

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND THE PROCESS OF ASSIMILATION
OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

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Cape Town, October 1978

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PREFACE

The primary aim of this study is to explore the social structures of the Greek ethnic minority in South Africa, and the process of assimilation and integration of this minority within this particular society.

The study is divided into four chapters, each having its own importance.

In the first chapter there is a synoptic picture of the different stages of Greek emigration abroad, the analysis of the push factors and causes of this phenomenon, and its consequences for the Greek economy and society.

The second chapter deals with the historical background of the Greek immigrants in the country, with the main focus on the educational and occupational mobility of the younger generations as well as the intragenerational mobility among Greek immigrants of all periods.

Chapter Three deals with the process of assimilation and absorption of Greek immigrants of all generations into South African society (focusing mainly on the integration of the younger generations of South African born Greeks), and the consequences of this absorption at all levels. This chapter deals with the socialisation process taking place in the South African school which is a major socialisation factor; and the contradictory functions of the South African school and the Greek family, environment, and the Greek Orthodox Church, functioning as contra-factors towards the structural assimilation of the younger Greek generations in the country.

Finally, the last chapter deals with the class composition of the Greek immigrants in South Africa, with the main focus on their present economic position and their ideological and political attitudes. The increasing phenomenon of the alienation of the Greek middle-class immigrants in the country is also dealt with in this chapter.

In order to complete the study of the Greek ethnic minority in South Africa, three appendices have been included. The first concerns the organisation, aims and functions of the organic Greek unities in the country (i.e., the Greek organic communities). The second depicts the present situation of the Greek press in South Africa. The third appendix presents the detailed socio-economic distribution of the respondents of all generations, as well as their educational qualifications. This will help the reader to have a clearer picture of social mobility (educational and occupational) amongst the Greek immigrants which originally appeared in Tables 31, 32, 33 and 34 in Chapter Two.

INTRODUCTION

The problem of immigration does not constitute an isolated national phenomenon of several countries. It is the result of the general problem of underdevelopment, which could be understood only after an analysis of the politico-economic and socio-political structures of those countries in which the underdevelopment is not only the result of their internal characteristics or the political, historical, social and economic connection, but is related to the historical dependence of those countries on the developed industrial countries, and their place in the international division of labour.

Immigration is the result of the socio-economic structures which predominate in a specific country in a specific period of time.

Immigration is not simply an isolated problem of labour export from one country to another, but is also the result of the economic and demographic evolution of the recipient country. It is a reasonable fact that the most popular countries for the immigrant before and after the Second World War were the technologically-economically developed countries and it can be said that the continual and increasing number of immigrants is the result of the structural changes in the European area and the increasing tendency of competition between West Germany, The United States of America, and Japan.

The immigration phenomenon in Europe after the Second World War, although having its particular terms of function, lies under the same mechanisms which determined the immigration tendency from the start of the Industrial Revolution

in the eighteenth century to the present day. The nature, causes and results of Greek emigration to the United States, Canada and Australia, from the beginning of the twentieth century, does not differ essentially from the emigration which took place after the Second World War in the European area, or the emigration phenomena to other continents such as Africa or Asia.

The main effort of the researcher of this social phenomenon must start and finish with the important questions and problems which are connected directly with the social, economic, political and cultural effects of the immigration for both the country of origin and the country of reception.

The questions posed by these problems are, briefly:

- (a) What are the push factors, the causes of immigration and how can we set them in order (primary, secondary, tertiary) ?
- (b) In which social categories, social strata, and social classes do the immigrants mainly belong ?
- (c) What are the problems and difficulties (social, economic, cultural) which face the immigrants in the countries of reception ?
- (d) What is the role, the social status and the mobility of the immigrants in the socio-economic life of the recipient country ?
- (e) What are the results of immigration for the country of origin and the host country, as well as the conclusions, taken from the analysis and the research experience, for the immigrants' future ?

This research is, of course, concerned with Greek immigrants living in a particular society -- the South African society -- but, in the first chapter, the social phenomenon of Greek emigration and the causes which perpetuate this, have been researched.

The social structures of the Greek community in South

Africa should be examined in relation to the whole social structure of South African society. The structure of the Greek community constitutes a microstructure in the whole South African social structure and only if interpreted in this way could it be concluded that the results and conclusions of the research come near to the historical and scientific truth.

SOME PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

I. SAMPLE DESIGN AND TECHNIQUES

This research was originally approached with very little knowledge of South African Hellenism. The researcher was, however, familiar with Greek customs, culture and social life. Difficulties concerning the nature of the research first arose when it was realised that only two books existed on the Greeks in South Africa; one of them had been written in a journalistic style in 1923, and the other was of an academic nature.

The ultimate purpose in preparing the survey was to draw a random sample of one hundred and fifty Greeks. An effort was thus made to collect information on the Greek population in South Africa. Letters were sent to the Greek authorities and communities, asking for details (characteristics) of the Greek population in South Africa. The letters included the following questions:

- (a) How many Greeks live in your town? (If you can, give specific number; if not, approximate number).
- (b) How many "pure" Greek families live in your town, and how many "mixed"? [meaning how many families with both spouses of Greek origin, or one of foreign origin].
- (c) How many of the Greeks living in your town are members of the Greek community? [meaning the organic cultural and administrative body of the Greeks].
- (d) Are there other Greek organic unities in your town? (cultural, religious, etc.) If yes, name them.
- (e) What is the occupational distribution of the Greeks in your town? (If you cannot specify, please give approximate numbers).

- (f) How many of them are South African citizens?
- (g) Is there a Greek school functioning in your town? If yes, since when?
- (h) How many Greek children attend the Greek School? (Please specify).
- (i) How many classes (standards) exist in your school?
- (j) How many hours does it function every week?
- (k) What are the qualifications of the schoolteachers? (Please specify).
- (l) What are the subjects taught? (Please specify).

At the same time, in the two largest Greek communities in the country (namely, Johannesburg and Cape Town), the first contacts were made with the Archbishops and the Greek communities. Letters were posted to the larger Greek-owned companies in Johannesburg and Cape Town and contacts were made with them concerning the nature of their businesses, their annual turnovers and profits, and the numbers of Greek workers and white-collar personnel working for them.

Four hundred Greek names and addresses were obtained from the Greek Consulate and the Greek community of Cape Town and nearly six hundred and fifty names and addresses from the Greek community of Johannesburg. In trying to contact the individuals both in Johannesburg and Cape Town, the researcher found that nearly three-quarters of the addresses were out of date due to the fact that the archives of the Consulate in Cape Town contained no new names since the mid-sixties because of the indifference of the Greeks to appear there. In Johannesburg, two-thirds of the one hundred and sixty Greeks had been registered members of this community up to 1966 or 1968 without paying their annual subscription and in the meantime had changed their residential address. So, in the first place, not only was it impossible to have a clear picture of the geographical distribution of the Greek population in these towns, but it was impossible to have any picture at all.

Before finally deciding on a technique for selection of the sample, telephone directories were consulted as a

possible sampling frame. There were difficulties arising from this because (i) many of the Greeks appearing in the directories had changed their residential address; (ii) most of those approached personally in their homes or through telephone contacts did not wish to participate in the research; and (iii) the distance between willing participants and the researcher caused a problem because of lack of transport and finance.

It is wellknown that, in broad terms, there are two classes of selection techniques:

- (a) those that are independent of the particular set-up of the population in the sense that the selection can be made in advance by a means that is essentially a selection of certain places or positions out of all the possible places an individual may occupy, and
- (b) those that depend to some extent on individual characteristics of the persons in the population or at least some sorting of individuals as they are actually assigned to or fall into their places in the set-up (Stephan and McCarthy, 1958).

It is also recognised that for the sample to be accurate, it should be in some terms representative of a specific population. In the process of the survey designing, it was felt that the abovementioned difficulties were a barrier that could not be overcome by using established probability sampling techniques, e.g., simple random sampling, cluster sampling, or stratified random sampling.

The major difficulties in using probability sampling are again summarised:

- (a) the non-availability of official statistics concerning the status, occupation, residential distribution, income, age distribution and sex categories of the Greek immigrants;
- (b) the distance separating the Greek immigrants in the two South African towns with the largest Greek population (Cape Town and Johannesburg);
- (c) the difficulties arising from the refusal of many prospective respondents to participate in the survey;

and

(d) the researcher's lack of financial backing.

This latter point, which is probably the most important, meant that the researcher was not able to employ other qualified researchers, or even undergraduate students, with the result that all the interviews were conducted by himself.

The second step was to plan a survey technique which could help the researcher explore his hypotheses, using the data available for this purpose. This data mainly concerned the occupational categories of the Greek immigrants in South Africa. Calculating the existing data (reports of Greek communities and statistical figures appeared in the research), the occupational division of the Greek immigrants in the country is approximately:

Shopkeepers	40%
Independent artisans	10%
Productive technicians	10%
Professionals	20%
White-collar workers	20%

(It must be pointed out here that the number of productive technicians decreases day-by-day, reasons for which are given in the study.)

Thus, in order to give some representativeness of the Greek population by occupation, one hundred and fifty individuals were sampled, their composition being:

Shopkeepers	60 (all males)
Independent artisans	15 (all males)
Productive technicians	15 (all males)
Professionals	30 (including 10 females)
White-collar workers	30 (including 13 females)

The ultimate aim to interview more women, especially on points dealing with the socialisation of their sons and daughters, proved impossible because of the refusal of the male respondents to allow their wives to be interviewed.

The primary aim was that all respondents should be parents of children over the age of 18, or parents of more

than one child, in order to satisfy the needs of the survey, not only as far as political attitudes are concerned, but also with regard to the exploration of the hypothesis concerning social mobility, assimilation, and socialisation, and they should cover all periods of arrival. Accidental sampling was used only in the case of the analysis of intra-generational mobility, and was used in order to confirm the conclusions of the analysis. It added more information to strengthen the conclusions. Of course its use is sometimes dangerous but, in this case, the use of accidental respondents does not raise any problem, mainly because their number was limited. It was used only in the analysis of intra-generational mobility and for that reason the sampling could be easily controlled by the researcher.

The quota sampling used in this survey has for many years been a controversial topic of discussion amongst sociologists, psychologists, and research and survey specialists. Some of them are categorical that it is inferior to random sampling; in other words, weaker. But there is one point on which all specialists agree: In many cases, as Kerlinger (1973:122) argues, this sampling technique is necessary and unavoidable. Of course, the difficulties of its use are obvious but, as has already been mentioned, the knowledge of Greek customs and way of life as well as the continuous observation of all activities of the Greek immigrants in South Africa (religious, schooling, regular meetings, etc.) and careful treatment of the sample, leads the researcher to believe that the exploration of the hypotheses was on the right path. The superiority of the probability samples is widely recognised by researchers, but to what extent this superiority is a fact is a major point of discussion even today. Many investigators argue that this superiority exists only in theory. The fact which is undoubtedly recognised, though, is that there is no one particular method of sampling which is uniformly the best for all purposes and all situations. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a rational choice of a method that is close to being the best considering the advance information that is available, the

principles of rational choice that are generally accepted, and the restrictions that are imposed on the sampler.

The period of arrival of the Greek immigrants was used as an important variable in the analysis of socialisation and assimilation of the younger generations of Greeks in South Africa.

The immigrants of period one (immigrants who came to South Africa between 1926 and 1946) numbered thirty-seven; those of period two (who came between 1947 and 1957) numbered thirty-six; and there were thirty-seven immigrants of period three (coming between 1958 and 1968).

The respondents who were born in South Africa of Greek parents were classified as "sons and daughters", their number being forty.

II. PLANNING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The next step, after completing the sample design, was the planning of the questionnaire. There were two main problems here: (a) appearance, and (b) contents.

The appearance of the questionnaire proved to be a difficult problem. After the researcher had conducted a pilot study amongst a sample of friends and future respondents, it was found that:

- (a) Greeks generally, it seemed, were suspicious about questionnaires of strict scientific nature (in other words, questionnaires requiring many details about themselves); they felt suspicious of structured questions as well, and generally of questions involving economic and political answers;
- (b) they automatically felt suspicious of a typewritten questionnaire which, according to some respondents, seemed very "official" and not a "friendly" one. This meant that the researcher should use a handwritten questionnaire, without many detailed personal questions and not many structures questions.

As a result, the questionnaire did not contain many questions but covered a wide range of open-ended questions concerning the researcher's interest on the attitudes of the respondent to socialisation, assimilation and political issues. It was not very detailed, thus giving time for discussion with the respondent. Consequently, under the heading "Other details", the researcher was able to collect a record of all relevant details of the respondent's life.

The questionnaire was as follows:

Name:

Address:

Annual income:

Level of education:

Period of arrival:

(or date of birth for South African born)

Previous occupations:

Occupation in Greece:

Number of children:

Level of education:

Occupation of children:

QUESTIONS

(a) What is your attitude towards returning to Greece?

Wish to return _____

Do not wish to return _____

Do not know _____

(b) What is/was your expectation for your son/daughter occupational career?

(c) Would you like your son working in your shop?

(d) Would you like your daughter working in your shop?

(e) Would you like your son taking your position in your shop?

(f) Would you like your daughter taking your position in your shop?

(g) Would you like your children to speak Greek?

(h) Do you force them to speak Greek at home?

(i) Do you mind if your children speak English at home?

- | | Very
much | Yes | No |
|--|--------------|-------|-------|
| (j) Do you prefer the children to speak Greek rather than English at home? | | | |
| (k) Are you interested in South African politics? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (l) Are you interested in Greek politics? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (m) Have you a preference of a South African political party? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (n) Have you a preference of a Greek political party? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (o) Do you like your child to have political activities? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (p) Do you force your child to have political activities? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (q) Are you interested in the Greek comm. politics? | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| (r) Who is the worst enemy of South Africa? | | | |
| (s) Which is the alternative political solution for South Africa? | | | |
| (t) Do you think that South Africa is a democratic country? | | | |
| -(u) Do you think that after majority rule there would be political chaos? | | | |

OTHER DETAILS

III. CONTACTING AND INTERVIEWING THE RESPONDENTS

While the use of third parties was indispensable in locating individuals, there remained nevertheless the problem of persuading those contacted to participate in the study. Potential informants were telephoned at either their homes or places of business. The researcher identified himself, indicating his university affiliation and, in order to create a friendly and relaxed atmosphere, started talking about common friends. Next, a description of the study was outlined together with an indication of the kind of information sought. A main characteristic of the survey was that the vast majority of respondents asked the researcher that

their anonymity be assured (which was agreed to). The researcher indicated to the respondents the approximate length of the interview, and stressed the point that the venue and time were completely at the discretion of the respondent. Finally, a direct appeal was made for the individual's cooperation and it was impressed upon him that his help was necessary for the completion of the study.

In many cases the individual agreed to set a time and place for an interview but others claimed that, owing to pressure of work, they had no time for an interview. The researcher endeavoured to convince them that he could offer them complete flexibility as regards time and place, basing this on Greek "philotimo" (self-esteem). This ethnically-based term plays a very important role in the individual life of every Greek, especially for those born in Greece. The most important reason for convincing the respondents to be interviewed was, of course, the confirmation of the common ethnic background and status; and the fact that in almost all the cases the researcher and the respondent ended the conversation on a first-name basis, drinking Greek coffee or "ouzo" (national Greek drink), is a very good indicator of this fact. Fifteen out of one hundred and fifty interviews were conducted in the shops of those questioned. All the others took place in the homes of the respondents. Attempts at achieving complete privacy were for the most part unsuccessful. Because of the fact that the respondents who were interviewed in their businesses were mostly small shop owners or independent technicians (mainly garage owners), interruptions were frequent. This meant that in most cases another interview with the respondent was necessary in order to complete the questionnaire. The same thing occurred with the individuals seen at home where there were many interruptions from the respondents' wives or children. The spouses' presence never became a serious problem, although they showed great curiosity concerning the nature of the study. Needless to say, when on occasion the researcher tried to arrange an interview the husbands refused. "These are men's jobs", was the very clear and firm reaction. "Women have no

place in this research, so you must be very satisfied having us /the males/ as respondents." Many of the spouses were sitting near their husbands and reading carefully the questions, reacting when they disagreed with the answer given by their husbands, saying: "This is not true", or, when in agreement, "Excellent answers", and so on. Most of the time they wanted to volunteer to answer the questionnaires but the males would rebuke interfering wives with such statements as "He wants to know what my ideas and opinions are, not yours, and you know that when the male talks the woman should be silent."

On a number of occasions, open conflict between husband and wife erupted during the interview, especially concerning the future of their child and their attitudes towards his/her political activities, etc., but these conflicts were not frequent because, in most cases, the wives agreed with the statements made by their husbands. Where the wife disagreed she would interrupt the interview, trying to give her opinions and ideas on different issues.

As might be expected, both husbands and wives often tried to gain the approval or disapproval of the interviewer concerning various aspects. When this occurred, the usual procedure was to tactfully evade a response and move on to the next question. The length and nature of the schedule, together with the informal atmosphere of the home, and the Greek tradition of hospitality from respondents of all age groups, invariably resulted in an invitation to remain for some form of refreshment at the conclusion of the questioning. These informal discussions were extremely valuable insofar as they permitted the researcher to check any ambiguous point made during the interview. They also gave the respondent an opportunity to elaborate upon salient issues and to give his personal reaction to the interview.

In connection with the latter point, one striking pattern observed throughout the interview was that the respondents and their wives would like to talk about their children's socialisation, the problem of conflicting cultures

(South African and Greek), and try to explore the researcher's own standpoint towards this problem. Informal discussions also took place concerning the ideas and opinions of the researcher on South African and Greek politics. An important fact was that most of the respondents were unaware of the political complexities of both the South African and Greek situations, giving as their main excuse the fact that they have not the time to think or talk about these things, or even to read about them.

Most of the interviews (including the formal and the informal phases) took from three to three-and-a-half hours to complete.

CHAPTER ONE

CAUSES AND RESULTS OF GREEK EMIGRATION

The first Greek mass migration took place in the first decade of the twentieth century. The former migrations were individual migrations (95% to the United States of America) and that is why it is unimportant to examine them. Thus, until 1890, the number of emigrants was very small (2 711 individuals) as given in the Greek official statistics. From 1900 to 1920, 351 720 individuals emigrated to the United States (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
OVERSEAS EMIGRATION FROM GREECE FROM 1821
(START OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION AGAINST
TURKEY) UNTIL 1920

YEARS	TOTAL	FOR USA	% TO USA
1821-1830	20	20	100
1831-1840	49	49	100
1841-1850	16	16	100
1851-1860	31	31	100
1861-1870	72	72	100
1871-1880	213	210	100
1881-1890	2 310	2 308	100
1891-1900	16 979	16 979	100
1901-1905	51 479	49 962	97
1906-1910	122 034	117 557	96,3
1911-1915	118 521	118 916	92,6
1916-1920	67 598	65 285	96,6

SOURCE: National Statistics Service of Greece (1968a).

Until 1920 the overseas countries were the USA, Canada, Brazil, Australia and South Africa. Ninety per cent of the immigrants were males and classified in the age group fifteen to forty-five, the main active Greek population.

In those years of the First World War and its results, Greece faced important political situations, e.g., Venizelo's movement for Crete's independence in 1909; the army officers' movement in Goudi, Athens in 1909; the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913; as well as political troubles. The country extended its boundaries with the annexation of the Ionian Islands in 1864, Thessalia in 1881, Macedonia between 1913 and 1914, Epirus in 1914 and Thrace in 1920. Therefore, in view of these facts, how can one explain why the country had so many emigrants? (The American scientist Henry Pratt Fairchild in his book, Greek Immigration to the U S A (Yale University Press, 1911:86) writes: "The huge immigration of Greeks threatens the existence of the Nation.")

There could be an answer to this problem, but some characteristic details should first be examined and analysed, i.e. the large feudal-type agricultural ownership; the lack of state care, and the lack of a real social policy in the agricultural sector of the economy. During the period 1913-1914, 1 422 out of 2 658 villages in Thessalia, Macedonia and Epirus belonged to 50 influential landowners (Moschof, 1978). This fact, together with the lack of a real active agricultural policy concerning problems such as agricultural production, and the start of modern methods of agricultural cultivation, and the desire of the agricultural population for a better way of life, make it easy to understand why immigration was drawing exclusively from the agricultural strata, with the consequence that the best active population was being diminished.

That period caused most of the Greek emigrants to America to return to Greece; it was a huge return trend. Between the years 1908 and 1921, 55% of the emigrants returned believing that they would find a better life in Greece after the Balkan Wars and the annexation of the new areas.

(Source: N J Polyzos, 1947.)

From 1922 a new situation for the Greek migration movement was created, as a result of two basic facts: (a) The quota law passed in America restricting the number of Greek immigrants. (b) Following the defeat of the Greek Army in Asia Minor by the Turks in 1922, the Turks expelled 1 200 000 Greeks from Turkey. These refugees added to the indigenous population of five million in Greece.

During that period the natural increase of the population rose from 8,7 per thousand in 1921 to 16,1 per thousand in 1934 and 11,7 per thousand in 1940.

TABLE 2
NATURAL INCREASE OF THE GREEK POPULATION 1860-1940

PERIOD	BIRTHS (a) PER THOUSAND	DEATHS (b) PER THOUSAND	NATURAL INCREASE PER THOUSAND (a) - (b)
1860-1864	28,7	20,6	8,1
1865-1869	28,9	21,3	7,6
1870-1874	28,3	21,2	7,1
1875-1879	27,6	19,0	8,6
1880-1884	25,5	18,7	6,8
1885-	28,5	19,9	8,6
1921-1924	20,3	15,5	4,8
1925-1929	28,9	16,1	12,8
1930-1934	30,0	16,8	13,2
1935-1939	26,6	14,4	12,2
1940	24,5	12,8	11,7

SOURCE: National Statistics Service of Greece (1966a).

The Greek emigration up to 1940 (116 685) - before the Second World War - was nearly equal to the return trend (115 740). The explanation for this fact was the great economic crisis in America during 1929. But the most important fact was that 74% of the returned emigrants re-migrated back to the USA when the American economy returned to normal (Polyzos, 1947).

During the same period the increase of the tertiary field of production started, as well as the increase of the urban population, both being consequences of the first industrial substructure. The cities began to offer more possibilities for a better career and a better way of life, with the consequent growth of the urban and semi-urban population (47,5% in 1940 compared to 26,6% in 1920). (For a process of urbanisation of the Greek society, see Table 3 below).

TABLE 3
THE PERCENTAGE OF URBAN, SEMI-URBAN AND
AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN GREECE 1879-1940

YEAR	POPULATION IN %		
	URBAN	SEMI-URBAN	AGRICULTURAL
1879	17,7	9,8	72,5
1889	21,2	8,7	70,1
1907	23,9	9,2	66,9
1920	26,6	9,7	63,7
1928	31,1	14,5	54,4
1940	32,8	14,8	52,4

SOURCE: The demographic and future extension of the Greek population between 1960-1985. From N S S G, Athens 1966b, p. 13.

The period between 1900 and 1920 was characterised by the relatively constant population number (5 500 000), and by a low increase of the population (7,6 per thousand).

The period between 1921 and 1940 was characterised by a demographic pressure - the return of 1 200 000 refugees and the sudden increase of fertility between 1922 and 1939 to 11,36 per thousand - having as a consequence the increase of the growth of the Greek population (7 344 000 in 1940).

TABLE 4
THE EVOLUTION OF THE GREEK POPULATION FROM
1890 (FIRST MASS MIGRATION) TO 1940

YEAR	POPULATION	POPULATION INCREASE (%)	LAND IN SQUARE KM [Ⓢ]
1879	1 679 470	-	-
1889	2 187 208	30,2	63,606
1896	2 433 806	11,3	-
1907	2 631 952	8,1	63,211
1923	5 016 889	90,6	127,000
1930	6 204 684	23,7	129,281
1940	7 344 860	18,4	-

SOURCE: N S S G (1968b).

[Ⓢ]Land area increases because of the conquest of the Greek Army.

The monopoly of the agricultural area by feudal ownership disappeared with the redistribution of land after the Asia Minor destruction, but the actual situation did not improve for: In 1929, 22% of the agricultural land of Greece was owned by 79% of the farming population and this constituted a very small acreage of farming land ("very small ownership"). Thirty percent of the farming land was owned by 23% of the farmers and these were farms of small acreage ("small ownership"), and the remaining 40,22% of farming land was owned by the rest of the 4% of farmers ("Large or feudal ownership"). There were seven hundred tractors in 1929 and 1 578 in 1939, and the price of fertiliser was very high (N S S G, 1974).

All these facts concerning the underdevelopment of the agricultural industry point to the non-existence of economic prosperity of most of the agricultural strata of the Greek population. This position did not change even after the establishment of the Agricultural Bank in 1929, which explains why the vast majority of immigrants originated from the agricultural population.

At the same time the great urban population growth was not the result of a planned industrial basis and the cities functioned only as consuming centres. This fact resulted in the swelling of the tertiary field and the increase of labour unemployment - from 75 000 unemployed in 1928 to 150 000 in 1935 (N S S G, 1962b).

The scientific research of the importance of these factors leads us to conclude that economic pressures determined the departure from the agricultural fields of the Greek farmers who were the main sources of the Greek emigration. But one cannot maintain that only the economic pressures were the push factor for the emigrants; but, naturally, it was the primary one. Other factors were the lack of educational opportunity, the desire for a better way of life, as well as health and family reasons, as is shown in Table 5 (see next page).

Under those conditions the country entered the war. Later, in 1941, the foreign occupation took place. That period is not relevant to emigration but it is very interesting in the demographic view and the view of interior movements of population which increased the population evolution of Athens and Salonica.

Demographically this period is characterised by the fall in the fertility rate and an increase in the mortality rate, being consequences of the war. During four years there were 400 000 deaths, and the country faced - for the first time in its history - an absolute diminution of its population.

During that period the war activities and the Greek Resistance Movement created a dynamic psychological situation in the whole country which started to shake the traditional social stereotypes. This means that the simple Greek citizen began to believe in complete structural changes of Greek society. A great number of farmers were forced by the war to take refuge in the big towns, especially Athens.

TABLE 5: Distribution of Greek immigrants according to the push factors for emigration and the pull factors to the place of reception (in percentages)

Push Factors for Emigration	Total of Push Factors	PULL FACTORS WHICH ATTRACTED THEM TO THE PLACE OF RECEPTION						Total
		Occupational Possibility	Higher Income	Better Way of Life	Further Education	Other Causes	No Declared Reasons	
Non-Occupational Possibility	83,5	80,8	13,3	3,6	0,6	1,6	-	99,9
Lack of Land	6,2	65,2	21,7	13,0	-	-	-	99,9
Lack of Further Education	1,9	-	-	-	100,0	-	-	100
Family and Health Causes	1,6	66,7	-	-	16,6	16,7	-	100
Other Reasons	6,0	45,5	9,1	27,3	-	18,1	-	100
No Declared Causes	0,8	-	-	33,3	-	-	66,7	100
Total of Pull Factors		65,0	13,0	15,5	1,5	4,5	0,5	100

Source: N.S.S.G. (1962a).

At the end of the period of occupation, the hopes of the masses who had actively participated in the Resistance Movement for socio-economic structural changes and a better way of life, became stronger. In the first years after the war, it became obvious that there was not any structural change in the Greek society and economy.

After the Civil War (1944-1949) and its destructive consequences, the socio-economic problem of Greek society increased. These facts caused Polyzos to write: "A great number of emigrants - the greatest in the Greek history - is forthcoming, coming from all the strata of the Greek Society, unless there are great structural, social and economic changes." (Polyzos, 1947:299. Free translation from the French by the author of the present study.) (Polyzos is one of the most hardworking Greek intellectuals in analysing the problem of Greek emigration.)

The great postwar technological and economical development of the Western European countries caused a double shortage of labourers for the following reasons:

- (a) Absolute shortage because of the non-existence of available labour force.
- (b) Relative shortage because of the wish of the native workers for occupations which gave them higher incomes and better social status, leading to a better way of life.

Greece was one of the countries having a great number of semi-skilled workers without occupational possibilities. Therefore, it was one of the first countries which offered the European countries a great number of immigrants as labourers. Thus Belgium absorbed 40 000 Greek workers, especially coalminers, between 1954 and 1958. Germany absorbed 2 479 workers in 1959, 23 364 in 1960, 36 606 in 1961, 47 559 in 1962, 50 009 in 1963, and 65 130 in 1964.

At the same time overseas emigration continued with the result that 236 400 Greeks emigrated between the years 1946 and 1963. During the years 1951 to 1971, 892 175 Greeks

migrated (apart from those who were declared as "temporary immigrants"). Thus a comparison of the censuses for the years 1940 and 1941 shows that the natural increase of the population was only 2,3 per thousand. The causes for this were:

- (a) The war and its consequences.
- (b) The occupation and its consequences.
- (c) The Civil War and its consequences.

During the years 1952 and 1961 the increase in the population was 9,9 per thousand but during the years 1961 to 1972 the increase was 4,1 per thousand. The main reason for the difference was the increasing emigration during those years. (N S S G, 1972).

During the last 40 years there were some changes in the expansion of the whole agricultural land. The exploitable land increased from 12 452 980 acres in 1922 to 27 000 000 acres in 1939, to 32 500 000 acres in 1951, and to 37 700 000 acres in 1961. Mention must be made here that only 5 500 000 acres of land were irrigated.

In 1950, 28,5% of the agricultural ownership belonged to the so-called "very small ownership" (ten acres or less) and 56,9% belonged to the so-called "very small to small ownership" (more or less 50 acres). These numbers however do not show the percentage of the exploitable land which belonged to the large ownerships and which constituted 14,5% of the whole land.

In this paragraph mention must be made of the existence, until now, of feudal ownership. (Noel Becker's area in the Evia region is about 40 000 acres. Becker's grandfather had bought this area from the Turks in 1833.) (N S S G, 1974).

In this chapter mention must be made that the question of exploitable land is very important for underdeveloped countries, Greece being one of them, because non-exploitable land offers nothing to the country's economy which is still that of primary production without a great deal of secondary

field production or swelling tertiary field.

The late industrial development and the results of the agricultural semi-occupation - most of the farmers did not work for at least seven months of the year - show why a great number of people emigrated during that period. According to the census of 1966, 43,8% of the Greek population was agricultural, 13% was semi-urban, and 43,3% was urban in 1961. (See Table 6.)

