a typist working half-days for two weeks in the month.[2]

No wives help or work in the extended businesses of their husbands' families.

The Greek wife of the son, unlike that of the immigrant, is not a co-worker with her husband. She does not share the same experiences with him; struggling through the same daily tribulations, and they do not together confront the world of the "business jungle". This results in a sharp conjugal role segregation: He is the sole breadwinner, while she is in charge of the household. His domain is the business, her's the home.

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1. The wife's participation in the extended business, for instance, would not be considered as desirable, as it could provoke tension with her in-laws. In our sample we found one daughter working in the extended business, but she is a daughter, not an in-law. Her brother's wife is a housewife, and does no work in the business.
2. The couple explained that she had been working for that firm before she married.

In this new situation there is a dichotomy between the business and the home. While formerly the café and the home coalesced into one unit, now the business and the home appear as two, different, autonomous, and separate units.[1]

We have seen that the son's wife does not fulfil any economic function, and does not share with her husband the same experiences. She is confined to the home, while he works elsewhere in the company of other men. But in the South African context, even her domestic role, formerly important, has eroded. As the financial situation is usually good, and as domestic help is available at little expense, many of the housekeeping chores are transferred to and carried out by servants. The wife supervises rather than performs the housekeeping duties. Even the cooking, a matter of great concern to the traditional Greek wife, is sometimes left to the servant, though more often, the wife herself will cook, "because she wants to please her husband". The tendency however is to prepare plain, simple dishes.

A description of a normal weekday, given by a housewife, well illustrates the changes.

> Z gets up in the morning in time to prepare the children for school. Her husband remarks in passing that at one time she used to get up in time to attend to his needs and see him off to work, but now, he says, with a nuance of irony, he depends on the servant for his breakfast. After the children have been sent off to school, the wife helps the maid tidy the home, eats her breakfast, and goes out shopping or on various errands connected with her household duties. Sometimes she may 'pop' into her husband's place of business, but he is usually so busy that she normally just passes by: she must be ready in time to fetch the children from school. At lunch time she is busy seeing

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1. This dichotomy is a completely new phenomenon, not only with regard to the life in the café, but also with regard to life in the village, where work and home constituted one unit.

> that the children have their lunch. Her husband used to come home for lunch, but he now has a snack in the shop. In the afternoon she may sometimes have a short rest, and then takes the children for a drive, often to her friends who have children of the same age, so that they may have company. There are occasions when she is invited out to tea, or to a meeting of the Greek Womens' Association. When her husband arrives home from work in the evening, his supper is normally ready on time and the whole family dine together. She later puts the children to bed, while he relaxes in the sitting-room with a newspaper. He may help her put the children to bed, but he usually has no patience for this kind of thing, although he does enjoy telling them a bed-time story. Most evenings are spent at home, entertaining relatives or friends, or they may go out to a show or a restaurant. On occasion, her mother-in-law visits the children and spends a few hours with them. Over week-ends they exchange visits with friends. When they are at home, the husband usually busies himself in the garden, or seeing to small domestic repairs. Every Saturday afternoon he plays tennis, about which she does not seem to be too happy. On Sunday afternoon she very often takes her eldest daughter (13) to the Greek cinema.

The wife's role as housewife is of quite a different nature from that of the traditional Greek housewife. The son's wife carries out her role as housewife in quite a different way. She is, of course, responsible for the smooth-running of the home, but, as we have mentioned, she gets considerable help in this from her servants, and she seems to have lost something of the traditional image of the model housewife, one who works hard to keep her home clean, to provide warm meals at all times for her husband and master. Sanders[1] devotes a long chapter to the Greek

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1. op. cit.

wife in the village, and heads his chapter "Woman's work is never done". Such a title would be most apt for the wife working in the café, but it can no longer be applied to the son's wife.

If we consider Greek society background and the fact that the expectations of the sons were moulded by it, then the image that the son has of the perfect housewife is different from that which is actually offered by his wife. While in other western societies his wife could be considered as an ideal wife, in traditional Greek society she falls far short of the mark. The ironic remark of Z's husband that he is now dependant on the servant for his breakfast, hints at a dissatisfaction with this new situation, and such dissatisfaction was frequently hinted at by many other young husbands. The change in the character of the wife's fulfilment of her role as housewife seems to contribute to a general weakening of her function. The Greek immigrant, and often his son, see it as a form of failure on the part of the young wife to fulfil successfully her central and main function.

This new kind of relationship as manifested in the daily life of the young couple is evident in various data. The questions put to the informants were focussed on matters similar to those of the immigrant couples.

Unlike the immigrants in the café, we find that the budget is clearly differentiated and separated.

TABLE XXXV - ORGANISATION OF BUDGET.

Category I		Category II		Category III		TOTAL	
Maintain separate budget for housekeeping		Do not maintain separate budget for housekeeping		No information			
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
19	65,51	6	20,68	4	13,79	29	99,98

The first 19 couples of category I (65,51%) have separate budgets. The most frequent pattern is that the husband allows his wife a monthly housekeeping allowance and keeps the rest of his income in a separate account. Despite the frequency of this pattern we find variations in the allocation of monies. (We were not able to obtain precise figures). Sometimes the husband alone decides how much to allow for housekeeping, or the decision may be made by mutual agreement after discussion. There may also not be a definite budget, the wife getting as much as she needs from her husband.

The wife normally shops alone for daily household needs, but very often the spouses choose and buy other items together, such as her clothes. Many wives mentioned that "I would not be able to buy even a pair of shoes without my husband". Despite this, clothing for children seems to be the wife's prerogative. The common factor in this category, despite variations, is that it is the husband who controls the finances.

The six couples comprising the second category arrange their finances jointly, and apparently have a common banking account.

In 2 cases the husband is a café-owner,
in 2 cases the husband is a professional man,
in 1 case the husband is employed, and
in 1 case the husband is self-employed and skilled.

On decision making, we were able to get more detailed and differentiated information from the sons and their wives than from immigrants working in cafés. The immigrants were not able to make a real distinction between the various spheres of decision making, but when we asked the sons who made the decisions at home, the first reaction of most was "It depends on what". Among the sons and their wives the main differentiation concerned shopping and the organisation of the budget, business matters (such as new investments, routine problems with staff and the running of the business, change of occupation or type of business),

and leisure time, and the education of the children.

TABLE XXXVI - CONSULTATION BETWEEN SPOUSES ON BUSINESS MATTERS.

Category I		Category II		Category III		Category IV		TOTAL	
Husband does not consult his wife		Husband does consult his wife		Decisions are made jointly		No information			
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
14	48,27	8	27,27	3	10,34	4	13,82	29	99,99

More husbands do not consult their wives about business problems, and even among those who do, they remain the decision makers. Only 13,82% make decisions jointly. The distribution of the informants of Category I are as follows:

Extended business	6
Company directors	3
Semi-skilled employees	2
Skilled employees	1
Professional	2
TOTAL	14

The reasons given for the wives not being consulted were usually that they would not understand very much and "any way, she is not really interested". In particular the three company directors seemed very definite on these points. The reasons given by the sons engaged in extended business were most significant. Many of them stated that it was better to keep their wives apart from business problems, as these would only serve to involve them in family tensions with her in-laws.

Of the 8 husbands in the second category, we find the following distribution:

Extended business	5
Professional	1
Skilled self-employed	2

The distribution in the third category is:

Café-owners	2
Skilled self-employed	1.

We can conclude from the above that the husband is the main decision maker in business matters and more often than not he does not consult his wife. He will very often talk to her about these matters, more from a need to talk to someone about them, than to seek advice. The main reasons for keeping the wife away from business matters seem to be that her advice is of no value and that she herself has no particular interest.

An additional factor emerged from interviews with sons in extended business. The husband seems to stand between his family of orientation and his wife. It is understandable that often the wife may try to influence him to protect her own interests in preference to those of the members of his family, or his partners in business. As a reaction, many husbands try to keep their wives away from business matters, although there are some who do consult their wives. Those couples who decide jointly (Category III) are the ones who work together in the same business.

The wife's role, conversely, is important in decisions on leisure time. As mentioned in the description given by Z, the usual patterns of leisure are visits to and entertainment of relatives and friends, outings to cinemas, or on picnics involving the whole family. Although we were not able to obtain exact information, the general impression is that the husband more often than not tends to consider his wife and usually allows her to organise their leisure time. Besides the leisure time in which both participate, there are 15 husbands who regularly

devote time to a specific hobby, such as sport, fishing, or merely spending time in the company of male friends. All other leisure patterns usually take place within the framework of the family, even to the weekly attendance at football matches.

Although most free time is spent with the family, it is clear that many husbands have interests or hobbies of their own, which are not always welcomed by their wives. To illustrate the attitudes of the wives we now relate typical stories and comments made by some informants:

> N jokingly recalls his first quarrel with his wife. It took place during their honeymoon. N is a civil-engineer, and at one time was very interested in his hobby which involved a study of computer programming. On his honeymoon he took with him a recently purchased book on the subject and became very absorbed in it. This gave rise to their first difference of opinion, his wife claiming that because he was constantly absorbed in his 'peculiar' book, he was neglecting her. He tells, with some malice, of how he used to glance furtively at his book whenever she was busy, and of how he tried to hide the book.
>
> A also tells of his first argument with his young wife. This, too, was while they were on honeymoon and arose because he wanted to go fishing, which she was not prepared to allow.

Most discussed among couples was the subject of the education of the children. Many of them could not decide which spouse had the greater influence in the education and on decision making relative to it.

Most wives said that they referred the children to their fathers for any problems or difficulties arising from behaviour. We understood from this that the children were more readily inclined to accept the authority of the father. From the examples given by the wives to

illustrate the husband's authority we learned that, in fact, the wives did not ask their husbands what to do or how to deal with the children, but told them what needed to be done, and expected their support of and co-operation in their (the wives') methods of bringing up the children. We had many opportunities of observing this for we were often present when such situations arose, for example, at the childrens' bed-time. When the children were naughty, a wife would usually say to her husband: "You should go to their room and tell them to keep quiet", or, "Your son has been very naughty today, and I told him you would be very upset and would punish him, and that you might not let him go to the cinema". Despite the fact that the wife is referring the matter to her husband as the supreme authority, she is in fact suggesting what he ought to do. Since the husband is away from home most of the day, it is clear that the wife is confronted with the day to day task of bringing up and educating her children, for she has many available hours which she can spend with them.

On the other hand there seems to be a certain cycle in the husband's interest and participation in the education of his children. Since most of the children of the first generation are still young[1] it is difficult to discern any definite pattern in this matter. However, certain stories, discussion, and events seem to indicate a common process. The fathers seem to take an interest and an active part in the education of the children when very young. As the children grow up the fathers' interest and participation seems to wane, but concern for their education grows again, and is even marked, when the children, especially girls, reach the critical age of adolescence. While the children are quite young, we find the fathers worrying a great deal about manners, the use of Greek as a language, and entertainment. They will often take their sons to sports meetings or on fishing trips.

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1. The eldest children of first generation Cape Town born parents that we could find in the sample were no more than 13/14 years of age.

When the children go to primary school, it is usually the mother who contacts the teachers and helps in the preparation of homework, although the school reports are always examined and signed by the father. It is the mother, too, who takes the children to church on Sundays. Regarding the later stages of the childrens' education, there is little material for investigation, because of their young average age. A striking and common phenomenon is the fathers' sudden, intensive concern for their daughters upon reaching the age of 13/14.

This cyclic pattern in the fathers' participation in the educational aspect rests on a number of factors.

Reasons for a decreasing participation and interest in the education of his children are varied. As the children grow up, they require more attention, understanding, and time. The fathers are busy in their businesses, and as they are out most of the day, they do not have much time to devote to their children. When the young father is confronted with educational problems, he is often uncertain as to his ability to cope with them and eventually leaves that responsibility to his wife. This feeling of failure in coping with the childrens' education is a result of his mixed and confused attitude towards education and children. Two opposed elements seem to create doubts and confusion in his mind. When he has to cope as a father he often sees the image of his own authoritarian parent; the example of the ideal to be followed. He thus tries to adopt the same severe and strict attitude to which he was accustomed, and may well see himself in that light. But he simultaneously doubts the legitimacy of such an approach, and considers that times have changed. He himself was often revolted by his father's strictness towards him and he sometimes looks upon the patriarchal attitude as old-fashioned and unsuitable.[1]

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1. In dealing with the "Image and Expectation" we shall see that while the young husband sees himself as holding supreme authority over the family, he tries to find a legitimate explanation for this approach to his children.

The little time that he has available to devote to his children and the difficulty he finds in coping with their daily problems, leads many a young father to say, "The children see me for such a short time that I cannot waste it by shouting and punishing them".

Five young fathers recount events similar to the following, related by B:

> B's daughter (5 years of age) behaved very badly towards the neighbours. B decided to teach her a lesson and demanded that she apologise. She refused and he hit her very hard to make her do so. The conflict was very violent. After this incident, B was very impressed by his daughter's strength of character, although he also felt guilty that he had been too hard. "From that day I never again touched her". It appears that this incident was the first step which led to B's withdrawal from the educational problems of his children.

The later resuscitation of the young father's participation in the affairs of his children arises out of his great concern for the protection and guidance of his daughters, especially in sexual matters.

The most striking point which emerges from the comparison between immigrant husbands and wives working in cafés and first generation Cape Town born sons and their wives is the great and sharp conjugal role segregation of the sons and their wives, as against the blurring of sexual boundaries in the roles of the immigrant couples working in cafés. We have seen that this phenomenon is inherent in situations where there is a separation of business and home (as in the case of the sons), as opposed to the situation where we find a coalescing of business and home (as in the case of the immigrant café-owners).

This polarised difference in the role distribution was well expressed by the reactions of the informants when questioned on decision making. The sons gave a clearly

differentiated description of the various spheres of decision making, but the immigrants found it difficult and irrelevant to differentiate between the various spheres of decision making arising in their shared lives. The latter even categorically opposed any attempts to make distinctions within the decisions. One could argue that this could lead to entirely opposed deductions to that suggested, i.e. that while there was a greater dependance of the husband upon his wife in the café, and a greater closeness, his refusal to see any differentiation in decision making could suggest that he sees himself entirely as the supreme leader, opposing all differentiation in decision making because he looks on his authority as being solely his prerogative, total over all spheres of life. On the other hand, the differentiations made by the sons could indicate that they have lost something of their total authority, confining their rights of decision making to specific spheres, while in other spheres renouncing certain rights to the advantage of their wives.

What becomes apparent is that while there is a certain loss of authority on the part of the sons, this loss arises out of the very fact that there has been a segregation of roles. We saw, for instance, how the young father has lost a great deal of say in the education of his children. On the other hand, while the authority of the immigrant in the café remains global, it has been, or is being, softened by the very fact of the blurring of the segregation in conjugal roles. The wife in the café has entered into her husband's spheres. She carries out his duties together with him, and becomes his second-in-command. She continues naturally to accept his authority, but he recognises her ability to assist him and he takes her advice into consideration in <u>all</u> spheres of life. We have already made mention of a crack in his self-confidence. This is not a crack in his ability to cope with his responsibilities as a leader, but in his self-confidence of being the sole leader. This crack concerns his self-confidence in his traditional judgment, attitude, and estimate of his wife. The traditional wife image he brought with him from the

village has been affected and gradually transformed. This is expressed clearly by the number of immigrant husbands who admit to consulting their wives even in purely business matters.

It is worth completing the picture by mentioning another dimension which characterises their relationships: the husband recognises his wife's ability to assist him and to share his male duties with him because he feels that his authority and status are neither being challenged nor threatened. Indeed, his wife does not challenge his authority because of her deep socialisation. She has learned to accept him naturally as leader, because of his ability to fulfil successfully his male function, and because of their strong mutual and total dependance. The fact that she does not threaten or challenge his authority makes their association possible and allows him to accept and to appreciate her co-operation without any ambivalence in his feelings.