TABLE 6
THE PERCENTAGE OF URBAN, SEMI-URBAN AND
AGRICULTURAL POPULATION IN GREECE 1951-1961

YEAR	URBAN	SEMI-URBAN	AGRICULTURAL
1951	37,7%	14,8%	47,5%
1961	43,3%	12,9%	43,8%

SOURCE: N S S G (1966b).

However, the following characteristic details should be borne in mind:

- (a) The population of Athens alone consists of 52,13 percent of the total Greek urban population.
- (b) The population of Salonica consists of 10,65 percent of the total urban population of the country.
- (c) The population of Athens consists of 22 percent of the total population of the country (see Table 7), and Salonica consists of 16,84 percent of the total population of Macedonia and Thrace (see Table 8).

The causes of the growing urbanisation and emigration were briefly the following:

- (a) The generalisation of the agricultural incomes paid in money, which had as a consequence the monetarisation of the agricultural economy, which perpetuated the dependence of the farmers on the agricultural mediators, who derived profit from most of the percentage of the disposed

TABLE 7

THE PERCENTAGE OF THE ATHENIAN URBAN POPULATION
WITH REGARD TO THE TOTAL POPULATION OF GREECE 1928-1971

YEAR OF CENSUS	URBAN POPULATION	ATHENS POPULATION	ATHENS POPULATION (% of urban popn)
1928	31	13	42
1940	33	15	45
1951	37,7	18	47
1961	43,3	22	51
1971	52	29	55

SOURCE: D G Tsaussis, 1969.

TABLE 8

AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION OF GREEK
POPULATION IN PERCENTAGE

REGION	POPULATION IN %
Athens	22,08
Hellas-Evia	11,57
Poloponnesus	13,08
Ionian Islands	2,53
Epirus	4,21
Thessalia	8,23
Macedonia	22,54
Thrace	4,26
Aegean Islands	5,69
Crete	5,76
Total	100,00

SOURCE: D G Tsaussis, 1969.

agricultural production.

- (b) The wish for a better way of life.
- (c) The increase of the seasonal underemployment as a consequence of the new technological ways of cultivation - machines, etc. - during the whole year.
- (d) The general underdevelopment of the agricultural areas, which did not give farmers the possibility of enjoying the means of mass consumption and amusement, which constituted a great push factor for migration to the big cities, especially for the new generations.

TABLE 9

PUSH FACTORS FOR INTERNAL MIGRATION %
AS DECLARED BY THE EMIGRANTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

PUSH FACTORS FOR INTERNAL MIGRATION	DECLARED BY THE EMIGRANTS	DECLARED BY THE EMIGRANTS' RELATIVES
Education	18,81	16,32
Work possibility	26,78	49,62
To leave the village	3,93	1,13
A better economical life	30,83	7,91
Marriage	7,02	8,23
To be near to relatives	8,45	12,94
Health reasons	2,50	1,64
Other reasons	1,67	1,44

SOURCE: C Moustaka, 1964.

During the years 1940-1951 the population of the Athens area increased to 22,6%; the population of Salonica increased to 6,6%; and the population of Crete increased to 5,5%. All the other areas of the country had clear diminution which fluctuated from 8% in the Ionian Islands to 0,5% in Epirus (see next page for Table 10).

The period 1955-1971 was the period of the great emigration. That fact was the consequence of the two following social problems:

Table 10: Population and Population Increase of the Larger Greek Areas in the Years 1940, 1951, 1961, 1971 (N.S.S.G., 1973)

AREA	POPULATION				POPULATION INCREASE (per cent)		
	1940	1951	1961	1971	1940-1951	1951-1961	1961-1971
Athens area	1 124,109	1 378,586	1 852,709	2 530,207	22,6	34,4	33
Rest of Sterea Hellas and Evia	908,511	908,433	970,949	984,790	- 0,0	6,9	2,7
Peloponnesus	1 156,189	1 129,022	1 096,390	983,800	- 2,4	- 2,9	- 10
Ionian Islands	250,626	228,597	212,573	183,633	- 0,8	- 7,0	- 14
Epirus	332,132	330,543	352,604	309,558	- 0,5	6,7	- 12
Thessalia	585,430	624,342	689,927	659,243	6,6	10,5	- 4
Macedonia	1 756,664	1 705,434	1 896,112	1 883,156	- 2,9	11,2	- 1
Thrace	359,923	336,954	356,555	329,297	- 6,4	5,8	- 8
Aegian Islands	548,380	528,766	477,476	416,475	- 3,6	- 9,7	- 13
Crete	438,239	462,124	483,258	456,208	5,5	4,6	- 6

- (a) The few opportunities for absorption into the socio-economic functions of the big cities of the agricultural strata who had left their land after the end of the Civil War.
- (b) The technological development of the Western European countries after the Second World War which needed not only a cheap labour force but also skilled and semi-skilled technicians.

Therefore, between the years 1951 and 1961, the population of Thessalia, Macedonia and, naturally, Athens increased, but the population of Sterea Hellas, Evia, Epirus, Thrace and Crete had increased less than the general average of increase of the whole population.

During the years 1961 to 1971, with two exceptions, the population of all areas diminished; the exceptions were the Athens area, the population of which increased by 33%, and Sterea Hellas Plus Evia, where the increase was 2,17% (see Table 10). In some regions of the country the diminution of the population was tragic, e.g.,

Euritanea	by 25,6%
Drama	by 24,8%
Florina	by 22,4%
Serres	by 18,2%
Grevena	by 18,9%
Laconia	by 19,2%
Messinia	by 18,3%
The Cyclades	by 20,6%

SOURCE: N S S G (1966b).

The major emigration phenomenon in those years was the great number of emigrants going to Western European countries and especially to Western Germany. The comparative tables, No 11 and No 12, illustrate that fact, and Table 13 shows the great number of Greek emigrants going to Western Germany, especially during the years 1961 to 1971.

TABLE 11
OVERSEAS EMIGRATION 1955-1968

YEAR	OVERSEAS EMIGRANTS	% OF THE WHOLE EMI-GRATION PER ANNUM
1955	19 779	66,4
1956	23 147	65,5
1957	14 873	48,6
1958	14 842	60,5
1959	13 871	58,5
1960	17 764	37,2
1961	17 336	29,4
1962	21 959	26,1
1963	24 459	24,4
1964	25 327	24,0
1965	29 035	24,8
1966	33 093	38,0
1967	26 323	61,1
1968	25,891	50,9

TABLE 12
ANNUAL EMIGRATION 1955-1968

YEAR	NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMIGRATION (1955-1968)	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION
1955	29 787	3,5	0,3
1956	35 349	4,2	0,4
1957	30 498	3,6	0,3
1958	24 521	2,9	0,3
1959	23 684	2,8	0,2
1960	47 768	5,7	0,5
1961	58 873	7,0	0,7
1962	84 054	10,0	1,0
1963	100 072	11,9	1,1
1964	105 569	12,6	1,2
1965	117 167	14,0	1,3
1966	86 896	10,3	1,0
1967	42 730	5,1	0,4
1968	50 866	6,0	0,5

TABLE 13
EMIGRATION TO WEST GERMANY
OUT OF TOTAL EMIGRATION

YEAR	NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMIGRATION
1955	679	2,2
1956	1 312	3,7
1957	1 445	4,8
1958	1 975	8,0
1959	2 543	10,7
1960	21 532	45,0
1961	31 107	52,8
1962	49 532	58,9
1963	64 662	64,6
1964	73 343	69,4
1965	80 569	68,7
1966	45 494	52,3
1967	9 730	22,7
1968	20 201	39,7

SOURCE: N S S G (1971b) for Tables 11, 12 and 13.

The reasons for the preference of Greeks to migrate to West Germany are as follows:

- (a) The distance, which was short enough to enable emigrants to return to Greece not only for short periods (vacations, etc.) but also permanently in the event of any change in the German economy (as occurred between 1972 and 1975 when there was an increase of stagflation and unemployment).
- (b) The better way of life which awaited immigrants to that country, e.g., higher incomes, social insurance, etc.

Overseas emigration took second place during that period in the emigration movement. Between the years 1957 and 1965, emigration of Greeks to the United States decreased. In 1965, out of the total number of emigrants, only

9,5% went to the United States. (In 1955 the percentage had been 34,5.) Australia absorbed more emigrants year by year. Over half of the overseas emigrants during the period 1962 to 1965 went to Australia. During the same period, Canada had absorbed 6 000 individuals per year. (See Table 14, on next page, where the total number of Greek emigrants abroad - excluding contract workers - appears.)

After 1967, America again took first place amongst the countries to which Greeks emigrated. Australia absorbed only half her usual number of immigrants. In 1968 America and Australia absorbed the same number. A careful look at the immigration structure shows the different social status and occupation of the immigrants. This was the result of the choice-tendency of the Western countries and their well-organised system (there were special committees from the reception countries in Athens and Salonica). These changes in the composition of the Greek immigrants was the result of the following factors:

- (a) The concentration and centralisation of the industrial production.
- (b) The unequal development and unequal exchange between industry and agriculture and between the cities and the villages.
- (c) The growth of the tertiary field of production.

Table 14: Immigrants from Greece to Their Place of Reception Between 1955-1968
Source: Maganara-Sorokou (1972)

Year	OVERSEAS COUNTRIES			Total of Overseas	European Countries	Germany	Mediterranean Countries of Asia, Africa	Not Declared	Total
	Canada	Australia	U.S.A.						
1955	2,153	9,052	6,896	19,772	6,068	679	3,747	200	29,787
1956	4,406	7,763	8,982	23,147	7,780	1,312	4,181	241	35,349
1957	4,982	6,023	1,807	14,783	13,046	1,455	2,415	184	30,428
1958	4,942	4,519	3,870	14,842	6,567	1,975	2,998	114	24,521
1959	4,520	5,491	2,528	13,871	6,713	2,543	2,696	404	23,684
1960	4,682	8,335	3,561	17,764	26,927	21,532	2,848	229	47,768
1961	3,913	7,965	3,471	17,336	39,564	31,107	1,730	207	58,873
1962	3,662	11,942	4,460	21,959	60,754	49,532	1,141	200	84,054
1963	4,438	12,958	4,564	24,459	74,236	64,662	1,113	264	100,072
1964	4,202	15,954	2,890	25,327	79,489	73,343	696	57	105,569
1965	5,543	18,551	2,782	29,035	87,242	80,569	795	95	117,167
1966	6,267	13,070	12,193	33,093	53,050	45,494	626	127	86,896
1967	5,752	7,891	11,778	26,323	15,658	9,730	664	85	42,730
1968	4,910	9,910	9,839	25,891	23,501	20,202	746	728	50,866
Sum	64,372	139,424	79,621	307,602	500,595	404,134	26,396	3,135	837,728

A comparison among the emigrants during 1962 to 1970 (1962 total of 84 054 and 1970 total of 92 681) shows the change of composition among Greek emigrants.

TABLE 15
OCCUPATIONAL COMPARISON AMONG
THE EMIGRANTS 1962-1970

OCCUPATION	1962	1970
Farmers	6 203 (7,35%)	28 510 (30,8%)
Non-occupational	23 571 (28%)	42 066 (45%)
Industrial workers	47 264 (55,6%)	15 723 (17%)
Craftsmen, skilled		
Industrial workers	40 431 (48%)	2 835 (2,6%)

SOURCE: N S S G (1971b).

The above numbers do not show the real situation because a farmer who had come to town six months before he emigrated could not be considered as a real industrial worker. That is a problem for which the statistics have no answer.

One of the most important facts during that period was the great number of farmers who emigrated. In 1962 the total number of farmers who emigrated and who "managed" their own agricultural lands was 6 100 out of 6 203 emigrants. (N S S G: Census 1968a). In 1970 that type of emigrant amounted to about 50%. The remainder were landworkers, land technicians and stock-breeders. (Before the increase in emigration of farmers, most of the emigrants were landworkers - 2 633 out of 2 781 farmer emigrants in 1959.) Therefore, as a result of the increase in the farmers' emigration, emigration in general increased.

For the same period, 1961 to 1971, three important phenomena may be mentioned:

- (a) The increasing number of emigrants among technicians and higher administrative staff members.
- (b) The increasing number of the so-called "brain

emigration".

- (c) The increasing emigration of high school graduates who had no opportunities for continuing their studies in Greece.

These phenomena were the result of several particular factors:

- (a) The non-existence of occupational opportunities for the high school graduates and university graduates. For example, in a recent examination for 150 clerical positions in the National Bank of Greece, there were 12 500 applicants - high school and university graduates. And, for 80 vacancies in the Greek Telephone Organisation, there were 6 000 applicants. ("News" newspaper, 1976 and "Tachidromos" magazine, 1977.)
- (b) The non-existence of postgraduate studies in Greece which forced university graduates to migrate to foreign universities, most of them being absorbed into the recipient countries after they had finished their studies.
- (c) The low incomes in the tertiary field - a clerk in the first year of employment would earn about 5 500 to 6 500 drachmas, i.e. R137 to R162 per month. (Free Press, newspaper editorial, 1978.)
- (d) The impossibility for all high school graduates to continue their studies at universities without first sitting for examinations for the limited number of places available. For example, in the period 1975 to 1976 there were 90 000 students writing examinations for only 15 500 positions at the universities. Therefore, high school graduates migrate to the European universities, mainly the Italian ones.
- (e) The non-existence of an economic occupational plan for the necessities of the Greek economy, resulting in the over-production of graduates and, as a consequence, their underemployment or unemployment.

The analysis of the age groups of the emigrants for that period not only shows the truth of the above facts, but also shows another great problem of the Greek society which will be analysed further on in the research, i.e. the problem of underemployment and the low incomes connected with the import, especially from African countries, of a cheaper labour force to Greece.

The greater number of emigrants during that period, 1955 to 1967, belonged to the main active Greek population, i.e. the 15 to 44 age group. The majority of both male and female emigrants belonged to the 25 to 29 age group. Between 1958 and 1959 and again between 1967 and 1968, the majority of emigrants came from the age group of 20 to 24. The greater number of emigrants from the main active population migrated between the years 1961 and 1966.

TABLE 16
EMIGRATION BETWEEN 1955 AND 1967
ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS

YEAR	AGE GROUP			AGE 15 - 44 AS % OF TOTAL EMIGRANTS
	0 - 14	15 - 44	45 PLUS	
1955	4 062	22 393	2 792	77,0
1956	4 861	27 061	3 427	75,6
1957	3 659	24 766	2 003	81,4
1958	3 446	18 978	2 097	77,4
1959	2 744	18 941	1 999	80,0
1960	3 627	41 387	2 754	86,6
1961	3 704	52 251	2 882	88,8
1962	4 128	76 010	3 916	90,4
1963	5 752	89 273	5 047	89,2
1964	6 322	93 599	5 648	88,7
1965	9 486	99 976	7 705	85,3
1966	9 394	70 113	7 389	80,7
1967	7 764	30 397	4 569	71,2

SOURCE: N S S G (1971a).

As already mentioned, low income was one of the main push factors for emigration. This can be illustrated if one looks at the evolution of a day's wages:

In 1938, 100 drachmas (R2,50)

In 1950, 34-35 drachmas (90c)

In 1960, 95-109 drachmas (about R2,80)

(Source: Rabanasis, 1970).

In 1966 there was a three percent increase in the daily wage, e.g., 118 drachmas (R3,00). In 1971 60% of the whole Greek population collected 33% of the National Revenue. Therefore, taking the above facts together with the continual increases in the cost of living in Greece, it becomes obvious why different social strata prefer to emigrate abroad. As a consequence, during that period Greece faced the problem of the lack of labour forces. The result was that emigration became a solution to the problem of unemployment, and under-employment became an autonomous function which the state not only tried to stop but supported as well. Therefore emigration became a negative factor for the evolution and development of the Greek society and economy.

In an interview given to the "Acropol" newspaper on 29 February 1972, the President of the Commercial and Industrial Commissariat stated that the Greek economy lacked 50 000 industrial workers. There was a complete lack of heavy industrial workers, especially in the field of metallurgy, the chemical industry and the clothing industry. To overcome this lack, foreign labour was imported. According to some newspapers, Africans were engaged to work as hotel servants, private servants and shipyard workers. In Larko's industry, one of the largest in Greece, Turkish labourers were employed.

It is difficult to write about the exact number of foreign workers employed in the Greek economy because there are no official statistics. On 19 February 1972, the "Acropol" newspaper wrote that 10 000 workers from Egypt obtained visas from the Greek Consul in Cairo. According to information from the same newspaper Athens had its own "Harlem" at Haidari, an Athenian suburb, where 2 000 African

workers from the Sudan, Zaire, Zambia, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Egypt lived.

According to statistics given in December 1972 by the Minister of Labour of the military government, the number of foreign labourers, mainly Africans, was about 20 000. (Source: Griechischer Wirtschaftsdiest, 1972.) Statistics relating to the enormous differences between the hourly wages in Germany (58 drachmas, about R1,50) and Greece (18 drachmas, about 50c) show why the huge emigration occurred during those years.

Thus the problem of the underdevelopment of the Greek industrial field, due to the lack of native labour, became an important one and is still an important problem today. It is a problem without a solution because of the lack of semi-skilled and unskilled workers which cannot be solved by the import of foreign labour or by conscription of semi-occupational landworkers or semi-occupational stock-breeders. The latter possibility would have demanded an increase of income to a level near to that of Western Europe. This would have resulted in the destruction of a great part of the Greek industry as far as their production was concerned because it was based on the low incomes paid to the workers. Therefore, it was in the interests of Greek industries to keep wages on a low level and that was only possible by the employment of cheaper foreign labour.

In the last part of this brief analysis of the causes of Greek emigration, the writer will try to analyse its consequences for the country of origin. The consequences for the country of reception, in this case South Africa, will be analysed in the following chapters.

The consequences for Greece are the following:

(A) From a study of Table 17 (which will be found on the next page) it will be realised that the total emigration from 1959 to 1965 amounted to more than the natural increase

Table 17: Emigration from the Large Greek Areas 1959-1964 (N.S.S.G.)
1972

AREAS	Population (Census 1961)	Population Natural Increase	Total Number of Emigration 1959-1964	Total Number of 15-44 Age Group (Census 1961)	Percentage of 15-44 Age Group of the Total Population
Athens - Suburbs	1 852,709	106,306	64,304	912,500	49,2
Rest of Sterea Hellas	970,949	60,720	13,381	420,100	43,2
Peloponnesus	1 096,390	63,788	41,956	431,600	39,3
Ionean Islands	212,573	9,533	10,201	83,400	32,2
Epirus	352,604	28,786	24,499	150,200	42,5
Thessalia	695,385	49,907	17,117	312,300	44,9
Macedonia	1 890,654	133,670	128,648	894,000	47,2
Thrace	365,555	29,008	31,655	160,400	44,9
Aegian Islands	477,476	18,563	22,947	181,700	38,0
Crete	483,528	30,466	12,014	199,500	41,2
No declared place of origin	-	-	53,262	-	-
Total	8 388,553	530,747	419,984	3 745,000	40,9

of population for the same period in at least three large areas of the country, i.e. the Ionian Islands, the Aegean Islands, and Thrace; and was almost equal to the natural increase in Macedonia. The mass analysis of the statistics shows the situation as being better than it really is, because in 1963 the percentage of emigration was actually greater than the natural increase of the population. (In 1963 the rate of emigration was 11,8 per thousand head of population while the natural increase was 9,6 per thousand. In 1964 the rate was 12,4 per thousand head for emigration, and 9,6 per thousand for natural increase. (Source: N S S G, 1972.) The fertility rate in Greece was continually dropping despite a greater number of women in the country between the ages of 15 and 44.

Professor N Valaoras wrote in 1965 in "New Economy" that 1 320 000 women in that period gave birth to 150 000 living babies but that, in 1928, 905 000 women had given birth to 200 000 living babies. Therefore it is clear that emigration is a main factor for the decrease in the rate of fertility, bearing in mind that 85% of emigrants belonged to the 15 to 44 age group. The fact that Greece today has as an average annual birth rate 2,2 per thousand head of population, thus placing her in last position among European countries, shows the great danger of the absolute diminution of her population. It is a great problem for her future development. It is important that the greater diminution occurred in the most important areas as viewed from both an economic and a national position. (See Tables 18 and 19.)

The large amount of emigration created great demographic problems which had not occurred anywhere else, except perhaps for the Italian Sicily or Catania areas. When one realises the fact that only three areas of the country have an annual population increase of 1%; 15 areas have an annual increase of 0,5% to 0,9%; 19 areas an increase below 0,5%; and 13 areas have no increase, it is easy to understand why the Greek rural areas are devastated. It is a well known fact that devastation has destructive consequences.

TABLE 18
 PERCENTAGE OF EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO
 PLACE OF ORIGIN 1955-1959 AND 1960-1966

AREA	YEARS	
	1955-1959 (%)	1960-1966 (%)
Stereia Hellas (Athens area)	27,4 (24,0)	18,9 (15,3)
Peloponnesus	14,4	10,6
Ionian Islands	1,8	2,9
Thessalia	1,6	4,6
Macedonia	16,1	32,9
Epirus	1,8	6,6
Crete	1,5	2,9
Aegean Islands	7,2	5,6
Thrace	11,2	6,9
Undeclared	17,0	8,1
Total	100,0	100,0

SOURCE: Maganara-Sorocos (1972).

TABLE 19
 PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE EMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO
 PLACE OF ORIGIN 1955-1959 AND 1960-1966

AREA	1955-1959		1960-1966	
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
Stereia Hellas (Athens area)	59,2 56,8	40,8 43,2	61,8 61,0	38,2 39,0
Peloponnesus	63,5	36,5	57,4	52,6
Ionian Islands	72,9	27,1	67,8	32,2
Thessalia	78,5	21,5	63,0	37,0
Macedonia	71,0	29,0	57,5	42,5
Epirus	85,7	14,3	65,8	34,2
Crete	68,8	31,2	68,6	31,4
Aegean Islands	65,1	35,9	58,6	41,4
Thrace	56,9	43,1	60,8	39,2
Undeclared	51,5	48,5	59,5	40,5

SOURCE: Maganara-Sorocos (1972).

(B) In the agricultural field, during the last two decades, the state tried to minimise the cereal production by stimulating production of agricultural produce which had export possibilities. In order to facilitate this, an increase of irrigated lands was planned - 5 370 000 acres - but unfortunately the effort was not successful. The production of cereal increased while the production of Indian corn, cotton, and olive oil increased to a lesser extent, or showed a large drop. That happened because, as Pepelassis and Giotopoulos stated (in 1962) for a programme to be created under the present conditions it would be necessary to increase the farmers' labour by one hundred percent. How could the workers' labour force be increased when emigration had devastated the rural areas?

Therefore it is easy to see why the agricultural problems could not be solved under these conditions. This fact, together with the growing urbanisation which directs the main investments into ownership of flats or building plots in the big cities, or ownership of land only for speculation, indicates the situation of the Greek agriculture, and predicts for it a dark future.

It is a fact that most of the landowners sold their land when they migrated. Therefore, it can be seen why certain kinds of feudal ownership were revived in the agricultural areas, much to their disadvantage.

Thus the consequences of emigration in that period show that the Greek agricultural areas could not have a use for capital intensive, a fact which has bad consequences for the agricultural economy of the country. Otherwise the minimisation of the labour force in the agricultural field excludes the intensity of cultivation because of the lack of a certain density of population in most of the rural areas of the country.

(C) The consequences of emigration are not so important in the transformation field - industry, handicrafts - as in the agricultural field. In the last few years it has become obvious that there has been an increase in the emigration of

skilled and semi-skilled workers - in 1963, 7000 and 9 000 in 1964. Because of the increasing numbers of this type of emigrant there is a lack of development opportunities for Greek industry. Otherwise, the notable fall of the medium level of occupied workers in the secondary field is the result of the continual emigration.

(D) Emigration abroad from a purely economic viewpoint has another consequence. It was the forerunner of new internal migration, increasing the urbanisation, and having as a result the increasing devastation of the rural areas. The hard work of the emigrants made it economically possible for members of their families to move to Athens and Salonica. This phenomenon increased the dislocation of the agricultural economy and created a kind of over-professionalism, especially in the tertiary field, i.e. commerce, transport services.

Some scientists insist that the remittances and incomes sent back to Greece by emigrants balance the difficulties which the Greek economy faces because of the great number of emigrants. It is a fact that there is an important increase in the money coming into Greece from this source.

TABLE 20
EVOLUTION OF EMIGRANTS' REMITTANCES
AND INCOMES IN MILLION DOLLARS

YEAR	EMIGRANT REMITTANCE (a)	INCOMES (b)	TOTAL (a+b)	CHANGES		
				(a)	(b)	(a+b)
1957	75,0	-	75,0	-	-	-
1958	76,7	1,3	78,0	1,7	1,3	3,0
1959	88,6	1,3	89,9	11,9	-	11,9
1960	90,4	4,1	94,5	1,8	1,8	2,6
1961	98,3	12,6	110,9	7,9	8,5	16,4
1962	117,2	24,3	141,5	18,9	11,7	30,6
1963	128,5	41,6	170,1	11,3	17,3	28,6
1964	116,4	63,1	179,5	12,1	21,5	9,4

SOURCE: Bank of Greece (1970).

The importance of those remittances and incomes could only be understood if analysed in conjunction with other incomes of the balance of payments, and especially in connection with the analysis of imports. P Merlopoulos, in 1965, wrote that the payments for imports of luxury goods and travel currency were in 1964, 168 287 thousand dollars, which shows that they were nearly equal to the remittances of the emigrants (116 400 thousand dollars) plus their incomes (63 100 thousand dollars). This means that the country loses in the import of luxury goods what it gains in profit from the emigrants' remittances.

The emigrants' remittances are spent mainly on immovable property, building plots, or urban flats. This has resulted in the increase of "building" investments. (In 1962, 6 024 million drachmas were spent on "building" investments coming from the total of private and public investments).

(E) The returning emigrants, having experienced a better way of life in foreign cities, found it impossible to live in the rural areas, therefore urbanisation increased. There is also the phenomenon of a greater amount of marginality because of the fact that the returning emigrants occupied themselves with small commercial businesses, resulting once again in the growth of the tertiary field.

(F) Emigration has tragic results for the family institution. The relationship between husband and wife is deeply affected when the husband emigrates alone because of the long period of separation. When both of them emigrate there are problems for their children who, when young, are dependent on their parents for a good education; and the parents do not always have the will or the time to provide this.

(G) Due to a huge "brain" emigration, the country loses a large number of intellectuals, who are mainly absorbed into the country of reception, with the consequence that there is a lack of good intellectuals in many scientific fields. (In 1975 there were 60 vacancies for professors, lecturers, and assistants in Greek universities.)

(H) There are a few more problems which mainly concern the new generations of emigrants of both sexes who lose their orientation into the functions and mechanisms of the foreign societies. The results of this are the phenomena of prostitution and hooliganism, which increase mainly among the younger emigrants.

This has been a brief analysis of the Greek emigration and its social and economic consequences. Perhaps some other elements might be mentioned here -- for example, the positive consequences of emigration, such as the skills of industrial workers which might help Greek industry should they decide to return. etc.

The main fact, however, as it has been analysed in the foregoing pages, shows that emigration, which constitutes a central politico-economic and social problem, does not have a solution at the present time. It must be seen, as it is in fact, as a consequence of the non-planned Greek economy. Therefore, it might be mentioned that the state must face up to this problem by the creation of the right opportunities for active participation of returning emigrants, and a plan for the improvement of the Greek economy. If not, the phenomenon will be continued to such a high degree that the researcher will realise that the statement which Fairchild wrote in 1911, i.e. "The huge immigration of Greeks threatens the existence of the nation," was indeed prophetic.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

I. A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To analyse the contemporary structure of a society, in our case a minority which lives and acts socially within a particular society, we must examine and analyse extensively the main phases from which this minority passed to reach its present formation.

We must analyse extensively the mechanisms which formed the contemporary social structure, i.e. the social conditions which the Greek immigrants faced in different periods of South African history; under what conditions the first immigrants arrived in South Africa; and the factors which forced them to become immigrants; and how the social institutions which constitute the social structure evolved.

It is easy to understand that there are differences between the social attitudes, status, stereotypes and expectations of the first immigrants and the new generations which are assimilated more or less into the South African society. In other words my belief is that an analysis of the historical process of Greek immigration to South Africa is not only useful but necessary.

An analysis of the historical background of Greek immigration is complex due to:

- (a) Lack of bibliography, not only scientific but also informative.
- (b) The difficulty of finding sources coming from the first immigrants who are no longer alive.

Thus, the main sources for this chapter are based on Greek newspapers - the first was established in Johannesburg in 1913 - and interviews with older immigrants.

Nicolaides (1923) wrote: "The first arrival took place in Cape Town where seamen from foreign ships disembarked and remained in Cape Town. The number of people who settled in this southernmost section of Africa cannot be accounted for prior to 1856." By 1888 there were about 20 Greeks in Kimberley searching for diamonds. There is no information about the social situation of the first Greeks in South Africa. In Johannesburg during 1896 there lived 70 Greeks, these having immigrated mainly from the Peloponnese. In 1891 about 15 individuals lived in Cape Town. The main occupation of these immigrants was ⁿowing cafes and fruit stores. In 1898 the first organic unity - The Mutual Help Organisation - was established by 60 Greeks in Cape Town. After the Anglo-Boer War in 1902, the Greek population of Cape Town stood at one thousand. In 1903 the first church foundations stone was laid.

During the period after the declaration of peace, a population movement took place from Cape Town to Johannesburg and the Transvaal area generally. This was due to the attraction of the gold mines and hopes of better opportunities for work.

Table 21 (see next page) developed from the information given by Nicolaides (1923) shows the number of Greek immigrants to South Africa up to 1923, their region of origin and the South African town in which they settled. Nicolaides in his book gives extensive details for the Greek individuals living all over South Africa, their families and their occupations.

At first glance the table shows that the greater number of immigrants came from the Peloponnese, Thessalia and the Ionic and Aegean Islands. The reasons which forced 369 632 people to leave Greece in the period 1900-1920 have already been mentioned in the first chapter. The same

TABLE 21: THE NUMBER OF GREEK IMMIGRANTS TO SOUTH AFRICA UP TO 1923, ACCORDING TO THEIR REGION OF ORIGIN AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN TOWN IN WHICH THEY SETTLED

	TOTAL	The Peloponnese	Sterea Hellas	Macedonia	Epirus	Thessalia	Crete	Aegian Island	Ionian Islands	Thrace	Asia Minor	Egypt	Cyprus
Port Elizabeth	10	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
East Rand	20	14	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	-	-
Brakpan	30	15	-	-	-	-	8	4	3	-	-	-	-
Krugersdorp	30	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-
Boksburg	61	20	5	-	10	-	5	15	15	-	-	-	-
Cape Town	300	85	25	5	5	-	-	90	80	5	-	-	-
Kimberley	30	10	-	-	-	-	-	4	10	-	6	-	-
Paarl	15	7	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-
Eloemfontein	50	30	5	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-
Durban	50	-	-	-	-	-	-	25	5	-	6	-	14
Pretoria	231	120	-	-	-	-	50	51	-	-	-	20	-
Johannesburg	650	180	-	10	-	20	95	195	150	-	-	-	-
Germiston	80	5	-	-	-	-	10	25	40	-	-	-	-
Benoni	30	8	-	-	-	-	4	8	10	-	-	-	-
Springs	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1 576	436	35	15	15	20	174	433	304	5	12	20	14

* Source: C G Nicolaides (1923)

reasons, i.e. poverty, expectation of a better way of life, possibilities of finding occupations easily, caused the first immigrants to come to South Africa. The greater number of them came from rural or semi-rural areas.

In the nineteen-thirties, 85% of the immigrants were either cafe owners or fruit and vegetable store owners, or a combination. Emil Added, 1973, writes that the two main factors responsible for this choice of occupation were:

- (a) The overwhelming majority of immigrants arriving in South Africa were formerly villagers whose work was of an agricultural nature, such as cultivation of olives or vineyards. The immigrants rarely had other skills. Intellectuals and professional people were not drawn to South Africa although they immigrated elsewhere. In many spheres people with academic qualifications from institutions other than those of the British Commonwealth were not permitted to follow their professions in South Africa. Furthermore, South Africa, not being a heavily industrialised country, did not attract trained technicians and skilled workers; the occupations open to newly arrived immigrants were therefore limited.
- (b) The second factor which influenced the choice of occupation concerned the personality and general orientation of the individual immigrants. The Greek peasant's characteristic of viewing others with suspicion was illustrated in his attitude to life in general and towards those of the wider community. Suspicion and tension, instilled in him from childhood, acquired additional reinforcement when as an immigrant he entered strange surroundings. The self-interest principle gained emphasis. From the very beginning his whole orientation was 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 social relationships.

Greek individualism explains the immigrant's orientation to café work. "The employer-employee relationship is foreign to his spirit . . . Any dependance on others would damage the self-esteem so precious to him . . ." Added, 1973.

It is true that Added's first point is basic and real, but he did not ask himself a very simple question, i.e. What was the choice of the peasant-immigrant in a new country without basic social help from friends or relatives? Cafes or vegetable stores were the only solution for him. It is the only logical explanation for Added's second explanation. The tendency of the Greek immigrant of that period to be self-employed is wellknown. He disliked the relationship of "employer-employee".

If we take Added's explanation as given, how could he explain the increasing co-operation among three or four Greeks in one cafe and their sharing the profits?

Added's second explanation is opposite to the first logical one according to the central occupational problem which everyone faces when he becomes an immigrant. This central problem, besides type of occupation, which immigrants everywhere face is that of economic survival. How could Added explain the occupation of about 50 Greek mining workers in the Transvaal during the period 1900-1920 who, for the sake of the high monthly profit, were working there without thought of their health which was being destroyed by "miners' phthisis"? (Nicolaidis, 1923.)

Until 1920, the aim of the Greek small shopowner was to make a profit, however small, from his efforts. That period was characterised by a lack of enterprising boldness on the part of Greek immigrants. A very logical explanation for this was the wish of most of them to return to their homeland. An investigation by the author among his respondents regarding their wish to return to Greece appears in Table 22. The attitudes of different generations appear very clearly in this table:

TABLE 22: Immigrants' attitudes toward returning to homeland

Period	Wish to return		Do not wish to return		Do not know		Total	
I	22	59,4	8	21,6	7	18,9	37	99,9
II	20	55,5	16	44,4	-	-	36	99,9
III	14	37,8	17	45,9	6	16,2	37	99,9
Sons and daughters	9	22,5	26	56,0	5	12,5	40	100,0

- (a) The older immigrants (mostly those who came in the first period) have expressed the desire to return.
- (b) The younger generation of immigrants (born in South Africa, and classified as sons and daughters) do not wish to return.

(Treating "wish to return" as the dependent variable, and period of immigration as the independent variable, we can calculate a Lambda sub c (λ_c). This results in a PRE coefficient of ,217.

$$c = \frac{E1 - E2}{E1}$$

$$E1 = 150 - 67 = 83$$

$$E2 = \begin{array}{r} \text{I} \\ \text{II} \\ \text{III} \\ \text{Sons \& daughters} \end{array} \begin{array}{r} 37 - 22 = 15 \\ 36 - 20 = 16 \\ 37 - 17 = 20 \\ 40 - 26 = 14 \end{array}$$

$$\frac{83 - 65}{83} = ,217$$

The social life of the Greek immigrants on the political level was dichotomous. As Nicolaides points out, besides the difficulties of economic and social survival, the Greeks of the early years had an active role not only in the political life of South Africa -- in the Anglo-Boer War for example many Greeks had an active role with both sides -- but often they also had political arguments and stable and clear attitudes about the political situation in Greece, which, during that period, was very complicated and serious. The struggle for power, before and after the First World War, was a common subject of discussion and argument among the immigrants. It is necessary to mention this fact because, as will be noted below, the new generations of Greek immigrants have less and less interest in the political situation of both South Africa and Greece -- see following chapter.

Since 1930 a new economic situation had arisen for the immigrants. They started to think about the increase of their investments and the first investment to extended business took place. (This applies to property as well.)

During the next ten years, until 1940, immigration to South Africa continued in the same manner. The increase of the immigrants' capital continued.

TABLE 23
GREEK IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA
FROM 1931 TO 1940

YEAR	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS
1931	39
1932	21
1933	26
1934	40
1935	74
1936	90
1937	31
1938	50
1939	19
1940	22
Total	412

SOURCE: Statistics of Migration
(Annual South African
Bulletin) 1930 to 1940.

During the war, the Greek immigrants played an active role as soldiers against Fascism in Greece and in South Africa. After the war immigration to South Africa continued in low but stable numbers. (See Table 24.)

During the decade 1960 to 1970, the biggest flow of Greek immigrants to South Africa took place. (Table 25.)

The large number of Greek immigrants coming to South Africa was due to two main factors:

- (a) The import of new Greek capital to the country and the creation of Greek industries in South Africa requiring not only a labour force but also skilled and semi-skilled workers.
- (b) The increasing import of Greek technicians and artisans whom the South African government allowed

TABLE 24
EMIGRATION FROM GREECE TO SOUTH AFRICA
FROM 1948 TO 1960

YEAR	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	VISITORS
1948	137	64
1949	47	26
1950	92	66
1951	111	76
1952	131	95
1953	115	62
1954	173	64
1955	234	54
1956	289	76
1957	266	121
1958	196	89
1959	235	104
Total	2 026	897
Total of immigrants and visitors = 2 923		

SOURCE: Statistics of Migration 1948 to 1960.

TABLE 25
EMIGRATION FROM GREECE TO SOUTH AFRICA
FROM 1960 TO 1970

YEAR	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	VISITORS
1960	315	179
1961	694	146
1962	511	302
1963	1 207	350
1964	1 679	943
1965	1 740	1 063
1966	1 507	731
1967	995	478
1968	1 071	265
1969	894	199
1970	492	173

SOURCE: (a) Statistics of Migration, 1960 to 1970.
(b) Census of South African Statistics, 1960 to 1970.

into the country during the middle sixties because of increasing industrialisation. Therefore we can see, for example, the number of artisans and technicians in the table below.

TABLE 26
THE NUMBER OF GREEK TECHNICIANS ENTERING
SOUTH AFRICA DURING 1963 - 1969

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	NUMBER OF TECHNICIANS
1963	1 207	86
1964	1 679	475
1965	1 740	19
1966	1 507	421
1967	995	225
1968	1 071	253
1969	894	223

SOURCE: Statistics of Migration, 1963 to 1970.

Therefore the social composition of the immigrants changed with the import of skilled and semi-skilled workers who came mainly from urban Greek areas.

It must be mentioned that the numbers represented in the statistical elements do not represent the real number of immigrants if we bear in mind that a lot of visitors coming for vacations obtained permanent visas after six months, thus increasing the real number of immigrants.

The newcomers social strata and the increasing number of the semi-skilled, skilled and professionals in the second generation strata, as well as the sons and daughters of the second generation graduating from universities and technical colleges created the "new petty bourgeoisie" of the Greek immigrants. Its social characteristics and attitudes within the South African society will be analysed in the last chapter.

During the period after the war, and because of the lack of industrialisation of the Greek economy and because of the civil war and its consequences, a number of Greek industrialists invested their capital in South Africa. Thus the first Greek industries - mainly of light production - and the first Greek corporations were created. Another element for the creation of Greek light production industries was the import of Greek-Egyptian capital into South Africa after Nassar's revolution. Also, in the sixties, some Greek immigrants and Greek-Egyptians invested capital in the agricultural field of production, creating a number of large farms.

The population of the Greek minority in the other two long periods from 1930 to 1950 and from 1950 to 1974 is presented in Table 27.

TABLE 27
GREEK POPULATION IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1930 TO 1974

Town	1930 TO 1950	1950 TO 1974
Johannesburg	3 500	40 000
Pretoria	650	4 000
Cape Town	400	4 000
Durban	250	4 000
Port Elizabeth	300	1 500
East Rand	-	1 500
Bloemfontein	50	2 800
Welkom	150	1 250
Orange Free State	-	500
Vereeniging	-	1 500
Germiston	250	1 800
Rustenberg	20	1 800
Alberton	-	600
Klerksdorp	-	500
Brakpan	300	500
Springs	200	550
Benoni	550	350
Other towns	350	650
Total	6 970	67 800

SOURCE: Michael Papamichael, 1951, for the first period. Reports of Greek communities of South Africa for second period.

(It must be mentioned that these numbers are not exact because there are no official statistics for either of these period.)

During the last period, i.e. 1968 to 1976, there is an increasing tendency of Greek immigrants, especially the older ones, to return to their homeland. Hundreds of immigrants take the decision to return to Greece for retirement or because they are afraid of the present situation in Rhodesia. On the other hand, hundreds of Greek-Rhodesians are emigrating to South Africa. (Unfortunately there is no statistical information and data for the number of emigrants from Rhodesia.)

TABLE 28
GREEK IMMIGRANTS RETURNING TO GREECE
FROM 1968 TO 1974

YEAR	NUMBER OF RETURNING IMMIGRANTS
1968	165
1969	235
1970	276
1971	242
1972	383
1973	277
1974	220
Total	1 798

SOURCE: N S S G (1975).

II. SOCIAL MOBILITY

To end this brief historical background, the author will try to analyse the social mobility of Greek immigrants in South Africa. It may be asked why this analysis appears in the present chapter and not in the chapter on the analysis of the social strata of the Greek minority group. The reason is that it is more useful to have discussed the problem of

social mobility and some of its specific consequences (for example, assimilation) before analysing role differentiations or status differentiations among the strata of the Greek minority.

It has been a useful practice among sociologists or other social scientists when using the term "social mobility" to mean "occupational mobility". This means that social mobility, a multi-dimensional problem, is faced only by its one-dimensional side, i.e. occupational mobility. This theoretical and methodological approach - the analysis of occupational mobility only - is wrong because social mobility results in the changing, not only of occupation, but political attitudes, norms and values and social roles as well. For a social scientist who wishes to make a detailed analysis of social mobility three main problems arise:

- (a) How much mobility?
- (b) What causes account for the rate of mobility?
- (c) What consequences follow mobility?

In the present part of this thesis, the author will try to analyse the first two questions, while the third will be analysed in the next chapter dealing with assimilation, socialisation, family, etc.

Many discussions have taken place concerning the problem of mobility. It appears that most authors agree that social mobility might be analysed not only on the theoretical level but on the methodological level as well. Many sociologists with extremely different theoretical approaches - from Miller (1956), Bendix and Lipset (1961) and Mayer and Muller (1975) having the "ruling class" point of view, to Resler and Wastergaard (1972), Wastergaard (1974) and Tumin (1968) having the Marxian or "semi-Marxian" point of view and the Neo-Weberian point of view - agree that it is not enough to examine and investigate social mobility through the theoretical approach only. Statistical data and empirical analysis are necessary.

In analysing social mobility, the levels and kinds of mobility must first be investigated. First of all, is the social mobility of the Greeks in South Africa an individual or a strata mobility? Secondly, what kind of mobility must we analyse in order to insure that we have given the reader a total picture of mobility? The author will try to analyse individual social mobility among the Greeks because he does not believe that the upward mobility which took place after 1955 to the present time is a strata mobility compared, for example, with the strata mobility of the Afrikaner middle strata after the strikes of 1913 to 1914 in the East Rand, and after the Industrial Conciliation Act passed by the Smuts government, and the establishment of the white labour policy by the same government in 1924 (Eduard Roux, 1948). For example, in 1907 there was a low number of Afrikaner mineworkers but, in 1914, 75% of the mine supervisors and head artisans were Afrikaners (Webster, 1974).

Analysing again the elements of social mobility the author will examine and investigate educational mobility and occupational mobility. Many sociologists analyse further elements, such as residential mobility, status mobility, etc. The author, however, does not consider that residential mobility is a main element of social mobility because he views residential mobility as a real consequence of occupational mobility, status mobility, etc.

Coming to the empirical study of mobility of the Greeks in South Africa, the author would like to mention a phenomenon which he thinks is very important for the analysis of occupational mobility.

As will be shown below, during the years 1960 to 1970 (and even in earlier years), many artisans, technicians and production workers arrived in the country. Many of them immediately or very soon became cafe or small shop owners. This occurred for two specific reasons:

- (a) The level of technical education in Greece is extremely low. This fact resulted in the inability of technical school graduates (newcomers) to find

occupations congruent with their qualifications which, in practice, were not as stated in their papers.

(b) They wished to earn more money to return to Greece, most of them initially being "temporary immigrants". Bearing in mind that a skilled white worker in South Africa earns from R350 to R500 per month, and comparing this with the monthly profit of a medium sized cafe-shop - averaging from R1 000 to R1 500 or more - the tendency of skilled and semi-skilled workers to seek occupations in this latter field can be readily understood.

Another important fact that must be mentioned before coming to the analysis of intragenerational and intergenerational mobility is the tendency of the immigrants from the rural areas and the urban areas (but not to a higher percentage than the rural area newcomers), to have different occupations in South Africa from the ones they had in Greece. For example, land workers or fishermen usually became cafe owners, etc.

As has already been mentioned in the historical background, after the decade 1930 to 1940, many Greek small shopowners started to extend their businesses, and artisans later became small shopowners. Therefore the first problem to analyse is the intragenerational mobility, i.e. the change from one occupation to another.

(A) Intragenerational Mobility

As mentioned, the first element that will be analysed is intragenerational mobility. To illustrate this (as well as educational and occupational social mobility) the author will use different tables for Cape Town and Johannesburg, to give a clearer picture of the phases of mobility in the two areas.

A problem which arises from this analysis is the previous occupation of the small cafe-owners prior to their emigration to South Africa. In the tables, previous occupations in South Africa will be shown and, below the tables,

previous occupations in Greece will be shown.

Intragenerational mobility of the Greeks in Johannesburg is shown in Table 29 (see next page). Briefly, the conclusions drawn from the table are that:

- (a) Most of the property owners and extended businessmen were previously small shopowners. The term "extended business" means large supermarkets, large restaurants, a chain of large or small shops, etc.
- (b) Skilled and semi-skilled workers tend to become cafe-owners for the reasons already mentioned.

Intragenerational mobility of the Greeks in Cape Town is shown in Table 30. Analysing this table, the conclusions which can be drawn are that:

- (a) Most of the property owners and individuals who are occupied in extended business were previously small shopowners.
- (b) Skilled and semi-skilled workers tend to occupy themselves with small business; and others, who were previously engaged on the land in Greece, together with other middle class strata males, tend to follow occupations different from those followed in Greece.

The consequences of this kind of mobility will be analysed in the final chapter of this study.

(B) Educational and Intergenerational Occupational Mobility

It is wellknown and more or less accepted that the relationship between the educational and occupational systems is one of mutual dependence, because the latter relies essentially upon the former for its supply of personnel.

Analysing an industrialised society - in this particular case the South African society - it must be accepted that education gives more opportunities for graduates from technical colleges and universities to be absorbed by the increasing growth of the tertiary field of production, and

TABLE 20: INTRAGENERATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE GREEK IMMIGRANTS (EXCLUDED ALL OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF PRESENT JOB	OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF PREVIOUS JOBS									
	Shopkeepers	Property	Factory	White Collar	Extended Business	Self-Employed Skilled	Employed Semi-Skilled	Employed Skilled	Professionals	TOTAL
Shopkeepers	40*	-	-	-	-	6	10	8	-	64
Property	28	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	32
Factory	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
White Collar	-	-	-	12	-	-	4	-	-	16
Extended Business	17	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	20
Self-Employed Skilled	3	-	-	-	-	5	3	4	-	15
Employed Semi-Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Employed Skilled	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Professionals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
167										

* Previous occupation of the 40 shopkeepers, i.e. their occupations in Greece:

a.	Land workers	18	45%
b.	Small shop owners	5	12½%
c.	Sailors, etc.	4	10%
d.	Unemployed	13	32½%
Total		40	100%

TABLE 30 : UNTRAGENERATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG THE GREEK IMMIGRANTS (EXCLUDED ALL OCCUPATIONS OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF PRESENT JOB	OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF PREVIOUS JOBS									TOTAL
	Shop-keepers	Property	Factory	White collar	Extended business	Self-employed skilled	Employed semi-skilled	Employed skilled	Professionals	
Shopkeepers	16 +	-	-	-	-	4	3	5	-	28
Property	7	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	11
Factory	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
White collar	-	-	-	10	-	-	2	-	-	12
Extended business	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
Self-employed skilled	1	-	-	-	-	2	4	4	-	11
Employed semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Employed skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	-	7
Professionals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	14
										96

+ Previous occupations of the 16 shop-keepers, i.e. their occupations in Greece:

a. Land workers	8	50,00%
b. Small shop-owners	6	37,5 %
c. Unemployed	2	12,5 %
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	TOTAL	16 100,00%
		<hr/>

especially by the governmental bureaucracy or into the skilled and semi-skilled occupations.

In analysing the structure of the Greek minority it must be accepted that the first or second generation immigrants entered South African society on the lowest rung of the occupational and status ladder. However, the native-born children of the immigrants, who generally received a better education than had their parents and who were assimilated more or less into the South African language and behaviour, were able to rise economically and socially as the national economy expanded.

The educational level is considered by many sociologists to be probably the major factor for upward mobility. Thomas, 1956, while analysing the connections and directions of education as a main factor for upward mobility concluded that: "Educational attainment is a major determinant of career patterns."

Kerr et al, 1960, indicate that:

" Education is intended to reduce the scarcity of skilled persons and this then reduces the wage and salary differentials they receive; it also pulls people out of the least skilled and most disagreeable occupations and raises wage levels."

Reiss, 1961, points out that:

" Both individual income and educational attainment which are used as measures of socio-economic status, are known to be correlated with occupational ranks and both can be seen as aspects of occupational status since education is a basis for entry into many occupations and for most people income is derived by occupation. "

Of course there are a number of theoretical differentiations for the social role of education in the contemporary society as a mechanism for the reproduction of the stability of the social classes and the domination of the ruling classes over the working class analysed basically in connection with the "equality of opportunity". (For example, see Wastegaard and Resler, 1972, or "Manifesto", 1974.). Poulantzas (1975) points out that: "Because of the reproduction

of the social classes the bourgeois remains bourgeois as well as their sons and the proletarian remains proletarian as well as his children."

Even that point of view, i.e. the Marxian point of view, which is expressed in different terms by some "conservative" sociologists such as S M Miller (1956) who questions "the equality of opportunity in the capitalistic society between a working class child and a well-to-do child", does not reject that social mobility exists.

The Marxists simply try to show that "social stratification" is a trick of the ruling class and its theorists (sociologists, social scientists) to perpetuate its domination over the working class.

The educational mobility of daughters will be analysed in relation to that of their fathers, followed by educational mobility of sons. This will be done to show the breakaway of the Greek daughters from the traditional limitations over them of the fathers and the family generally. These limitations come directly from the very structure of the Greek family (i.e. a limited education for the daughters and the conservative attitudes towards their social roles, norms, etc.).

It must also be mentioned that the analysis of inter-generational mobility will be made separately for the two largest Greek communities in South Africa (Johannesburg and Cape Town) so as to show and understand the differentiations arising from the comparison. (Table 31.)

Analysing this data we can understand how the new Greek generation of daughters has in the long run broken the chains of traditional family oppression and influence.

Another main characteristic shown by the table is that the percentage of well-educated daughters is larger in Johannesburg than in Cape Town. There is a logical explanation for this. Cape Town is the centre of the rural area orientated Greek people who have stronger feelings for the

traditional Greek peasant ideas about the future of, and their expectations for, their daughters. Another explanation is the higher level of education of the fathers in Johannesburg compared with the educational level of the parent respondents in Cape Town.

TABLE 31
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG FATHERS AND DAUGHTERS
IN CAPE TOWN AND JOHANNESBURG

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	FATHERS		DAUGHTERS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
<u>CAPE TOWN</u>				
No primary school	9	29,0	-	-
Primary school	12	38,7	5	13,1
High school	10	32,2	17	44,7
Technical college	-	-	8	21,0
University	-	-	8	21,0
Total	31	99,9	38	99,8
<u>JOHANNESBURG</u>				
No primary school	-	-	-	-
Primary school	17	51,5	1	2,3
High school	13	39,3	10	23,2
Technical college	3	9,0	15	34,8
University	-	-	17	39,5
Total	33	99,8	43	99,8

Examining the educational mobility of the sons and fathers in the two large Greek communities of South Africa, the following table emerges (see next page).

Analysing this data it is seen that the same thing occurs here as in the educational mobility of the daughters.

There is a difference between the numbers of university graduates in the two centres, i.e. 60% in Johannesburg and only 34% in Cape Town.

TABLE 32
EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG FATHERS AND SONS
IN CAPE TOWN AND JOHANNESBURG

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	FATHERS		SONS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
<u>CAPE TOWN</u>				
No primary school	11	27,5	4	8,0
Primary school	13	32,5	2	4,0
High school	13	32,5	20	40,0
Technical college	3	7,5	7	14,0
University	-	-	18	34,0
Total	40	100,0	51	100,0
<u>JOHANNESBURG</u>				
No primary school	12	15,0	-	-
Primary school	24	30,0	-	-
High school	22	27,5	14	16,0
Technical college	14	17,5	20	22,9
University	8	10,0	53	60,9
Total	80	100,0	87	99,8

The same explanation could be given for the educational mobility of the sons as for the daughters. The older Greek immigrants and the Greek immigrants of the second generation, not being so assimilated with the South African way of life, would prefer their sons to be sufficiently educated to earn "the daily bread" without having a higher education, "bearing in mind" as one respondent said, "that South Africa at the moment is not good for the highly qualified people but for people with brains and hard work. It is a country of opportunity, and to live here a rich man has no need to be a doctor or a lawyer. Business is the thing . . ."

Coming now to occupational mobility, the distribution of the fathers' occupations as compared with the daughters' and sons' occupations in the larger Greek communities of South Africa, will again be examined.

Table 33 indicates the occupational mobility among fathers and daughters in both Cape Town and Johannesburg.

TABLE 33
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG FATHERS AND DAUGHTERS
IN CAPE TOWN AND JOHANNESBURG

OCCUPATION	FATHERS		DAUGHTERS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
<u>CAPE TOWN</u>				
Shopowners	26	76,4	-	-
Artisans	2	5,8	-	-
Technicians	3	8,8	-	-
Professionals	3	8,8	17	44,7
White collar workers	-	-	10	26,3
Non-economically active	-	-	11	28,9
Total	34	99,8	38	99,9
<u>JOHANNESBURG</u>				
Shopowners	17	48,5	-	-
Artisans	1	2,8	-	-
Technicians	2	5,7	-	-
Professionals	13	37,1	23	52,2
White collar workers	2	5,7	21	47,7
Non-economically active	-	-	-	-
Total	35	99,8	44	99,9

Analysing and comparing this data the differentiations and similarities in occupational mobility between the daughters in Johannesburg and Cape Town can be seen.

- (a) There are in Cape Town a great number of non-economically active females whose occupation is mainly that of housewife (most of whom offer their help in the small business of their husbands). The opposite occurs in Johannesburg where 15 out of 35 respondents continued to work after marriage.
- (b) The increasing tendency of Greek females to become professional or white collar workers can be clearly seen. Thus the conclusion of Miller (1956) and

Bendix and Lipset (1961) that tertiary employment is the characteristic employment for women in highly industrialised societies seems to be correct in this case.

Table 34 shows the occupational mobility among fathers and sons in Cape Town and Johannesburg.

TABLE 34
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG FATHERS AND SONS
IN CAPE TOWN AND JOHANNESBURG

OCCUPATION	FATHERS		SONS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
<u>CAPE TOWN</u>				
Shopowners	28	73,6	-	-
Artisans	2	5,2	-	-
Technicians	3	7,8	5	10,0
Professionals	4	10,5	30	60,0
White collar workers	1	2,6	15	30,0
Total	38	97,7	50	100,0
<u>JOHANNESBURG</u>				
Shopowners	29	36,7	-	-
Artisans	6	7,5	-	-
Technicians	4	5,0	1	1,1
Professionals	23	29,1	55	61,7
White collar workers	17	21,5	33	37,0
Total	79	99,8	89	99,8

Analysing the data, the following conclusions are arrived at:

- (a) The new Greek generations prefer non-manual occupations (similar to their fathers).
- (b) Only a very small number of sons choose the same occupation as their fathers.
- (c) A larger percentage of sons tend to become professionals.

Social mobility has no single function; it has

consequences and results as well.

After that brief analysis, one could probably argue that the Greek "cafe-owner" background is a thing of the past. Through social mobility new strata were created, strata with different values and norms, and a more or less different culture and language.

This problem of assimilation must be analysed in relation to the next chapter, which deals with socialisation, the functions of the Greek family, the South African school, and the Greek Orthodox Church.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIALISATION AND ASSIMILATION

I. METHODOLOGY

The first problem that arises when a researcher tries to analyse socialisation is undoubtedly the problem of methodology. It is a difficult problem which is analysed and researched by many social scientists (sociologists, social psychologists, education researchers and social anthropologists) having several main theoretical and methodological tendencies, e.g., the behaviourists or learning theorists, the social learning theorists and the symbolic interactionists, to name a few.

This present analysis of the socialisation process of the Greek individual in South African society is not based on any of these theories. The problem for a researcher, in this author's opinion, is not to be dogmatic towards one or another theory. The major task is to be critical and the author's effort has been directed towards analysing this phenomenon without having a specific model as some ideal type.

The socialisation process analysis of the forties and fifties was based on the maternal report. The theoretical framework of the researchers was given and the only problem was the report of the child's mother. This kind of research had a lot of difficulties and generally the conclusions of the research proved to be false. So one had the problem of inaccurate information coming from the mother, even concerning objective and factual matters like the child's health, his sleeping habits and childhood traumata as Yarrow

(1964) and others showed. Furthermore, there were enormous individual differences among mothers regarding the consistency of their reports from one interview to another (Hayard, Brekstad and Skarda, 1960). These sociologists argued that more or less (and one could say that their points are absolutely right) those interviews give a false picture of the socialisation process because every mother wants to be a "good" mother rather than to present the real conditions of her child's socialisation process. But, apart from that kind of unreliability of the mother's report, there is a necessity for the researcher to question himself about her ability to make the right and relevant observations in the first place (both regarding her attitudes towards the child and the child's behaviour and habits).

Another common method of analysis and research of the socialisation process is the laboratory method. A number of sociologists or psychologists try to explain the socialisation process not only through examination of the home life of the family but even by investigation through laboratory experiments. Then, through various methods (investigation, systematic experimental manipulations, etc.) they try to show the phases and aspects of the socialisation process.

There is no need to mention the problems arising from that kind of research and investigation, the major one being that of artificiality. No-one can believe that the behaviour of a child in the laboratory will be the same as in the home. Mother and child are likely to be on their best behaviour in front of the experimenter. Of course the experimental method has many advantages in comparison with interviewing only the mother. Nevertheless, a researcher could say that there is a problem and that the socialisation process could not be analysed by those two methods alone.

"The Alternative Techniques"

It could not be insisted that the clinical case study or the interview research are not valuable sources for the investigation of the socialisation process. The problem is that through these kinds of research one can only speak with

incomplete generalisations. This is the standpoint of those theorists and researchers who use this kind of analysis. They generalise the attitudes and the reactions of the child, insisting that there are universal laws in the socialisation process. This is not true. Probably children all around the world have the same reactions in the first days or months of life, i.e. they smile at a familiar person or they are happy when they have a toy, etc. But in the author's opinion it is wrong to suggest that an Afrikaner child has the same socialisation process as a Greek or a Portuguese child.

Undoubtedly the socialisation process is ongoing, occurring in different cultural and social contexts. Therefore it is hard to say that a researcher could analyse the socialisation process of the children of a minority group (in this present case, the Greek children or adults) only by using clinical or laboratory experiments, or only by interviews with their mothers.

It is the author's opinion (and he worked on that basis to analyse the socialisation process of the Greek children, adults and generally the new Greek generations) that the researcher should work in the places where the process of socialisation takes place. In other words, living with families in their everyday life as a guest; attending functions of the Greek and South African schools where Greek children are studying; attending Greek Orthodox Church services and Sunday schools; interacting with peer groups of all ages from eight-year-old children to university students; attending meetings of cafe-owners; attending weddings; going to the Green Point stadium to watch "Hellenic" play soccer; and by attending functions of the organic Greek Unities, i.e. the Greek Communities, the Greek Students' organisations, the Greek Ladies associations, etc.