As against the immigrant, the son's authority is really challenged in the very sphere where he does not cope too successfully, i.e. mainly in the education of the children.

The attitude of many sons towards their right to be the supreme authority in the family is then significant. Indeed, when discussing the conjugal role distribution, the great majority of the sons emphasise that the husband is undoubtedly the master of the house and the supreme authority, <u>but</u> most of them emphasise that they had to "earn their right to authority". One of the informants expressed it in this way:

> "the husband certainly has the supreme authority, but he must prove his ability to be master, he must earn his right to be leader....in other words, he must BE a real leader".

A frequent argument in support of this view was a need for the husband to be older than his wife.

> "The husband must be sufficiently older and more mature than his wife, in order to be able to lead

her and his family".

Another argument was the need for a husband to have a higher standard (mainly educational) than his wife.

That these conditions are brought in to legitimise the leadership and authority of the husband clearly indicate that he finds a need to seek for such legitimisation.

In conclusion, we must refer back to the comparison made at the beginning of this section with the mining community in Yorkshire. In Ashton, the exclusion of the women from employment had thrown the men together and created a sharp segregation between the men and the women, but in Cape Town, among Greek café-owners, the incorporation of the women into the occupational spheres of their husbands, has caused them to become segregated from their own sexual groups, and has thrown the couple together with the resultant blurring, to a certain extent, of their role differentiation. Just as in Ashton, the exclusion of the wives of the first generation Cape Town born sons seems to have sharpened the segregation in the role distribution of the spouses, and is encouraging a tendency towards a greater integration among the males.

However, unlike Ashton, the demands of Greek society in Cape Town are not in contradiction to the role of the man as husband. On the contrary, Greek society values the husband's loyalty to his family of procreation and his fulfilment of his duties towards his wife.

Again, unlike Ashton, the segregation in conjugal roles and the integration of men does not cause the exclusion of women from spheres other than occupational. Although the sons spend a certain time in hobbies from which their wives are excluded, as yet only to a small extent, the wife seems to remain predominant in, for instance, the patterns of leisure.

Some of the most revealing aspects of Greek immigrant values are shown in the relationships between daughters born in Cape Town and their 'soghambros' husbands. Although there are daughters who have married locally born Greek men, daughters married to 'soghambros'[1] are significant in the frequency of marriages that fall into this category.

Marriages where both husband and wife are immigrants, and marriages of locally born sons provide contrasting characteristics which are useful for discussion and comparison.

The marriage between a locally born daughter and a 'soghambros' appears as an almost intermediary class, and is a kind of new combination of the elements found in the relationships between the two classes of couples already dealt with. We shall find that in our present case the new combination of these elements results in a certain softening of the patterns.

In the marriages of daughters and 'soghambros' there is a segregation of roles, but it is not as sharp as the role segregation characteristic of the son-wife relationship. Whereas there is a dichotomy between business and home, the spheres are not as separated and autonomous as they are in the case of the sons. The husband often works in company with other men, but he spends most of his free time within the framework of his family.

These findings appear to result from the following factors. The husband is not only very dependant for his living on his wife's family, but his wife, as the daughter, is welcome in her family's extended business in which her father and/or brother are often associated with her husband. Inevitably, the husband is a fairly recent immigrant from a rural district, and his socialisation process is very similar to that of his in-laws. Consequently, there is a considerable consensus

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1. In the section on the 'soghambros' we saw that he is an immigrant, married to a locally born Greek girl, and he is dependant on her family.

in their norms of behaviour. By contrast, his wife is urban, educated, and may somehow have different expectations. But because her mother lives near or with her, she is set, and follows, a permanent example of the housewifely image given by the latter. The socialisation she had as a Greek girl further reinforces this image. Against this, the husband, as a Greek peasant, wishes to see himself as the master of his home. He and his wife have not undergone the process of closeness characteristic of his in-laws, but because he is so dependant on her family, no manifestly latent conflict will break out.

With this background, the data on the occupations of the daughters is relevant.

TABLE XXXVII - OCCUPATIONAL ROLES OF DAUGHTERS.

Daughters in employment		Daughters who are housewives	
No	%	No	%
11	21,15	41	78,84

As mentioned, of the eleven in employment, two are married - one of whom works at home as a dress maker - and the other is employed full time in her family's extended business. The remaining nine are spinsters.

Of the 41 housewives, 12 help their husbands in their businesses (29,26%), but the remaining 29 do not actively do so. Seventeen stated that they daily spend at least one or two hours at their husband's place of business. Some of them relieve him every day to allow him some rest, others assist him over busy periods, whereas the others spend their free time in the business every day "just to be there". If her husband is in business with an in-law then his wife will naturally be most welcome at the place of business, where she will feel at ease. Unlike the son's wife, who "just pops in to the business", but never stays long because her husband "is always so busy", the daughter does not feel at all out of place in the extended

business, in fact she finds a home atmosphere there. Thus, these wives are not excluded from the occupational sphere to the same extent as the sons' wives.

Although assisted by her servant, the daughter, as a housewife, usually follows her mother's example and accordingly tries to be the traditional Greek model. She exchanges new recipes with her mother and gives every attention to the preparation of meals. Very often, mother and daughter cook together, go shopping together, and generally continue to spend many hours in each other's company.

Here is a description of an ordinary week:

> N is married to a man from Cephallonia. She was born in Cape Town of parents from Pelopponesus. She lives in a separate flat in the same block as her parents. Her husband works with her brother and father. Her father has in fact retired from the wholesale business (he deals in property) although he still spends a few hours there each day. Her brother and his wife (a non-Greek) used to live in the same block but the year before moved to a new house in Kenilworth. Every morning N gets up early to prepare the children for school. Her husband does not have a full breakfast - just a cup of coffee - but she prepares a snack which he takes to work with him. Sometimes he leaves home very early and she will then take him sandwiches at about 10.00a.m. She explains that she must do this otherwise he would starve. He will not go out to eat as he does not like South African food and finds it lacking in real taste. Sometimes she goes to his business at lunch time (if her mother is at home to supervise the children when they return from school) and takes him lunch. She will often take an extra portion because her brother "loves Greek food and does not have many opportunities of enjoying it at home". Normally, however, it is her father who takes food to her husband at lunch time, as the latter does not like her leaving the children alone. Besides

> sometimes going to the business in the mornings, she usually spends part of the time with her mother, working, shopping, and helping the servants. In the afternoons, she is either at home with the children, or she very often visits relatives, or attends meetings of the Greek Womens' Association with her mother. A meal is ready when her husband comes home in the evenings, and they very often dine with her parents. The two families customarily have meals together on week-ends. As the children usually go to bed late, if the couple visit their family, they normally take the youngsters with them. Neither of them like leaving the children at home. If they stay at home they spend the evening with her parents or sometimes her brother and his wife may visit. The two families usually spend the week-ends together, either visiting relatives, or on outings. The family (including the children) always spend Sunday nights at the Greek cinema. On Friday nights her husband and father go to soccer. She is not interested in soccer, and usually stays home with her mother on these nights.

The picture which emerges from this description is somewhat different from that of the son's family. Just as in the case of the son, N's husband is the sole breadwinner, his domain is his business, his wife's the home, but, while the son's wife is completely excluded from her husband's domain, the daughter keeps a daily and lively contact with her husband's business world. She visits him there and is welcomed by her family. There she both finds and contributes something of the home.

While business and home are two physically distinct units, the dichotomy is not complete, for the wife serves as a form of link between them. She not only takes traditional Greek food to her husband, but also to the rest of the family.

If the husband has a business of his own, she relieves him and takes some part in it's running. In cases where the husband had his own business, it was usually a bazaar, or dry-cleaning establishment.

Her exclusion from the occupational sphere is thus not total as is the case of the son's wife. Besides her participation in economic functions, the very way in which she performs her household duties seems quite different from that of the son's wife. She seems to incarnate the image of the traditional Greek housewife, which is reinforced by her mother's presence. Her husband appears to be more dependant on her, not only because of the economic, social and emotional needs provided for by her family, but also because of the various functions she fulfils.

The statistical data on the daughters' husbands in the sample shows the following patterns. There were 45 daughters in the sample, of whom 5 married to Greeks are living in Greece. Of the remaining 40, 28 are married to husbands whom we could classify as 'soghambros'. These husbands are, to a certain extent, dependant on their wives' families being either in business with an in-law, or working in their own business, of which part of the shares belong to an in-law. Alternatively, they work on their own but get considerable assistance from an in-law.

TABLE XXXVIII - RELATION OF DEPENDANCE BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND THEIR WIVES' FAMILIES.

Dependant ('soghambros')		Independant		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%
28	62,22	17	37,77	45	99,99

TABLE XXXIX - RELATION OF DEPENDANCE BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND THEIR WIVES' FAMILIES, RELATIVE TO THE BIRTH PLACE OF THE HUSBAND.

Born in:	Cape Town		Greece		Elsewhere		Non-Greek		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Dependant on in-laws 'soghambros'	4	44,44	21	67,74	1	50	2	66,66	28	62,22
Independant	5	55,55	10	32,25	1	50	1	33,33	17	37,77
TOTAL	9	99,99	31	99,99	2	100	3	99,99	45	99,99

Of the 28 husbands classified as 'soghambros' we find the following distribution:

13 work in extended businesses with their in-laws.

10 conduct their own businesses, but their wives' parents (sometimes a widowed mother) apparently hold shares in this business (e.g. dry-cleaners, cafés, bazaars).

3 are skilled and self-employed, but are apparently helped by their in-laws (e.g. garage, electrician)

1 is in employment, but apparently helped by his in-laws, by way of monthly financial assistance.

1 is a self-employed accountant, and lives near his widowed mother-in-law who runs an hotel with her eldest son. The daughter, though she does not work in the hotel, has shares in the business.

TOTAL 28

In addition to the husbands' links with their in-laws, there are various indications that many daughters own shares in the families' businesses.

Of the 17 husbands classified as independant, we find the following distribution:

5	live with their wives in Greece
2	are café-owners
2	are professional men living in Cape Town
3	are professional men living elsewhere
4	are self-employed and skilled
1	is employed and semi-skilled
TOTAL 17	

Of the five daughters living in Greece,

2	are graduates of the University of Cape Town and are married to professional men practising in Athens
1	is married to a teacher who lives in the country
2	are married to tradesmen living in other urban centres of Greece.

Of the three professional men living elsewhere

2	are doctors in Rhodesia
1	is an architect in Port Elizabeth.

These three men came to Cape Town to study, became engaged to locally born daughters, and were supported during their studies at the University of Cape Town by the daughters' families.

Various aspects of the husband-wife relationships were looked at to see whether the 'soghambros' variable resulted in any noticeable differences.

TABLE XL - STATISTICS ON SEPARATE OR COMBINED HOUSEKEEPING BUDGETS.

Couples maintain separate budgets		Couples do not maintain separate budgets		No information		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
16	57,14	9	32,14	3	10,71	28	99,99

When the organisation of the family budget is compared with the immigrants in the cafés, we observe that the tendency of the 'soghambros' couples to keep separate budgets is accentuated, but when compared with the son's family, we find that fewer of the couples maintain a separate budget, although the difference here does not seem to be very considerable.

TABLE XLI - COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FAMILIES OF LOCALLY BORN SONS AND DAUGHTERS RELATIVE TO COMBINED/SEPARATE BUDGETS.

Group	Maintain separate budgets %	Do not maintain separate budgets %	No information %	TOTAL %
Locally born sons and their wives	65,51	20,68	13,79	99,98
Locally born daughters and their husbands	51,14	32,14	10,71	99,99

The difference between the families of locally born sons and daughters seems to stem from the fact that among the daughters' families there are six café-owners. We have already seen how the very nature of the work in the café gives rise to the pattern of a common budget. Taking this last factor into consideration, we may assume that the sons, as well as the husbands of locally born daughters follow the same patterns of setting aside a certain amount for housekeeping and keeping a separate budget. In our attempts to establish how much housekeeping money was allowed and who decided on the amount, we found that there was greater co-operation and more discussion between the spouses in the daughter's families than in the son's. A completely new pattern was found in connection with the discussion of the budget. The matter was very often not only discussed by the spouses

alone, but also with the husband's parents-in-law. Many informants mentioned that they all discussed this matter together and, they added jocularly, frequently these were the occasion for argument between fathers and sons-in-law on the one side against mothers and daughters on the other. These discussions were characteristically of a pleasant and humourous nature, with nuances of malice and amusement on the part of the men at the womens' expense. We must keep in mind that very often the old and the young couple live together, or in close proximity to one another, sharing many meals. From this it becomes clear why they are all involved in the matter of planning the budget. We found only one family living under one roof (father, mother, daughter, her husband, and their children) who explained clearly how they divided their budget. Being in business together, and living under the same roof, a certain amount of money for housekeeping for both families was allowed to come out of the shop. In addition, each family had their own budget for clothing, entertainment, savings, etc. (It is worthy of mention that the old father, being retired, spent only a few hours in the dry-cleaning business, in addition to dealing in property).

In comparing the findings of the different marriage groups several differences are evident. As far the sons are concerned, it is the husband who has control of the finances. In the daughters' families, unlike that of the sons', the husband very often discusses the budget, not only with his wife, but also with her family. Yet to balance the disadvantages of the 'soghambros' there appears to be a certain sex segregation - almost a coalition of father and son-in-law against mother and daughter, so that the traditional Greek male authority remains firm. Appropriately, this segregation is never really charged with tensions, but is rather friendly and gentle. What in fact occurs is the enactment of an important face-saving process for the dependent son-in-law, which simultaneously affirms his economic bonds with the father-in-law. This was emphasised in a coalition present in the case of a widowed mother and

her daughter.[1] They discussed all matters together, including the budget. But in this case the characteristic gentleness and friendliness in the opposition were absent.

In shopping activities too, the 'soghambros' couple were characterised by the same kind of segregation of the sexes. Whereas mother and daughter together went to shop for food, clothing, etc, informants mentioned that any unusual or special purchases, such as electrical appliances, were the concern of the husband and father.

1. There was no case of a widowed mother actually living with her married children.

TABLE XLII - A COMPARISON BETWEEN LOCALLY BORN SONS AND DAUGHTERS IN REGARD TO CONSULTATION IN BUSINESS MATTERS.

Group	Category I Wife is not consulted		Category II Wife is consulted		Category III Decisions are made jointly		Category IV No information		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Locally born daughters and their husbands	8	28,57	12	42,85	5	17,85	3	10,71	28	99,98
Locally born sons and their wives	14	48,27	8	27,27	3	10,34	4	13,82	29	99,70

In comparison with locally born sons, many husbands of locally born daughters do consult their wives in business matters. If we combine Categories II and III, then 60,7% of husbands consult their wives in business matters as against 37,61% sons who do similarly.

It is quite clear that the husbands involved in extended businesses are the ones who consult their wives. Eight of those who consult their wives are, or were, in extended businesses with their wives' families. The matters normally discussed with the wife are those pertaining to partnership with her brothers or father and all connected matters, such as the extent of the partnership, investments, profit distribution, private investment in new private dealings, etc. From the informants we had the strong impression that the wife served as an intermediary or link between her husband and her own family. She acts almost as a buffer and tries to lessen any tensions that may arise between them.

An illustration is the story of K:

> K is very proud of her husband. She says that he is a very good and easy-going person. For many years her two brothers were in partnership with him. The partnership originally involved her father, who later died, her husband, and her elder brother. When her younger brother finished school, it was M (her husband) who encouraged him to join the partnership. Her younger brother, however, caused a great deal of trouble, which upset M considerably. He considered such behaviour as indicative of a lack of gratitude. In order to restore harmony, K says, "I gave up my own share in the business, and divided it between my husband and my younger brother".