The author believes that no-one could understand the children's way of thinking or reacting without working and playing with them. Therefore this can be done by talking with the children, watching television with them, reading

Greek myths to them, or reading the Greek and English school books with them. On this point the author agrees with du Preez (1976) who writes:

" In early psychoanalysis the infant and even the child were creatures of theory based on work with adults. This has almost always been the fate of childhood. Theorists do not listen to children. They prefer to read about them or talk about them. //

The author had no problem in this respect. He talked with them and listened to them. The results of this is one of the bases of this chapter.

II. SOME ASPECTS CONCERNING THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ANALYSIS

Before starting on the analysis of the socialisation process of the Greeks in South Africa, a concrete idea of how the analysis will take place will be given.

As has already been stated, one cannot analyse the social structure of an ethnic minority group in a particular society without analysing, even in brief terms, the structure of the larger community. How can one, for example, analyse the contradictory functions of the traditional Greek family and the South African school as socialising agents, without analysing the structure and function of the South African educational system? Or, how can one analyse the mass media influence upon a child or a Greek adult without analysing the role of the mass media in that particular society?

Lippitt (1968) points out that each one from the following clusters has a programme of socialisation, more or less planned and more or less formally presented as a programme, to influence the growth and development of information, attitudes, values and behaviour of the younger members of the "socialisation community" as he calls the socialisation process.

- (a) The family.
- (b) The formal educational system, private and public.
- (c) The churches.
- (d) The leisure time agencies with the recreational,

cultural and character education programme.

- (e) The social control and protection agencies such as the police, judicial courts, traffic safety agents, etc.
- (f) The therapeutic, special correction and re-socialisation services such as counsellors, remedial clinics and programmes for the handicapped.
- (g) Employment offices and work supervisors who hire the youth and supervise them on their paid jobs.
- (h) Political leaders who have an interest in involving the young in political activities such as civil rights protests, etc.

Two additional socialisers are:

- (i) The subculture of the parents.
- (j) The subculture of similar age and older groups.

This scheme is very detailed. One could state that the main socialisers, for example, are: (a) The family, and (b) The social environment including all the other factors (work, school, peer groups, etc.).

The author contends that the points coming from Lippitt's work are unfinished, i.e. he has forgotten to mention some important socialisation agents such as:

- (i) Social mobility.
- (ii) The economic situation of the children's family.
- (iii) Social class.
- (iv) Mass media and communication agents in general.

The analysis of this chapter is based mainly on the analysis of the functions of the Greek family (traditional and new), the functions of the South African and Greek schools in South Africa, and with special focus on other important socialisation agents such as the Greek Orthodox Church, mass media, and the peer groups. These special focuses have a great importance for the whole framework of the thesis because the author would like to analyse the contradictory functions of the traditional Greek-South African family (first and second generations of the Greek immigrants) and the new Greek-South African family (third and fourth

generations) in relation to the increasing assimilation that takes place in all spheres of the social life of the Greek immigrants; the contradictory functions of the South African schools versus the Greek family functions, and the Greek schools' functions as another major factor of assimilation will also be analysed.

As the final point, the author has focused especially on the political socialisation of the Greeks in South Africa because, after a clear viewpoint of the socialisation process, that issue was found to be very important for the creation of the whole analysis.

III. THE GREEK FAMILY AS A SOCIALISER

It is something concrete to say that family and family functions and structures are the first step for the intellectual and moral development of the child. Clausen (1968) gives a concrete picture about the types of tasks of early childhood socialisation in the family (Table 35).

In the opinion of the writer, this table is very generalised without stating exact cultural characteristics that the family gives, cultural characteristics which are important for the evolution of the social character of the children. These characteristics are:

- (a) The basic elements of the social pyramid and dependence (lower-upper, small-big, strong-weak).
- (b) The basic syntax of speech (language).
- (c) The basic elements of relations and social hierarchy of the roles of the sexes (father-mother, male-female, boy-girl).

In starting to analyse the structures and functions of the Greek family in South Africa, it must be mentioned that it would be a great mistake, not only logically but methodologically as well, to analyse in the same terms the traditional Greek family and the family of the third or fourth generation Greeks. This fact will be analysed and shown

during the evolution of the research.

TABLE 35

PARENTAL AIM OR ACTIVITY	CHILD'S TASK OR ACHIEVEMENT
(a) Provision of nurturance and physical care	(a) Accepting of nurturance, development of trust
(b) Training and channeling of physiological needs in toilet training, weaning, provision of solid foods, etc.	(b) Control of the expression of biological impulses; learning acceptable channels and times of gratification
(c) Teaching and skill-training in language, perceptual skills, physical skills, self-care skills, insure safety, etc.	(c) Learning to recognise objects and cues; language learning; learning to work, negotiate obstacles, dress, etc.
(d) Orientating the child to his immediate world of kin, neighbourhood, community and society and to his own feelings	(d) Developing a cognitive map of one's social world; learning to fit behaviour to situational demands
(e) Transmitting cultural and subcultural goals and values and motivating the child to accept them for his own	(e) Developing a sense of right and wrong; developing goals and criteria for choices, investment of effort for the common good
(f) Promoting interpersonal skills, motives and modes of feeling and behaving in relation to others	(f) Learning to take the perspective of another person; responding selectively to the expectation of others
(g) Guiding, correcting and helping the child to formulate his own goals and plan his own activities	(g) Achieving a measure of self-regulation and criteria for evaluating own performance

Starting the analysis of the traditional Greek family with a more or less peasant background, mention should first be made of the "cultural lag" of the parents as a result of their hard work in the cafes and other small shops which was a barrier to the complete socialisation of the children. If it is realised that even the wife of the Greek cafe-owner used to work (and continues to do so) in the cafes, it can

be understood how the South African school and its functions as a socialiser superseded the functions of the family as the first step to cultural assimilation. (This point will be extensively analysed in the section on the school as a socialiser.)

The above hypothesis does not mean that all families do not try to pass on to their children the Greek culture, customs, norms and values. In fact, the exact opposite occurs. Even in their limited hours of communication with their children, parents endeavour to teach them the correct way of behaviour and the first steps of the Greek language and culture.

The first stream of Greek immigration to South Africa, homogeneous in its nature, was a contra-factor for the assimilation (cultural or structural) of the new generation, a fact which does not exist any more. Of course, the functions of the family in those early years had all the characteristics which have more or less disappeared in the present time - for example, the barriers to the daughters' education, the custom of the dowry, etc. (The homogeneity of immigrants, together with the preference for living in the same residential areas, turned out to be one of the major contra-factors against assimilation as it has been shown by Vlachos (1975) in an analysis of the psycho-socio-historical aspects of the Greek community in America.)

Another factor which must be mentioned here is the contribution which the children made to their fathers' work, a phenomenon which has almost disappeared today and of which Added (1973) writes extensively in his thesis. This phenomenon, i.e. the present-day non-participation of the children in their fathers' businesses, is directly linked to the expectations of all parents (whatever their own professions) for their sons' and daughters' future careers. (See Tables 36 and 37.)

From an analysis of these tables concerning the cafe or other shop owners' attitudes towards their children's work

TABLE 36: Expectations of parents for their sons' occupational career

Parents' Occupation

Expectation	Shop Owner		Professional		Technician		White Collar		Artisan		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Business career	19	31,6	6	20,0	3	20,0	6	20,0	1	6,6	35	23,3
Professional	15	25,0	13	43,3	2	13,3	2	6,6	2	13,3	34	22,6
White collar	7	11,6	5	16,6	-	-	2	6,6	-	-	14	9,3
Skilled worker	1	1,6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0,6
Whatever he is gifted for	10	16,6	4	13,3	1	6,6	1	3,3	1	6,6	17	11,3
No response	8	13,3	2	6,6	9	60,0	19	63,3	11	73,3	49	32,6
Total	60	99,7	30	99,8	15	99,9	30	99,8	15	99,8	150	99,7

TABLE 37: Expectations of fathers for their daughters' occupational or other career

Parents' Occupation

Expectation	Shop Owner-		Professional		Technician		White Collar		Artisan		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Housewife	27	45,0	6	20,0	1	6,6	4	13,3	5	33,3	43	28,6
Professional	10	16,6	18	60,0	-	-	2	6,6	3	20,0	33	22,0
White Collar	8	13,3	3	10,0	-	-	2	6,6	-	-	13	8,6
Whatever she is gifted for	1	1,6	2	6,6	2	13,3	2	6,6	1	6,6	8	5,3
No response	14	23,3	1	3,3	12	80,0	20	66,6	6	40,0	53	35,3
Total	60	99,8	30	99,9	15	99,9	30	99,7	15	99,9	150	99,8

TABLE 38: Attitudes of shopowners towards their sons' and daughters' work in their shops (all periods of arrival)

Questions	Response	PERIOD I		PERIOD II		PERIOD III		SONS AND DAUGHTERS		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Would you like your son working in your shop?	Yes	2	6,2	-	-	-	-	1	20,0	3	5,0
	No	23	71,8	10	66,3	5	62,5	4	80,0	42	70,0
	No response	7	21,8	5	33,3	3	37,5	-	-	15	25,0
Would you like your daughter working in your shop?	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	No	25	78,1	10	66,6	5	62,5	5	100,0	45	75,0
	No response	7	21,8	3	33,3	3	37,5	-	-	15	25,0
Would you like your son taking your position in the shop?	Yes	2	6,2	1	6,6	-	-	1	20,0	4	6,6
	No	23	71,8	9	60,0	5	62,5	4	80,0	41	68,3
	No response	7	21,8	5	33,3	3	37,5	-	-	15	25,0
Would you like your daughter taking your position in the shop?	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	No	25	78,1	10	33,3	5	62,5	5	100,0	45	75,0
	No response	7	21,8	5	66,6	3	37,5	-	-	15	25,0

in the family business, it may be concluded that family socialisation is based on the expectation of the parents for the "escape" of their children from the "Greek cafe-owner" background (see Table 38). As already noted in the analysis of social mobility, to "escape" is a real fact.

In examining these tables one notes, first of all, that the main tendency of fathers of all periods is that they do not want their children (either boys or girls) to work in their cafe-shops. There is an absolutely negative answer from them regarding the question about the girls' position, and a more or less absolute negative position in their attitudes to their sons' work in the stores. This does not mean that there are no sons or even daughters working in their fathers' small shops (Added very characteristically mentioned this). But, at the present time, the number of children helping in their parents' shops has definitely decreased.

The following table (Quail, 1971) illustrates the different socialisation process of the Portuguese children working for money in their fathers' shops in comparison to the Greek youth:

TABLE 39
FREQUENCY OF WORK FOR MONEY AFTER SCHOOL
HOURS - PORTUGUESE YOUTH

	BOYS %	GIRLS %
Never	49,4	79,8
1 or 2 days per week	21,5	9,4
3 or 4 days per week	4,3	2,2
5 or 6 days per week	10,7	3,3
1 or 2 days per term	3,0	1,1
Occasionally, 1 or 2 days in a year	9,4	3,9
No response	1,7	1,1

SOURCE: Quail, 1971.

From this table it can be concluded that Portuguese youth (both boys and girls) are used to working for money, a fact which does not occur with Greek youth.

Analysing the table concerning attitudes of the fathers' expectations towards their sons' and daughters' future occupational careers, it can be seen that the main tendencies of the fathers for their sons are concentrated in the tertiary field occupations, or a business career, i.e. 83 out of 101 respondents (49 did not respond). Only one respondent expected his son to be a skilled worker. The above attitude occurs because for all of the respondents a better education and tertiary employment means "higher prestige" for the son and for the family and community generally. Therefore, the socialisation process, to an increasing extent, forces the children to have a higher education. This fact will be extensively analysed in the section dealing with the school as a socialiser.

Analysing the attitudes of fathers towards the occupational or other future career of their daughters, the tendency of even the new generations of immigrants, i.e. white-collar workers and professionals, wishing to see their daughters as "good housewives" is noted (43 out of 97 respondents). As has been shown already in the previous chapter while analysing social mobility, there is an increasing tendency on the part of the daughters of the new generations to reject having only a housewife's role. The other tendencies, of course, are expectations for tertiary employment (46 out of 97 respondents).

The socialisation process of the children of the new generations of Greek immigrants differs from that of the older generation as has been mentioned before. But even here, in a new generation nuclear family, paternal authority can be observed, but not in the same way as with the older generations.

Facts of intermarriage, better education and assimilation amongst the younger Greek generations have resulted in

a break-away from the old, traditional family structures such as the parental-authoritarian type of family, and the old-fashioned Greek customs such as the tradition of proika (dowry); and the continuing disappearance of the Greek culture (i.e. disappearance of the Greek language) is another fact. These are common phenomena amongst the South African born Greeks but not the newcomers or the older immigrants with a rural background.

This conclusion comes directly from the analysis of the data of the attitudes of Greek immigrants from all periods of arrival towards the use of the Greek or English languages by their children. (See Table 40.)

As can be seen in the table, the first period immigrants wished their children to speak the Greek language at home and they objected to the use of the English language in the home. This also happened to a great extent with the immigrants of the second and third generation but only because of a desire to preserve the Greek language. As far as forcing children to speak Greek at home is concerned, the attitudes of the third and second generations of Greeks are very similar to those of the immigrants born here (sons and daughters). As can be seen, 60% of parents born in South Africa wish their children to speak Greek but their responses differ to a great extent as regards the enforcement of speaking Greek instead of English at home, and in regard to their preference of language usage by the children's peer groups within the house - a fact which has been illustrated excellently by Trander (1974).

Examining the socialisation process in relation to the creation of the "political ego" (Mead, 1935), in other words the start of the creation of the political attitudes of the children within the structures of the family, a lot of research is being done in that sphere. The greater number of American sociologists, psychologists and psychoanalysts believe that the family is the most decisive factor for the political socialisation of the child. For example, Hyman (1959) wrote: "Definitely, the family is the major factor

TABLE 40: Attitudes of Greek immigrants of all periods of arrival towards the use of the Greek and English language by their children

Questions	Response	Period I		Period II		Period III		Sons and Daughters		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Would you like your children to speak Greek?	Strongly yes	21	56,7	7	19,4	14	37,8	12	30,0	54	36,0
	Yes	5	13,5	8	22,2	7	18,9	12	30,0	32	21,3
	No	1	2,7	2	5,5	3	8,1	1	2,5	7	4,6
	Do not care	-	-	7	19,4	13	35,1	5	12,5	25	16,6
	No response	10	27,0	12	33,3	-	-	10	25,0	32	21,3
Do you force them to speak Greek at home?	Strongly yes	20	54,0	2	5,5	7	18,9	5	12,5	34	22,6
	Yes	4	10,8	4	11,1	2	5,4	8	20,0	18	12,0
	No	3	8,1	4	11,1	16	43,2	11	27,5	34	22,6
	Do not care	-	-	14	38,8	12	32,4	6	15,0	32	21,3
	No response	10	27,0	12	33,3	-	-	10	25,0	32	21,3
Do you mind if the children speak English at home?	Strongly yes	6	16,2	5	13,8	4	10,8	5	12,5	20	13,3
	Yes	8	21,6	3	8,3	5	13,5	6	15,0	22	14,6
	No	8	21,6	3	8,3	16	43,2	12	30,0	39	26,0
	Do not care	5	13,5	13	36,1	12	32,4	7	17,5	37	24,6
	No response	10	27,0	12	33,3	-	-	10	25,0	32	21,3
Do you prefer the children to speak Greek than English at home?	Strongly yes	5	13,5	2	5,5	7	18,9	9	22,5	23	15,3
	Yes	14	37,8	5	13,8	10	27,0	7	17,5	36	24,0
	No	3	8,1	1	2,7	5	13,5	7	17,5	16	10,6
	Do not care	5	13,5	16	44,4	15	40,5	7	17,5	43	28,6
	No response	10	27,0	12	33,3	-	-	10	25,0	32	21,3

of the political socialisation and the primary one. All the other factors are secondary." Mitchell (1962) writes: "No-one can reject seriously that the family constitutes the most basic factor of political socialisation for the very simple reason that the child lives the most decisive years of his life in the family structure."

It is fairly obvious that the family is the first political socialiser for the child. But it is very hard to insist on what a lot of American scientists believe - that the "political world" of children starts in the pre-school age and continues to be created until the child reaches the middle high school years (as is shown in the research of Easton and Hess (1962), Hess and Torney (1967), Easton and Dennis (1969) and Easton and Hess (1969)). In their research amongst 12 000 elementary school children they tried to show firstly that the "political world" of the child begins to be created in the pre-school years and, secondly, that after a few years it changes to a high level and nearly stops at the age of the middle high school years.

The same conclusion comes from the writings of Davis (1965) who points out that: "The political socialisation of the child starts when he/she becomes three years old and stops in his/her thirteenth year."

The argument of all these scientists is true only in one respect, i.e. that the family is the first step to political socialisation. The second point which comes from these writings, that the political socialisation process stops at a certain age, is incorrect.

It is obvious that these scientists do not recognise and do not analyse other factors in the political socialisation process which, in the opinion of the writer, are more important than the family, such as the functions of the higher classes of the high school, university, the social mobility of the adults, the economic situation, etc. - for example, how these theorists and researchers could analyse the increasing liberal or radical attitudes of the Afrikaner

youth and their attitudes towards the South African Nationalist Government in the present time in South Africa?

Other theorists of the political socialisation process within the family structure, in America as well, have shown or have tried to show that children have the same political behaviour and attitudes as their fathers. For example, the research of Campbell and others (1954) has shown that 82% of American voters whose parents voted for the Democratic Party voted for the same party, and 73% of the voters for the Republican Party voted for that party because their parents had. Of course, it is understandable that the level of the political interests of the parents plays a very decisive role in the development of the political interests of the children.

The situation in the nuclear or extended Greek family in South Africa, in terms of political socialisation of the children, is characterised by a low level. The political attitudes of the Greek immigrants of every period of arrival or every generation is characterised by the low level or lack of interest for the political situations, i.e. both the Greek and the South African. This fact is mainly a result of the first generation's lack of time - as has already been mentioned, they worked from eight or eight-thirty in the morning until midnight with a break of three to four hours - and of the new generation's everyday effort for economic and social survival within the South African society.

The role of the mother in the political socialisation process is also limited because the first period housewives had very little time for the development of the "political world" of their children owing to the amount of time spent on hard work in the house and later in the store. The new generation mothers have even less free time because of their occupations.

Table 41 shows the attitudes of parents towards the Greek and South African political situations respectively

TABLE 41: Parents' attitudes toward South African and Greek politics and their expectations for their children's political attitudes

Question	Response	Shop Owners		Professionals		Technicians		White Collars		Artisans		Total	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Are you interested in the South African politics?	Very much	12	20,0	10	33,3	-	-	3	10,0	-	-	25	16,6
	Yes	16	26,6	8	26,6	2	13,3	5	16,6	1	6,6	32	21,3
	No	32	53,3	12	40,0	3	20,0	7	23,3	6	40,0	60	40,0
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0
Are you interested in the Greek political situation?	Very much	10	16,6	8	26,6	4	26,6	1	3,3	5	33,3	28	18,6
	Yes	28	46,6	7	23,3	1	6,6	4	13,3	2	13,3	42	28,0
	No	22	36,6	15	50,0	-	-	10	33,3	-	-	47	31,3
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0
Have you a preference of a South African political party?	Very much	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6,6	1	0,6
	Yes	10	16,6	8	26,6	2	13,3	8	26,6	1	6,6	29	19,3
	No	50	83,3	22	73,3	3	20,0	7	23,3	5	33,3	87	58,0
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0
Have you a preference of a Greek political party?	Very much	15	25,0	3	10,0	2	13,3	-	-	3	20,0	23	15,3
	Yes	18	30,0	5	16,6	1	6,6	3	10,0	1	6,6	28	18,6
	No	27	45,0	22	73,3	2	13,3	12	40,0	3	20,0	66	44,0
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0
Do you like your children to have political activities?	Very much	2	3,3	4	13,3	1	6,6	-	-	1	6,6	8	5,3
	Yes	19	31,6	10	33,3	2	13,3	4	13,3	1	6,6	36	24,0
	No	39	65,0	16	53,3	2	13,3	11	36,6	5	33,3	73	48,6
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0
Do you force your children to have political activities?	Very much	-	-	1	3,0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0,6
	Yes	19	31,6	12	40,0	1	6,6	2	6,6	2	13,3	36	24,0
	No	41	68,3	17	56,6	4	26,6	13	43,3	5	33,3	80	53,3
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0
Are you interested in the Greek community politics?	Very much	20	33,3	8	26,6	2	13,3	5	16,6	-	-	35	23,3
	Yes	16	26,6	10	33,3	-	-	6	20,0	-	-	32	21,3
	No	24	40,0	12	40,0	3	20,0	4	13,3	7	46,6	50	33,3
	No response	-	-	-	-	10	66,6	15	50,0	8	53,3	33	22,0

and their expectations for their children's political attitudes.

Comparing the attitudes of the new generations of Greek immigrants, mainly the white-collar workers, with the older ones, i.e. shop-owners, the increasing lack of interest for the Greek political situation becomes apparent at all levels. The interest of the new generations for the South African political situation indicates, of course, the increasing phenomenon of assimilation of these generations into the host society. However, it is observed that the attitudes of all generations towards their children's political attitudes appear to be the same. They all express more or less the same attitude, saying "No" to the question of whether their children participate in political activities.

The conclusion from this short analysis on the socialisation process and the political socialisation process within the Greek family structure is that the Greek family as a socialiser fails in the long term to give the Greek cultural characteristics to the child, despite the sometimes desperate efforts of the parents. This problem, which is directly linked to the contradictory functions of the Greek family and the institutions of the receiving society (the South African educational institutions, peer groups, etc.), is the main problem in analysing the role of the South African school as a socialiser, and particularly as a political socialiser, and the role of the mass media in South Africa in relation to the contra-factors versus assimilation such as the Greek schools and the Greek Orthodox Church.

IV. THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIALISER

The aim of this part of the thesis is to show and analyse the structures and functions of the South African schools and the Greek schools in South Africa as socialisers for the Greek children, and especially as political socialisers for them.

The research and the conclusions come from the personal experience of the researcher concerning the functions of the South African schools where Greek children are studying, as well as experience of the functions of the Greek afternoon schools in different areas of South Africa, with special focus on the consequences of the contradictory functions of the Greek family and schools and the South African schools. This analysis will be based on the results of the absorption of Greek children by the functions of South African school, with special focus on the assimilation process in terms of particular spheres of the cultural orientation of the Greek children - language, customs, etc.

It has been analysed in the writings of many social scientists that the relative importance of parents as socialisation agents has decreased in modern times (e.g., Danzinger, 1970). The function of the school and the peer group seems to override in many respects the family functions as a socialiser.

The socialisation in school takes place on many levels. It is obvious that the functions of the school classes, the role of the teacher, and the relationship of the Greek child with other children having different cultural backgrounds, constitute very important elements for a harmonious or a contradictory psycho-social process such as language, methods and content of teaching, of the child in school. From the moment the five- or six-year-old Greek child joins the school, difficulties arise - a different language being taught and spoken, a different culture, a different social environment, different norms and values. The child starts to realise that he or she is between two worlds: the world of his or her family, and the world of the school. The first psychological problems arise because of the contradictory functions of the family and the school socialisation processes. (This is excellently analysed by the German school of psychology, mainly by the writings of Lutkens, 1966.)

In the sphere of language, the school and classroom are pervasive environments. Pupils are dealing with language

for most of the day, i.e. the spoken language of the teacher and other pupils, and the written language of books.

Flanders (1970:43), in his analysis of teaching behaviour, and analysing not only the educational system of his country, England, but with experience of other countries' educational systems, wrote:

" Research on traditional, relatively formal chalk and talk classrooms shows that on average teachers tend to talk for about seventy percent of classroom time and probably more especially in the elementary education field."

Bearing in mind the writings of Flanders, and counting the classroom hours of the children (Greek and foreign) in South African schools in relation to the influence of the teacher as the second strongest authority in the child's life (the first being the father), and the great linguistic influence of the peer groups in school (of which Stubbs, 1976, wrote that they constitute the most powerful linguistic influence for the children), we can easily understand the increasing disappearance of the Greek language amongst the Greek new generation groups as a step towards their structural assimilation. \surd Greek children spend approximately 11 340 hours in South African schools (university excluded). That means:

189 days of the school year x 5 hours (average per day)
 = 945 hours per year
 945 hours x 12 years of study
 = 11 340 hours.⁷

Clausen (1968:362), writing about the primary aims and activities of the teacher, points out five aims:

- (a) Teaching and encouraging skill learnings, i.e. specific cognitive skills such as reading, writing and arithmetic, and the more general skills of maintaining attention, sitting still, participating in classroom activities.
- (b) Imparting information, orienting the children to the educational system and to the intellectual heritage, seeking to commit them to its ends.

(Researcher's underlining.)

- (c) Transmitting dominant cultural goals and values, clarifying their meaning and relevance.
- (d) Providing guidance and models for problem solving, maintaining an atmosphere conducive to learning.
- (e) Overcoming gross deficits in preparation and attempting to deal with individual differences and with personal problems of the child that hinder his performance and in some instances consulting with parents or with guidance personnel.

Therefore, analysing these aims which are generally true, one can see and accept as a fact that the teacher forces the children into the intellectual heritage, seeking to commit him or her to the aims of the educational policy of the particular country. In every country, independently from its particular social system, the authorities insist that their educational policy is a "national educational policy". That means that the government intervenes in the formation of the educational policy and affects the creation of the teaching material. Generally it is common knowledge that the functions of the school are successful when they produce "good citizens", which means citizens ready to support the system and its aims.

Referring especially to the South African schools and more broadly to the South African system, we might say that it does not need "Greek oriented" graduates, meaning graduates with Greek culture and values, but "good South African citizens". This is the main function, the main aim of the South African school: not to produce citizens, but to produce "good South African citizens". Thus, in the battle of the contradictory "value orientations" between the South African school and the Greek family, the South African school is definitely the winner. It gives to the Greek child a different "social character" to that of the Greek one. (The term "social character" is used here as Rolf (1972:13) uses it, i.e.: "Social character is the part of the [human] character, which is common in the members of particular social groups and which constitute a consequence

of the experience of those groups.") Under the definition "social character" is meant that a social group (or a minority group) collects and generalises empirically acceptable and canonically repeated ways of behaviour and beliefs of several social or national groups.

Recently, the Human Sciences Research Council (1977) released a primary book concerning the attitudes of the white population of South Africa towards immigrants in general and the main immigrant groups in particular, i.e. Greek, Portuguese and Italian (the low-class immigrants) and the Dutch, German and English (the high-class immigrants). In the writer's opinion this particular research gives a very clear picture of the negative attitudes of the English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans towards the main immigrant groups. (See Table 42 - one of the tables from this book - which concerns the attitudes of the "white South African population" as regards their preference of "immigrants" as neighbours.)

Analysing this table, it can be seen that a higher number of respondents expressed attitudes of a more favourable nature towards German, British and Dutch immigrants in South Africa than towards Greek, Italian and Portuguese (the "second-class immigrants").

Thus, the Greek child going to a South African school for the first time has to fight not only the difficulties of the new language, culture, etc., but even possible suspicion and repulsion of the native-born children. This fact, in conjunction with the expectations of his parents that he be "the top student" and because of "school antagonism", increases the assimilation process to a very high degree. Thus there are children of six or seven years who reject the Greek language even at home, and children who talk proudly of their South African culture, etc.

The school plays a decisive role in the process of the creation of the child's political socialisation. Easton and Hess (1969:217) argue that, except for the circulation of

TABLE 42: PREFERENCES OF WHITES FOR NEIGHBOURS CHOSEN FROM MEMBERS OF THE SIX MAIN IMMIGRANT GROUPS, ACCORDING TO RURAL/URBAN RESIDENCE

IMMIGRANT GROUP (MOST PREFERABLE AS NEIGHBOURS)	PLACE OF RESIDENCE					
	CITY		TOWN		RURAL AREAS	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Italian	5,3	6,0	3,9	2,9	2,9	2,3
British	47,8	49,0	40,9	42,7	39,8	48,3
Dutch	11,9	13,2	11,6	14,0	9,1	14,5
Portuguese	2,0	1,8	0,6	1,5	1,1	0,8
German	29,2	26,1	39,3	34,8	42,7	31,6
Greek	2,1	2,5	1,2	1,7	1,5	1,1
Non-response	1,7	1,4	2,5	2,4	2,9	1,4
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Number	1 742	1 717	484	520	274	263

the "party preference", the influence of the family seems to be mainly indirect, giving the children only the feelings of respect towards authority and law. Obviously the school, for Easton and Hess, plays the major role in the understanding of attitudes, ideas and beliefs towards the general political system. They pointed out the following:

"One could argue that family offers a lot to the socialisation process in the development of respect towards the homeland, but the school is the institution which gives information and meanings which stabilizes that respect towards the political system. Our conclusion is that the school appears as the major factor of political socialisation."

Of course, it is hard to say that the school is the major factor of political socialisation as these scientists insist. However it is definitely one of the major factors.

The teacher's role within the school structure is very well and extensively analysed by Riesman (1954, 1957 and 1958) in a series of articles. Although these articles are very informative and give an extensive explanation of the influence of the teacher on the psycho-spiritual evolution of the child, in the opinion of the writer Riesman does not recognise one very basic fact. He does not recognise that the teacher is not only just a personality, but that he is working for the state. He works, in other words, according to the principles of the higher administrative and legal authorities. Thus, the problem is that the teacher teaches the children according to the "official ideology of the state". Therefore, in the present instance, the teacher's behaviour and the educational institutions cannot be analysed separately from the ideology of the South African educational policy.

It would be a very difficult thing to analyse, briefly, the educational policy of the South African government since it is a very difficult and complicated problem. However, the writer believes that there is no doubt that the entire policy of the South African educational system is "Christian National Education".

After the establishment of the Broederbond and the

Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys (Institute for Christian National Education) and its sub-organisations, it was obvious that the main aim of Afrikaner Nationalism was to destroy every other language or culture. A pamphlet written by J C van Rooy explains the ideology of that institute. He points out the following: "We wish to have no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races." (This was stated in Thompson, 1966.)