It is quite clear that K tried to maintain harmony between the various members of her family: besides her natural influence as wife and sister, she also had a concrete say as she held her own private share which she had received as a dowry.

The participation of the wife in this case appears to be diametrically opposed to the participation of a son's wife. We saw in the section dealing with locally born sons that many of them were reluctant to allow their wives to become involved in business matters as this could provoke tensions in his extended family (his father, brothers, sisters-in-law). A son's wife would intervene only to protect the interests of her husband and her own family against her in-laws. Obviously, she has little say in such matters and her only avenue would be to influence her husband, which she often succeeds in doing.

A daughter, however, fulfils the opposite role. She tries to compromise situations with her husband and her family and seems to concern herself with both sides. As against the son's wife, she has considerable say. Whereas the son is reluctant to involve his wife, the daughter's husband tries to get his wife involved. The reasons for this are very clear; he is often at a disadvantage as far as his in-laws are concerned, and <u>needs</u> his wife's help.

Among the five informants falling into Category III, four are café-owners. Here again the café is an integrative factor between the spouses.

We have deliberately analysed Categories II and III before touching on Category I in order to have a better understanding of the informants in the latter category. We find here that the husbands are involved in specific types of businesses; electricians, garages, etc., where the wife cannot fulfil any useful role, and where the staff are not members of the family.

During leisure time, we find that even more than in the previous marriage groups, the wife and her family take an active part in these decisions. The wife spends much of her own free time within the framework of her family. Outings, such as attendance at cinemas, and social gatherings, frequently include the wife's parents. Significantly, of all the husbands, we could find only three who spent

certain time on a male segregated hobby (usually fishing).

Another tendency worth mentioning is the frequency of the husbands' attendance at soccer matches, usually attended in the company of their in-laws. The wife, on the other hand, often goes to tea-parties, meetings of the Greek Womens' Association, etc.

There are definite differences and tendencies in the local daughter and husband structure which emerge clearly. The locally born wife is very involved in most of her husband's spheres. She has a say in the preparation of the budget, in business matters, in the use of leisure time, and in the education of the children. Her family takes an active part in the life of the couple, and have an effective influence on them, but to prevent this from becoming overbearing, the wife's participation is aimed mainly at keeping peace and harmony between her husband and her family, and particularly between her husband and her brothers. Her role as mediatrix is possible both because she is the daughter, and as such is warmly accepted by her family, and because, having a share in the business or some other form of dowry, she has an economic advantage. In the same way that she bridges the gulf between the different members of the family, she also serves as a bridge between the business and the home. This, characterised by a certain warmth, softens the dichotomy between the business and the home, and sustains an emotional continuation of a unity between business and home.

Thus the wife has a multiplicity of functions which are usually efficiently and quietly fulfilled, and create a great dependancy on her on the part of her husband. We mentioned that she brings a whole set of vital and important values to the marriage (economic, social, emotional). We see now that in addition thereto - inherent from her immediate environment - she also has personal potential values, inherent from her socialisation. She is the good housewife who cares for her husband, her children,

and her family of orientation. Her contribution to the conjugal life is inestimable.

Although her husband is very dependant on her, we were always very deeply aware of the gentle and warm manner in which she fulfilled her duties. The great dependancy of her husband does not lead her to develop a dominant or aggressive personality.

The traditional Greek socialisation here reaches its full expression. The gentle way in which she performs her duties seems to increase the dependance of her husband on her. In contrast with her, the son's wife is kept away from many of her husbands' spheres, and somehow stands apart as a stranger to his family of orientation.

It was hinted that both the types of family under discussion are often in conflict with the respective nuclear family interests, but the difference is that the locally born daughter serves as a unifying factor, whereas the son's wife serves as a dividing factor in such situations.

The comparison of the daughter with her immigrant mother also points to an interesting conclusion. Many common attributes characterise the two women; the multiplicity of functions, great efficiency in fulfilling these functions, great dependancy of the husbands on them. And yet, the developing personalities are somehow different. The immigrant wife, because she actively works with her husband in the café, confronting the world of the "business jungle" with him, develops a strong personality. The daughter, on the other hand, focuses her activities on the home - even when she goes to the business she always takes something of the home with her - and she participates only peripherally in, rather than confronts, the world of the "business jungle".

We now examine residence patterns of the couples in order to complete the picture on this section.

Of the 39 sons in the sample, 10 are bachelors and 29 married. All the bachelors live with either their parents or widowed mothers.

TABLE XLIII - RESIDENCE PATTERNS OF MARRIED SONS.

Live with or near family of orientation[1]		Live with or near their in-laws		Live on their own		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
12	41,37	2	6,89	15	51,72	29	99,98

Despite the fact that a rather high percentage of sons who are married live with their parents (41,37%), more sons live away from their families of orientation.

1. We chose to use the general term "family of orientation" as the family framework varies for each case: sometimes parents, mother, brother, etc.

TABLE XLIV - RESIDENCE PATTERNS OF MARRIED SONS RELATIVE TO THEIR TYPE OF OCCUPATION.

Occupation	With or near family of orientation	With or near their in-laws	On their own	TOTAL	
Café-owners		1	1	2	
Extended business	7		4	11	EXTENDED FAMILY OCCUPATION
Company directors	3			3	
Self employed skilled		1	2	3	NON FAMILY OCCUPATION
Semi-skilled employees			2	2	
Skilled employees	1			1	
Professionals	1		6	7	
TOTAL	12	2	15	29	

(See diagram 11 in "Visual Method" - patterns of residence).

From the tabulated data, the following points are apparent: there is a correlation between occupation type (family business as opposed to non-family occupations) and residence patterns.[1] Of the 14 sons engaged in extended businesses or company direction, 10 (71,42%) live with or near their families of orientation (parents, widowed mother, and sometimes, siblings). By contrast, of the 13 sons engaged in non-family occupations, (employees, skilled workers, professional men) only two live near their parents (15,38%) as against 11 (84,61%) who live away from them.

A detailed and individual analysis of this data reveals significant tendencies. Of the 4 sons engaged in extended businesses and living away from their families of orientation, three at one time lived near their families of orientation. Their moves to new suburbs (Constantia, Kenilworth) were fairly recent, and only occurred after long periods of tension between some members of the extended families. Of the 2 semi-skilled employees, one, after quarreling with his father, left to become a travelling salesman. The other was engaged in the extended family business but quarreled with his brother and left the business to become a salesman.

The professionals, by inclination and education so different from their peasant forbears, further emphasise this difference, so that all but one live away from their extended families:

> An architect and his wife (a Rhodesian born Greek) used to live under the same roof with his parents. After his father's death he moved to Constantia, while his mother continued to live in her home.
> Four other professionals (lecturer, industrial chemist, architect, civil engineer) work and live away from Cape Town - one somewhere in South Africa, the others in various countries.
> Another is a neurologist, who lives in Cape Town, but in a different suburb from that of his mother. His brother runs an hotel, living there with the widowed mother.

The break is again clear in those who have gone outside the marriage norms. Of the 8 sons married to non-Greeks, 7 live away from their families, and the other lives near to his family.

In attempting to maintain ethnicity, the preoccupation of immigrants in trying to create a business framework adequate to the absorption of their extended families seems to be justified. There is a clear tendency for most of those who are not engaged within such a framework to drift away from their families to a certain extent.

Over and above this, we have already discussed how the old immigrant finally starts to develop his own individual property portfolio alongside his extended business. It was suggested that he did this because he foresaw a breaking-up of his extended family, and anticipated this process by assuring his own security for his old age. In the analysis under consideration, the number of sons engaged in extended businesses who move away from their families appears as a first symptom of this breaking away process. The discussion on conflicts will confirm this view.

From the comparison which follows, a more marked tendency emerges for married daughters to live near or with their families of orientation as against the sons. Neither sons nor daughters tends to live near their in-laws. If we remember that sons and daughters frequently marry spouses who are not from Cape Town, then the low frequency of residence near in-laws becomes self-explanatory - there are very few in-laws in Cape Town. The high percentage of daughters living in close proximity to their own families is also understandable when we realise that most of them are married to immigrants dependent upon her family ('soghambros').

TABLE XLV - RESIDENCE PATTERNS OF THE MARRIED DAUGHTERS RELATIVE TO THEIR HUSBANDS' DEPENDANCE ON HIS IN-LAWS.

	Live with or near wife's family	Live with or near husband's family	Live on their own	TOTAL
Husband dependant upon his in-laws 'soghambros'	27		1	28
Husband independant of in-laws	4	3	10	17
TOTAL	31 (68,88%)	3 (6,66%)	11 (24,44%)	45 (99,98%)

See diagram 11 in "Visual Method" (patterns of residence)

i) All but one of the 'soghambros' live near their in-laws.

ii) Of the 17 daughters married to husbands independant of in-laws, we find the following distribution

5 live in Greece with their husbands

3 live elsewhere (Rhodesia and Port Elizabeth) with their husbands

9 live in Cape Town with their husbands, and of these:

2 live on their own

3 live near the husband's family

4 live near the wife's family.

From these figures we note that even among the husbands living in Cape Town who are not dependant upon their in-laws, there are 4 couples living near the wife's family. This seems to be significant, and not purely accidental, as it fits very well within the general closeness which develops between parents and daughters in Cape Town, remembering the general tendency of parents to protect their daughters by keeping them as near to their home as possible. On the other

hand, it emphasises a certain looseness of relationship between parents and sons.

In conclusion, the findings on the residential patterns of sons and daughters confirm the general findings emerging from this research:

- the difficulty encountered by the parents in educating their sons according to purely Greek traditional values, and of keeping them within the framework of their own regional or ethnic groups, and within the framework of the extended family, as against the great success they have with their daughters in fulfilling these same aims.

3. Socialisation.

The question of moulding of personalities and attitudes of the generations born in Cape Town is a matter both central and pertinent to this research, as it may provide us with leads on the dynamics towards a future development of the Greek community in Cape Town and the family institutions within it.

We differentiate here between the various possible agents of socialisation, such as secular schools, the Greek school, the church, and other institutions on the one hand, and the family institution on the other. We have discussed the roles of the Greek church and school, and have noted why they do not play an effective part in the socialisation of the children. Besides these two institutions we found that there were no organised frameworks (such as clubs, youth movements, etc) which could influence the education of the children. Thus we are left with the two main agents which share in this process of socialisation, namely, the home and its Greek environment, and the wider non-Greek environment.

The discussion which follows will focus on these two main factors and their mutual interaction.

Since so much of Greek immigrant life is based on café-owning, the initial discussion is based on the recent immigrant couples presently working in cafés, on the veteran couples who were formerly café-owners, and on their grown up children. It has become obvious that the concepts 'café' and 'home' overlap to a great extent, and have become almost synonymous. A consequence of this is the frequency and intensity of daily contacts between both parents and their children. Such contacts are characterised by the duality of their nature, a duality consequent upon the double function which the café fulfils. The café is a place of work - a productive economic unit where each member of the family is expected to contribute through personal effort, but to the extent that the cafe is also a place of family gathering, a home, an emotional source of security and warmth.

These characteristics set their stamp on the nature of contact between parents and children. To the children, the parents, and especially the father, play a double role. In addition to his parental role, the father is also the manager, the one in charge of the smooth running of the café business. He is the master demanding of his children conscientious fulfilment of their tasks in the cafè, as well as the father with normal expectations from his children. As a result, his already traditionally strong authority is reinforced, not only by the dual nature of his role, but also by the frequency of his contacts with his children, their proximity, the density of the café-home framework. All this enables him to supervise his children constantly.

The cultural orientation is traditionally Greek. In all cases that is the spoken language. For many years the Greek café-owner looks forward to his return to Greece and thus keeps a permanent link with his homeland and Greek society. He sends money, brings out relatives, goes on

frequent trips to his village. This attitude towards returning and the feeling that his sojourn here is only temporary, serves to reinforce his Greek cultural orientation.

Not only are Greek values reinforced, but access to the wider society is limited. The café contributes to the isolation of the Greek immigrant and allows very few opportunities for intensive, informal contacts with the non-Greek environment. Informal meetings and relationships remain within the Greek immigrant framework, involving relatives and friends mainly from the same regional groups. The images set by the parents are those of traditional parentage. As mentioned, the dual role of the father reinforces his image as authoritative and supreme leader. The multiple roles which the mother fulfils, the status she has gained, the closer co-operation and understanding between her and her husband, all contribute to a reinforcing of her image as an expressive as well as instrumental figure.

Interviews were first conducted on the parents' general expectations of the children. Specific questions were then put to the informants. We consequently divide these expectations into the following:

General orientations - aims of education
Social life of the children - patterns of leisure time
Occupation
Marriage.

From the analysis on the socio-cultural orientations and environment it became quite clear that the parents' expectations from their children are embodied in their traditional Greek background. 32 immigrant parents, working in cafés, were asked to enumerate the points which appeared to them to be the most important. These various points are classified and tabulated into the following categories in order of frequency:

Boys (26 informants)	Frequency of answers
1. Family Orientation	
a) to be a good and respectful son, and to care for his family	26
b) to keep intact the 'philotimo' of the family name	19
	45
2. Ethnic orientation to love Greece, to behave like a Greek, and to speak Greek	22
3. Individual qualities to be a clever, strong man who knows what he wants, and who cannot be swayed: to be clever in business	15

This classification is somewhat artificial and only serves the purpose of the analysis, as the informants themselves were usually unable to differentiate between these different expectations. They often saw these expectations as being essentially interconnected and consequently indivisible. For instance, informants who mentioned that they would like their sons to be "good Greeks" were asked to explain what they meant by that. They often explained, without distinctions, that to be a good Greek was to be a family man, or to look after the 'philotimo', or merely to behave generally as a Greek and to love Greece. Similarly, to be strong and clever was necessary in order one day to protect their own families when they themselves became husbands and fathers.

The great concern for the 'philotimo' of the family is clearly expressed in the following stories:

> Karayanis, calling his son to order for his bad behaviour at school, says to him "There are many 'Smiths' and 'van der Merwes' in Cape Town, but there is only one 'Karayanis'. So we have to look after this name. Do not cause 'droppi' (shame) to me and our family. If you insist on behaving in such a way, you will have to change your name".
>
> T's son, a young man of 19, was driving whilst slightly under the influence of liquor. He was involved in an accident and spent some time in hospital. He later had to appear in court on a charge of driving without a licence. T tells us that although he worried about his son's health, he told him: "It was better for you to die than to bring this 'droppi' upon me".

The expectations from the daughters need not be tabulated because of the unanimity and general consensus of the answers. The expectations are identical to those of the usual traditional Greek expectations. The daughter must be obedient, she must become a good housewife, and she is expected to look after herself, and her good reputation. The strictness of Greek peasant society is transferred here in all its severity. The fear of foreign influence and of marriage outside the community increases the necessity for a careful safeguarding of the daughter and reinforces the traditional strictness of the father.

The parents insist that sons refrain from mixing in foreign environments, but the paternal attitude to his sexual behaviour is more liberal. As a result of this tendency to ethnic segregation, a strict control is kept on the leisure time of the children and on the very framework of the leisure group. Leisure is allowed only within the framework of Greek friends, usually cousins and relatives. The brothers are obliged to take the sister wherever they go. It is not necessary to tabulate this frequency as it is total.

An example will suffice as a demonstration.

> S and her brother B used to go out everywhere together. S tells how, on a few occasions, her brother was invited to parties with non-Greek friends. In these cases he 'officially' went out with his sister, but in fact he would take her to their Greek cousins and friends, leave her there, and then go on to his party. After the party he fetched her, and they then returned home together. In this way, their parents knew nothing of their escapades. She always covered for her brother's ruses. One day, when her brother was at one of his parties, her cousin took a picture of their group. A few days later, when S brought the picture home and showed it to her parents, her father's suspicions were aroused as B was not in the group. He immediately investigated, and there was a serious row between him and his son.

The tendency towards an ethnic segregation of the children is well reflected by the little interest shown by the parents in the extra-mural activities organised by the school. Not only is there little interest, but parents even express reluctance to allow their children to take part, for they consider these activities to be a waste of the child's time. The parents often make excuses to get their daughters exempted from compulsory extra-mural activities. As one café-owner says of his 13 year old daughter:

> "I do not like these free activities, such as swimming and sport. It is neither modest nor healthy for a girl to expose herself as they do. Anyway, we Greeks have a strong sense of morality".

Among the informants of this category we could find no instance of any child, boy or girl, participating in any organised voluntary extra-mural activity, such as judo, swimming, ballet, etc.

The expectations of the fathers and mothers concerning the desirability of a future career for their young sons and daughters reflects the already mentioned orientations.

TABLE XLVI - EXPECTATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS CONCERNING THE CAREERS OF THEIR SONS.

Business Career		Professional Career		Skilled worker		Whatever he may be gifted for		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
18	69,23	6	23,07	-	-	2	7,69	26	99,99

Most of the immigrants would prefer to see their children go into business. The two main reasons given to explain these expectations were that only through business can one substantially improve one's situation, and, they would like to see their children continuing their businesses and extending them to the framework of the whole family (fathers and sons).

TABLE XLVII - EXPECTATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS CONCERNING THE CAREERS OF THEIR DAUGHTERS.

Housewife		Skills suitable to a housewife, i.e. dressmaking		Professional Career		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
25	86,2	3	10,34	1	3,44	29	99,98

The expectations of the mothers towards the occupations of both sons and daughters were very similar to those of their husbands. The almost unanimous opposition to intermarriage (except among those who are themselves married to non-Greek wives) has already been noted.

The children are usually sent to the nearest school - often to a Catholic convent school. The South African school serves as the first bridge with the external world, permitting a first meeting with a different world. In the framework

of the school, the children learn new ways of behaviour, new values, and gradually acquire a basic knowledge of the English language and general culture. It is also the first institution, and virtually the only one, in which the children meet non-Greek friends, and in which they can establish informal unstructured relationships. We note from the reminiscences of adult sons that they were drawn by non-Greek friends to play all kinds of sport after school and to meet informally at parties. Very often the informal relationships are spoilt because the pleasure derived is mixed with the bitterness arising out of a feeling of being discriminated against. On the whole, the boys learn to live with this discrimination, and continue to seek the company of non-Greek friends.

> "The words 'bloody Greek' were very painful, but we had to ignore them in order to be able to mix and play in their company".

In the light of the findings presented here we now come to discuss and analyse the nature and dynamics of the relationships between fathers and sons in the café. We recall here the main features that emerge from this study and characterise the father-son relationship, namely, the duality of the father's roles (father as against master), the ambivalent nature of the father's expectations from his sons (obedience as against moulding a strong personality for future leadership), and the opposed main agents of socialisation (the family - traditionally Greek, separatist orientated, as against the school and the informal age (peer) group, representing the foreign and modern element of the wider society).

Within each of these three elements there are decisive causes for tensions and conflicts. The whole world of the young son seems to be torn apart by these polarised elements which provoke embarrassing situations and sometimes lead to open conflicts.

The fact that the father acts as a master demanding daily efforts and sacrifices, arouses a strong antagonism in the

child. Obviously the child accepts as a natural thing that he has to help his father in the café - this is a well-established norm. But the daily burden of extra tasks as well as the comparison the child makes with non-Greek children who have more free time for playing, creates tensions and daily frictions. Moreover, the child must reconcile the contrasting expectations of his father; he has to find a way of being obedient without being a 'pet', a 'sissy'. He must be as much a 'man' as his father would like him to be. In addition, he lives in a split world composed of two contradictory spheres - his home and family on the one hand, and the school and his non-Greek friends on the other.

As he grows up these three features are emphasised and become the cause of a gradually increasing state of tension and sometimes open conflict. The culminating point of the conflict is sometimes expressed in marriage to a non-Greek girl. We were able to collect many reminiscences, impressions, feelings, and events from sons and fathers which illustrate the character of their relationships and the various situations they had to endure. A few of these have already been presented in the section dealing with topics such as the social life of the child, and the concern for the 'philotimo'. We now present a selection of the many anecdotes collected during interviews. The presentation more or less follows the different stages of the life of the boy, but any attempt to dissociate the different elements composing the events or the impressions related (attitude to the authority of the father, attitude to the wider environment, etc) is practically impossible as they are organically interconnected. These few words well express this interconnection:

T tells the following: "I didn't really like it when my South African friends came to chat with me at the shop. It would annoy my father and he would tell me in Greek that I was wasting my time and chasing the customers away. I didn't want my friends to understand what he'd said, but inevitably, after the friends had gone, I would be shouted at".

In T's description, we find the authoritative attitude of the father, the acceptance of his authority, and the embarrassment provoked by the conflict between his two worlds: home and friends.

L & B say that their parents wanted them to gain good marks at school, but that their parents never attended a Parent-Teachers Association meeting, and were quite negative about any extra-mural activities. B says, and L agrees:

> "We were quite annoyed by this lack of interest. All the other parents would attend the P.T.A. and sports meetings, but ours did not. It was not pleasant. We would be excited about sports, about the various competitions, about other social activities at school, but these things were despised by our parents".

> "I was very upset because I had to take my sister with me everywhere. I always had the same problem: how to explain to my non-Greek friends that this was a custom among us Greeks - dragging our sisters with us wherever we went".

> "My father was once very cross because someone told him that I had a non-Greek girl friend".

> "Greek people say that I am too modern; long hair, non-Greek friends (girls and boys). In fact, I myself feel a little confused. I am not completely Greek, but neither am I completely South African".

> "I obey my father, because I really do respect him, but not because I am dependant upon him. I could make a living on my own - I just don't want to upset him".

B is a student at the University of Cape Town. He emphasises how severe and strict his father is:

> "He wanted to decide everything for me. He wanted me to work with him in the business. There is in

> fact very little understanding between us and we have very little in common to talk about....but after all, I think that he and I are very much the same, and that is why we do not get on well together".

S relates with some melancholy:

> "My father was very strict. I was never able to talk or open my heart to him about the deep, personal thoughts that worried me. In fact, only after I grew up and had children of my own did I begin to understand my father and realise how much I loved him. Only then did I appreciate the hard life he had had".

S seems to express mixed feelings of revolt, love, and admiration.

This ambivalent attitude is well expressed by N who notes an element frequently mentioned by sons working in extended businesses with their fathers:

> N runs a wholesale business with his brother and brother-in-law. His father is officially retired but continues to find "small tasks, and to have a look at the business". N explains that most of the frictions with his father arise because his father is <u>over protective</u>: "He expects me to show initiative, to be a 'wolf' in business, but he never really relies on me". Together with this, N admits that he would never do anything without asking his father's advice.

Costa is an old immigrant who arrived in Cape Town in 1930. Like most of the immigrants he ran a café for many years and then opened a wholesale business. Now, on the point of retiring, he deals in property, but keeps an eye on his wholesale business which is run by his son-in-law. Costa has two children; one son, a professional living elsewhere in South Africa, married to an Afrikaans wife; and a daughter, married to a 'soghambros' from his own village, who runs the wholesale business. The story of

the relationship between Costa and his son is touching. It is very significant to our research as it exemplifies most of the elements leading to conflict between father and son.

On a first interview, we asked Costa for his opinion of and attitudes toward intermarriage. At this stage we did not know that his son was married to a non-Greek. Our question thus caused an embarrassing silence. Costa then explained the situation and went on to say that it was not a good thing but certainly not catastrophic. We sensed the old man's reluctance to speak on the matter for he quickly changed the subject.

A few weeks later we met Costa at a wedding reception. In the informal and gay atmosphere prevailing there, Costa opened his heart and told of a lovely surprise he had had a few days before. One evening while he, his wife, his daughter, and her husband were having supper, his son and his Afrikaans wife appeared unexpectedly. Costa spoke of the happiness that entered his home that evening: "My son-in-law opened the door and shouted, 'Guess who is here?'" These were wonderful days, says Costa, and explained how every time his son had come to visit them in Cape Town before, he had refused to go with his parents and sister's family to visit friends and relatives. "I should have been so proud to show my son to my friends. He is so clever, so well-educated, but he does not wish to go out....he merely says that he came only to us, and wants to stay only with us, to be with us all the time....". And then Costa added, in a whisper, "I think he feels a little out of place with my friends....he is not interested and feels a bit foreign....he is also somewhat embarrassed because his Greek is not too good nowadays....and his wife does not understand Greek...". Then he related how his daughter-in-law had stated, half telling him, half asking for his approval, that she intended taking up part time employment at the University. Costa suggested that he could help them financially. She explained that it was not a question of money but that she felt that while the children were away at school all morning, she had to

find something with which to occupy herself. "I said to her, 'All right, my dear daughter, do as you think best'". Costa somehow looked sad, as though he were trying to convince himself that this was the right thing to do. He had often tried to help his son to get a position in Cape Town, had even offered him a beautiful home, but the son explained gently, but firmly, that there were better chances for promotion where he was.

This story contains many elements relevant to this research. Costa lives in an idyllic world with his son-in-law. They live in the same house. The grand-children are growing up round him and speak Greek to him. His son-in-law tells how Costa helps him at work and how they have coffee together every morning. They go everywhere together. At the same time, however, his own son is away. His grand-children are growing up in an Afrikaans environment. They come to Cape Town three times a year, and they are a little "too English". Costa's son feels alienated from his original environment, and his wife wishes to work outside,to Costa's great disappointment. He tries to accept the situation, but still feels unhappy about it for he considers that a wife's place is in the home, her role being to care for her husband and children. Costa is prepared to help financially in order to have his son near him, but the latter is not keen to move, or to be dependant on his father.

The daughter and her husband live together with the old couple and constitute one family. This is a striking contrast with the son living in a distant and foreign environment. When the son does come home the estrangement is emphasised by the very fact that he has a foreign wife, foreign children, and has undergone the process of alienation. When the son married ten years before, there was a violent dispute between him and Costa; a dispute which ended in a general severance of relationships which lasted for more than a year.

We have seen that in contrast with the coalescence of café

and home, the life of locally born sons and their wives is characterised by a definite separation between home and business. There is consequently an essentially different network of relationships between the members of the family. We have noted the conjugal role separation resulting from this dichotomy: the husband's domain being the business and the wife's the home. When compared with the café, we find that this new situation also leads to a different network of relationships between father and children.

The father-children relationship is not characterised by the same high frequency and intensity. This is owing to a looseness and lack of density in the family framework largely occasioned by the fact that the father is away at business most of the time, and even when he does come home in the evenings he does not take an active part in the daily child-rearing problems. Moreover, the father-child relationship is, in this instance, free of the duality that characterises the same relationship in the café. The father is not the master expecting each member of the family to take his part in common economic burdens. He does not demand that his children at all times help with the various tasks in the home. In this situation we are far from the adult sons' description of the shared café life. There is no longer room for conflict because a "son wants to play soccer while his father requires his full help". Whereas, on the one hand, the factors reinforcing his authority are weakened, on the other, as a natural result, their relationship is far more free of tension.

The sons were educated in Cape Town, attended South African schools, and it seems that their cultural orientation towards South African culture is very marked.

The wife is usually either Cape Town born, or comes from elsewhere (other parts of South Africa, Rhodesia,etc.) and therefore she too tends to be more orientated towards South African culture. The spoken language for most of them is no longer Greek, but English.

TABLE XLVIII - HOME LANGUAGE OF MARRIED SONS.

English		Greek		No information		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
18	62,06	9	31,03	2	6,89	29	99,98

The vast majority of the sons converse with their wives in English. Of the 9 (31,03%) who speak Greek, 6 are married to spouses from Greece, the wife of one is from the Congo, and the wife of the other is non-Greek. It is important to note that many of these who converse with their wives in English do try, or have tried, to converse with their children in Greek. This experiment does not usually last long, and when the children start attending school, English gradually becomes the only language used at home. It is interesting that most of the couples had seriously tried to use Greek, but none of them have succeeded. One of the informants, generally very Greek orientated, suddenly realised during the interview that:

> "We speak Greek with the children, and insist that they answer in Greek. But it would be quite strange and peculiar to speak Greek to my wife when we are alone. It somehow sounds artificial".

It seems that the sons would like their children to know Greek, but are not effectively able to bring this about because of the double character of their own cultural orientation. We found further that at informal meetings of friends they usually spoke English among themselves.

In the section on the "Distribution of occupations of the sons" we noted that 41% were engaged in non-family businesses. Very often these sons who do not work with their families, also do not live near their families. When we compare the frequency of contacts and relationships between the sons' families and their parents with that of the daughters' families and their parents, we find that even among those who are engaged in family businesses, there is less frequent and intense contact with the parents than is the case with the daughters. This means that the environment of the

sons' children is not as Greek as the environment of the daughters' children.

The image the parents present to their children is different from the image the parents in the café presented to their sons. From an analysis on husband-wife relationships, we have already come to essentially different images. The father has lost something of his authority, and the mother something of her traditional model housewife image. The conjugal roles are more sharply segregated and the couple no longer present their children with the image of a couple standing together in close and comprehensive co-operation and understanding.

As in the case of immigrant parents in the café, we found a differential expectation according to the sex of the child. Yet these expectations do not seem to be identical with those of the immigrants. We here formulate a tentative general differentiation between immigrants and sons with regard to their expectations of their children. The immigrants had no doubt about the educational aims of their children and the means of achieving them. The traditional values and the accepted patterns of sanctions coloured their attitudes towards the children's education. The sons seem to be more confused and complex. When asked about the educational aims, they answered:

	ANSWER	FREQUENCY
1	To prepare him to face life, to equip him as well as possible, to enjoy happiness.	15
2	To make him a good family man	13
3	To teach him to be a 'man'	10
4	To develop his own abilities to the maximum	10
5	To make him a Greek, to love Greece, and to be proud of his origins.	8

A frequent remark made by the young parent was:

> "The world is changing. It is difficult to know what society will be like when my children grow up".

Boys are given more freedom than girls. Unlike the immigrants, the young fathers and mothers allow and even encourage their sons to participate in various extra-mural activities. Of 15 young couples, parents of boys over 7 years of age, we find that 12 sent their children to extra-mural activities such as judo, swimming, and various other sports. Of 17 young couples, parents of girls over 7 years of age, we found only 4 who sent their daughters to activities such as ballet, modern or classical Greek dancing, etc.

Here again, the attitudes of mothers appears to be more liberal than those of the fathers. In many interviews we noted that this was a frequent subject for discussion between husband and wife. The same characteristic attitude of the mothers was expressed at all times: "to give my daughters the opportunities which I never had". These aspirations of the mothers towards a more liberal education for their daughters were also expressed when the subject of how much freedom the daughter should be allowed was discussed. Almost all the fathers maintained that they had to care for their daughters by strictly controlling their leisure time and the framework within which this leisure time was structured. The young fathers offer identical attitudes to that of <u>their</u> fathers and those of the immigrant fathers in the café.

Our good friend A - father of a 2½ year old daughter and twin boys came with his wife to us for dinner one evening. We were discussing the problem of bringing up children, generally, not in connection with this research. Jocularly we said that they were luckier than we as we have three sons whereas they had an older daughter who would help with the younger ones when she was a little older. To this A replied: "It is not lucky at all. My daughter will not have an easy time. It's a pity she does not have an older

brother. Who will she go out with when she is old enough? She will have to go out with her younger brothers which will probably not interest her". A is 30 years of age, a university graduate, born in Cape Town. This was a casual comment - but it is a good indication of the deep-rootedness of this attitude towards girls.