On the other hand the Broederbond, an organisation which has political control of the educational policy, is a clear political organisation of the Afrikaners. (For an extensive and very informative account of the Broederbond see Malherbe, 1977.) Many discussions have arisen concerning the nature of the Broederbond, its secret organisation structures, its policy and its aims. However, it is not very difficult to understand its policy and aims, if we have a look at its constitution.

Malherbe (1977:664) states:

" The aim of the organisation is the attainment of a healthy and progressive unanimity among all Afrikaners, who strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner people, the kindling of national self-awareness in the Afrikaner and the instilment of a love for his language, religious traditions, country and people and the promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner people. (Organisation's Constitution.) "

Wilson and Thompson (1971:84) state that without the Afrikaans language there would have been no Afrikaner nationalist movement:

" Culture, art, education and even sport were in-
spanned in the drive to make the Afrikaners proud
of themselves as a group, or a nation or race as
they put it. "

However, culture, art and education are not "ideal subjects", separated from the state policy, i.e. the official education policy, if one bears in mind the writing of Clausen concerning the aims of the teacher: "transmitting dominant cultural goals and values making clear their meaning and relevance".

Althusser (1971:128) writes, in conclusion of his analysis of the ideological state apparatuses:

" . . . in other words the school teaches "know-how", but in forms which ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its practice."

This conclusion definitely applies to South Africa, bearing in mind the words of Verwoerd in 1953:

" . . . it is therefore necessary that education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the State."

A paragraph from a History school book, quoted below, gives a clear picture of the "ideological agreement" between the state and its educational policy and the control of the former over the latter.

"Our forefathers believed and we still believe today that God himself made the diversity of peoples on earth. . . Inter-racial residence and intermarriage are not only a disgrace, but are also forbidden by law. It is however, not only the skin of the South African that differs from that of the non-white. The white stands on a much higher plane of civilisation and is more developed. Whites must so live, learn and work that we shall not sink to the cultural level of the non-whites. Only thus can the government of our country remain in the hands of the whites. (Bekker and Potgieter, 1960:30-31.)"

As we can see in this statement it is not only the superiority of the white culture which is examined. The explanation is that because of that culture the whites must be in power.

In view of the foregoing facts, it can be understood why Greek-orientated professionals, white-collar workers, and even university students argue for the superiority of the Afrikaner culture, and sometimes refer to the Afrikaners as a "super race". Thus, the wise Greek saying: "Tell me who your teacher is, so that I can tell you what you know", definitely applies to them. Therefore, the remarks of Dr Koornhof in 1968 appear to be not only the whole truth of the educational policy of the South African state, but prophetic as well. He said: "The immigrant could not or

should not forget the land of birth, but the children could and should." (South African newspapers, 1968.)

One could argue that a great contra-factor against the assimilation of the Greek new generations might be the Greek school and Church. In the next section the writer will try to prove why the Greek schools and Church in South Africa, although fighting hard against assimilation, are not a contra-factor against this phenomenon.

IVA. THE GREEK SCHOOLS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The necessity for the establishment of Greek schools in South Africa was recognised first by Nicolaidis (1923:446) when he wrote:

" The problem of the establishment of a Greek school is the most important problem of our communities. There were many discussions and decisions, but nothing happened. This was the result of the indifference of the immigrants for their children's Greek education. As a result of this factor there are at this present time two hundred and fifty Greek children without any knowledge of the Greek language and history. "

After the appearance of the first Greek schools in South Africa, under very difficult circumstances (the lack of classrooms, etc., and the fact that the first teachers were priests and semi-educated amateurs), Professor Voyazoglou wrote a very interesting pamphlet (1947) about the possibility of a true Greek school in South Africa. That analytical and detailed pamphlet of a real idealistic nature - plans of a Greek school having commercial and agricultural departments, home economics and house-nursing, even Ancient Greek as a subject, in large privately-owned buildings, farms for agricultural training, and hostels for 800 students, having branches in Spring, Germiston, etc. - never became a reality because of the limited economic resources of the Greeks in South Africa. (The author of the pamphlet claimed that the initial expenses would be £200 000, and £20 000 per annum would be required for maintaining the institution.) A second factor for its failure was the indifference of the Greek

TABLE 43: NUMBER OF GREEK SCHOOLS AND PUPILS IN SOUTH AFRICA

TOWN	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF PUPILS	NUMBER OF NURSARY SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF PUPILS
Johannesburg	3*	1 047	2**	120
Alberton	1	72	-	-
Benoni	1	74	-	-
Brakpan	1	130	-	-
Germiston	1	130	-	-
Krugersdorp	1	48	-	-
Vereeniging	1	60	-	-
Springs	1	73	-	-
Pretoria	1	168	-	-
Cape Town	1	40	-	-
Durban	1	65	-	-
East London	1	42	-	-
Port Elizabeth	1	50	-	-
Bloemfontein	1	35	-	-
Welkom	1	20	-	-
Boksburg	1	32	-	-
Kempton Park	-	34	-	-
TOTAL	19	2 120	2	120

* The community school with seven branches with number of pupils 420. There are two other schools: (a) (private) S A H E T I (S A Hellenic and Technical Institute), number of pupils 450, and (b) "Greek School" (private), number of pupils 177.

** The nursery schools belong to S A H E T I (80 pupils) and "Greek School" (40 pupils).

population during that period.

Nicolaides' writings and Voyazoglou's dreams are things of the past. There are now 19 Greek schools in 17 different South African cities, with approximately 2 120 pupils. (See Table 43.) This table is derived mainly from two sources:

- (a) the composition of the Greek schools in South Africa by Lolonis (1977), and
- (b) from reports coming from the Greek communities of South Africa.

The number of children who, for various reasons, do not attend the Greek schools are more or less 1 500 to 2 000. This is a large number when compared with the number of children who do join the schools. However, the situation of the rejection by the children of attending Greek schools is better if we compare it with the rejection by Portuguese-orientated children.

TABLE 44
ATTENDANCE OF PORTUGUESE YOUTH AT SPECIAL
PORTUGUESE SCHOOLS IN JOHANNESBURG

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE	BOYS	GIRLS
Never	93,10	92,20
1 or 2 days per week	0,86	0,60
3 or 4 days per week	0,43	0,60
5 or 6 days per week	3,90	5,00
Total	98,29	98,40

SOURCE: Quail, 1971.

According to the above table, 93,1 percent of the boy-respondents and 92,2 percent of the girl-respondents rejected or did not have the opportunity or the possibility of attending the Portuguese schools. Even in the Cape area, with a Portuguese population of 25 000, there is only one school which, at the present time, has only 80 pupils. (The Portuguese community plans to build a new school under the direction of the Ministry of Education of the Portuguese Government.)

Even the Jewish community (one of the better organised minority communities in South Africa) faces the same problem. In Johannesburg, as Dubb (1977) points out, the same problem of absence of pupils from the Jewish schools is faced. There are only 4 000 out of a total of 12 000 Jewish children of school age attending the afternoon schools there.

Returning to examine the functions of the Greek schools in South Africa, the following points are mentioned briefly:

- (a) They are closely attached to the Greek communities who pay the teachers, hire the classrooms, etc.
- (b) They function in very limited hours. (The table below gives an indication of the hours involved.)

TABLE 45
SCHOOLS' WEEK WORK, IN HOURS, ACCORDING
TO THE NUMBER OF PUPILS

HOURS PER WEEK	NUMBER OF PUPILS	%
2	276	13,01
2,5	183	8,63
3	109	5,14
4	322	15,18
5	366	17,26
5,5	450	21,22
6	126	5,94
7	160	7,54
9	38	1,79
12,5	90	4,28
Total	2 120	99,99

- (c) The main subjects taught are an elementary knowledge of the Greek language and grammar, history, and religion according to the specifications of the Greek Ministry of Education.
- (d) Thirteen out of the 43 Greek teachers are without a teacher's diploma.

TABLE 46

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE TEACHERS IN THE GREEK SCHOOLS

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NUMBER	%
Graduates of the Greek Education Academy sent by the Ministry of Greek Education	14	32,55
Graduates of the Greek Education Academy working privately	16	37,20
Graduates of the Higher Domestic Economy School	2	4,65
Graduates of the Theology School of the University of Athens	4	9,30
Graduates of Greek High Schools (no university level)	7	16,27
Total	43	99,97

Bearing in mind these four points and the tables, it can be understood why the behavioural and cultural assimilation occurs. The limited hours of the Greek schools do not allow the children to acquire anything but a brief picture of Greek history and culture, and therefore the school only gives them an inadequate knowledge of the syntax of the Greek language. That is why the functions of the South African school supersede the functions of the Greek school on all levels.

Comparing the functions of the Greek and Jewish schools in South Africa, one can clearly see the more complete functions of the latter. On the organisational level, for example, there are special committees all around South Africa having as an aim the appropriate function of the Jewish schools. There are organisations such as the South African Jewish Education and the United Hebrew Schools whose main interest is to lead and to direct the South African Jewish schools. Also of significance are the efforts of the South African Zionist Federation and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies having as their aim the preservation of the cultural and national traditions of the Jewish people. But, as has been shown by Ferngold (1974) and Himlam (1975), even

the good organisation of the Jewish schools and synagogues proved not to be a very strong contra-factor against assimilation and acculturation of the Jewish people. These writers show how the Jewish people tend to lose their national and ethnic identity within the structure of the American society, showing that neither the schools nor the synagogues could stop the increasing influence of the American way of life on the Jewish individuals.

On the level of organisation, the Greek communities' lack of a central authority which could give the major directions and instructions for the better functioning of the Greek schools is obvious. The Greek schools are dependent on the Greek Education Ministry which only decided to send an official superintendent of public education to examine the functions of the Greek schools in South Africa fifty years after the establishment of the first Greek school. In one-and-a-half months he inspected only eight out of the nineteen Greek schools, i.e. those in the Transvaal.

On the teaching level, the functions of the Jewish schools are better in many respects, especially in the creation of the Jewish culture and traditions which are directly connected to religion. The Jewish afternoon schools attach great importance to the Zionist ideals and culture, as is well analysed in the works of Zidel (1972) and Adar (1965). This does not occur in the Greek schools, mainly because of the limited amount of school time. In those few hours the Greek child must learn how to speak and to write Greek, and probably some primary elements of Greek history. The teaching of customs and culture is definitely lacking in Greek schools in South Africa. The functions of the communities during the national celebrations and a few other entertaining functions of the communities, the schools, and the church, of course, cannot solve the problem.

The South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute (SAHETI), is the only "Greek" school functioning as a day school according to South African laws. The Greek

language is taught as the seventh subject and is taught five-and-a-half hours a week. This school, built with private Greek capital, is in some ways better organised than the communities' schools and has the largest number of Greek schoolchildren in South Africa. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that through its functions SAHETI differs from the other community schools in South Africa; in other words, it does not constitute a contra-factor against the assimilation of the Greek-orientated children who join the school. For example, the main functions of the school are conducted in English and its monthly news bulletin is published in English.

In conclusion, the writer believes that despite the desperate efforts of the community authorities and the efforts of the teachers, professionals and amateurs, the Greek school is definitely not a contra-factor against the increasing assimilation of the new Greek generations. Greek scientists, in conducting similar surveys for analysing the function and structures of ethnic schools in countries like Australia and America, came to the same conclusions. For example, Tsounis (1975) analysing the functions of the Greek ethnic schools in Australia shows that problems such as confusion of cultures, lack of good organisation, and lack of time for these functions, tend to be the main reasons for these functions of the ethnic schools as a contra-factor towards assimilation being unsuccessful. Moschos, Jr (1977) in an analysis of the younger Greek generations in America shows exactly why assimilation could not be overcome because of the dysfunctions of the Greek schools and family institutions, and Bardis (1976) comes to the same pessimistic conclusions writing on the future of the Greek language in America.

It is very difficult for the Greek school to create Greeks because it is overruled by the South African school which creates "good South African citizens".

V. THE CHURCH AS A SOCIALISER

The central ideology of the Greek nation is contained in three simple words:

Nation, Religion, Family

From the time the six-year-old joins the school in Greece and in Greek schools all around the world, to the day he becomes a university graduate, and even until the end of his life, those three words follow him.

Religion is a central institution in the Greek's life all over the world and South Africa is no exception to the rule. The first article of the constitution of the first Greek community of Cape Town, in 1903, stated: "We establish in Cape Town the association named 'The Greek Community of Cape Town' having as first aim the establishment of a Greek Orthodox Church." (Nicolaides, 1923:503.)

In 1923 there were three Greek Orthodox churches and three priests for two thousand immigrants. There are now, in South Africa, fourteen Greek Orthodox churches in the following towns:

Johannesburg	Port Elizabeth
Pretoria	Durban
Germiston	Welkom
Alberton	Bloemfontein
Vaal Triangle	Brakpan
Krugersdorp	Springs
Cape Town	Benoni

The functions of the Greek Orthodox Church in conjunction with the functions of the Greek school could play a very important role, giving a Greek orientation to the children of the immigrants. In the previous section (concerning the functions of the Greek school), the writer tried to explain why it fails to constitute a contra-factor against the increasing assimilation of the new generations of Greeks. In addition, the Church also fails because of the following main reasons:

- (a) The Sunday services are conducted in Ancient

Greek with the result that a large number of the younger Greeks are unable to understand them because, as already mentioned, they do not have a good knowledge even of the modern Greek language.

- (b) The Sunday schools that function in nearly all the churches are taught in the English language.

These two main factors, as well as the indifference of the younger generations towards the orthodox religion, may be observed if one attends a Sunday service in the Cape Town Orthodox Church. An average of forty people attend the services with a noticeable absence of the younger generations. The only days on which the church is full are Christmas and Easter, and sometimes during the National Greek celebrations.

Comparing the functions of the Jewish synagogue and the Greek church, we note the important role of the Jewish synagogue, not only as a religious institution, but as an institution which preserves in many ways the cultural and national traditions of Zionism. Rappaport (1972), while analysing the role of the synagogue, concludes his writings as follows: "The association between the school and the Synagogue always remained an intimate one."

However, because of these facts, the Greek Orthodox Church has lost a number of younger people to other denominations, a phenomenon which is not unusual in an industrialised society, as has been excellently analysed by Alba (1976) in his survey on social assimilation amongst Catholic national origin groups in America. McCie (1977) while analysing the network values and cultural change amongst Greek-Australian immigrants comes to the same conclusions, examining the role of the Greek Orthodox Church in this particular country. Salutos (1973) in his writings on the role of the Greek Orthodox Church as contra-factor to assimilation in America strengthens this viewpoint, concluding that the church is unable to resist the forces of assimilation and to preserve the Greek national identity.

The number of younger people lost by the Greek Orthodox Church to other denominations is limited in comparison to the same situation amongst the Portuguese immigrants. Rosenthal (1977) points out some interesting information concerning the change of denomination of the Portuguese people in South Africa. She mentions the large number of Portuguese changing from their denomination to the Dutch Reformed Church (she notes that the Dutch Reformed Church has started to bring in Portuguese priests of this denomination because of the increasing number of Portuguese people in Johannesburg and Pretoria changing their denomination). The Protestant Church has a one-thousand-strong congregation in La Rochelle (the Johannesburg suburb where the majority of Portuguese immigrants live), and the Assembly of God includes seven hundred Portuguese.

Unfortunately there are no figures available regarding the number of Greeks belonging to other denominations in South Africa. However, it would appear that the most active religious group in South Africa, in terms of the Greek immigrant, is the Jehovah's Witnesses. The Greek Jehovah's Witnesses in South Africa are very well organised in several small groups propagating their beliefs all around South Africa with informative pamphlets and other material, and visiting Greek homes, etc. The Greek Orthodox Church authorities in Johannesburg and Cape Town do not accept there are many Greek Jehovah's Witnesses here, or that they pose a threat to the Orthodox Greeks, but it seems that the opposite is true.

From this brief analysis of the church as a socialiser, it becomes quite understandable why it fails in its function as a socialiser against the institutions of the South African society.

VI. THE PEER GROUPS

Family in contemporary society is not the only primary socialiser. Children's groups -- the "game groups" as Stamatiades (1962) calls them -- friendly groups at work,

friends at school, sports clubs, the army services, etc., constitute the most usual form of primary socialisation. The new social environment which the youngster enters is sometimes completely different from that of the family.

The nature of relations and their influence on the behaviour of the children or the adults is dependent on factors such as their economic situation, education, religion, colour, nationality, etc.

The Greek children who play in the schoolyard with English or Afrikaner children must overcome primary difficulties such as knowledge of the other languages, the habits of the foreign children, etc. (as has already been mentioned extensively elsewhere in this study). The Greek child concentrates on speaking fluently the language used in everyday games, and tries to imitate his peers' habits. It is not an unusual phenomenon to hear two or three peer groups of Greek children speaking English amongst themselves, not because they cannot speak Greek, but because they prefer to speak English. After matriculating, Greek adults face a choice: to work or to further their education, either at university or technical college. The university peer groups and the work peer groups also influence their behaviour to the same extent as the child peer groups. At university or at work it is a common phenomenon for Greek adults to communicate amongst themselves in English. Is this phenomenon cultural, behavioural, or structural assimilation? This important question will be analysed in the last part of this chapter.

Mention should be made of the increasing participation of Greeks in the functions of various South African associations - sports clubs, office clubs, and institutions such as the South African Army. Of course, there are also Greek associations and clubs, directly or indirectly connected with the Greek communities, who try to draw the Greeks together by holding functions such as dances, picnics, etc. A certain percentage of people do attend these functions, but this cannot solve the problem of the increasing assimilation

amongst the new generations of Greeks.

On the level of political socialisation, it is common knowledge that participation in a group or an organisation gives an adult the opportunity to communicate with other members of the group through group relations. Thus, she or he has the opportunity to discuss freely her or his political opinions, to listen to the opinions of others, and through these discussions to change her or his political attitudes and values, or to stabilise them.

McLosky and Dahlgren (1959) and Berelson et al (1954) analysing the voting behaviour of American adults and the influence of peer groups on voting behaviour, believe that peer groups have a great influence on the individual voter (e.g., Berelson argues that the evidence shows that 53 per cent of individuals of 21 to 25 years old vote for the same party as their close friends).

This problem of the political socialisation of the Greek younger generations and its consequences on the political and ideological levels will be better understood in the next chapter which deals with the division of labour, political attitudes, and the class composition of the Greek immigrants within the structure of the South African society.

VII. MASS MEDIA AS A SOCIALISER

Mass media could be defined very simply in terms of two characteristics:

- (a) Its product is easily available to a large part of the population.
- (b) It reaches the population simultaneously, i.e. by television, radio, magazines, newspapers, etc.

Friedson (1953:230) states: "The process of mass communication is a social process."

The following are phrases overheard from children:

"Fall down you terrorist. I have killed you."
 (George, an eight-year-old Greek child, speaking
 to his brother.)

"Andrew Young is a communist who wants to destroy
 South Africa."

Elie, a seven-year-old Greek girl.

In the technologically developed countries, it is common knowledge that mass communications play an extremely important role in the socialisation process of children as well as adults, and play a more important role in the evolution of their political socialisation process. Many theorists believe that the mass media must be removed from the analysis of the social structure of the society. Mass media is something which is effectively used to canalise basic attitudes which are themselves a function of the social structure. One of the major discussions about the role of the mass media within a technologically developed society is the discussion between Mills (1959) and Gouldner (1976) and Enzenberger (1970). Mills, using the term "cultural apparatus", argued that mass media in a technologically advanced society have only a cultural significance and they function only in this way. Gouldner and Enzenberger, respectively, answered that mass communications do not function only as a "cultural apparatus" but mainly as a "consciousness industry". Gouldner (1976) points out:

The tension between the two (cultural apparatus and consciousness industry) exists in some measure because "consciousness industry" has socially isolated the "cultural apparatus" and has successfully imposed an institutionalised form of tacit censorship on it.

Many researchers, e.g., Deutch (1964) and Edelman (1964) amongst others, have shown how the patterned flow of messages delineates functional cohesion and effective policy-making and cultivates public belief systems. The mass communications are the dominant shapers of this flow as a result of their being the only capable agencies of public acculturation due to the mass distribution of messages. Many American theorists concerned with the effectiveness of the mass media

and voting behaviour of the American voters, e.g., Bogard (1956), McQuail (1968) and Belson (1967), give a clear picture of the significance of the mass media (especially television) on the decision-making of the voters.

Looking at the role of the mass media within the South African society, focusing especially on the consequences for the socialisation process of Greek children (or adults), and the media's position as a "consciousness industry" or as an "ideological state apparatus" (cf. Althusser, 1971), it must be mentioned first of all that every Greek home in South Africa has at least one radio, and in Cape Town and Johannesburg 96 out of the 160 respondents owned a television set, i.e. 60% of respondents.

Television and Radio

The Corporation shall frame and carry out its broadcasts with due regard to the English, Afrikaans and Bantu culture."

(Broadcasting Control Act of 1976)

The Control Board of the Broadcasting Corporation is constituted of between five and nine members all appointed by the State President, who also designates one of the members as the chairman. As it is stated in the Broadcasting Control Act: "The State President may remove a member of the Board from his office at any time, if in his opinion there are some reasons for doing so." (Broadcasting Control Act No. 73, 1976.)

The "Bantu Advisory Board" originally consisted of the Chairman of the Board and three to five members, all appointed by the Minister of National Education; today it consists of five white members, four of whom have been on the Board since November 1973 and have been reappointed until 1977.

The Television Programme Advisory Board consists of five members, also appointed by the Minister of National Education. At the present time all the members are employed

in State institutions (Argus newspaper, 1976).

The South African Broadcasting Corporation "is only able to carry on a broadcasting service at the request of the Minister and subject to which conditions as he may determine." (Act No. 33, 1976.) The corporation is financed by the state which annually allocates a sum of money "determined by the Minister of Finance". (Act No. 73, 1976).

It is fairly obvious that this corporation is controlled by a small number of men, and it is perhaps significant that the chairman of the South African Broadcasting Corporation until recently was Piet Meyer, a member of the Nationalist Party. Thus, there is little doubt that the corporation strongly identifies with the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Television especially, not only in South Africa but generally all over the world, constitutes the strongest factor in the process of everyday diffusion of information. It does not preoccupy itself with the education of the viewer but requires only his attention and passivity. The viewer has no choice, unlike the reader of newspapers. He is definitely a "prisoner of the screen".

When Mr Swanepoel, the cultural and educational director of television, was asked whether the South African television and the government had the same standards and beliefs and ideologies, he replied:

" . . . to some extent that may be true . . . to give an example, I don't think we would incite people to overthrow the Government by undemocratic methods . . . I don't think we would be part and parcel of that, nor could we incite young people to join the police force and fight on the border. Yet there are people who do this."
(Financial Mail, 1972)

Analysing 86 radio news broadcasts by the South African Broadcasting Corporation between 16 October and 30 December 1974, Seiler (1974) in "Communications in South Africa" reached the following conclusions:

- (a) There was no criticism of government policy

in the programmes, or if there was it was very little.

- (b) 464 out of 634 items, i.e. 73%, were international rather than domestic.

This means that the messages coming from the mass media - in this specific case the South African radio - do not permit the public to have a clear picture of what is really happening in South Africa. This fact leads to a false picture of the South African political situation, not only for children but for adults as well.

Regarding the "idols" which South African television creates, and the political significance of this, a survey among 125 Greek children in Johannesburg and Cape Town gave the following picture:

- (a) The most popular persons in television programmes were:

Simon Templar	73 (58,40%)
Hoss of Bonanza	25 (20,00%)
Jordach brothers	15 (12,00%)
Brady Bunch	12 (9,60%)

For a more detailed analysis of the cultural and political images which South African television creates amongst Greek children, see Mantzaris (1978).

- (b) The most familiar political personality - South African or foreign - was "this Minister with the moustache", i.e. Pik Botha, according to 48 (38,40%) of the respondents. The Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, was the second most popular, gaining 26 responses (17,60%).
- (c) 118 (94,40%) out of 125 children had not even heard of the squatters and the rest did not know what squatters were.

The writer considers the above facts of great importance in showing the effectiveness of the mass media and the images they give to children. For example, two Greek children were playing "war" between themselves using plastic machineguns. One of them "killed" the other, saying:

"You are the terrorist, I am a South African soldier and I killed you." When asked if they knew what a terrorist was, the older one - an eight-year-old - replied: "I don't know what a terrorist is, but I know that all the terrorists must be killed until the last." A seven-year-old Greek girl expressing her opinion about the first visit to South Africa of Andrew Young stated: "Andrew Young is a communist who wants to destroy South Africa."

Let us examine schematically how the image of television may work to give the girl this opinion of Andrew Young.

IMAGE I

The Blacks in Mocambique and Angola are communists and they want to destroy South Africa

IMAGE II

Andrew Young is a Black and does not like South Africa's political system

IMAGE III

Conclusion: Andrew Young is a communist

These two discussions are not the only ones which demonstrate the effectiveness of the mass media as a political socialiser in South Africa. There were many other opinions voiced in discussions with Greek children but those two were the most characteristic examples.

To conclude, it seems apparent that the South African Broadcasting Corporation is a very significant part of the "state consciousness industry" and that is why it is taken into account when examining the socialisation - both general and political - of Greek children.

It was considered necessary to give proper weight to the analysis of South African radio and television because of the fact that these educational and "cultural" institutions have become of greater importance than the family in the socialisation process.

CONCLUSION: WHAT KIND OF ASSIMILATION?

"Integration must be the ultimate aim"

(Director of Education, 1966, in the Transvaal
Education Department Bulletin)

Writings on assimilation, its process and evolution initially started with Smith (1895) who wrote an extensive analysis on the assimilation process. He provided a parallel three-stage assimilation process:

- (a) The external assimilation, which indicates the conscious adoption of the more outward individuals in the culture of the absorbing society. (He also calls this the stage of accommodation.)
- (b) The internal assimilation, which is affected by contacts closer to the life of the absorbing society and the immigrant beginning to appreciate the meanings of the cultural material appropriated.
- (c) Creative assimilation, which occurs when a member of the ethnic minority group views the culture of the absorbing society with a more objective and rational manner than the other who is "provincially minded". He is absorbed by the way of life of the receiving society and he can contribute from his ethnic group to the development and enrichment of the culture of the receiving society.

After this analysis, several other sociologists and social scientists gave great importance to the analysis of the assimilation process and the stages of assimilation. Mention may be made of Galitzi (1927) who analysed the stages and process of assimilation using terms such as "economic and technical assimilation" (in other words an adjustment and conformity to the general modes of living), "cultural assimilation" as the assimilation which includes new cultural traits, modification of the old culture and psychological re-adjustment, and "ethnic assimilation" as a biological amalgamation especially through intermarriage. Eisenstadt (1955) also indicates three main categories of indices of

full absorption:

- (a) Acculturation - that means the extent to which the immigrant learns the different values, norms and customs of the receiving society which include two distinct levels, the level of learning a certain quality of roles and habits and the level of internalising these roles and habits and behaving in accordance with them.
- (b) Personal adjustment -- which encompasses the effect that the process of absorption has on the personality of the immigrant, his coping with frustrations (with indications of personal disorganisation) and the demoralisation of the immigrant by the host culture.
- (c) Institutional dispersion -- which means that the absorption finds its culminating point in the complete loss of ethnic identity of the immigrant group in the context of the new society.

Assimilation is a social phenomenon which takes place in different spheres of society.

- (a) On the economic level the absorption of the immigrants depends on the public, financial or employment policy, on general opportunities for investment and saving, on job opportunities, etc.
- (b) On the political level assimilation could be measured not only by the willingness but also by the ability of the immigrants to have political attitudes, i.e. to join native political parties.
- (c) On the social level assimilation could be understood by the change or stability of the mother culture, norms and values, social behaviour, etc.

In analysing the process and the degree of assimilation of the Greeks in South Africa, keeping in mind the previous analysis of the socialisation of this minority group within the structures of South African society, the writer would like to mention here another analysis of the assimilation process which he thinks is very important because it is

detailed and clarifies in many terms the generalisations of the theorists which have already been mentioned. Gordon (1964) clarifies the assimilation process as follows:

THE ASSIMILATION VARIABLES

<u>SUB-PROCESS OF CONDITION</u>	<u>RESULT</u>
(a) Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	(a) Cultural or behavioural assimilation
(b) Large-scale entrance into host society's primary groups, i.e. cliques, clubs, etc.	(b) Structural assimilation
(c) Large-scale inter-marriage	(c) Marital assimilation
(d) Development of sense of peoplehood based on host society	(d) Identificational assimilation
(e) Absence of prejudice	(e) Attitude receptional assimilation
(f) Absence of discrimination	(f) Behaviour receptional assimilation
(g) Absence of value or power conflict	(g) Civic assimilation

Since Gordon's analysis many attempts have been made to analyse the process of assimilation, but most of them were based on this pioneer study. Choi's (1975) analysis of the Chinese settlers in Australia, and Rippley's analysis (1976) of the German-Americans, are two of the most influential analyses of structural assimilation of ethnic groups in their host societies and were strongly influenced by Gordon, although McCaffrey's (1976) analysis of the Irish diaspora in America was strongly influenced by Eisenstadt's analysis. Even the most detailed analysis to ever appear in this field (namely that of Goldhurst and Richmond, 1974), although trying to give new directions to the analysis of the adaptation of the immigrants, does not go much further than Gordon's study. This new tendency, appearing with the writings of Taft (1965) and Johnston (1965) and in a most detailed way with Hirata (1971) which tends to "marry" cultural, social and psychological aspects of assimilation, seems to be in a deadlock. This deadlock appears clearly in

the most influential book supporting this tendency, namely that by Richardson (1974) who gave more importance to the psychological aspect of assimilation which includes satisfaction, identification, and acculturation. The difficulty arises from Richardson's analysis because of the fact that he measures acculturation with the knowledge of "slang" by the immigrants. Richardson copes with this by comparing immigrants' knowledge of slang with that of Australians of the same sex and occupational status, and distinguishes three different forms of acculturation - obligatory, advantageous and optional - depending on the social and non-social pressures from the host society for the adoption of the cultural trait. This new tendency appears to be influenced by Eisenstadt's conclusions, but its deadlock is a result of the fact that it gives more importance to the psychological aspects of assimilation than to the social ones.