K, also locally born, says of her husband: "He is a modern man who has been here for many years. He is really progressive. But when it comes to his daughters, the Greek in him rises to the surface".

N is constantly at odds with his wife because she allows her 14 year old daughter too much freedom. From the arguments that we heard, it is obvious that it is a daily conflict which generates much tension. These arguments seemed to worry the father very much while he heatedly opposed his wife's attitudes. She explained that the daughter was "a big girl already" and it was better to provide her with the controlled company of Greek boys than to provoke her rebellion. This rebellion, the mother contends, could result in total antagonism, "and besides that, times have changed. We are no longer in the little, narrow village... you cannot help your daughter looking round and seeing the examples set by her non-Greek friends".

U bought her daughter a mini-skirt. Her husband was furious. He argued that it was immoral dress, that it was wrong to encourage little girls to wear such things. His wife explained to him that it was not as terrible as he made it out to be. It was merely an accepted mode of modern dress. She further maintained that they could not impose old-fashioned ideas on their daughter and thus expose her to the ridicule of friends. After all these explanations, U's husband replied: "I cannot understand....quite apart from all moral considerations, can't you see that it is ugly, simply ugly". U's husband seems to be sincerely convinced that his daughter's dress is ugly for he is indeed a sincere person.

Another young mother explains: "When I was younger, I never had a chance to wear a bikini. My father wouldn't let me. I wanted to very much, but it wasn't allowed. Today I could - my husband would perhaps allow me to - but it would not suit me. At least I want my daughter to enjoy herself".

Yet, despite this liberal attitude on the part of young mothers, they seem to agree with their husbands on one point: they are sometimes stricter and even more determined than their menfolk in their negative attitude towards intermarriage. Moreover, whereas the father seems to be more flexible in this matter as regards the sons, the young mother expresses a definitely negative attitude for both sons and daughters.

As in the case of the immigrant's children, the school serves as a link with the external world. But unlike the immigrants, the son's attitude towards the school is a positive one. The sons were educated in South African schools and absorbed many of their values and norms. As a result, their children seem to find a certain harmony between the two main agents of socialisation. Yet, we must keep in mind that as the daughter grows up, unlike the son, she has to discover a path between the influence of her non-Greek environment and the increasing concern of her father as regards behaviour and freedom. As the daughters are still young, it is difficult to come to any conclusion about the results of the accentuating opposition between her father and her attraction for her wider environment.

The expectations of the young fathers concerning the desirability of future careers for their young sons well reflects the general and diffuse wish that their children should be happy. But the fathers are unable to assess categorically what precisely will bring about this happiness.

TABLE XLIX - EXPECTATIONS OF THE YOUNG FATHERS CONCERNING THE CAREERS OF THEIR SONS.

Business career		Professional career		Skilled worker		Whatever he may be gifted for		No information		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
4	21,05	4	21,05	2	10,52	7	36,84	2	10,52	19	99,98

Compared with the immigrants, the sons' expectations are more varied. In fact, a great majority are open to any career suggestions which may suit their sons' personalities. Perhaps the most striking fact which emerges from these answers is the absence of a family business orientation. The immigrant would have liked to see their sons carrying on the family business. This change on the part of the sons seems to be very significant, for we have seen that the immigrant looks upon the family business as a means of maintaining family unity.

We found that the sons' wives had similar expectations for their sons. The expectations for the daughters seems to be more complex, but it is quite clear that the young fathers and mothers have contrasting expectations in regard to the occupations of their daughters.

TABLE L - EXPECTATIONS OF YOUNG FATHERS CONCERNING THE CAREERS OF THEIR DAUGHTERS.

Housewife		Skilled worker		Professional career		Whatever she likes, including professional		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
14	60,86	2	8,69	3	13,04	4	17,39	23	99,98

The great majority would like to see their daughters become housewives. Most of them explain that the world is too full of dangers and temptations, and that their daughters must be kept away and protected from these dangers. Another explanation very frequently encountered was that it would be very difficult for their daughters to find husbands if the daughters had university degrees. They maintained that a husband must have higher standards than his wife.

With those who expressed the liberal attitude of leaving the choice to their daughters, we usually discussed the implications of their daughters being at University - e.g. she would freely meet young Greek and non-Greek men there. The young fathers were suddenly confused and lost confidence when this prospect was put before them. They seemed to realise the dangers inherent in such a choice but were unable to make up their minds. Very often conversations on this subject ended inconclusively. But in contrast with the young fathers, the young mothers were keen to see their daughters embark on professional careers, or at least, to be allowed to choose for themselves.

TABLE LI - EXPECTATIONS OF YOUNG FATHERS AND MOTHERS CONCERNING THE CAREERS OF THEIR DAUGHTERS

	Housewife		Skilled worker		Professional career		Whatever she likes incdg prof. career		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Expectation of father	16	69,56	2	8,69	2	8,69	3	13,04	23	99,98
Expectation of mother	10	43,47	2	8,69	5	21,73	6	26,08	23	99,97

The mothers' general attitudes were that as they themselves did not have the opportunities of continuing their studies in order to have a "richer or more interesting life" they would now like their daughters to enjoy these opportunities. Another argument was that daughters should be equipped for life, and ought not to be entirely economically dependant upon their husbands. The husbands who favoured a career other than that of housewife for their daughters also emphasised that it would be advisable for their daughters to be self-supporting should the necessity ever arise. Some form of qualification was therefore needed.

To conclude, it is worth noting the feeling which emanated from the attitudes of fathers relative to their expectations of their daughters' futures. We always sensed that those who expressed liberal attitudes did not do so out of any deep conviction. We sensed too, that the fathers who at the time of the interview had daughters of 13 or older were the least liberal. This fact could, of itself, indicate that as the girls grow older their fathers' expectations become more concrete and their real deep attitudes then find expression more readily.

On the subject of marriage expectations we find a general consensus of opinion as to the undesirability of inter-marriage, "because people from the same background have more chance of understanding one another and of being happy together". We could, however, discern a certain differential expectation according to the sex of the child. The general, well-rooted consensus is that the daughter must not, at any price, marry a non-Greek. We found a large measure of consensus about the sons too, but this was not as firm and categoric as appertained for the daughters. There were parents who said that they would not consider it a tragedy if their sons were to marry a non-Greek girl. In the end they would come to accept such a situation.

It was frequently argued that as Greek sons made excellent fathers and husbands, non-Greek spouses would certainly be

happy with them. But as most South Africans are not "family people as we are", the prospects of Greek daughters being happy with them were not at all good.

It is interesting to note in passing that these arguments against intermarriage are very different from those given by the immigrants. The Greek immigrants emphasise the impossibility of absorbing a non-Greek into their environment and point out the dangers of assmiliation.

"A foreigner remains a foreigner"

"She will take him away from us"

But the locally born sons are more amenable to intermarriage and their argument is a pragmatic one: although ethnic differences are brought forward as arguments, such differences are not used to emphasise the ideological aspect (assimilation), but rather the part the differences may play in the prospect of a happy marriage or otherwise (success of marriage).

The third type of marriage, between the daughters and their husbands, appears as an almost intermediary class, being a combination of elements found in the relationships between the two other classes of couples, and relationships with the children seem to present the same intermediary characteristics. The contacts between the father and his children are not as frequent and intensive as they are in the café. The father is at business for most of the day and thus has little time during that period to spend with his children. Yet, unlike the sons born in Cape Town, hobbies and other male leisure activities do not take up much of his time. He, in fact, spends most of his free time within the framework of his family. The children usually go to bed at a late hour, and if the parents visit their family, they will normally take the children with them. The attitude towards the children is very similar to the accepted attitudes in the Greek villages, where children take part in all aspects of family life, being present at, and sometimes interrupt, adult conversations. In other words, the children do not live apart as children, with only the company of other children, but live rather as little adults. Thus

father-child contacts are more frequent that in the sons' families. However, the father is not the master, as the children do not work in the business. This means that relationships are free of those tensions found in the café because of the duality of the father's role.

The father is a fairly recent immigrant who grew up in a village and whose personality was moulded into the traditional Greek background. He is then still very Greek orientated, culturally and socially. The daughter, his wife, because of her very strict education, is also orientated towards traditional Greek values. The home language in most cases (22 of the 28 couples) is Greek.

We have noted that very often the couple lives with or near the mother's family. Their contacts are thus very frequent and intense. They share meals and spend most week-ends together on family outings. The co-operation between mother-daughter on the one hand and father-son-in-law on the other is very close. The grandparents figure very centrally in the childrens' lives. Grandfather P tells how he takes his grandchildren to school every morning and fetches them in the afternoon. If his daughter is busy he will very often take them to the park or to a cinema. Naturally, he speaks Greek to them and is very proud of them because they have mastered the Greek language.

M also has grandchildren, and lives in the same street as his son-in-law. He likes to show guests how fluently his little grand-daughter speaks Greek. He compares them to his son's children, of whom he says: "My son's children are clever for sure, but they are a little English, and refuse to speak Greek".

At this point we must make certain reservations about the daily language habits of the children. We are not at all sure that children from both classes of couples use Greek among themselves. The opposite seems to be true. All children go to South African schools and master

English far more readily than Greek. They prefer using the local language when with their own age group. But the daughter's children seem to master Greek to a much greater extent than their cousins. The reason for this is very clear. The son tries, in an artificial way, to speak Greek to his children, while speaking English to his wife. The daughter's children , however, grow up in a naturally Greek environment, where the adults quite normally speak Greek among themselves. They have a natural need to express themselves in Greek as this is the grandparents' language. This Greek environment, created by the grandparents, reinforces the already Greek cultural orientation of the young father and mother.

The image of the father is that of the authoritative traditional Greek parent, only much softened because it is free of the duality that characterised the immigrant in the café (father-master), and also because of the constant presence of the maternal grandparents. Because of the son-in-law's dependance on them and on his wife, he, the 'soghambros', has to take into consideration his in-law's attitudes and say in the education of his children as well as in other spheres of his life. As mentioned, this process of the softening of his authoritative image is prevented from becoming too drastic or humiliating because of the very strong consensus prevailing between him, his wife, and his in-laws. The very nature of their common traditional socialisation restores, to a certain extent, the imbalance caused by his dependant status. Yet, despite their common socialisation, the old in-law couple have undergone a process of closeness, a softening of the authority of the old man over his wife, and they naturally expect their son-in-law to adopt the same attitude. The dependance of the 'soghambros' restores any possible imbalance in the respective differences of attitudes. Thus the father appears to his children as a firm but moderate authority. The image of the young mother is one of a devoted wife, daughter, and mother. Consequently, the parental relationshp appears to the children as being of harmony and peace.

The differential expectations according to the sex of the child is again very marked. As in the case of the immigrants, the daughters and their husbands have a clear image of what they expect from their daughters: unanimously the answer was: "to prepare her to be a good daughter, and later on, a good wife".

Their expectations from their sons is very similar to those of the immigrants. We obtained the following answers from 29 parents in this category regarding expectations from their sons:

1. Family orientation
   a) To be a good family man. (Though the element of respectful son accompanied the definition of family man, it was less frequent than amongst the immigrants). 25
   b) To keep the 'philotimo' of the family intact. 15
2. Ethnic Orientation
   To love Greece, to behave like a Greek, and to speak Greek 24
3. Individual qualities
   To be clever, to be a strong self-willed man. 18

It will be seen that when compared with those answers given by the other two categories, these answers are very similar to those of the immigrants.

The attitude towards the daughters, characteristic of all the fathers in the other groups, is found here as well. The daughter should be strictly kept and carefully watched. The mothers usually expressed the same attitude.

> S says that he himself goes to buy cinema tickets in order to take his daughter with him to the cinema. He is prepared to take her everywhere, but she must always be under his supervision.

L explains that he cannot understand parents who allow their daughters to spend a night at their girl friend's houses.
A complains bitterly about a friend who constantly teases him about how strict he is with his daughters. "My friend has no daughters - that is why he talks like this. If he had a daughter, I promise you he would speak quite differently".

We could find no daughter participating in any extra-mural activity, such as ballet, etc. As far as the sons are concerned, we once again find a more liberal attitude. But of sons over 7 years of age, in 24 families, we found only two who engaged in any extra-mural activities.

TABLE LII - OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS FROM SONS.

Business career		Profes-sional career		Skilled worker		Whatever he may be gifted for		No infor-mation		TOTAL	
No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
12	41,37	6	20,68	1	3,44	5	17,24	5	17,24	29	99,97

The tendencies on occupational expectations are quite balanced. A large number would prefer their sons to enter business, but there is also a tendency towards the professions, and a willingness to allow children to choose for themselves. Again, this class of couple shows a balanced, intermediary attitude, as against the polarised attitudes of the immigrants and their sons.

TABLE LIII - EXPECTATIONS OF YOUNG FATHERS AND OF YOUNG MOTHERS CONCERNING THE CAREERS OF THEIR DAUGHTERS.

	Housewife		Skilled worker		Profes-sional career		Whatever she likes		No infor-mation		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Fathers	28	80,0	-	-	1	2,85	2	5,71	4	11,42	35	99,98
Mothers	24	68,51	2	5,71	2	5,71	4	11,42	3	8,57	35	99,92

Mothers seem to have more liberal expectations than their husbands, but the great majority would prefer their daughters to be housewives.

Discussing marriage expectations, all husbands and wives were unanimously of the opinion that intermarriage would fail and that they therefore ought to try to keep their children from marrying non-Greeks. In other words, both the practical and ideological elements seem to determine their negative attitudes towards intermarriage.

4. Tensions and Conflicts.

Throughout this research much has been hinted at on this subject. From the discussions on marriage, role distribution, and socialisation, information emerged quite naturally about changes in relationships; either a growing closeness among people, or a potential for conflict. We shall now analyse this specific subject.

In the section dealing with occupations it was stated that although the immigrant often worked in a café for his uncle or brother, he very soon broke away and opened his own business. This breaking away frequently centred round a serious and emotional crisis which sometimes ended in a general breaking off of relationships. The intensity which this emotional crisis sometimes reached is well

illustrated by the following story recorded in an interview:

> A Cape Town born son, today a man of 40, relates how his father and paternal uncle started working together only later to sever all relationships with each other. The uncle left for Johannesburg, and there was no contact for twenty years. The split was final and absolute without even an interchange of letters; a total ignoring of one by the other. The interviewed son told us sadly: "The reconciliation between them came about through tragedy. When my father died, my uncle came to the funeral, and that was the first time I had seen him in twenty years". The wife of the son who was being interviewed was visibly shocked and dismayed to hear the story. It was clearly a chapter in her husband's life that he had not discussed owing to the emotional involvement. This story was related at the beginning of the interview and, throughout, we sensed the wife's disturbance. She was quite unable to shake off the deep impact that this revelation had made on her. "I can't understand it", she repeated many times. "How? How is it possible? Brothers? Greeks? How could it possibly happen between brothers, particularly Greek?".

Many other similar cases involving brothers were found in the course of this research.

> Three brothers M arrived in Cape Town forty years ago. One is still a bachelor who lives with his eldest brother. The third has broken off all relationships with the eldest. The two brothers concerned are very well known to the members of the community, who emphasise that the brothers have created two different environments, and although both live in Cape Town, they are total strangers to one another.

> P, as a child, arrived with his parents in Cape Town. Later, a younger brother was born. Both P and the brother worked in a café. A few years ago their

father died. The younger brother, now married, withdrew his share from the café and opened his own supermarket. Their old mother still lives and works with P. No apparent conflict broke out, but the mother explains that she always tries to keep peace between them, "A job that is not easy", emphasises the old mother.