These are the reasons why the writer believes that Gordon's analysis is the most important one, and the main aim of mentioning this analysis is basically the separation (distinction) of cultural and structural assimilation.

The writer feels it cannot be argued that assimilation of the first-period Greek immigrants is a structural assimilation according to Gordon's definition. On the other hand, can it be said that the assimilation of the new generations of Greeks in South Africa lies only in the sphere of structural assimilation, or that it lies in the sphere of Eisenstadt's "institutional dispersion"? (Behavioural or cultural assimilation is the stage of assimilation in which the immigrants internalise major cultural patterns and values of the host society and fulfil at least the universal role of this society, but they keep certain cultural characteristics and norms of the old culture, and social or structural assimilation is indicated by the actual participation of the immigrants in the political, educational, occupational and other aspects of the receiving society's "social system".)

Before analysing the process of assimilation of the

Greek immigrants, mention should be made of the role of the state in the assimilation of the immigrants and the efforts of the South African educational institutions towards this aim:

- (a) Dr Koornhof, former Deputy Minister of Immigration, had stated in 1968:

"Assimilation is a complete break with the immigrant's old way of life, his language and his culture, and complete acceptance of the language, ideals and way of life of his adopted society."

(South African newspaper, 1968)

- (b) In 1966, the Director of the Transvaal Education Department stated:

"Integration must be the ultimate aim."

The role of the state on this level did not stop in writings, but it was put into practice. In accordance with the statements of the Director of Education in the bulletin of the Transvaal Education Department (1965 and 1966) that "the role of the school is to make immigrants feel at home", teachers all around South Africa started to visit the homes of immigrants to make them "feel the hospitality of South Africa".

Analysing the process of assimilation amongst the different generations of Greek immigrants in South Africa, while having already discussed the socialisation process of the Greeks within the structures of South African society, the following may be concluded:

- (a) Economic status and vocation of the new generations in relation to the increasing social mobility which permits them to be members of South African clubs, associations, etc., indicates a high level of structural assimilation. However, we cannot state that the same occurs with the older generations. The low degree of inter-generational upward mobility does not give them the opportunity to be structurally assimilated within the functions of the host society. Generally, the older generations (to a high degree)

are assimilated into the host society internalising the values and norms of South African society; but, on the other hand, they keep certain cultural characteristics of the motherland, i.e. cultural assimilation.

- (b) On the educational level, the great influence of the South African school as a powerful factor for assimilation has already been mentioned. The high degree of participation of new Greek generations in the South African educational system is a major indicator of structural assimilation into the functions of the host society.
- (c) Language as an institutional area seems to be for many older Greek immigrants the difference between a "Greek" and a "South African". In its structural distinction the non-knowledge of the language by an increasing number of the younger generations of Greeks, or its half-knowledge, indicates the structural assimilation of these generations. On the other hand, the older generations must communicate with their customers in their shops, in their businesses, etc., in English; but, in their family environment, and with friends and relatives they keep the language of their homeland even today. Paizes (1963) gives excellent and characteristic details about the cultural linguistic assimilation of the older Greeks and accepts totally the structural assimilation of the younger generations. He uses the example of older immigrants using words like "drivaro", i.e. drive, plus aro (the end of the present tense of the verb "drive" in the Greek language), and "blanketes", i.e. blanket, plus es (the end of the Greek word).
- (d) Religion, as has already been mentioned, is an important institutional area for the Greek ethnic group. Structural assimilation would be indicated by the decreasing degree of participation in the functions of the Greek Orthodox Church or

the low number of people worshipping in other churches and embracing other denominations. These facts occur mainly among the new generations and not to any large degree among the older generations of immigrants.

- (e) In the institutional area of the family, structural assimilation of the younger generations would be indicated by the increasing egalitarian form of the family structure as contrasted with the traditional patriarchial family and by the increasing amount of intermarriage.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE GREEK IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

I. THE EVOLUTION OF THE THOUGHT CONCERNING SOCIAL CLASSES

Nearly one-and-a-half centuries have passed since Marx scientifically faced the problem of social classes for the first time. Before him, of course, other theorists had given only abstract ideas about social classes (i.e., Saint Simon, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Prudhon, Thierry, etc.). Since then, a lot of books have been written and discussions have taken place amongst various social scientists concerning the evolution, nature, and conflicts among social classes.

This introductory brief historical background of the major theories concerning social classes has only one aim - to give the reader some idea of the theoretical framework which will be used in this particular chapter.

As has been mentioned, Marx was not the first to write about the social classes, their roots, nature and conflicts, but it is generally accepted, even by the non-Marxists, that he was the first to give scientific roots to the analysis. Marx himself has not given a clear definition of what a social class is, and this is one of the accusations of the non-Marxist writers against him. However, the problem of social classes is definitely not a problem of definition. It is a problem of analysis and, despite the lack of definition, what Marx means when he talks about social classes is wellknown. He has given in nearly all of his writings an extensive analysis of what social classes are, their roots and nature, and mainly the nature and roots of their conflicts.

In general, a definition of the Marxist viewpoint on social classes, as it is extensively analysed in the whole Marxist literature, could take the following form:

"Social classes are competitive social groups, with the one appropriating the other, as a consequence of the different place they occupy in the economic structure of a particular mode of production, places which are determined by the special form of their relation to the means of production (owners-nonowners)."

This definition means that for Marx classes are groups of social agents of men defined principally but not exclusively by their place in the economic sphere. However, there is a fact concerning the Marxist theory of social classes which sometimes (one could say many times) is misunderstood, and that is the fact that Marx himself wrote that the economic place of the social agents has a principal role in determining the social classes (a fact which is taken into account even by non-Marxist theorists), but it is not sufficient to determine social classes. Marx himself and even the contemporary Marxists analyse social classes without limiting themselves to economic criteria alone; they make clear reference to political and ideological criteria. We can say that a social class in Marxism is defined by its place in the ensemble of social practices, i.e. in the ensemble of the division of labour which includes ideological and political criteria.

Marx's approach was a real revolution for its time - the period of the post-industrial revolution - and the Marxist writings paved the way for the theorists who followed.

Although it is commonly accepted that Marx was the first to give an analysis of social classes, criticism of his theory started when he began writing, and continues until today. Everyone is aware of the phenomenon that Marx's writings from 1844 or 1848 are heavily criticised even in the present time. Let us examine a number of the most important of these criticisms before we analyse the major critics of his writings.

The major criticisms against Marx were based on the false image that he polarised society into two classes, i.e. bourgeoisie and proletariat. At this point we can see the contradictory writings of the non-Marxists towards this theoretical problem. A number of theorists (e.g., Ossowski, 1963) accuse Marx of polarising the society into two classes ignoring the middle classes; and a famous French sociologist, Gurvitch (1971:106-107) writes (free translation from the French):

" . . . Thus Marx in his book "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany" recognises the existence of at least eight classes, namely: Feudal owners; Bourgeoisie; Petty bourgeoisie; Big and small shopowners; Independent peasants; Land workers; Serfs; and Industrial workers."

Gurvitch continues:

" . . . In his book "Class Struggle in France 1848 to 1850", Marx mentions seven classes, namely: The bourgeoisie (capital holders); The industrial bourgeoisie; The merchant bourgeoisie; The petty bourgeoisie; The land working class; The proletariat; and The sub-proletariat."

Studying the writings of these theorists, one can probably assume that they have read one or two of Marx's books or, in the final analysis, that they do not have the potential to understand them, or had read them very quickly without studying them. As regards the first criticism ("the absolute polarisation into only two classes"), we can study and note a few sentences even from the period of the "Communist Manifesto" (1968b:41), the main book by Marx on which the criticisms are based. Marx points out:

" . . . The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class."

In "Capital" (1974:52), it is clearly shown that Marx was aware of the complex division of society, when he wrote the following in the unfinished chapter of the last volume of the book entitled "The Classes":

" In England modern society is indisputably developed most highly and classically in its economic structure. Nevertheless the stratification of

classes does not appear in its pure form, even there. Middle and transition stages obliterate even here all definite boundaries, although much less in the rural districts . . . //

These quotations show clearly that Marx was aware of the complexity of the division of labour, even in his time; however, for him as well as for the contemporary Marxists, the main classes are only two, i.e. the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

As far as Gurvitch's point is concerned, there is only one answer. Marx always talks about two main classes (i.e. the bourgeoisie and the proletariat) and he accepts, as has been mentioned, the existence of the middle classes. We cannot find, however, in any of his writings the point that these classes are united. In all of his literature, Marx makes the distinction between large landowners and capital holders; or, when he writes about shopkeepers, artisans and peasants, he is talking about the agents of one and the same class, who constitute strata or fractions of this particular class, i.e. the middle class. This is the answer to Gurvitch. While Marxism uses the terms strata, fractions or categories to designate particular ensembles, it still remains true that these strata, fractions or categories always belong to a class.

Of course these two accusations (contradictory in nature) are not the only ones. Further accusations about his writings on the theory of social classes have been expressed. It has been argued, amongst others, that Marx's theory, according to which the proletariat would suffer from increasing poverty and misery, has been proved to be false in the case of the technologically developed western societies. The same applies to Marx's conclusions that the middle class would be absorbed by the proletariat because of the unequal competition of the capitalist market. One could write an entire book accusing or defending Marx and his theories on social classes. The present writer's aim is neither to defend nor accuse him but merely to add a few more words on how he (the writer) subjectively sees the whole

Marxist theory concerning social classes.

Marx and Engels lived in a particular period of history and they analysed this and the previous period through the prism of historical materialism. One could accuse or defend this analysis and this particular prism of analysing the social phenonema; or one could accuse or defend the theorists like Lenin, Lukacs, Gramsci or Mao who continued the Marxist tradition. Viewing the Marxist viewpoint under a critical prism two more points may be mentioned:

- (a) His writings were the first effort made to analyse social classes in a scientific way.
- (b) Marxist writings are not a Bible, and Marx himself was not a prophet.

Probably the pioneers of Marxist thought made mistakes or made incomplete analyses of what would happen in the future, but they definitely left the contemporary Marxists a guide for the analysis of social phenomena, i.e. historical materialism, which in the writer's opinion is their most important offering to the coming generations of Marxist theorists.

The Marxist theorists after Marx gave the same importance as their teacher to the social classes, especially to the forms and explanations of the class struggle (for example we can recall the wellknown discussions between the young Kautzky and Bernstein before the former became a "reformist", and the discussions between Lenin and Trotsky, before the Russian Revolution, concerning the role of the Russian peasantry as an ally or not of the Russian proletariat). During Lenin's period the movement of "historicism" began with main representatives Lukacs and Korsch; the first Marxian school tried to "marry" the Marxist conception of class with the Hegelian and Weberian influence giving special importance to the meaning of "class consciousness". Of course, it is obvious that the limitation of space does not allow even a brief picture or criticism of the Marxist literature (which includes theorists such as Lenin, Gramsci and Mao Tse Tung) to be given.

During the period after the death of the pioneers of

Marxist thought, new ideas concerning the nature of social classes and their conflicts came from Europe - mainly Italy and Germany -- through the writings of Schmoller (1901), Pareto (1966), and finally the most influential theorist of our day, Weber.

Schmoller tried to prove that the meaning of social class is directly connected with occupation, and it may be mentioned that even in contemporary years this viewpoint is somehow acceptable ("the socio-professional classes") to a number of scientists, mainly in America. Apart from the confusion of the theoretical methods used by Schmoller, his writings fail to give a complete idea of the complexity of the nature and roots of social classes. However, the concrete analysis by Schmoller concerning the alignment amongst the civil servants, the military officials and the working classes against the ruling classes in Prussia under the leadership of the King, had an influence on writers such as Spengler (1919), whose writings influenced the process leading to the rise of Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. The same author, Schmoller, in later writings in many ways changed his initial idea that occupation is the basic criterion of social class, thus recognising the complete failure of his previous viewpoint which had been excellently criticised by Sorokin (1947).

Pareto, mainly an economist, in his writings on sociology (1966) consisting of 1 761 pages, tried to apply his theory of social classes to the problem of the "leading elites" and the governed, and the "circulation of the elites". This theory influenced many scholars, mainly in the United States. Pareto's theory, generally mechanistic and nominalistic, is based on an unsophisticated idea of the "psychology of instincts". It can be argued that in some ways his theory is influenced by Machiavelli ("the big thieves jailed the small thieves . . ."); however, it can be said that Pareto's theory, which is excellently criticised by a number of contemporary sociologists, e.g., Bottomore (1964), offers only one thing to the scientist - it gives him the idea of how

the problem should not be put if he wants to give a scientific analysis of social classes.

The most influential and original theorist and the founder of the most powerful alternatives to the Marxist theory of classes is undoubtedly Max Weber. He defined a "class" primarily based on a Marxian criterion, that is in relation to the ownership of property. He writes (1970: 17): "Property and lack of property are the basic categories of all class situations."

Continuing his analysis, he distinguishes between two types of property, ownership and non-ownership of goods and services. Generally speaking, according to Weber, goods were offered by property owners and services (chiefly labour-power) by non-owners. Therefore, according to this reasoning, since all offers of goods and services, whether by owners or non-owners, went through the "market", class situation was equivalent to "market" situation. The class or market situation determined the individual's supply of goods, living conditions and other chances in life (at this point we can remember the neo-Weberian tendencies of a large number of American sociologists concerning the "equality" or "inequality" of opportunity directly transferred from the Weberian writings). The ownership or non-ownership of property for Weber also meant power to dispose of goods and services. In this way Weber's writings linked class and power in society in a fairly similar fashion to Marx. Another similarity between Weber and Marx on the theory of social classes is the distinction of class and class consciousness. From a long-term historical viewpoint Marx had written that classes arose only with the realisation of class interest, i.e. with class consciousness. Of course, Marx and Engels recognised that at certain periods and with certain people, class consciousness fell to a low level or did not even appear, but through the historical process the working class consciousness would inevitably grow. Weber tended to emphasise the negative aspect.

In many of his writings he argued that a class need

not develop a class consciousness even at a low level of "workers' murmuring against the boss". In all of his writings one can understand his effort to give an alternative idea about classes. He formed it in the idea of "status". According to him "status groups" were normally communities, not classes. He defined status as a position in society determined by social estimation of "honour" and although admitting its links with class he repeatedly set the two in opposition. Thus, for him, class was associated with production (and acquisition) of goods, and status with consumption. A man might own a great deal of capital (which would rank him high from a class viewpoint) but be excluded from the highest social circles, so that his status situation was lower than his social situation. (Weber, 1964). Generally, by emphasising that status gave rise to innumerable privileges, material advantages and "monopolies" - for example, wearing special uniforms, carrying arms, or holding certain offices - Weber tried to give status greater importance than class. This fact, however, led Weber into some confusion when he tried to separate out his classes and status groups. For example, the distinction between "property classes" and "acquisition classes" which in some terms enabled him to distinguish landowners from industrial and financial capitalists, shows the confusion arising from the distinction of the positively and negatively privileged. A positively privileged property class enjoyed a producing and consuming monopoly, having the opportunity to purchase the best goods and services, or to sell goods, to accumulate property and capital, etc. Clearly, here, class situation led to an overall status position, though there might be an interval of time before property ownership led to status and one could say that this is possible even when the individual cannot achieve a high status despite great property ownership. His analysis of the acquisition classes (which are separated by Weber into positively privileged and negatively privileged classes) also seems to be confused. For example, according to the analysis of the "acquisition classes", the workers are generally negatively privileged but the workers who belong to a trade union are positively

privileged because they "monopolise the worker's side of the negotiating machinery". According to this theory, even the lowest paid workers who belong to a trade union are positively privileged.

Weber's third type of class - "the social class" - was based on "honour"; in other words, it was a real Weberian "status group". The Weberian "social class" included the working class, the shopkeepers, the intelligentsia without independent property, commercial and other official and civil servants. Here again one can see the real plurality of fractions or strata which Weber used, seeing clearly how he looked for factors determining the separation of the population. On the other hand, here the working class was seen as a whole, in contradiction to the way he previously split up this class into negatively privileged and positively privileged in his analysis of the "acquisition classes".

Although Weber was a theorist who offered many excellent analyses of social phenomena, such as the role of religion in relation to capitalism, bureaucracy and stratification, we cannot say that his analysis on social classes is complete or correct. Of course, the limitation of space does not allow a more extensive criticism or evaluation of the Weberian viewpoint on social classes.

The Weberian point of view of social classes had (and still has) a great influence on the American and European sociological tradition. A great number of American and European scientists, based on the writings of Weber, continued his tradition. Obviously it is impossible and unimportant to mention all these theorists. However, two famous American sociologists who were influenced by Weber may be mentioned here; their analyses of social classes and their classification even now influence a large number of American sociologists. They are Warner and Lund (1941, 1942 and 1949) who gave the following definition of social class: "With the word class we mean certain categories of population who occupy - according to a general relief - a lower, or higher position (status)." Thus these theorists

see six classes: the upper-upper; the lower-upper; the upper-middle; the lower-middle; the upper-lower; the lower-lower. This "social class" classification is not done according to the economic situation or the occupation of the agents of the class, but the basic criterion is the opinion of other people about them. The fact which is important for these theorists is the movement of the individuals from one social category (class) to the other (probably that is why their preference for the "social-climber-opportunist" is very clear in their writings).

As has already been mentioned, contemporary sociologists are mainly influenced by the Marxian and Weberian viewpoints on social classes. It is obvious then that it is a waste of time and space to try to give details or analyse their positions since most of their writings are repetitions and more repetitions of these two pioneers of sociology.

There are, of course, a number of original efforts of various theorists on the analysis of social classes but, even in these writings, one can trace the sperms of thought of the two pioneers. Perhaps mention should be made of a number of these sociologists starting from Mills (1956) to the confusing ideas of Dahrendorf (1959) (whose theory of the interest group, with main focus on the "authority groups", is a mixture of Parsonian "consensus", Paretian "governmental elites", and Weberian influence); Lockwood (1958); Ossowski (1963) and the most recent works of Tourain (1972) and Poulantzas (1975), probably one of the better analyses of the social classes in an advanced capitalist society with main focus on the traditional and new middle classes. The works of Tourain and Poulantzas are considered to be leading in new directions in the theory of social classes.

II. METHODOLOGY AND FRAMEWORK

Starting the analysis of the class composition of the Greek immigrants in South Africa and bearing in mind that it

is impossible to analyse it separately from the existing class structure of the South African society, a number of points concerning the methodology and framework used for this analysis should be mentioned. The analysis will take place at three levels:

- (a) the economic,
- (b) the ideological, and
- (c) the political.

Besides the theoretical framework necessary for this kind of analysis, the empirical research is of equal importance. This means that the theoretical perspectives-aspects must be connected with empirical research. The theoretical tools must be used to cover the concrete situations (in this case the situation of the Greek immigrants on the three levels), because one can logically ask: "How do I know that the Greek middle classes are Nationalist supporters? I must have proof of it." This fact does not necessarily mean that the analysis will be formalistic or purely empiricist. The danger is obvious and a great effort is needed to overcome this difficulty.

III. THE SOUTH AFRICAN AND GREEK IMMIGRANT WORKING CLASS: SOME ASPECTS

As mentioned before, it is impossible to analyse the class composition of the Greek immigrants in isolation from the class structure of the South African society. In other words, we cannot speak of "Greek middle class" or "Greek working class" without briefly referring to the class structure of the South African society.

Carchedi (1975a:13) gives a four-fold definition of the working class as follows:

"The working class is defined as: (a) the economically exploited; (b) the non-owners of the means of production; (c) individual labourers; and (d) those whose income is determined by the value of their labour power produced by themselves and paid back to them by the bourgeoisie."

Clarifying this definition, Carchedi (1975b) makes a clear

distinction between the "pure productive workers" (the working class) and the "new middle class". He analyses the latter (the manager and the higher state bureaucratic personnel excluded because, as he argues, and as Poulantzas (1975) also does, they constitute a fraction of the bourgeoisie), writing that the "new middle class" agents perform the global function of capital together with some or other tasks of collective labour. Thus, they occupy a place between that of the working class and the bourgeoisie. This analysis places the whole problem on the economic sphere, while Poulantzas (1975) gives more importance to the political relations.

Before analysing the contemporary theories concerning the working class in South Africa, it would be useful for the later analysis to focus briefly here on the problem of productive and unproductive labour and its significance for the understanding of the whole problem.

Marx (1951:148) wrote:

"Productive labour in its significance for capitalist production, is wage labour which, exchanged against the variable part of capital not only reproduces this part of capital, but in addition produces surplus value .//

and again (1951:393): "Only labour which is directly transformed into capital is productive."

This automatically means that the independent labourers (the artisans or technicians working in their garage, for example), are not productive workers. However, one must be aware of the fact that the concept of productive worker is a narrow view that excludes the ideological and political levels. That is why we must always bear in mind in every case that the technical division of labour is eliminated by the social division of labour. This very important distinction between the technical and social divisions of labour becomes apparent if we want to analyse, for example, the position of engineers and technicians who are employed mainly in supervisory positions in an industry. We can see that they occupy a contradictory position; from the economic-

technical point of view he increasingly contributes to the production of the surplus value; but at the same time he is entrusted with a kind of special authority of supervising and overseeing the labour process and organisation. This means he is "placed alongside" intellectual labour in his maintenance of the monopoly of knowledge (as Poulantzas, in 1975, clearly states). One could definitely suggest that at least up to now the latter aspect of his situation outweighs the former in determining the class, so that as a whole engineers and technicians cannot be considered as belonging to the working class. This is mentioned because, in the writer's opinion, it solves many theoretical problems involved in the further analysis of the subject.

Based mainly on the writings of Carchedi (1975a and b) and Poulantzas (1975), a number of South African social scientists (Kaplan, 1974; Simpson, 1974; Wolpe, 1976; and others) try to show that the existence of a white working class in South Africa is a myth.

Wolpe (1976), who made the most extensive analysis on the subject, is of the opinion that the white workers perform a supervisory function which is of a dual nature, i.e. productive and unproductive. Insofar as they perform a productive function they are paid out of variable capital; in the case where they perform a non-productive function they are paid out of the surplus value and this fact, he argues, alters their relation to the means of production, in other words they constitute a "new middle class".

Simpson (1974) analysing the "white working class" on all levels, i.e. economic, ideological, and political, argues that there is no "white working class" in South Africa.

Wolpe, analysing the relationship between white worker and black worker, and its historical background on the economic level, shows the extreme wage differentiations between them.

TABLE 47
ANNUAL AVERAGE WAGE RATES AMONGST
BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS 1911-1972
(CURRENT PRICES)

YEAR	AVERAGE WHITE WAGE (IN RANDB)	AVERAGE BLACK WAGE (IN RANDB)	WAGE GAP [*]
1911	560	62	498
1920	819	64	755
1930	648	59	589
1940	911	69	842
1950	1 594	110	1 484
1961	2 501	159	2 342
1970	4 074	235	3 839
1972	5 098	302	4 796

SOURCE: Wolpe, 1976.

*Wage gap calculated by the writer (E M)

Mlongo (1975) uses the following way to show clearly the economic position of white workers in comparison with Blacks, Asians, and Coloureds in different sectors of the economy.

TABLE 48
RELATIVE WAGES IN VARIOUS SECTORS
OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY 1973

INDUSTRY	RACE	MONTHLY AVERAGE WAGE IN RAND
Food	White	355
	Asian	120
	Coloured	82
	African	65
Tobacco	White	359
	Asian	-
	Coloured	86
	African	79
Electricity	White	415
	Asian	-
	Coloured	105
	African	80
Transport Equipment	White	380
	Asian	153
	Coloured	133
	African	86

On the political and ideological levels the policy and strategy of the ruling parties in South Africa, as is well-known (starting from the PACT government in 1924 until today, from the industrial colour bar and segregation to the present policy of apartheid), is to increase the privileges of the white workers to a very high level in comparison with those of the Coloured, Asian and African workers. There is little doubt that the National Party which came to power in 1948 would have declined as a political force in South Africa without the white workers' supports.

The results of the historical process of South Africa are very wellknown; the ruling party has close ties with the "white working class" giving the white workers democratic rights, i.e. the right to vote in elections, the right of participation in legal trade unions, and the economic privileges already mentioned. All these facts illustrate that the white worker is in a uniquely favoured position in comparison to the black worker. These political and economic factors, examined very briefly because of the limitations of space, and the structural economic and political crisis which the South African society faces, gives us an answer to the question of the increasing unemployment of the African and Coloured workers, and the limitations regarding certain jobs, a fact which is legally recognised by the South African government. For example, the Mines and Works Act states:

"Africans are not permitted to do such jobs as sampling, driving an underground diesel locomotive if whites are being conveyed, doing welding underground or even building a simple concrete wall underground. After blasting has taken place, gangs of Africans must wait losing working time, until a white miner has inspected the slope."

(The South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970:151)

Bearing in mind the previous analysis and coming to analyse the existence or not of a Greek section of the South African working class, the following facts are mentioned: Until 1923, as mentioned in a previous chapter, there were no Greek productive workers in South Africa (except for a small number of gold mine workers who were employed there

for a short period of time). The Greek immigrants of that period occupied places in the secondary field of production (mainly shopkeepers). The division of labour of the Greek immigrants from 1900 to 1923 was as follows. (The table was derived by the writer from information obtained from Nicolaides, 1923.)

TABLE 49
DIVISION OF LABOUR OF GREEK IMMIGRANTS
IN SOUTH AFRICA 1900-1923

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	PERCENTAGE
Shopowner	263	80,42
Independent artisan	29	8,86
Small landowners	5	1,52
Public services	18	5,50
Property owners (hotels, etc.)	12	3,66
Total	327	99,96

SOURCE: Nicolaides, 1923.

It can easily be seen from the above table that there was a lack of Greek productive workers during that period. The situation did not change even up to the end of the Second World War.

As already noted, the establishment of the first small Greek industries and manufacturers in the country, as well as the high technical education of a small part of the Greek younger generations in South Africa, created a stratum of skilled and semi-skilled workers. This fact becomes obvious from a study of Table 50 on the following page.

As can be clearly seen, the majority of the Greek immigrants occupied places in the secondary and tertiary fields of production. However, because of the non-specificity of South African statistics, we cannot see how many of the "production workers" really were productive

TABLE 50: DIVISION OF LABOUR AMONGST GREEK IMMIGRANTS 1923-1960

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Professional and technical worker	157	37	194
Administrative, executive, manager	609	51	660
Clerical worker	128	138	266
Sales worker	1 238	148	1 386
Farmer, fisherman	7	1	8
Miner, quarryman	48	-	48
Transport and communication	17	3	20
Craftsman, labourer, production	388	54	442
Service, sports and recreation	59	21	80
Unemployed and unspecified	86	70	156
Total economically active	2 737	523	3 260

Sources: (a) Statistics of Migration (1924-1960)
 (b) South African Bureau of Statistics
 (c) South African Monthly Bulletin of Statistics

workers during that period. The fact is that after working for a short time in industries or small factories, the Greek workers turned to independent artisan occupations. (As will be seen below, virtually the same thing happens with the new generations of Greek technicians in the present time.)

During the period 1963 to 1970 (no statistical data are available for the period 1961 to 1963), as already mentioned in the analysis of social mobility, the large stream of immigration was constituted mainly of Greek skilled and semi-skilled technicians and professionals. This is clearly shown in Table 51 on the next page.

A study of this table shows the large number of professional and technical workers and salesmen. However, the statistics may lead to a false conclusion. As mentioned in other cases, the primary push-factor for immigration is economical survival. This fact automatically leads to the conclusion that the Greeks coming to South Africa, declaring "artisan" or "technician", are probably occupied only for a few months in productive jobs (mainly industries). This occupation is a temporary one. Bearing in mind that a white skilled technician can earn about R500 a month, and a semi-skilled technician about R350 to R400 per month, the tendency of Greek technicians to change their occupation to independent jobs such as garages, small manufacturers, etc., or even to occupations such as small-scale shopowners, takeaway shops, etc., can be easily understood. (This fact is also noted in the chapter on social mobility.)

Of course, even now there are a number of Greek technicians employed in supervisory jobs in many South African industries. This category of Greek technician could be assumed to be a category of the "new middle class" according to the previous analysis based on contemporary discussions on the nature of the white working class in South Africa. However, the number of Greek technicians in this category decreases year by year. Another reason for stating that there is no Greek working class in South Africa will be the later analysis of the economic, ideological and political

TABLE 51: DIVISION OF LABOUR AMONGST GREEK IMMIGRANTS * 1963-1969

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	TOTAL
Professional, technical, related worker	51	55	128	36	46	42	52	410
Administrative, executive, managerial	30	23	140	15	19	24	20	271
Clerical worker	34	41	129	28	28	39	61	360
Sales worker	67	84	239	163	106	69	48	776
Farmer, fisherman	7	17	15	18	5	7	7	76
Miner	2	-	-	1	-	1	1	5
Transport, communication	3	18	-	26	6	5	7	65
Artisan, production worker	86	475	19	421	225	253	223	1 702
Service, recreation worker	35	56	104	36	40	26	11	308
Non-economically active	892	910	966	763	520	605	464	5 120
TOTAL	1 207	1 679	1 740	1 507	995	1 071	894	9 093

Source: Statistics of Migration 1963-1969

* Referring to their occupation in Greece

levels of the new middle classes in South Africa. (It has already been stated that the technical division of labour is not the only determinant of social classes.)

IV. A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN NEW MIDDLE CLASS

As outlined in the foregoing short analysis, the basic framework to be used in analysing the Greek middle class and the strata of this class within the social formation of the South African society will be undertaken on three levels, i.e. the economic, the ideological, and the political. This analysis attempts to recognise the interaction between the three levels and assumes that the economic level determines the ideological and political levels.

The increasing significance of a theory or theories on the middle classes in the contemporary period of monopoly capitalism is wellknown. The analyses of specific strata and categories of the middle class, especially office-workers and civil servants, have been the centre of interest of various theorists such as Mills (1951), Dahrendorf (1969), and Poulantzas (1975), to name a few. The latter, from his own viewpoint, tries to analyse the basic contradictions and alliances of these strata. It is not necessary to argue, discuss or criticise all these arguments, not because they are irrelevant to this study, but because, on the one hand, they are extremely wellknown and, on the other, because of lack of space.

The first questions arising, before the analysis of the contemporary conditions of the Greek middle classes in South Africa can be started, are related to the historical process of the creation, nature and roots of the middle class in South Africa and the different fractions and categories of this class.