We have seen that quarrels and crises between brothers are a common pattern in the Greek village. In that connection Peristiany[1] says: " 'They are fighting like brothers sharing an inheritance' is a common saying in Greece". Another common Greek saying expresses the intensity of the crisis following a quarrel between brothers:

"Who took out your eyes?"
"My brother"
"Ah, that is why it is so well and properly done!"

The causes of quarrels in the villages were found to be mainly economic; fighting about the division of property and inheritances. The intensity of the crises was explained by the great emotional load which pervades the relationships between brothers throughout their shared lives. In the process of socialisation, the love for the brother was so emphasised that any conflict was naturally characterised by this emotional intensity. When there is a failure in mutual expectations, strong feelingsof frustration result.

J. Campbell[1] states that one of the main causes of these conflicts is the dual loyalty expected from the son. On the one hand, the young man is expected from childhood to be loyal and devoted to his family of orientation. On the other hand, he is prepared for loyalty to his family of procreation. When the interests of both families clash, the young man is then torn by his loyalties. Loyalty to his family of procreation finally prevails and this often results in a breaking off of relationships with his brothers.

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1. J. Campbell & P. Sherrard: Modern Greece.

P. Bialor quotes Coser in order to explain the intensity of the crises:

> "Coser makes a major theoretical distinction between societies where 'segmental participation' is possible and those lacking the necessary variety of associations which facilitate segmental participation, in which total personality involvement in conflicts is characterised".[1]

While discussing factors causing quarrelling and a breaking off of relationships between brothers in Cape Town, the the theory of Coser quoted by Bialor seems applicable.

The reasons given by the informants for the quarrels between brothers were such as:

> "My father was being taken advantage of by his brother. My father was working long hours, but his brother would not pay him a proper salary".
> "He was too bossy, I couldn't stand it".
> "I do not like to have a boss over my head, certainly not my brother".
> "How can he give orders to his own brother?"
> "The wives could not manage together".

These comments seem to indicate that the causes of fighting in the Greek village are similar:

> Fighting usually occurs over economic interests (based on 'sympheron'[2]).
> or because of wives (conflict because of dual loyalty).

This point seems to be clearly supported by the reality: Many brothers' relationships come to an end when one brother marries (as in the case of P). In our sample, we did not find brothers working together, except when one is a bachelor.

However, from these comments, a third factor emerges: Fighting

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1. P. Bialor, op. cit.
2. 'Sympheron' - the principle of self-interest, as a guide line in the life of the Greek peasant.

over authority and a refusal to accept authority of a brother.

"I do not like to have a boss over my head, and certainly not my brother".

"How can he give orders to his own brother?

A new factor appears here, one that was not obvious in Greece because of the presence there of the father as supreme authority. The fact that the latter is not present in Cape Town (left behind in Greece) seems to be a decisive factor contributing to the quarrels and to their intensity. The father is not here to impose his authority and to control his children. His authority, we recall, was reinforced both by the norms and the prospect of the distribution of the inheritance (including the 'yerokomio'). To this must be added the lack of general social contact, the traditional suspicious nature of the Greek peasant, and his love of freedom. All these factors influence his choice of occupation while leading him towards filial antagonism. The immigrant seems to look upon his brother as a master who tries to limit his independance and to exploit him economically.

The theory of Coser is very strongly reinforced in the social situation existing in Cape Town. We quote the relevant extracts from Coser:

"Closely knit groups in which there exists a high frequency of interaction and high personality involvement of the members have a tendency to suppress conflict. While they provide frequent occasions for hostility (since both sentiments of love and hatred are intensified through frequency of interaction), the acting out of such feelings is sensed as a danger to such intimate relationships, and hence there is a tendency to suppress rather than to allow expression of hostile feelings. In close-knit groups, feelings of hostility tend, therefore, to accumulate and hence to intensify. If conflict breaks out in a group that has consistently tried to prevent expression of hostile feelings, it will be particularly intense

> for two reasons: First, because the conflict does not merely aim at resolving the immediate issue which led to its outbreak; all accumulated grievances which were denied expression previously are apt to emerge at this occasion. Second, because the total personality involvement of the group members makes for mobilisation of all sentiments in the conduct of the struggle.
>
> Hence, the closer the group, the more intense the conflict. Where members participate with their total personality and conflicts are suppressed, the conflict, if it breaks out nevertheless, is likely to threaten the very root of the relationship".[1]

It is obvious that traditional Greek peasant society which emphasises the norms of brotherly love and loyalty tends to suppress expressions of hosility between brothers. Immigrants arriving in Cape Town are still under the influence of the norms which they had internalised in the course of their socialisation. The grievances accumulate owing to the absence of the authoritative father and the weakening of the social control which eventually results in a violent eruptive expression of these grievances. Moreover, the Greek village lacked "the necessary variety of associations which facilitate segmental participation", but the social context of the café drastically reduces the already limited frameworks for possible segmental participation. As already described, the whole world of the immigrant is confined within the narrow framework of the café. Even participation within the male group (the coffee-house) disappears and the Greek finds himself alone with his brother, isolated together for long hours in the café-home. This situation causes a great dependance of brother on brother as well as a "high frequency of interaction and high involvement of personality". Their participation

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1. Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings. Ed. Coser & Rosenberg. Publ. McMillan London. 3rd edtn. 1969 pp 218/9

is a total and exclusive one. The eruption of feelings therefore takes so violent and total a form.

One could argue that in the café husband and wife exist in a similar situation of high frequency of intensive contacts, total participation, and involvement, but there is firstly no opposition in economic interests; rather a sharing of these, and secondly, the authority of the husband is neither challenged nor threatened by his wife.

The bifurcation of the brother's life in Cape Town, so often ending in total rupture, is the completion of the process common to the small Greek village. In Greece there are certain mechanisms, such as the authority of the father and social control, which resolve, or at least soften this, but with the impact of a new reality in Cape Town, plus the absence of these mechanisms, together with the intensification of the causes of the conflicts, the deprivations lead to frequent disruptive crises which were so often observed during this research.

The process comes to its completion when the immigrant in the new reality starts moving into his family of procreation. This time, as a father, he starts the process anew. Many findings in this research have already hinted that he will inculcate this same process into his own children; the dual loyalty to their family of procreation and to their family of orientation. His entire life will be directed towards the creation of a cohesive framework within which his extended family will be encircled. Yet, from the section on property dealing, we saw that at a later stage of his life, he becomes aware of the imminent breaking away of his extended family and he prepares himself in anticipation thereof.

Unlike the abundance of material on the immigrants' brothers, information about relationships between Cape Town born brothers was more difficult to obtain. This is owing to the fact that relationships between immigrant brothers are of the past, or because these relationships were being

related to us by sons. Consequently, the emotional involvement implied had lost much of its intensity over the years. On the other hand Cape Town born brothers were far more reserved and reluctant to discuss such relationships with a stranger. And yet, from hints, mainly for an analysis of the situation, some characteristic and directional conclusions may be drawn. The following facts which emerge from this research may serve as indicators:

- The sons show a marked tendency to get away from their families of orientation. This is clearly demonstrated by the findings on residence patterns. This tendency to live apart is more strongly marked among those sons who have entered non-family occupations, but even among sons engaged in extended family businesses, there remains a clear tendency towards remoteness.
- Those sons married to non-Greek wives definitely separate themselves from their families of orientation, and in most cases where the sons have married Greek wives, the wives are from other parts of Cape Town or South Africa. These wives are usually considered as foreign, and they themselves function as separating factors, trying to influence their husbands to look after the interests of their families of procreation. These wives, then, constitute an element for division and tension.
- From many clear, broad hints differences in view-point and tensions between brothers working together in the same extended business emerged.

From all this we may assume that there is definitely the same element of tension between brothers that characterised those in the Greek villages. Yet, the new social and economic context seems to provide certain factors which soften the tensions and resolve them before they ever reach a violent crisis situation.

The authority of the father, although challenged by the norms of the new environment, is still reinforced by his economic function and assets. The fact that many sons

enter non-family occupations eliminates several points of tension. Brothers working together are no longer limited by the narrow framework of a village, and a residential shifting is always possible. This is, in fact, what seems to happen to brothers working together. When they live near each other, while working together, tensions arise - at work between brothers, at home between sisters-in-law - and this invariably results in one of them moving to another suburb. The pretext for such a move is usually a desire to live in a better suburb, with its better school, or a generally higher standard of living. Few of the brothers who have moved were prepared to give the real reasons for their action. As R says, "We were living on top of each other....we used to see far too much of each other - working together, living together - it was too much".

Besides the possibility of moving, as far as residence is concerned, there is also the ability of severing links because there is only cash and no longer property binding the family. Thus we find brothers withdrawing from the extended family business and opening businesses on their own.

A last factor which seems to explain the softening of tensions is that, unlike the new immigrant, the social circle of the sons is much wider and his roles far more varied. He has opportunities for a wider segmental participation in this new social and economic context. As a result, relationships lose their intensity and any involvement in conflict is no longer a total one, which is so characteristic of the Greek peasant or immigrant.

Clear information concerning brothers-in-law was difficult to obtain. However, it seems that those factors which affect the sons are also evident. We refer mainly to the relationships between Cape Town born sons and their 'soghambros' brothers-in-law.

They often work together in the extended business, and continue to do so for a certain time after the death of the father. In this latter period many occasions for

for friction and conflicts arise. The son often considers the absorption of the 'soghambros' to take place at the former's expense. Yet, the 'soghambros's' wife (the daughter) plays a unifying role between the in-laws. Moreover, because of the tendency of the sons to move away from their families of orientation, it very often results in brothers-in-law not living near them. This in turn means that there are not such intense relationships and opportunities for friction. A last factor which seems to serve as a mechanism to soften possible tensions between brothers-in-law is the great dependancy of the 'soghambros' upon his parents-in-law, and sometimes even his brothers-in-law. In those cases where the father has died before the daughter marries, the bride's brother plays the role of the late father, absorbing the son-in-law into the business.

Some factors responsible for bringing about changes in the relationship between husband and wife in the café seem to be operative in the bringing about of parallel changes in the relationship between brothers and sisters.

Just as with the parents, they find themselves thrown together a great deal, isolated from their respective sex groups. They spend much of their time together actively helping in the café. In fact, most of their free time is devoted to this. The type of work they do in the café is very similar for both of them: serving customers, arranging shelves, cleaning. In the Greek village the sons used to do "men's work" in the company of their fathers, and the daughters women's tasks in the company of their mothers. In Cape Town, in the café, a certain blurring has occurred in the sex differentiations and in the division of labour. The hours spent together performing common tasks seem to have had a favourable effect on their relationship. The grown up children say of their shared life, "We used to joke about the amusing customers", "We had our own secrets", "We understood one another very well".

Because of the ethnic segregative orientation of the parents and their concern about possible dangers from the non-Greek environment, children are controlled and watched very carefully. We have seen that the parents do not favour any extra-mural activities, and that they keep strict control over their childrens' leisure time. As a result, the childrens' circle of friends and their leisure time is very limited. The pattern already mentioned in this research is most significant. The brothers are obliged to take their sisters out wherever they go. This is an entirely new pattern which emerges in Cape Town. The sons are unhappy about it, but the tension which arises therefrom is directed towards the fathers since they demand that the sons drag their sisters with them everywhere. This new pattern has important consequences: The brother and sister are together, not only in the café, but also during leisure time. This going out together is not only a means of looking after the daughter but is, in fact, a control over both daughter and son. This double control results in a further control of brother over sister and vice versa. This gives rise to a certain two-sided complicity. Although daughters are usually docile, they will cover up for brothers who arrive home late, or will employ various ruses to escape the strict control of the father. A new characteristic arises from this spending of leisure time together. Clearly differentiated peer sex groups almost cease to exist. Boys and girls spend their leisure time together, usually in the company of cousins and relatives. Thus a closeness exists between brother and sister and a new friendship flourishes between them. This friendship reaches its full expression when they grow up. We have mentioned that the sister often tries to avert possible frictions between her brothers and husband. Now, instead of a relationship fraught with tension for all the reasons mentioned in the chapter on conflicts within the Greek village, a new relationship of brotherhood and understanding develops between them.

Because of the youth of the brothers and sisters of Cape Town born sons and daughters it is difficult to determine with any certainty what the process in the nature of their relationships will be. Yet we are able to see from this research that the young parents (sons and daughters) show the same concern for the education of their daughters as did their own parents, and they also seem to expect their sons to take out their young sisters. But young children (secondborn generation) do not follow the exact paths as their parents. They do not work together in the café. The son's boys tend to participate in all kinds of extra-mural activities, from which the little daughters are excluded, and young mothers tend to be more liberal in the education of their daughters, but their prospects for their being members of the same peer group are not high. Thus, all the conditions which led to a closeness between brother and sister in the café are no longer present to the same degree.

It is therefore possible to state that this process of resegregation between brother and sister is likely to occur among the son's children more than among the daughter's children. As the cultural orientation and environment of the daughter's family is more Greek, their expectations from their children is more akin to those of the immigrants.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION.

1. The Failure to return to Greece.

In the chapter on the motivation for emigration it was mentioned that the new immigrant at first sees his sojourn in the new country as being temporary. He maintains strong links with his village, he writes letters home, sends money, and dreams of the day when he will return. He imagines that this day will be the greatest day of his life, a day on which he will return home with his pockets full of money, and free of all financial worries.

In interviews with informants of the sample, an attempt was made to establish what happened to these expectations. Do they still feed the dreams of the Greek immigrants? Do they still look on their sojourn as temporary? Do they see the village as a Valhalla to which they will one day return to be reintegrated?

It has proved useful to present the findings on this subject relative to the periods of immigration. The answers received may be divided into the following categories: those who intend to return; those who formulate the intention of returning, but know that in reality they will not; those who do not wish to return; those who are undecided; and, those from whom it was impossible to elicit information on this subject. Included in the second category are all those torn between staying and returning. On the one hand they express a wish to return, but on second thoughts they felt that a return is unrealistic, and know that somehow they will not return. The reasons for this dilemma will be dealt with later. In the category "those who are undecided" are included those who genuinely could not make up their minds.

TABLE LIV - ATTITUDE TOWARDS RETURNING TO HOMELAND.

Period	Intend to return		Wish to return but will not		Do not wish to return		Do not know		No information		TOTAL	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
I	2	9,09	15	68,18	4	18,18	-	-	1	4,54	22	99,99
II	2	12,5	7	43,75	5	31,25	1	6,25	1	6,25	16	100
III	1	5	4	20	13	65	-	-	2	10	20	100
IV	11	57,89	3	15,78	3	15,78	1	5,26	1	5,26	19	99,97
SONS	-	-	2	6,99	24	82,75	2	6,99	1	3,44	29	99,99

Very few immigrants of the first period have any intention of returning to their homeland, although the general attitude is one of longing. This attitude seems to be diffuse and complex. They long for the homeland, for the traditional Greek environment and life style, to be with relatives still living there. But they are bound to their own families (children and grand-children) living in Cape Town. The complexity of this attitude is well-reflected in the reasons given by the informants who formulate the intention of returning, knowing full well that in realty they will not do so. All 15 informants state:

> "There in Greece you can live as every Greek should live, according to our own values and traditions. We should be able to live amongst our own people".

Eight informants add other motives such as a desire to join relatives still living there. However, when they admit that they will not return, most of them declare that they are bound to their families (children and grand-children). Those who have been unsuccessful in resettling in the homeland add that "Greece is not the same. Things have changed there".