It is very difficult for anyone - and especially for a foreigner - to give in brief terms a historical background

to the creation, nature and roots of the new middle class in South Africa, if one bears in mind that a large number of books dealing with the political and economic realities of South Africa, written in the past and in the present, fail completely to give an explanation of many questions, especially concerning this phenomenon (the South African middle class). They fail to give such explanations because they separate the three levels of analysis, i.e. economic, political and ideological, giving importance to each separately from the others.

In this brief analysis, focus will be directed especially on the formation and place of the new middle classes in South Africa, not because the traditional middle classes within the formation of South African society are of less importance, but because the new middle classes are the basis of the political, economic and ideological domination of the ruling groups over the working class, and because the traditional middle classes are tending to decline in the present phase of monopoly capitalism in South Africa.

The creation of the new middle classes began after the increasing industrialisation of the country in the thirties, but its roots date back to the beginning of this century. By the eighties, a powerful and well organised mining capitalist class had emerged with the ownership of both gold and diamond mines. From that time on the policy of segregation was introduced by a number of laws and bills such as the Glen Gray Act and the Pass Laws, and thus the economic, ideological and political roots of the new middle classes were laid.

The ideological, political and economic spheres were influenced by several historical events such as:

- (a) the strikes of 1907 and 1922, which resulted in increasing upward mobility for the Afrikaner workers to skilled and supervisory positions in the gold mines and industries;
- (b) the establishment of the first white trade unions;
- (c) the formation of the PACT government which

strengthened the industrial colour bar by further legislation; and

- (d) the coming to power of the Nationalist Party (which changed its policy in many ways after the Second World War) which became the party representing the interests of the Afrikaner industrial capital versus international capital, whereas previously it had represented the interests of the Afrikaner agricultural capital.

The incredibly high wage gap between the white workers (mainly in supervisory positions) and the African and Coloured workers which has occurred through a historical process is an undoubted fact in all spheres of the economy. In certain sectors of the economy, such as the public services, a lower wage gap exists; for example, the average monthly gross cash earnings for a European is R428, for a Coloured R212, for an Asian R327 and for an African R88 (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1975). The above is part of the new policy of the National Party to establish strong and wealthy Coloured and Indian middle classes, but the same does not apply for the Africans. This fact is made obvious (on the political level) by the new constitutional plan of the government. A clear picture is obtained by studying the latest statistics in various sectors of the South African economy.

Table 52 illustrates the monthly wage gap amongst Whites, Asians, Africans and Coloureds in various sectors of the economy. Two further tables follow, the first indicating the percentage per capita real increase in White and African wages, and the second showing the trend in monthly per capita wages and salaries in the manufacturing sector. Both clearly show that the wage gap has widened and continues to do so.

TABLE 52
MONTHLY WAGE GAP AMONGST WHITES, ASIANS, AFRICANS
AND COLOURED IN DIFFERENT SECTORS OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY IN 1976

	MONTHLY AVERAGE GROSS CASH EARNINGS (IN RAND)	WAGE GAP (IN RAND)
<u>Mining</u>		
African	82,29	619,49
Coloured	191,16	516,61
Indian	248,32	459,46
White	707,78	-
<u>Construction</u>		
African	115,97	415,38
Coloured	204,97	326,64
Indian	285,77	245,58
White	531,35	-
<u>Provincial Authorities</u>		
African	77,83	312,53
Coloured	119,63	270,73
Indian	235,91	154,45
White	390,36	-

SOURCE: The South African Institute of Race Relations, 1976

TABLE 53
PERCENTAGE PER CAPITA INCREASE IN WHITE AND AFRICAN
WAGES 1960-1967
(AFRICAN WAGES IN BRACKETS)

	MANUFAC- TURING %	CON- STRUCTION %	MINING	CENTRAL GOVT. %
Increase per annum 1960-1967	11,3(12,6)	15,2(17,4)	5,0(4,0)	8,1(11,0)
Less C O L	2,5 (2,5)	2,5 (2,5)	2,5(2,5)	2,5 (2,5)
Real increase	8,8(10,1)	12,7(14,9)	2,5(1,5)	5,6 (8,5)
Less employment growth	3,9 (7,3)	6,8(10,4)	0,8	3,4 (7,2)
Per capita real increase	4,9 (2,8)	5,9 (4,5)	3,3(1,5)	2,2 (1,3)
Employment dis- tribution	51 (46)	10 (11)	12 (32)	26 (11)

SOURCE: Horner, 1972

TABLE 54
TREND IN PER CAPITA WAGES AND SALARIES MONTHLY
IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR

YEAR	WHITE (RAND)	AFRICAN (RAND)
1960	160,10	33,75
1970	299,60 (87%)	57,67 (80%)
Real annual growth	3,7%	2,7%

SOURCE: Horner, 1972

On the ideological level, beginning with the Glen Gray Act in 1894, which was the basis of the change of the Native Policy, the state's policy to retard the cultural assimilation of the Africans, as de Kiewiet (1975) clearly explains, consisted of the following:

- (a) The separation of education which resulted in the establishment and development of Bantu education.
- (b) Limitations for higher and technical education for the African and Coloured people in the country.

The above policy gave the white middle classes the impression that they were a part of the "power bloc", thus sharing in the political power through the ideology of "white superiority" and apartheid.

On the political level, as already mentioned, the white middle classes in South Africa have all the political rights such as voting for the White Parliament, the possibility of belonging to a trade union, etc. Of course the Africans, the Coloureds and the Indians have the right to vote for their representatives (i.e. the Indian Council, Kwazulu, etc.), but one must bear in mind that all these bodies are mainly advisory. The real political power and decision-making is concentrated in the hands of the White Parliament. Another main characteristic on the political level is the support of the white middle classes for the National Party which is directly connected with the false impression that they have a share in the political power. There have been many

writings on this subject recently (Davis and Lewis, 1976; Bienefeld and Inness, 1976, etc.) which strengthen the arguments of the earlier writings.

One could, of course, reject the statement concerning the political advantages of the white middle class in comparison to the Coloured middle classes, arguing that the Coloured people have the right to vote, etc., for their political representative body, i.e. the Coloured Representative Council. This body, having its roots in the ruling classes, desires to manipulate the Coloured South African population and has no real political role within the South African society, as is clearly presented in a number of recent writings (Simons, 1975; Molteno, 1977; Davenport, 1977, etc.).

V. THE GREEK MIDDLE CLASSES WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

As has been stated previously, the analysis of the Greek middle classes within the South African society will be undertaken with focus on three levels, i.e. economic, ideological and political.

During the analysis of the historical background of the Greek immigrants in South Africa, two facts were established:

- (a) Amongst the younger generations of Greek immigrants an increasing upward mobility has taken place (upward mobility in terms of "status" and "prestige", and not from the economic point of view, as will be seen later on).
- (b) A large number of skilled and semi-skilled technicians who came to work in the South African industries changed their occupational status, becoming small shopowners or independent technicians.

This latter phenomenon, directly connected with the

image of the Greek skilled and semi-skilled workers and technicians, concerning the primary aim of their emigration ("I will emigrate and make money and then return to build two houses, one in my village and the other in Athens."), is supported by the past and present conditions of the South African industries because a large number of them do not work on a long-term contract-labour basis (that is, the contract between industry and worker in South Africa is mainly a short-term one, while the opposite occurs in West Germany, for instance, where it is impossible for the worker immigrant to remain in the country when his long-term contract with the industry or the state has finished). This means that when a Greek skilled or semi-skilled technician stops working for a South African industry after the termination of his contract, he may renew it, or otherwise he may open a cafe-shop, or a garage. This, in other words, means that most of the Greek skilled technicians, after completing their contract, are no longer "productive workers", but automatically become independent artisans working on individual profit bases.

As has been mentioned in previous chapters, the Greek immigrants of the past, mainly shopowners, have done very well economically and now many of them are property owners, light production industry owners (these industries now operate under the directorship of their children), or retired businessmen.

At the present time, besides the unequal competition of the supermarkets and hypermarkets, there are still just under 27 000 small shops around the country which sell food, vegetables, etc. (Sunday Times, 1977). Of these stores in white areas, 2 700 are classed as "medium-sized" (average turnover is R219 000 per annum), and 11 000 as "small-sized" (average turnover is R52 000 per annum). Most of the medium-sized stores and 60% to 70% of the small-sized stores are thought of as corner cafes, which would make a total of about 10 000 corner cafes in the country. Besides the fact of the upward mobility of the Greek population in South Africa, a large number of Greeks, mainly rural orientated,

are still occupied in cafes and small-scale shops.

Based on the reports of the Greek communities in South Africa (1977), it can be stated that 60% of the economically active Greek population of Port Elizabeth are small shop-owners, as well as 40% of the Greek population of Alberton. In Pretoria, there are 500 Greek-owned small and medium scale shops (tearooms, cafes, dry cleaners, etc.). In the Welkom area and surrounding districts 80% of the Greeks are small shopowners.

The above statistical data show clearly that the conclusion which probably came to the mind of the reader while reading in a previous chapter about the supposed decline of the traditional Greek middle classes in South Africa because of the upward social mobility, was a false one. The traditional Greek middle classes have not declined in numbers but have increased. One could mention that, together with the increase of the new Greek middle classes in South Africa, there is a parallel stability or even an increase in the number of the Greek old middle class immigrants. (By old or traditional middle classes - as distinct from the non-productive wage earners, i.e. the new middle classes - is meant the fractions of and strata of this class occupied in small-scale artisan production or small family businesses where the same agent is both owner and possessor of the means of production as well as the direct producer.)

Labour is provided by the owner and occasionally by members of his family. The small-scale production draws profit from the sale of goods and commodities, and small-scale ownership involves retail trade in the circulation sphere. In this case, the owner of the trading store is helped by his family or sometimes he employs wage labour (in the case of the Greek immigrants in South Africa, African or Coloured labourers are employed who sometimes face the worst kind of economic exploitation by their employers, as will be seen later).

It is common knowledge that in South Africa and all around the world the traditional small-scale shopkeepers face

economic problems because of the unequal competition from the supermarkets and hypermarkets. In South Africa the small stores in general are losing out to the larger supermarkets - their share of the retail trade slipped from 28% in 1970 to 18% today (Sunday Times, 1977). How does the Greek small shopowner face this problem? There are two alternatives:

(a) To sell his small shop and open (alone or with partners) a supermarket, which in the first place requires a medium or large capital.

(b) To increase his hours of work.

In the case of the Greek small shopowners both occur. More and more Greeks change to big supermarkets (thus connecting the "higher prestige" of the supermarket owner with the necessity of their economic survival), but for the large majority who have no capital, or lack the courage to do this, their only option is to work longer hours. As already mentioned, the Greek small shops are open from seven in the morning until midnight. Thus they have the opportunity of competing with the supermarkets for a few hours (the supermarkets close at six o'clock).

To the possible question - which follows logically - that is, whether the small-scale shopowners in South Africa in this phase of monopoly capitalism face the problem of either reducing margins or extinction, the following may be said: At an estimated gross margin of 20% to 25% of these small-scale shopowners, a turnover of R100 000 per annum, which is not uncommon, would yield an income of R20 000 (Sunday Times, 1976) which, according to the South African economic situation, is a very good annual profit.

As far as the Greek small shopowners are concerned the empirical study carried out on the economical level had more or less incomplete results, mainly due to the fear of information being revealed for tax purposes. The only results are mainly generalities, not exact tables or figures. The writer believes that these statistical calculations are very near reality. Many difficulties arose, mainly the question of how

one could describe a small-scale shop, a medium-sized shop, or a supermarket. For the purpose of this study, a shop was classified as being small or medium in terms of its annual turnover and not in terms of physical size.

The research amongst the small- and medium-scale Greek shopowners in Cape Town and Johannesburg gave the following picture concerning their economic position. The vast majority of small-scale shopowners employ two or three labourers who mainly do the heavy work in the shop, i.e. carrying the commodities, cleaning the shop, etc., and who receive an average weekly wage which fluctuates from R10 to R15 for the part-time labourers and R20 to R40 for the fulltime labourers. The annual turnover of these shops fluctuates from R90 000 or R95 000 to R125 000 or R135 000 which means an annual profit fluctuating from R18 000 to R26 000 or R28 000. The annual profit of the shops employing three to five labourers fluctuates from R30 000 or R32 000 (annual turnover of R145 000 to R160 000) to R35 000 or R38 000 (annual turnover of R180 000 to R200 000). Of course, as already mentioned, there are a large number of small shopkeepers who run their small shops exclusively by themselves and their family and whose annual turnover fluctuates from R100 000 or R125 000 to sometimes a much higher figure.

These are, in broad terms, the details concerning the position of the Greek small-scale shopowner in the economic sphere.

As far as the economic situation of the independent artisans and technicians is concerned, the following may be mentioned: The vast majority of Greek artisans and technicians who arrived during the period 1960 to 1970 are employed in small manufacturing companies or are independent artisans employed in the businesses (mainly garages) of fellow Greeks. Mention is made here of the increasing tendency of technicians working in industries to change, after a short period of time, to independent artisans and then combine with two or three other Greeks to form their own company, as will be seen from the following economic analysis, in the hope of

bettering their own economic situation.

The wages of a European non-productive or productive technician employed in an industry fluctuate from R500 to R550 for the skilled technician and R380 to R400 for the semi-skilled technician. (See, for example, Table 52). Of course, in comparison with the wages of the African or Coloured workers in the industrial sector, these wages are extremely good. Compared with wages paid in Greece in the same sector, they are high (in Greece a skilled technician in a manufacturing industry would earn from R350 to R400 a month). However, the increasing disappointment of the Greek technicians, not only as far as the wage level is concerned, but mainly because of the hard work and long hours involved, determines their choice to become independent technicians. This decision leads to the establishment of their own jobs of a technical nature. However, the decision often leads to financial difficulties which are often solved by forming a partnership. Here again, examining the economic situation of the independent technician, mention must be made of the profit differences of the various categories, because here we have the problem that the vast majority of them employ not only several African labourers but often white skilled technicians and artisans.

Research amongst a number of these independent technicians and artisans, mainly in Johannesburg, gave the following picture concerning their economic situation, the details of which are very close to reality. However, there is the problem that the figures are not stable in any way. The skilled or semi-skilled technicians who do not employ African helpers or European artisans (these being Germans or Portuguese), as was characterised in the first period due to financial problems, broadly speaking make an annual profit of about R10 000 to R12 000, and sometimes as much as R15 000. This profit, as compared with their previous wages as technicians in manufacturing industries (which is about R6 000 per annum for skilled and R4 800 to R5 000 per annum for semi-skilled technicians), provides the answer as to why there is this increasing tendency to change their occupations

to independent technicians.

The vast majority of independent Greek artisans in South Africa employ between three and four African labourers (they prefer employing Africans because they are cheaper than Coloureds) mainly as helpers. (Sometimes the African workers have the experience to work as semi-skilled technicians, but they are paid as unskilled.) The annual profit of these artisans fluctuates from R12 000 to R20 000 and sometimes is as much as R25 000. Of course there are a number of other independent artisans who employ five to seven or even more African and European labourers, but this number is very limited.

To close the analysis on the economic level of the traditional or old middle class Greeks in South Africa, a brief look will be taken at some categories of professionals (i.e., doctors and lawyers). It will be remembered that in the analysis of social mobility, we noted very high numbers of professionals among the younger generations. Here, we will give focus to the independent professionals who are not employed in public or state positions, such as doctors working in a state hospital. Their economic position is relatively better than that of other agents of the traditional middle class in South Africa but, of course, it is not possible to present tables showing their annual or monthly profit. It should be mentioned that there are a number of Greek professionals who leave the country, not because of professional competition, but simply because the political situation and better opportunities of employment in other countries such as America or Europe, are motivating factors. Statistics and figures are not available to indicate the number of Greek professionals leaving the country, but it seems that this phenomenon is increasing year by year, and not only amongst the Greeks for it is also prevalent in other communities.

From the analysis on social mobility it appears obvious that since the early nineteen-sixties, and even before, there has been an increasing upward mobility which, as already mentioned, was mainly the consequence of the increasing

tendency of the new generations of Greeks to become well educated and thus escape from the Greek "cafe-owner" background.

In this part of the chapter, the economic situation of various fractions and categories of these new middle classes will be examined and, after this, an analysis will be made of the ideological and political attitudes of these middle classes.

It has already been indicated, by giving the example of engineers and technicians employed in supervisory capacities, why the writer does not believe that the Greek technicians in South African manufacturing industries are members of the working class. The report of a large Greek-owned industry in South Africa can be used to illustrate the above point (Mentis, 1977). It states:

The composition of our employees is as follows:

Staff	:	28 Whites
Factory	:	28 Whites (supervisors)
		34 Coloureds
		<u>155 Africans</u>
Total	:	<u>245</u>

On the economic level, the wages of the Greeks employed in skilled or semi-skilled positions in large industries in South Africa do not differ from those of other Whites employed in similar positions. The evolution of the average monthly gross cash earnings of White workers in the manufacturing industry during the period 1969 to 1976 is depicted in Table 55.

In Greece the average monthly gross earnings in the manufacturing industry during the same period fluctuated from R200 or R220 in 1969 to R350 or R380 in 1976 (not as large an increase in seven years as occurred in South Africa).

Having a brief, but hopefully clear picture of the economic level of the Greek workers in the South African manufacturing industry, another section of the Greek new middle class in South Africa will be examined, i.e. the

TABLE 55
 AVERAGE MONTHLY GROSS EARNINGS OF WHITE WORKERS IN
 MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA
 AND THE AVERAGE INCREASE OVER THE PREVIOUS YEAR

YEAR	AVERAGE MONTHLY GROSS CASH EARNINGS IN RAND	INCREASE IN RAND OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	PERCENT INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR [*]
1969	262	-	-
1970	278	16	6,10
1971	315	37	13,30
1972	352	37	11,74
1973	360	8	2,27
1974	383	23	6,38
1975	489	106	27,67
1976	550	61	12,47

SOURCE: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969-1976
^{*}Calculations by the author (E M)

agents employed in the "tertiary" sector of the economy - the Greek immigrants who belong to the second, third and fourth generations and who are employed by public authorities and private enterprise and whose number is continuously increasing. Of course, these fractions and categories of the Greek middle class, although occupying more or less the same place in the existing sphere of the production relations (they serve the global function of capital), are not on the same economic level as the other categories of "non-productive" workers. The categories examined are bank personnel, agents employed by public authorities and wholesale and retail workers respectively.

In Greece, the average monthly gross cash earnings of a bank clerk fluctuate from R250 to R320 (Free Press Newspaper, 1978); of course there are higher wages for the more senior personnel.

As can be seen from Table 56, there is a general average annual increase of 13,30% during these years. However, two additional factors should be borne in mind:

- (a) The continual gap between the average gross monthly cash wages amongst the Whites, Coloureds, Asian and African workers, a fact which is a stable determinant of ideological and political relations.
- (b) The continual increase of the cost of living and especially the increase in the prices of commodities of first necessity, a fact which has economic consequences especially, of course, for the working classes (Coloureds, Asian and Africans) and generally for the lower wage earners, but also for the relatively economically "wealthier" classes in the country (the White middle classes).

TABLE 56

EVOLUTION OF THE AVERAGE GROSS MONTHLY EARNINGS OF WHITES
IN BANKING IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1969-1976

YEAR	AVERAGE MONTHLY GROSS CASH EARNINGS IN RAND	INCREASE IN RAND OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	PERCENT INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR*
1969	205	-	-
1970	219	14	6,82
1971	258	39	17,80
1972	290	32	12,40
1973	314	24	8,27
1974	375	61	19,42
1975	429	54	14,40
1976	490	61	14,22

SOURCE: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969-1976

*Calculations of average increase by the author (E M)

Table 57 (see next page) shows the average monthly gross cash earnings of the middle class White agents employed in the public authorities.

The monthly gross cash earnings in public authorities in Greece fluctuate from R250 to R350 and much higher for the more senior personnel (Free Press, 1978).

TABLE 57

EVOLUTION OF THE AVERAGE GROSS MONTHLY EARNINGS OF WHITES
OCCUPIED IN PUBLIC AUTHORITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA
FROM 1969-1975

YEAR	AVERAGE MONTHLY GROSS CASH EARN- INGS IN RAND	INCREASE IN RAND OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	PERCENT INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR [*]
1969	212	-	-
1970	225	13	6,13
1971	293	68	30,22
1972	312	19	6,48
1973	336	24	7,14
1974	376	40	11,90
1975	428	52	13,82

SOURCE: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969-1975

^{*}Calculations by the author (E M)

Finally, in the analysis on the average monthly gross cash earnings of the different categories of the new middle classes, a brief look will be made at the economic situation of the workers in the wholesale and retail business.

TABLE 58

EVOLUTION OF THE AVERAGE GROSS MONTHLY EARNINGS OF WHITES
OCCUPIED IN WHOLESALE AND RETAIL BUSINESS FROM 1969-1976

YEAR	AVERAGE MONTHLY GROSS CASH EARN- INGS IN RAND		INCREASE IN RAND OVER PREVIOUS YEAR		PERCENT INCREASE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR	
	<u>Wholesale</u>	<u>Retail</u>	<u>Wholesale</u>	<u>Retail</u>	<u>Wholesale</u>	<u>Retail</u>
1969	224	139	-	-	-	-
1970	263	146	19	7	7,78	5,03
1971	281	151	18	5	6,84	3,42
1972	320	160	39	9	13,87	5,96
1973	335	179	15	19	4,68	11,87
1974	356	195	21	16	6,26	8,93
1975	389	218	33	23	9,26	11,79
1976	438	249	49	31	12,59	14,22

SOURCE: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969-1976

The ordinary average gross monthly earnings in retail and wholesale businesses in Greece fluctuate from R200 to R300.

Studying the foregoing tables and making comparisons, it will be seen that commercial workers are in the lowest economic position (especially the workers in retail businesses). There are many Greeks, males and females, employed in such jobs, mainly without high educational qualifications, whose economic conditions, because of their low wages, are worse than the workers employed in the manufacturing sector. Of course it could be argued that this comparison is dangerous because a comparison between a skilled worker without high qualifications and a commercial worker is difficult. The qualifications of the majority of the commercial workers, of course, are not very high (i.e. most of them have not completed the matriculation course). However, we must bear in mind some characteristic details: First of all the commercial worker must have some knowledge of commercial practices, sometimes he/she must be able to speak a foreign language, and the most crucial point is that the commercial worker's skill develops rapidly through the exercise of his/her function. The problem of the Greek commercial workers, and all commercial workers in South Africa, is that their qualifications in relation to the day-by-day increase of unemployment in the country does not allow them a better choice.

In the above section, the economic situation of the Greek middle classes within the South African society was portrayed. In the next section, the political attitudes and ideology of the Greek middle class will be explored.

VI. IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE GREEK MIDDLE CLASSES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The structural determination of the Greek middle classes in the social division of labour of the South African society has certain effects on the ideology of its agents, which

directly influences its class position. The first point to be made, before giving specific elements for the ideology and the political attitudes of the Greek new middle classes and the traditional ones as well, is that the middle classes do not have, in the long run, any autonomous class position. That is why we can speak simply of a middle class ideological sub-ensemble.

In trying to give an image of the ideological implications determined by the economic position of the Greek middle classes in South Africa, mention should first be made of all the increasing fear of "being poor" and the attraction of the "high society" way of life (capitalist way of life), directly connected with a wish for a better "career" and "higher prestige" mainly through job promotion, as an increasing phenomenon not only of the so-called Greek individualism (see Added, 1973), but generally as a result of the middle class individualism. An increasing feeling of "equality of opportunity" as a part of the "cultural equality" in the South African society (for example, "Why should the Afrikaner clerk be paid a higher wage than a Greek-orientated clerk, if we have the same level of education, culture, etc?"), is the indicator of this kind of individualism which is not only directly connected in the ideological sphere, but on the economic sphere as well ("the money fetishism" which will be analysed below).

The Greek middle-class individual's position in relation to mental/manual labour ("the clean jobs/dirty jobs" distinction), particularly in the South African situation, leads the Greek middle-class individual towards the nearly total acceptance of "white superiority" in the country (of course there are exceptions to the rule). The white-black separation in racial terms is a common characteristic of this situation with a high level of discrimination in relationships between "white Greeks" and "Coloureds and Blacks" (mainly in the case of the traditional middle-class individuals who, because of the nature of their occupations, have more relations with the Africans and Coloured people). The

Africans and Coloureds are generally referred to as "kaffirs" in discussions and meetings amongst Greek individuals everywhere.

Of course, as already mentioned, one of the better explanations for this ideology of the Greek middle classes is the structure of the South African school, which perpetuates the division of manual/mental labour through the "training and qualification" scheme. The school plays a role of its own in the training of mental labour ("clean and better paid jobs"), a role which is specifically characteristic in the case of the new middle classes to an overwhelming extent, in a way that leads towards the "mental labour side" of the educational division. That is why, bearing in mind the structure of the South African educational system, i.e. separate development, Bantu education system, inequality of educational opportunity for white and black children (the latter very rarely having opportunity for advanced education and, while scholars, becoming manual workers as well), the "ideology of discrimination" even amongst the new middle-class Greek individuals in South Africa can be easily understood.

Another main characteristic of the middle-class Greek individual is the total anti-communist and anti-soviet feelings - these are one and the same thing for the Greeks in South Africa, i.e. communism=Russia=destruction of Africa and especially South Africa. All these things occurred before Mr Botha's statement that America is the worst enemy of South Africa. This statement now provides a focal point for discussions amongst the Greek community in the country.

As far as the traditional Greek middle class is concerned, although it occupies in economic terms a place different from that of the new middle class, it is nevertheless characterised by certain analogous features. The arguments of many Greek traditional shopowners against the "big capital" (in the form of supermarkets and hypermarkets) conflicts with their ideas of the increasing threat of "Soviet imperialism" and "black communists which are at the front doors of South Africa"; their arguments against the "new monopoly"

(O K Bazaars and Grand Bazaars which have opened near their shops) conflict with their main argument "I do not care, I have a house, a car and savings in the bank"; their disappointment towards the state ("We pay a great deal of money in taxes to the state, but the state only protects the capitalists") conflicts with their recognition of the state as a "safeguard" of their small properties ("The state and the army protect us from the Blacks and the Communists"). The increasing isolation of the small shopkeepers from a competitive position in the market gives them the impression that the state is the only solution for the maintenance and protection of their savings and property. Their increasing fear after the Soweto riots gave an even more important role to this image, but it also gave a reinforcement to the increasing discrimination towards the Natives in all spheres.

All the above characteristics of the conflicting and stable ideologies of the Greek middle class will be more extensively discussed below in the analysis of the political attitudes and beliefs of the Greek middle-class individuals.

On the political sphere as well, there are contradictory points which must be mentioned. First of all, there is an almost complete lack of interest towards the Greek political situation, especially among the younger generations. As far as the South African political situation is concerned, the political beliefs of the Greek middle class are led by their "social practicalness", i.e. their political beliefs are led by their wish for a solution to their economic and social problems. The whole political philosophy of the Greek middle classes is based on the principle that "every government is good, if she does not accept majority rule", because majority rule means that their position, on all levels - economic, occupational, political and social - will be unsafe. The generalisation and confusion of the political meanings (i.e., the Africans in South Africa are communists because the Africans in Angola and Mocambique are communists, or that the University of Cape Town is under communist control because it has applied to enrol African students) is characteristic of the typical Greek middle-class individual.

On the other hand, if we carefully examine the political attitudes of the Greek middle-class agents, we can see their apathetic political attitude towards internal political problems (in terms of real political participation). Their main excuse for this is, on the one hand, that "we are immigrants and we have nothing to do with the internal political problems of South Africa" in the case of the traditional middle class and, on the other hand, the stable belief of both the traditional and new middle classes in the power of the state and its apparatuses. All the Greeks, however, have realised that at this time South Africa faces a real structural crisis, firstly because of the internal crisis and the situation of a possible international embargo, and secondly because of the political situation in Rhodesia and the frontline African States. This belief is absolutely clear for them as Handanos (1977) has shown in an analysis of the political attitudes and beliefs of the Greek-orientated students at the University of Cape Town. For example, 33 out of 34 respondents participating in this research agreed that white supremacy and prosperity do not have a future in South Africa. These student responses actually represent the real feelings of the Greek population in South Africa, i.e. the pessimism and understanding of the real political situation in South Africa.

An empirical study amongst 150 Greek middle-class individuals (see Table 59) shows that the above analysis is clear and accurate. (The questions in this survey were open-ended.) Probably one could argue that this survey conflicts with previous statements herein concerning the apathetic attitudes of the Greeks towards the South African political situation. However, the point that a political attitude does not necessarily mean active political participation must be clarified.

Examining the replies to the first question, "Who is the enemy of South Africa?", we see that 72 out of 150 (48%) respondents replied "the Russians", amongst them the higher percentage being that of the small shopkeepers. Examining the replies to the second question, "Which are the

TABLE 69: POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA AMONG THE GREEK MIDDLE-CLASS IMMIGRANTS

Number of respondents: Shopkeepers 60; Artisans 15; Professionals 30; White Collar 30;
Technicians 15; TOTAL: 150

QUESTIONS	ANSWERS	SHOPKEEPERS		ARTISANS		PROFESSIONALS		WHITE COLLAR		TECHNICIANS		TOTAL	
		No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
I Who is the worst enemy of South Africa?	The Russians	45	75,00	4	26,66	9	30,00	8	26,66	6	40,00	72	48,00
	The Blacks	10	16,66	5	33,33	14	46,66	10	33,33	4	26,66	43	28,66
	The Nats	-	-	3	20,00	3	10,00	5	16,66	3	20,00	14	9,33
	The Western Powers	-	-	1	6,66	-	-	2	6,66	1	6,66	4	2,66
	No answer	5	8,33	2	13,33	4	13,33	5	16,66	1	6,66	17	11,33
II Which is the alternative political solution for South Africa now?	The P.R.P.*	3	5,00	-	-	13	43,33	18	60,00	-	-	34	22,66
	The United Party**	4	6,66	4	26,66	10	33,33	2	6,66	-	-	20	13,33
	The Black Majority	4	6,66	-	-	-	-	2	6,66	3	20,00	9	6,00
	The Nats	49	81,6	11	73,33	7	23,33	8	26,66	12	80,00	87	58,00
	No answer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III Do you think that South Africa is a democratic country?	Yes	48	80,00	10	66,66	4	13,33	12	40,00	4	26,66	78	52,00
	No	5	8,33	-	-	12	40,00	13	43,33	6	40,00	36	24,00
	No answer	7	11,66	5	33,33	14	46,66	5	16,66	5	33,33	36	24,00
IV Do you think that after majority rule there would be a political chaos in the country?	Yes	52	86,66	8	53,33	18	60,00	22	27,33	3	20,00	103	68,66
	No	-	-	-	-	3	10,00	3	10,00	-	-	6	4,00
	Do not know	8	13,33	7	46,66	9	30,00	5	16,66	12	80,00	41	27,33

* Now, P.F.P.