This dual attitude, a wish to and yet not to return, arises out of a common pattern established by these immigrants who returned home every few years for some weeks or months to live with their relatives and friends before coming back to their permanent homes in South Africa. This pattern is especially common among the wives, who, not being tied to the business, are in a better position to go overseas.

The four informants who definitely do not wish to return give very clear reasons therefor: "My family is here.... I have nobody there really close to me". Three of them tried to return at one stage, failed to resettle, and thus decided to make Cape Town their permanent home. Just as in category two, the three informants who were unsuccessful in resettling mention, with some sadness, "Things have changed in Greece....things are not as you always dreamt they would be".

The percentage of second period immigrants who clearly do not wish to return is higher than that of the first period. This seems to be because of the high percentage of mixed marriages. Of five immigrants who do not wish to return, three married non-Greek girls. The one immigrant, from whom we could not get a definite answer, is also married to a non-Greek girl. It is therefore reasonable to assume that his answer would also fall into category three.

The answers given under categories two and three are the same as those given for these categories by the immigrants of the first period. We may conclude then that attitudes towards returning to the homeland are very similar among the immigrants of the first two periods, with the exception of those who married non-Greek girls. These husbands were not anxious to explain their motives for not wishing to return, but the usual answer was that South Africa was their real homeland.

Contrary to the immigrants of the previous period, those of the third period expressed a clear and definite unwillingness to return. The overwhelming majority stated quite simply that they would not go back. It is interesting to note that this question often provoked rather heated discussion, particularly between husband and wife. In most cases the wife defended a return to the homeland, whereas the husband firmly and categorically opposed it. We cannot, however, be entirely sure that the wife's attitude was firm and true. Returning was considered more of an abstract idea than a project which, given the opportunity, could be concretised.

The main arguments against returning were that business people in Greece were too hard, shrewd, and unfair. The immigrant, they maintained, would not succeed there as he does here. "Tha me fagy" (They will eat me up), says the immigrant. "Here it is much easier to make money and to have business dealings with people". They also stated: "All my poeple are here, my family and friends; there is very little to return for". Many of these immigrants settled twenty years previously. They came

to join their veteran immigrant relatives and have, in the main, brought out their own families. Another reason for the rejection of the return idea is one which provoked the strongest disagreement between husband and wife. The husbands say: "Here we are something, there we should be nothing", i.e. here we enjoy a certain social standing that we should not be able to enjoy there.

It is worth illustrating this attitude by summarising an argument between husband A and wife C. (Wife C is locally born. Husband A was until recently a partner with his wife's brother in a dry-cleaning business. He presently plans to become a partner in a firm of ship-chandlers). C is not prepared to renounce the luxury and comfort she enjoys here. However, if it were possible to transfer her home, servants, etc., to Athens and enjoy the same standard of living there, she would happily emigrate. A, very agitated, gives two opposing reasons for his wife's 'irresponsible' ideas: given that there income remained the same, they would never be able to afford in Athens the same standard of living to which they are already accustomed. Moreover, the assumption that they could afford to maintain the same standard, and that the home could be transferred to Athens being granted, they would nonetheless never enjoy an identical social status in Greece. Socially speaking they could never face comparison with the X families (certain Athenian families who are apparently a status symbol for the local Greeks).

From this we learn that both husband and wife, when discussing such a return, implicitly think of returning and settling in a town (Athens) and not in their village of origin. The immigrant has cast his rural origins aside. He is essentially a businessman and cannot imagine himself returning to a rural occupation, certainly not to the land or even to a trade within the village framework. In addition, his social status criteria are pegged to the town (Athens) and not to his village of origin. The immigtants' social status criteria in South Africa are of an ethnic nature. He looks upon his

social status within the framework of his ethnic group. It is obvious that he does not relate it to South African society at large for he himself feels discriminated against within his wider environment. The fact that he has achieved the status of a successful urban business man is considered as a vertical social mobility. He is not prepared to lose this social ethnic status by returning to his homeland. The process from peasant to urbanite seems to be irreversible. Also, a return to the homeland would entail a social and economic confrontation with the urban elements of Greece. He feels that he would not successfully stand up to this confrontation.

A comparison between the attitudes of the old immigrants (from the first and second generation) and those of the younger ones (third generation) is most significant. Whereas the old men think of a return to the homeland as a return to the village, the younger thinks of it as a return to the city. The contrast between the wish of the old to return and the reluctance of the young to do so now becomes clear. In the imagination of the old man a return to the village would appear triumphant, a confrontation that he could cope with very successfully. He has already retired and is financially very well established. There would be no need to reintegrate into the labour market. He sees his return in a romantic light; the successful immigrant coming home to retire after many years of success. He sees himself buying a large, beautiful house in his village, spending his old age in peace and tranquillity while enjoying a high social status within the framework of his menfolk. Unlike the veterans, the immigrants of the third period, approximately 40 years of age, see in a return an unequal economic and social confrontation within a town framework, and foresee their inability to cope therein.

What is common in the attitudes of the immigrants of all three periods is a feeling that there is no environment close enough to which it would be worthwhile to return.

Both the old and the young feel that they have undergone a certain process of alienation. Sometimes the process is considered as "things in Greece have changed" (alienation from an outside source); sometimes the feeling is deeper and more intense: "We have changed....we are not the same". More rarely, the process is considered a double bifurcation: both Greece and the immigrant have undergone omnidirectional changes.

Besides this process of alienation, it is true that the immigrant, by bringing out brides, relatives, and friends, has of himself accelerated the process of estranging himself from his original environment. By this process of transplantation he has gradually transferred his natural, familiar environment to Cape Town, and in so doing has destroyed the essential, main links with his 'patrida'. He has in fact brought his 'patrida' to South Africa.

The strong family bond is the essence of his Greekness, has acted as a factor segregating him from Greece both as a country and as a society. Here again he has acted as a Greek for whom loyalty to his family comes first.

This analysis leads us to a clearer understanding of the fourth period newcomer's attitude to a return. 11 out of 19 (57,89%) intend to return. These immigrants are as yet at the beginning of the settling-in process, with most of their family still in the village. Family ties in Cape Town are neither strong nor extensive. They say, "We first want to improve our financial position and then we shall return home to the family...".

However, like the veterans, they are engaged in the identical process of gradually transplanting their 'patrida' to their new home. It is interesting to note that their starting point is at an earlier stage than that of the veterans. Whereas the first immigrants realised relatively late that they would not return, we find a hint from the data of the fourth period that this realisation comes sooner to the newcomers. Most veterans say that their original intention

of returning was unanimous. Among the newcomers only 57,89% intend returning, whereas 31,56% (categories 2 and 3) already know that they will not return. The reasons are clear: unlike the veterans, they came into a settled community with established patterns of adaptation. From them they learnt a quicker method of absorption. They very soon became aware that life is easier here and that the old immigrants had settled permanently. In addition, many of them are the last family members to join the veterans. In other words, they represent the end, not the beginning, of the process. Some came to marry young girls born here.

The attitude among the first generation sons born in Cape Town is almost unanimous. Only 6,99% - 2 informants out of 29 - wish to return. The remaining 27 each gave several reasons for not wishing to return: 14 said clearly that they were Greeks, but also South Africans, 21 cited the difference in education. The manners of the new immigrants were considered vulgar and embarrassing. 9 told of mixed feelings following a trip to Greece: the wonderful sensation of being home, but bitter disappointment at the primitive way of life. Certainly, the informal character of Greek relationships was found most relaxing, but nonetheless, they made it clear that they would not live there permanently.

It is clear that the first generation sons born here consider themselves essentially urban. They have no memories of the village, and the visit organised to the parental home reinforces a feeling of alienation. (In the section on marriages, we saw that these sons marry only girls of urban origin).

Although there is general pride in being Greek, expressed mainly as membership of a nation with a rich, cultural heritage acknowledged by all Western society, this pride seems to be limited to the symbolic sphere.

The cultural confrontation with the South African environment

does not play a favourable role in the Greek cultural identification. This stems from two main, interconnected reasons, general cultural confrontation, and the weakness of local Greek cultural and social communal institutions.

In order to discuss these two points it is useful to compare the cultural orientation of the young Cape Town born Greek with that of the Egyptian born Greek immigrant. As they are both born out of their homeland it is interesting to compare the effects of the different environments on their cultural orientation and identification.[1]

The deep impression that emanated from interviews with the Egyptian born Greek was their marked Greek cultural orientation and identification, as well as their use of Greek as an everyday language. Most South African Greeks normally speak English, using Greek in the main, only when addressing their parents or elderly people.

The Egyptian born Greek does not foresee a return to the homeland. (Many returned when they left Egypt, but could not reintegrate). Yet their general attitude was definitely positive towards Greece and Greek identity. Compared with the Cape Town born Greek, they appeared as Greek, deeply rooted in their Greek culture and clearly aware and proud of the cultural and traditional values of their heritage. Paradoxically, with this clear natural and cultural orientation, we sometimes find a tendency hinting at a universalist or cosmopolitan attitude; a readiness to be open to a confluence with other national cultures and values. Obviously, the complexity of this attitude emphasises the need for a special study focussed on this subject. Many factors seem to be responsible for this ambiguous attitude:

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1. It must be noted that Egyptian born Greek immigrants are not included in our topic as we focussed on immigrants of rural origin. Despite this fact we found few Egyptian born Greek immigrants integrated into our family sample. This comparison is thus a tentative one, and obviously a deeper investigation could profitably be made into this topic.

the drastic uprooting and forced exodus from Egypt, their country of birth; their failure to readjust to Greece; the short time they have been in South Africa; their general high mobility; their frustrated feeling of being uprooted and of being foreigners everywhere. For our purpose, it suffices to compare them with the Cape Town born Greek insofar as cultural confrontation, and communal institutions are concerned.

The South African born Greek looks upon his community in Cape Town as being culturally underdeveloped. His opinion is strengthened by the fact that he lives in a South African society which seems to him to be culturally highly developed. It appears that the specific high and elitist status of the white man in South Africa plays an important part in what he considers an unequal confrontation. On the other hand, the Egyptian born Greek grew up with a deep impression that the local Egyptian culture was backward and in reference to it, he found a definite self-satisfaction in his own national and cultural identity.

We have seen that up to the present the Greek community in Cape Town has not been very effective in setting up any cultural and social frameworks which could play a positive and effective role in the socialisation of the Greek child. Contrary to this, the Egyptian born Greek immigrants tell with pride of the well-established cultural and social institutions in Egypt - for example, the Greek day school in Cairo, a school that earned so high a reputation that it attracted the children of the local diplomats. This school was free of charge and open to all Greek children. In addition, they mention youth movements, clubs, and various social and cultural organisations, the like of which do not exist in Cape Town.

Yet, together with the South African cultural orientation, most of the informants born here mentioned with pride that one of the main components of their Greekness was the

centrality of the family in their lives. Here again we found a unanimous feeling of uniqueness: "we Greeks are devoted to our families and very close to one another.... we are not like the English whose husbands spend their time in bars, drinking, playing cards, and neglecting their families...". This deep rooted self definition is common to all segments of the Greek population in Cape Town; veterans and newcomers, rural and urban elements, café-owners and professionals - all emphasise the centrality of family life as a great point of differentiation between them and the foreign environment, and all see it as the unique Greek national characteristic.

2. The Greek family in Cape Town relative to the traditional Greek peasant family in the small Greek village.

Investigation (readings on various anthropological studies) into the traditional Greek family showed a characteristic life cycle. The nuclear family appears as the basic and central social unit of the peasant society. Its members ardently cultivate a mutual, strong solidarity and emotional dependance. This passionate solidarity and evaluation of family life leads to the development of an extended family apparently unified and linked by sentiments of mutual responsibility and by the total acceptance of love as being the only criterion by which must be determined the relationship of all its members.

This extended family very often constitutes an ecological, economic, and social unit which is not only the result of the strong solidarity and the norms reinforcing it, but also of the development which flows from social and economic necessities such as the lack of co-operation between the villagers, the naturally suspicious character of the Greek peasant, together with the accepted principle of 'sympheron' (self-interest) governing the life of the individuum. All these reinforce the functions of the family as the unit

in which the individuum may find security, a reliable framework against the agonistic character of the external world. In addition, poverty, the constant dwindling of land because of the system of inheritance, the lack of occupational prospect and horizons, all these force the peasant to endeavour to avoid, wherever possible, further division and partition of his lands. The extended family, as an ecological and economic unit, is the best answer to this problem.

In the transition from nuclear to extended family, and in the efforts of the peasant to avoid additional land division, the extended family does not usually include the daughter and her family as a part of the ecological and economic unit. Most often, her dowry takes the form of cash or of a house, and she leaves her parental home to live with her husband's family. From this point of view the daughter unwittingly functions as an element disintegrative of her family, while the sons constitute the integrative elements by keeping the family bound together.

Yet, the very factors which bind the family eventually lead to a disintegration of this extended family into nuclear families, who are very often antagonistic and strongly opposed to each other. The poverty, the scarcity of arable land, as well as the quarrels over the inheritance anddistribution of property, constitute additional causes for tensions and conflicts. The very norms which demand the total loyalty of the individuum to his family of procreation put him before a cross conflict role: the interest of the nuclear families, which compose the extended family, become opposed, and the individuum is faced with the obligation of choosing between his two loyalties. Loyalty to his own family of procreation is strongest. The sons' wives, living close to and very often under one roof with his family, also constitute an element of tension and friction between the nuclear families. The frequency of relationships, the intensity of feelings and mutual expectations, the isolation of the family within the general framework of the village, the lack of co-operation,

the absence of opportunity for multiplicity of role participation in the wider environment, all create a total involvement of the personalities within the family framework. This leads to tension and to an intensification of expectation, feelings, and conflicts. These combined factors lead to the break up of the extended family which is often characterised by intensive feelings of dissension and, sometimes, hatred.

Here again, in this process of the disintegration of the extended family, it is the women (sons' wives) who appear as elements of division and tension. At the beginning of the process they may have been considered integrative factors for the groom's family (because of the fact that she joins her husband's family), but in the course of time she functions as a divisive factor, exacerbating the tensions. If we add to this the tensions which arise among her brothers over the question of dowry and the necessity of looking after her good reputation, then again in the Greek traditional peasant society, the woman is characterised by her disintegrative function. Though the need for amassing a respectable dowry binds all the male members of the family together, and though a successful marriage of the daughter may bring higher social standing and economic advantage to them all, the very necessity of binding themselves together, and this very dependance, are rich sources for tensions and conflicts.

The strong mutual dependance, reinforced by the external factors of a lack of opportunities, bind the sons to their fathers. The father tries to retire at as advanced an age as possible because of his reluctance to renounce the strong economic basis for his authority, i.e., his control over the property. At his retirement the 'yerokomio', which he keeps for himself, gives him security for his old age, but the nature of the property (land, trees) limits to a very minimum his security and puts an end to his control over his children. Once each child gets his own part of the inheritance he becomes totally independant (the prospect of the division of the 'yerokomio' which remains,

is not a sufficient means of keeping control over the sons). At the death of the old man, the widow is completely dependant upon one of her children, since she is unable to tend the plot of land her husband left her.

The history of the Greek immigrant family in Cape Town commences at the end of the completion of the usual family life cycle process characteristic of the Greek village family. In other words, the first significant event is the breaking away from siblings (brothers) and the split into nuclear families of procreation. We have seen that this breaking away is accompanied by violent crises; the involvement being an involvement of the total personality.

On completion of this process, the immigrant works hard on a similar process that will lead him and his children to the same development. He acts as his father did, working hard to create the same family cohesion between him and his children. Like his father, he inculcates into them a sense of solidarity and mutual responsibility. In his efforts to attain this family cohesion, he creates the occupational frameworks that will link all members of his family together. The transition from café to extended business exemplifies his determination to keep his children together and to follow the path he has been shown by his father.

As we have seen it is obvious that by choosing the café as an occupation he has already acted as a typical Greek peasant who looks upon the world as an arena for 'agon' and seeks the only reliable occupational framework that he knows: the family as his source of security. By doing this he has started up the movement which, by the same characteristic dynamism, will lead to the same mutual, intense dependance within his extended family, or a dependance which will, paradoxically, lead once more to a break up of this extended family into nuclear families.

From the point of view of the immigrant we may conclude that throughout his life cycle he acts in a consistent way. Even

when he undertakes his new occupation of property dealing, he is following the same consistent path, completing the cycle and anticipating the break up. In other words, the immigrant transfers to the new reality the disfunctional structure of the traditional Greek family. Yet the economic and social context of Cape Town, being different from that of the small Greek village, the process will be disturbed by new factors which will intervene and change its course.

Unlike the Greek village, the economic context surrounding the immigrants' sons in Cape Town offers various occupational opportunities, thus lessening the dependance of the sons on their fathers. We have seen that despite the efforts of the fathers to create extended businesses in order to absorb their extended families, 40,9% of the sons are engaged in non-family occupations, which includes the 17,94% who are professionals.

The form which property takes has also changed. From being essentially a land form, it now becomes essentially cash. This new form has the outstanding quality of liquidity which facilitates division and partition. The property then ceases to constitute an integrative factor binding the different members of the family together. In addition, economic prosperity has taken the place of traditional village poverty, which again weakens the dependance of sons on their fathers.

Despite the immigrants isolation in the café, he cannot avoid exposing his sons to South African society. We have seen the sons' strong tendency to seek out non-Greek society and the consequent conflicts which arise between fathers and sons. The sons' South African cultural orientation is favoured by the second main agent of socialisation: the school and the informal non-Greek environment.

Because of the weakness of the other Greek institutions, the Greek immigrant stands almost alone in his struggle to keep his children within his socio-cultural and familial ethnic framework. Because the Greek school and church are

ineffective, and because the community lacks integrative and educative institutions, it is the family, trying to function as a brake against the foreign environment, that is the major, sole agent of socialisation.

To these external factors we could add the internal factor inherent in traditional Greek education, namely, the ambivalent character of the paternal expectations from the sons; to be obedient and to be a master at the same time. This factor creates an attitude and a readiness towards rebellion which very easily finds expression when economic conditions weaken the sons' dependance upon their fathers, and when the social milieu puts in question the very consensus on the legitimacy of the father's authority.

We have seen that as a result of this new socio-economic milieu, many sons move away from the traditional extended family. The high frequency of intermarriage with non-Greek wives or with Greek wives from elsewhere, the residence patterns, the cultural orientation, are all concrete expressions of this process.

Yet, an outstanding feature clearly comes to light from this research. The daughter, who was the disintegrative factor in the traditional Greek peasant society becomes, in Cape Town, the integrative factor par excellence. The daughter no longer leaves the paternal home to follow her husband into his paternal environment but rather brings her husband into her own family. This pattern becomes so established that it becomes normative, and even when she marries a local Greek, she will very often continue to live with her own family environment. This pattern has far deeper significance and consequences than its single physical, ecological reality. A comparison between the lives of sons and daughters clearly shows the integrative function of the daughter on two important levels; the family level and the ethnic level.

The daughter, by marrying a Greek immigrant ('soghambros'), does not break away from her extended family but contributes to its consolidation.
The son, by marrying a non-Greek or even a Greek from elsewhere, introduces a segregative element into his extended family.

The daughter's immigrant husband, because of his absorption into the family business and his dependance upon her family, is certain to become integrated into that family.
The son's wife, because of her exclusion from the family business, develops an antagonistic attitude, drawing her husband away, and emphasising the opposition of interests between the different nuclear families.

The daughter tries to serve as a cushion between her husband and brothers, to absorb any possible tensions and frictions. She has the emotional motivation and means to do so, being emotionally linked to both sides. She also has the economic means as she is economically equipped owing to her having a share in the business.
The son's wife does not have the same emotional motivation and means. She is the foreign element working against his family. She has no economic assets for she is usually from elsewhere and very frequently does not bring a substantial dowry.

The daughter, by marrying the 'soghambros' brings to her home the traditional Greek milieu with all its family orientations and values. She serves as the model wife, housewife, and mother, setting her children a Greek parental image. (We purposely use the word 'parental', because she sets the maternal image; and it is she who is responsible for the Greek type of husband whom she has married). The conjugal role distribution is clearly defined and does not present any cause for dissension. Not only do she and her husband set a traditional Greek parental image, but the constant presence of her parents contributes decisively in reinforcing the Greek milieu prevailing

in her home.

The son's wife has lost something of the traditional Greek milieu, orientations, and values. Their expectations indicate a certain drift from purely Greek values. Likewise, the parental image they present to their children is a new combination of Greek and South African elements.

Certain consequences on the ethnic level emerge from what has been said above: The daughter's home plays a more effective role than the son's home in the Greek socialisation of the children, for the daughter's is a Greek speaking and Greek thinking home, whereas, the son's is an English speaking, and to a certain extent, an English thinking home.

The daughter, by marrying a Greek immigrant, contributes to keeping and renewing of fresh links with the homeland.

The son, by marrying a non-Greek girl or a Greek girl from elsewhere accelerates the process of alienation from the homeland. We must bear in mind, that in most cases a spouse from elsewhere is usually a spouse from Rhodesia, the Congo, of from other parts of South Africa, i.e., Greek girls who have undergone a certain process of uprooting, emancipation, and thus, alienation.

The daughter, even when she marries a Greek man and lives with him in Greece, although because she lives away from her family she fails to fulfil an integrative function within her family, yet still serves as a bridge between her family and the homeland.

Thus the daughter appears as the main agent who not only brings about family cohesion, but also the continuation of the Greek ethnic character of the community and its link with the homeland. Moreover, not only does she serve as an integrative factor and the link assuring the existence of the traditional Greek values in the present generation, but, because her home is the best Greek socialisation agent, she also assures the transfer of Greek values to the new generation. She functions as a link in the chain between

the old and the new generations by assuring a continuity of the Greekness throughout them. Her functions take on additional dimensions of depth. She is the stronghold of Greekness in the family, holding firm and secure against the ravages of foreign influences which threaten the very existence of the Greekness of the Cape Town community.

Paradoxically, the immigrant father places all his expectations and hopes for his very ethnic continuation in his sons. The norms which attach great value to the birth of sons, and which to a certain extent consider the birth of girls as a burden, continue to exist through the forces of inertia. To the peasant in the Greek village it was clear that it would be through the son that the continuation of the family would be assured. The Greek immigrant in Cape Town does not seem to be aware that things have been diametrically inverted. He does not realise that, for the moment at least, the prospects for continuity are embodied in his daughters far more than in his sons. He does not appear to realise that it is through his daughter that his Greek cultural heritage is transferred to his grandchildren. These very factors which push the sons away from their family and their ethnic group seem to be responsible for the opposite effect on the daughter's development:

> the dissociation business-home pushes the women away from any economic function, making her entirely dependant upon her parents, and
> being excluded from any occupational sphere, she is confined to the home and her exposure to the wider society is reduced to a very minimum.

In addition, the clear, definite, unambiguous, and one dimensional nature of her role expectation contributes to the moulding of her docile personality.

All this, combined with the traditional central concern for her sexual behaviour, brings about a crystallisation of her ideal Greek personality and allows her to fulfil what is becoming today her central function: the integrative factor par excellence - the very king-pin of the Hellenic community and family in Cape Town.

THEORETICAL CONCLUSION.

The theoretical conclusion is latent throughout this work. In the process of immigration and its dynamics, interplay between the various institutional social spheres comes to light. This research has shown the decisive effect of the cultural factor on the occupational and economic course of the process. On the one hand, the socialisation, and consequently the values and the attitudes that the immigrant brings with him as an inherent part of his personality set their seal on his choice of occupation. Obviously this choice comes into a certain socio-economic context existing in the country of immigration, but undoubtedly the particular choice of occupation is determined by cultural and ethnic factors. They guide the whole life of the immigrant. Throughout the process, he consistently tries to create economic patterns which he subordinates to his ethnic and cultural orientations.

On the other hand, the socio-economic context in South Africa exerts a new influence on his sons and brings changes in the course of the process. The new, wide choice of occupations together with the influence of the new cultural environment play, as opposite forces, against the ethnic tendencies of the fathers and, to a certain extent, draws the sons away from their family orientations and creates the potential for conflicts.

APPENDIX.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

APPENDIX A: AN EXTRACT FROM THE "CONSTITUTION OF THE HELLENIC COMMUNITY OF CAPE TOWN".

CHAPTER F

PRIEST

Article 34. a) The employing of the parish priest of the Community or his assistant, is conducted by the Administrative Committe of the Community in co-operation with the Higher Ecclesiastical Authority.

b) The employing of a cantor or deacon is conducted with the co-operation of the parish priest.

c) The duration and terms of appointment of the parish priest, cantor or deacon, are determined compulsorily by a contract of work between them and the Administrative Committee of the Community and according to the existing laws of South Africa.

d) The Contract may make provision for the termination thereof if the parish priest or his assistant be punished by the Spiritual Court of the Higher Ecclesiastical Authority.

e) The priest conducts the Holy Services and is in charge of the personnel associated therewith.

f) The priest is responsible to the Archbishopric and to the Community as the employer in the execution of his Holy duties, in accordance with the Faith, Worship, Discipline and Orders of the Greek Orthodox Church. He keeps the Registry Books for Weddings, Baptisms and Deaths.

g) In everything and always, the Priest, in the execution of his duties, is obliged to co-operate in complete harmony and accord with the Committee members or members of the Church Supervisory Committee, avoiding every friction and every scandal.

h) The priest is obliged to come to an understanding with the Administrative Committee

about matters re: the Holy Services as well as about the appointment of the time of commencement and ending thereof, which agreements he must apply with all accuracy.

i) The priest is obliged to co-operate vigilantly with the Administrative Committee also in the financial improvement of the Committee, teaching the Community members appropriately about their financial duties which they have as members of the Community, in the enrolment of new members and in agreement with the A.C. to conduct the registration of all the Christians of the Community and together with the A.C. to see to the receiving of subscriptions and remaining dues.

j) The priest may not be absent from the seat of the Community without the approval of the Administrative Committee.

k) The priest is obliged to co-operate with the A.C. and especially with the School Committee and to teach, should this be requested, at the Community School or at such Catechism School.

l) The Administrative Committee in the event of a serious disagreement with the priest is obliged to refer this as soon as possible to the Higher Ecclesiastical Authority, reserving to itself the right of enforcing all the terms foreseen in the contract of work or in South Africa in the act enforced in contracts of work.

APPENDIX B: SYNOPSES OF TEN FILMS SHOWN RECENTLY AT THE COMMUNITY SUNDAY FILM SHOWS.

"FEAR" A social drama set in a primitive Greek village. The main characters are a husband and wife, both of whom have been married before, an adopted daughter who is a deaf mute, and the daughter of the wife's previous marriage. A thirst for sex in the very restricted village life leads the son to sexually assault and strangle the adopted deaf-mute daughter. The tragedy is discovered by the wife, and the family dispose of the body in a nearby lake, spreading the story that the murdered girl has disappeared. The story is accepted by the community, for on a previous occasion the girl had run away and was later found in a deserted church. The family live in a constant state of fear lest the truth be discovered. The film ends with the wedding feast of the parents' daughter and son from previous marriages. During the feast, unbeknown to the family, the body of the deaf-mute rises to the surface of the lake and is discovered by a village fisherman.

"BAD...COOL.. AND... UPSIDE-DOWN" This is a comedy drama involving twin brothers, one of whom owns a village café and the other is a successful stage and film comedian. The comedian through overwork develops heart trouble, but despite his doctor's orders, continues working as he feels that he must make money to maintain his wife and daughter, both of whom he loves dearly, in comfort. His wife knows nothing of his illness, and interprets his moodiness as being preoccupation with a girl friend. She eventually leaves him. Meanwhile, unknown to the comedian, his brother arrives in Athens to ask for financial assistance preparatory to his marriage. He arrives just as his brother collapses on stage, and takes

the latter's place in the show. The comedian eventually recovers, the misunderstanding with his wife is resolved, and the café-owner returns to his village to marry.

"A PENNY'S YOUTH". A comedy in which a newly-married couple live with the wife's step-mother in order to save enough money to build their own home. The husband will not allow his wife to work, but one day she visits her husband at his office and is mistaken by the owner as a prospective secretary. After being interviewed she is asked to start work immediately, to which she agrees without informing her husband. At work a story is circulating that the owner, who has the reputation of being a 'casanova', has a new girl friend. The husband discovers his wife there and becomes jealous and highly suspicious. The couple tell their employer that they are brother and sister in an effort to explain away the close watch that the husband keeps on his wife. Eventually the truth is told, and all ends happily.

"A GERMAN AT KALAVRYTA" A war drama in which a German officer returns to Kalavryta after the war to receive his share of buried treasure. He meets his former collaborators, but the whole matter is discovered by the villagers, who recognise him. The villagers band together to take their revenge for all the hardships suffered at his hands during the war. They eventually drive him into a river and watch him drown, exhausted by his attempts to escape.

"FORGOTTEN HEROES" A war drama involving partisans who hide leaders of the Greek Resistance Movement in a monastery which, with the assistance of the monks, they have turned into their headquarters. The German Commanding Officer is determined to find the

leader and to this end he sends a Greek girl, who is an enemy collaborator, to the monastery. She pretends to be hiding from the Germans and in need of help, but her identity, and a German plan to blow up the church at the Easter Midnight service are discovered. The resistance leaders blow up the local German Headquarters and the arms and ammunition supplies, and they then return by submarine to the Middle East Greek Headquarters.

"LOVES ON LESBOS" — A comedy concerning a Greek immigrant living in the United States. A hospital send him a wrong medical report stating that he has but six months to live. In order to enjoy his last six months on the island of Lesbos, which is his native land, he steals a large sum of money from his employers, changes his identity, and returns home to Lesbos. His involvement in village affairs leads to amusing escapades. A private enquiry agent working for his previous employer discovers him, but all ends well when the hospital responsible for the wrong report pays him as compensation an amount equivalent to that stolen from his firm.

"HOPES THAT ARE WRECKED" — A musical social drama concerning the struggles of a poor boy to reach success in a singing and musical career. After many setbacks, the boy attains success.

"TREASON" — A war drama about a German army officer who occupies the home of a Greek family who have adopted a Jewish girl. The officer falls in love with the girl, but when he discovers that she is Jewish, his patriotism gets the better of him. He arrests her and the family and sends them to a concentration camp, where the girl is killed. After the war he returns to Greece to try to locate the family. He

goes to the shooting range which the German firing squads used during the the war, now used as a range by Greek army trainees. He deliberately stands behind one of the targets and is shot during one of the practices. His body is discovered and the story of the girl and the family comes to light.

"DOUBLE CHORDS"

A musical comedy in which the singing abilities of a builder's labourer are discovered by a night club owner. The labourer is given a contract at the club, but his wife becomes jealous of the attentions he pays to the female clientele, and she decides to join the act as well. Her talents are greater than her husbands, and she is an instant success. Her popularity with the male clientele leads to a misunderstanding with her husband, but this is finally sorted out, and she gives up her night club career to raise a family, leaving her husband as the breadwinner.

"FURY" A social drama about a very selfish and irresponsible younger sister who causes a motor car accident in which her married sister, of whom she is extremely jealous, is paralysed. The younger sister is secretly in love with her brother-in-law, and she is jealous of the attentions he pays to his now paralysed wife. She tries to seduce him in an effort to cause mischief, but she herself is eventually killed in a motor accident caused by her own folly.

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