** Now, N.R.P.

alternative political solutions for South Africa?", it is noted that 87 out of 150 (58%) respondents replied "the Nationalists", as compared with 31 out of 34 remaining replies coming from the "intelligentsia" - professionals and "white-collars" - who believe that the alternative political solution is the Progressive Federal Party. Here again we can clearly understand the support for the Nationalist Party by the traditional middle-class individuals (49 out of 60 small shopkeepers, i.e. 81,6%, and 11 out of 15 artisans, 73,33%). The response to the third question, "Do you think that South Africa is a democratic country?", was very clearly "Yes" for 78 out of 150 respondents (52%) and "No" for only six out of 125 respondents (24%). Finally, the response to the last question gives the best support to this present analysis. Responses to "Do you think that after majority rule there would be political chaos in the country?" were 103, or 68,66%, "Yes", and only six responses (4%) were "No".

As a final point, mention can be made of the change in some ways of the apathetic attitudes of the Greek middle class on the political level after the contemporary riots in Soweto and Alexandra, the increasing foreign pressure on Rhodesia and South Africa, etc. The growing fear of the Greek middle-class individual for the future of his property and personal existence is absolutely understandable if one bears in mind the fate of the Greek industrialists, big farmers and even small-scale shopowners in Egypt after independence, and this gives a clear explanation for their political conservatism and attitudes towards the Nationalist government.

VII. THE ALIENATION OF THE GREEK MIDDLE CLASS

In the previous analysis on the ideological and political levels, the "social practicalness" of the Greek middle-class individual in South Africa was covered. It would be a mistake to mention this phenomenon, however, without a brief analysis of the increasing alienation of these individuals in

the country. It must be clarified here that in talking about alienation, it is not intended to refer to it as a simple philosophical theory, but as a material phenomenon which appears in the everyday life of Greek individuals in South African society. Before analysing this concrete situation, i.e. the alienated Greek middle-class individual within South African society, a brief historical background to the theories of alienation will be given.

It is wellknown that the three pioneers of the analysis of alienation were Hegel (1955), Feurbach (1966) and Marx (1959, 1971), the two former on the philosophical level only. These three theorists were the first to give a scientific base to the analysis and explanation of the phenomenon.

One of the most basic aspects of the Hegelian theory is that everything which exists is finally the "absolute idea" ("the absolute spirit", finally the God), and that the absolute idea is not a number of stable things, but a dynamic entity which is always in a global process of alienation and abolition of alienation. The whole of human history is the continual increase of human knowledge of the "absolute" and the evolution of self-knowledge of the absolute. In the Hegelian philosophy man is a self-alienated creature when he cannot understand the self-knowledge of the absolute.

Marx's concept of alienation, the first analysis of the subject on a material basis, far from the idealistic conception of the other two pioneers, is based on four main aspects:

- (a) Man is alienated from nature, a concept based on the connection of man to the product of his labour.
- (b) Man is alienated from himself, a concept which is the expression of labour's relation to the act of production within the labour process.
- (c) Man is alienated from his "species being", which is related to the conception according to which the object of labour is the

objectification of man's species being, for man duplicates himself not only as in consciousness, intellectually, but also actively, in reality, and therefore he contemplates himself in a world he has created.

(d) Man is alienated from man.

Generally speaking, Marx's concept of alienation embraces the manifestations of "man's estrangement from nature and from himself" on the one hand and, on the other hand, it analyses the expressions of this process in the relationship of man-mankind and man-man.

The contemporary theorists generally narrow the concept of alienation, giving more importance to its psychological functions. A number of contemporary theorists analyse the phenomenon of alienation, starting with Nettler (1957), who believes that alienation is a concrete psychological situation of normal individuals and an alienated person is someone who has been alienated from the society and its culture and struggles against them. Moore (1957) wrote that alienation is a characteristic of the individual consciousness and the social structure which is typical in societies where human beings are controlled by the consequences of their collective behaviour instead of controlling them. According to the Josephsons (1962), alienation is an individual feeling or an individual situation of alienation from the ego, from the other human beings and generally from the external world.

These are some of the writings on alienation, but Fromm (1954, 1968), Tucker (1961), Calvez (1964) gave excellent analyses of the Marxist conception of alienation; Mezsaros (1970) and Ollman (1971) have also contributed to the analysis of alienation.

In everyday speech alienation mainly means the estrangement or the removal of man from his familiar environment such as family, work, friends, etc. (the alienation of man from man, according to Marx). This phenomenon is the first and the main one to be used in the following analysis

on the alienation of Greek middle-class individuals, based not on theoretical schemata but on personal discussions and the conclusions coming therefrom.

A Greek technician, working in a large industry confessed:

"I cannot work as I did the first time I came to South Africa. When I enter the factory door I feel lazy, dizzy and disappointed with myself, with the machines and even with the Blacks I supervise. I am always thinking of the time I will leave the factory to go home to eat, watch television and sleep. I do not feel like going out, seeing friends or going to a taverna. Sometimes I lose my patience, I scream at the black labourers, once I beat one. At night I could not sleep. You see I cannot work like a human being, I feel like an animal. Eat, drink and sleep. This is my life."

A small shopkeeper confessed:

"I work like an animal. I wake up at seven o'clock in the morning and I go to bed at one o'clock, after midnight. I spend the whole day in the cafe with a break of one or two hours. Sometimes I question myself "Why am I living?" The explanation is only one. I want to survive, I want to make money. This is the only explanation. This is my life. Money, sleep and work. I do not feel like going to weddings, celebrations or christenings because I always feel tired. I want to return to Greece. However, you know that the government does not allow us to take out all our money, our savings from the country."

These two characteristic cases of self-alienation and alienation from others could be explained as follows: In the case of the technician, it is his activity, i.e. his work, that is an alien activity which does not satisfy him at all. This activity - the labour process - tires the individual, a fact which has an immediate consequence of estrangement from his friends, his familiar persons, his relatives, etc. What applies to man's relation to his work, to the product of his labour and to himself, also holds for his relation to the other man's labour and object of labour. In fact, the proposition that man's species nature is estranged from him means that one man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man's essential nature.

As far as the confession of the cafe-owner is concerned, his statements are completely clear. Under the domination of an egoistic need (economic survival - let us not forget "social practicalness"), the small cafe-owner can only become practical, he only creates practical objects by putting his products and his activity under the domination of an alien entity and lending himself the significance of an alien entity, i.e. money. So day-by-day he becomes a self-alienated individual who, according to Marx (1850), becomes "an abstract activity and a stomach".

This phenomenon - the alienation of the Greeks from their activity, their friends, even from their relatives - is a phenomenon which was discovered through communication with Greek individuals and groups throughout the country. The image of "having" overcomes the image of "being" with two main consequences: (a) increasing individuality, and (b) "money fetishism".

These two aspects led to an analysis of a concrete situation in the life of Greek middle-class individuals in South Africa, i.e. their psychological misery. Psychological misery is a phenomenon which is the result of the social apparatuses in the life of the immigrant in every society, a kind of abolition not only of his collective activity (in the case of a collective worker), but an abolition of his individual life as well ("I do not feel like going out, seeing my friends or going to a taverna."). In the chaotic industry, with the loud noise of the machines, orders from the manager or the director (in the case of the worker-supervisor relationship), or the unending hours behind the shop counter and the monotonous noise of the till (in the case of the small shopowner), the individual feels that his human activity is dehumanised ("I am working like an animal.") and loses its meaning. He is convinced that his activity is not really his activity but that he is simply a machine and that his activity, in other words, is "foreign to himself". That is why he finds the solution of being only a pathetic spectator of life ("The only thing I want is to eat, watch television and sleep.") a strain on his energy for living.

Of course these aspects - individuality, psychological misery and money fetishism - have an effect not only on the social level, but on the political level as well. After this brief analysis and the complete understanding of the term "money fetishism", the significance of the state's power as a safeguard for the property of the Greek middle-class immigrant can be realised.

Naturally, it cannot be argued that the social relations of the Greeks amongst themselves are completely abolished. However, it can be accepted that the alienation of the Greek middle classes in South Africa on all levels, the alienation of the Greek middle-class person from nature, from himself, from his "species being", and from the other man, is a real and undoubted fact.

VIII. THE GREEK BOURGEOISIE IN SOUTH AFRICA

As mentioned previously, the first Greek capital was invested in South Africa after the Second World War. It was invested in light production industries and agriculture but, after the rise of monopoly capital in South Africa, many of these undertakings were absorbed by large monopolies. The phenomenon of Greek investments in South Africa can be understood if the serious political trouble which Greece faced because of the civil war and, before that, the Second World War, is borne in mind. This phenomenon (Greek investment in Southern Africa) was not only characteristic of the period but has its roots even in the nineteen-thirties. For example, in Rhodesia there were a number of industrialists or owners of large corporations who had immigrated and invested capital in the country in the nineteen-twenties. (For example, the Pafitis family was the owner of twelve corporations and industries - Riverside Estates, Zenith Gold Mines Limited, Pafitis and Strickland, Show and Pafitis, Umfuli Development Company Limited, Forles Avenue Investments, Loaring Buildings Limited, Cleveland Trading Company, Domboshawa Stores, Domboshawa Mills, Domboshawa Bus Services and Borrowdale Trading Company.) In Portuguese East Africa the

largest industry was under Greek ownership (Fabrica de Ladrihlos e Mosaicos Lda); in the Belgian Congo the biggest industrialists were Greeks (Elco, Jambones Fumes, etc.); and in Nigeria a Greek-Cypriot controlled 52% of the country's economy before independence. (Papamichael, 1951.)

In South Africa, the main investments were in metal-work industries (Union Metal Work Pty Limited); construction material (Union Hardware, Vaal Potteries Limited, etc.); mineral waters (Eureca Enterprises Pty Limited); conserved foods (Cape Foods Pty Limited); and farming.

At the present time the Greek capitalist class in South Africa is composed of three main sections:

- (a) Industrial capitalists (industrial capital).
- (b) Non-productive capital holders (property capital).
- (c) A small number of farm capitalists.

Although the highest number of Greek capitalists are property owners, special focus will be given in the analysis to the functions of Greek industrial capital because of its relevant importance within the structure of South African society. Greek industrial capital in South Africa could be termed as being competitive productive capital in a process of simple concentration, which means that it does not have the form of monopoly capital - which is the "outcome of the concentration of industrial capital, in particular of the amalgamation of several production units and productive capitals under a single ownership." (Poulantzas, 1975). This means that in the case of Greek industrial capital in South Africa, we cannot speak about a "giant enterprise", but simply about "big" or "medium" industrial capital. Even in terms of ability for super profits, or a dominant market position, Greek capital cannot be assumed to be "monopoly capital". The Greek industrialists are both the economic owners of the unit of production and the controllers and directors of the labour process. Their ownership has the form of individual "legal ownership", except of course in a few cases. These facts point out the clear distinction between the "medium or big Greek industrial capital" and the "monopoly capital".

As stated before, South Africa is passing through the phase of monopoly capital, which is automatically determined first of all by the conflicts and relations between monopoly and non-monopoly capital. This does not mean that, besides the dominant role of monopoly capital and the super-accumulation thereof, there are no margins of accumulation for the non-monopoly capital. There are several explanations for this fact, such as the occupation of specific sectors of the economy by non-monopoly capital, which are of limited profitability for monopoly capital, integrated production for secondary lines of production that do not enter into the large-scale flow of complex production units, etc. These facts very often occur in South Africa. For example, a Greek-owned steel construction industry has a specific rate of production. It works mainly in conjunction with big industrial monopolies which buy its products at low prices, not because they do not have the ability to create a steel construction industry, but because it is cheaper to buy from this particular Greek-owned firm. Broadly speaking, the existence of non-monopoly capital in South Africa is a result of the need for it for the necessities of monopoly capital. This means that the existence of monopoly capital is a determinant of the extended reproduction of monopoly capital. This does not mean that non-monopoly capital at the present time in South Africa is in a safe position, because the increasing and perpetuating overdependence of non-monopoly capital on monopoly capital leads, after a certain period of time, to destructive consequences for the former. (This is known as the strategy of the "closed market" in America, for example, which leads more and more non-monopolies to bankruptcy and their absorption into the monopolies.) In other cases (as very often occurs in South Africa) independent "legal ownership" does not necessarily mean real economic ownership, which is taken over by the monopolies through the absorption of the non-monopoly capital, which at this stage only keeps the name of the firm. Another aspect of the increasing disappearance of non-monopoly capital, not only in South Africa but all over the world, is the technological dependence of non-monopoly capital on monopoly capital

through patents and licences. This means that at any time monopoly capital can destroy non-monopoly capital, resulting in the on-going loss by non-monopoly capital of the control and direction of its labour processes, leading to the concentration of economic ownership in the hands of monopoly capital, which dissolves the production units of the non-monopoly capital. The Greek light production industries in South Africa do not face any of these problems directly, but the economic problems they face as a result of the competition of the monopolies lead to the conclusion that their position is very tenuous.

Before setting out the conclusions arising from the latter brief analysis of the contradictions and alliances between monopoly and non-monopoly capital in South Africa (the Greek capital placed in the position of non-monopoly capital or "big or medium" capital), a few details concerning Greek industries in South Africa will be mentioned.

The main Greek-owned industries in South Africa (about twenty altogether), consist principally of light production such as steel construction industries, dairy industries, snack factories, etc. Their annual turnover fluctuates from four million rands to seven million rands, and they employ between 100 and 500-600 workers (Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Africans). (Reports of Greek industries in South Africa, 1977.) Of course, no-one can argue that the annual turnover or the number of labourers can give a clear picture of whether a capital is monopoly capital or not but, as already mentioned, none of the Greek capital is monopoly capital.

The conclusions arising from the previous analysis are that the main aim of monopoly capital is to destroy non-monopoly capital by absorbing it, unless it needs the non-monopoly capital to function independently. This leads to the conclusion that the still independent Greek non-monopoly capital in South Africa is at a crossroad. On the one hand it needs monopoly capital because, without its help, it cannot exist and, on the other hand, it sees it as its worst enemy. The crucial point is that in the case of an attack

on South African and international monopoly capital, the Greek non-monopoly capital (with one or two exceptions) will be an easy victim.

The second category of the Greek bourgeoisie in South Africa consists of the non-productive capital holders (hotel owners, big property owners, etc.). Probably one would be surprised in reading this point, asking: "Can we say that the property owners, for example, are assumed as being members of the bourgeoisie?". On the economic level (possession), definitely yes. There are a great number of Greeks in South Africa who, by all manner of means, could be assumed to be property capitalists. Previous cafe-owners or restaurant owners, today are respectable property owners and big capital holders (capital possession). People who had immigrated in the nineteen-thirties are now wealthy retired businessmen and simple capital holders, all around the country. Today there are more than 40 large hotels under Greek ownership, as well as numerous Greek-owned blocks of flats. As far as Greek agricultural capital is concerned, a sector which has a noticeable background in the country (in the nineteen-fifties there were a number of large Greek farms), several large farms exist in the Western Cape (e.g., Wellington) and in the Transvaal (e.g., the Greek potato king).

Before analysing the ideological and political attitudes of the Greek bourgeoisie, the structural class determination of the Greek managers in South Africa will be examined.

Poulantzas (1975) strongly believes that managers form a part of the bourgeoisie. He writes that they form a part of the bourgeoisie because of the position they occupy in the production process, which gives them the right to exercise power which is mainly due to the capital they hold. While the various powers of ownership and possession belong to the function of capital, they are not mainly fulfilled by the owners themselves - the managers fulfill this function. The directing agents who exercise this power and thus fulfill the function of capital, occupy, according to Poulantzas,

the place of capital; this means that although they do not have formal legal ownership they are agents of the bourgeoisie. Even on the ideological and political levels, of course, according to Poulantzas, they cannot contradict their interests which are directly connected with capital. The managers do not form a separate fraction of the bourgeoisie but they belong to the fraction of capital whose place they occupy - industrial capital, bank capital, and commercial capital - which means that the managers do not possess a specific unity as a class fraction (according to Poulantzas). Let us examine briefly if this theoretical position holds in this case. Poulantzas, in the same book, having delimited the working class by the intersection of manual and productive labour, delimits the bourgeoisie proper by the reference to "real economic ownership", that is the power to assign the means of production to given uses and to dispose of the products obtained. He then argues that all wage labour which does not fall into these categories ("real economic ownership" or manual and productive workers) should be considered as forming the "new petty bourgeoisie". Obviously the economic situation of such agents (wage labour) is very different from that of the traditional middle class, but Poulantzas insists that structural class determination includes political and ideological, as well as economic, determinants. So that, if seemingly disparate economic positions in fact produce similar effects at the political and ideological levels, the agents occupying those positions must be considered as members of the same social class. Thus Poulantzas, overcoming or forgetting his earlier analysis on "real economic ownership", argues that managers form part of the bourgeoisie, a thesis which definitely contradicts his earlier statements in the same book, because he analyses managers mainly on the ideological and political levels without giving importance to the economic aspects. If one were to adopt Poulantzas's viewpoint, it could be argued that even the non-productive workers in South African industries are members of the bourgeoisie, which of course is not true. Thus, concluding, the writer does not agree with Poulantzas's writings on managers; it is assumed that managers are agents of the "new middle

class" and, as such, were included as a stratum of this class in the previous analysis.

As already very briefly mentioned, the conflicts between international and national monopoly capital in South Africa have passed through different stages. Even from the period of the Pact Government (1924) until 1933 the hegemony of national capital over international capital was a fact, being the consequence of increasing state protection towards both mining and agricultural capital. With the establishment of the Development Corporation in 1940, which was to promote new industries and to protect those already existing, and the increasing indifference of the agricultural sector, the struggle between national and international capital entered a new phase. Although in 1948 one-third of the total industrial capitalisation came from foreign sources (Davis, Kaplan, Morris, O'Meara, 1976), the Afrikaner economic movement, even during the war, developed a strong range of powerful financial institutions with the aid and protection of the National Party - a party which previously represented agricultural capital - which then represented the interests of Afrikaner industrial monopoly capital. Finally, after the withdrawal of international capital from the country as a result of the Sharpeville riots, finance capital (Anglo-American Corporation) and Afrikaans-orientated monopoly capital (Sanlam, Rembrandt) became greater than international capital at all levels.

As far as Greek-orientated capital in South Africa is concerned, two main questions arise:

- (a) What is its position within the South African social formation?
- (b) What are the political and ideological implications of this position as far as the Greek bourgeoisie is concerned?

These two questions of course require a two-fold answer. As far as Greek industrial capital is concerned, mention has already been made of its position - its position is definitely dependent on the strategy of South African monopoly

capital. As long as monopoly capital needs it, there is hope for its existence; but in the case of a change of policy and strategy of monopoly capital towards it, it would have difficulty in surviving. This fact is wellknown to the Greek bourgeoisie in South Africa and, together with the political crisis in the country, constitutes the main threat for Greek industrialists. These facts are made clear by a statement from a Greek industrialist:

" We live a very good and easy life. We have our cars [the family has four cars], we have a very nice house in Johannesburg and one in Durban for our vacations, the industry works well; in other words, we have everything. My perpetuating problem, however, is "until when?" You see what is happening; on the one hand the "big bosses" (Oppenheimer, Rupert, etc.) - the "monopolies" - on the other hand the revolutionaries. How can anyone continue to work with the same courage? My only problem is not how to extend my business (like in the good old days), but how to sell my industry, how to save more money, not how to increase production. This is the problem I cannot solve. Anyway, I try to save money. This is my ultimate aim at the moment. //

This statement, in other words, gives a picture of the political and ideological implications of the economic position of Greek industrialists in South Africa. They all know the difficulties arising from the unequal competition with monopoly capital, a feeling which is directly related to an increasing fear for their economic future. On the other hand, there is a fear of the "revolutionaries", which is related to an increasing belief that the only solution is a strong South African army and police force to enforce "law and order" in the country (attitudes which, as already mentioned, are characteristic of the Greek middle classes as well).

Could these statements lead to the conclusion that the Greek bourgeoisie in South Africa has a "middle class" ideology? Definitely yes. The way of life of the Greek capitalists in South Africa is a capitalist way of life but, on the other hand, the feeling of social and economic insecurity does not allow them to extend their businesses, because of their fear of monopoly capital and the unequal

competition; but it also leads them to the same reactions and attitudes (political and ideological) as the middle class. Their political attitudes and position are directly connected to the principle: "I vote for the person who will protect my economic and social interests, without caring whether his name is Vorster or Eglin."

As far as the other fraction of the Greek bourgeoisie is concerned (the capital holders, property owners, etc.), their political and ideological attitudes are very well expressed by the following statement made by one of the wealthier property owners of Greek origin in the country:

" When I came to South Africa in the nineteen-thirties I only had a single pair of pants to wear. I have worked hard for forty years, plus-minus, and now I am retiring having three blocks of flats and a number of shops. This means that I am a wealthy and respectable person, but unfortunately only amongst the Greek community and friends. Often jealous remarks are passed, such as "Look at him, he is a rich man." However the South Africans do not care about me. For them I am just one more "wealthy immigrant", an ex-cafe-owner. They have more respect for a poor Afrikaner clerk than for me. Is this right? On the other hand, I am afraid - I can say very afraid. You can see what is happening in Rhodesia. Who can tell me that the same will not happen here after five years? That is why I am a Nationalist by heart, because they have the power and the ability to stop the communists."

Here again, two things are obvious. Firstly, the feeling of being "marginal" or "alienated" from the South African society because he is an "immigrant", although rich; and, secondly, the increasing "middle-class fear" of the communists which is directly related to the belief that the only solution is a strong government, a strong army, and a strong police force.

In concluding the analysis of the Greek strata and fractions within the South African society, the following points may be made: Probably the Greek people in South Africa are, economically, on different levels and belong to different economic categories and have different ways of life; however, at this particular time, they are all living

with basically the same fears, hopes and expectations. They fear the threat of communism and believe in the ability of the South African government to protect their savings and their personal existence in the event of a future political crisis.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this research on the Greeks in South Africa, the writer had only an image of them in his mind. The research and the conclusions written below show that this image was not false in any way. It was true practically to the last detail, although for primary sources only two books were available, only one of which being scientific. The writer strongly believes that the research and the analysis of the social structures of the Greek immigrant minority is at least original - the judgement of whether it is scientific or not belongs to the reader.

The conclusions of the research are briefly the following:

- (a) Greek emigration to South Africa is the result of the perpetuating structural crisis of the Greek society, since the establishment of the first independent Greek state after 1828 up to the present time. This structural crisis and its consequences, social and economic, constitute the primary push factor for emigration. The results of this structural crisis which stems from the devastation of the rural Greek areas and increasing urbanisation (which is not based on a long-term plan), has led the Greek economy to face the problem of unemployment, not only in the rural agricultural areas but also in the urban areas. These sections of the Greek population constitute the main base of the emigrant population. This fact leads to the conclusion that the vast majority of Greek immigrants in South Africa (especially the first generations) are of rural background.

(b) Although the majority of the first two generations were occupied in small-scale shops (a phenomenon which, as has been shown, occurs even nowadays), an increasing upward mobility, which took place mainly after the nineteen-sixties and continues in the present time, had as a consequence not only the creation of different strata of the "new middle class" but increasing social phenomena such as alienation and especially assimilation, the latter being the result of the increasing dominance of the state apparatuses - mainly the school and the university - over the stronger institution-socialiser within the Greek tradition, i.e. the family. Previous analyses have hopefully shown that assimilation within the South African society accounts for the disappearance not only of the Greek culture but the national identity as well. This fact, on the one hand, is the result of the indifference of the Greek government concerning the Greek education of immigrants and, on the other hand, the disorganisation and obvious lack of Greek schools in the country, not because of the indifference of the leaders of the local Greek communities, but because of the financial and technical difficulties they face. Although the economic situation of the great majority of Greek immigrants in South Africa is good, their increasing indifference to the perpetuation of the national and cultural Greek identity of their children is a fact which has resulted in the absorption of the younger generations of Greeks into the South African society, not only on the cultural level, but on the national level as well ("We are South Africans, not Greeks.")

(c) On the class level, the majority of Greek immigrants are assumed to be agents of the traditional middle class, with an increasing number being agents of the new middle class. The Greek bourgeoisie in South Africa, consisting mainly of capital holders (property owners, etc.) and non-monopoly industrial capitalists,

are at a crossroad - the former because of the threat of a future majority rule, and the latter because of the unequal competition of monopoly capital as well as the future threat of majority rule.

As a final point, the following is mentioned: The writer's suggestions of how the Greek communities should re-organise the functions of the Greek schools in South Africa, in relation to their efforts for the general improvement of their functions, on the social, national and cultural levels, must be the ultimate aim of South African Hellenism. If these suggestions, based on a long-term plan, are not adopted, then it is feared that after a few years the only thing which will remind the South African people that at some time in the past there were Greek immigrants in the country, will be the Greek surnames of the fifth and sixth generations of immigrants.

APPENDIX I

THE COMMUNITIES AND OTHER GREEK ORGANISATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA: THEIR FUNCTIONS, SIGNIFICANCE AND SOME ALTERNATIVE SUGGESTIONS

Probably one could say that it would have been relevant to have analysed the role of the Greek communities in South Africa, and the role of the other Greek organisations and associations, in the analysis of socialisation of the Greeks in South Africa. However, the writer does not agree. The cultural role that the Greek communities should play has already been referred to in a few paragraphs, but this is not the only role that they should play.

In this case, the writer defines communities as being organic social unities with cultural, social and national aims, such as maintaining the functions of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek afternoon schools, and organising cultural functions. In other words, they constitute an informal ethnic representation of the Greek population in South Africa.

There are nineteen Greek communities in South Africa in the following cities and areas:

Johannesburg	Rustenburg
Pretoria	Cape Town
Brakpan	Port Elizabeth
Springs	Durban
Benoni	Welkom
Germiston	Bloemfontein
Alberton	Kinberley
Vaal Triangle	East London
Krugersdorp	Vryburg
Klerksdorp (Greek community of Eastern Transvaal)	

The communities at the moment have two functions: (a) Cultural, and (b) Social. The cultural functions of the

communities include mainly shows of Greek movies, Greek dancing lessons, etc. The social functions include dances, and the various functions of the schools, churches, etc. The communities and their leaders exert great efforts to ensure successful social and cultural functions. Unfortunately, on both levels, these fail for the following reasons:

- (a) the indifference of the Greek immigrants to join the communities and to help them - in other words to give them a reason for their existence;
- (b) the real lack of time of the leaders of the communities ("the migratory elites") to organise and lead the community's role within the South African society.

The communities are usually led by a committee of ten to fifteen members (the number is determined by the Greek population of the area). The main offering of the Greek communities is undoubtedly the functions of the Greek schools. Besides the indifference of the Greek government which, as already mentioned, expects only one thing from the Greek immigrants all over the world, i.e. their investments, the communities using their own money and efforts try to give a Greek education to the children. No-one can argue that the results of these efforts are extremely successful because, as mentioned in this study, there is an obvious lack of any kind of central organisation - excepting of course, SAHETI (South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute) which functions on a professional basis.

Some characteristic details concerning the lack of interest of the Greek immigrants in South Africa are obvious bearing in mind that in Cape Town, having a Greek population of about four thousand, only two hundred and fifty are members of the Greek community (7,5% of the total number); in Pretoria with a Greek population of four thousand, only four hundred (10%) are members of the community; and in Port Elizabeth with a Greek population of fifteen hundred, only two hundred (13,3%) are members of the community. (Communities' Reports, 1977.) The opposite holds in small towns such as Albertyn where 98% of the total Greek population of

the town are members of the Greek community. (Community Report, 1977.) This lack of interest in membership of the communities has as a consequence the perpetual problem of financial difficulties for the communities. The results of these financial problems are obvious; in Germiston, for instance, the church has stopped functioning because the community could not pay the priest.

In 1974, the Federation of the Hellenic Communities was established primarily to foster communication amongst all Greek communities in the country and to facilitate the better organisation of schools, etc. After three years in existence no-one can conclude whether this organisation has been a success, but one could say that "every start is difficult".

Before offering suggestions or plans on how the Greek communities could function at all levels, the writer would like to give a brief picture of the so-called "mutual help organisations or associations" and the other organisations and associations which are in existence in South Africa. There are numerous organisations in South Africa reminding us of the old Greek saying "four Greeks, five parties". Apart from the nineteen Greek communities, there are the following Greek associations and organisations in South Africa:

- 1 South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute (SAHETI), in Johannesburg, which has already been mentioned in the section in this study on the Greek schools.
- 2 The Nomikios Old Age Home, accommodating about twenty old Greek men and women in Johannesburg.
- 3 The Golden Chain, an old ladies' mutual help organisation in Johannesburg.
- 4 The Orthodox Greek Ladies' Association, in Johannesburg.
- 5 Greek Sport Association, in Johannesburg.
- 6 Hellenic Students' Association of the University of the Witwatersrand, with two hundred and sixty five members (Report, 1977).
- 7 Greek Scientists' Association of Johannesburg.
- 8 Greek-Egyptian Association of South Africa, in Johannesburg.

- 9 Greek Boy Scouts of Transvaal, with seven branches in Sherwood, Johannesburg, Germiston, Triomf, Vereeniging, Alberton, and Springs.
- 10 Cyprian Brotherhood of South Africa, in Johannesburg.
- 11 Ithacesian Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 12 Peloponnesian Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 13 Casian Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 14 Lemnian Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 15 Cretan Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 16 Imbrian Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 17 Epirusian Brotherhood, in Johannesburg.
- 18 Hellenic System of Boy Scouts of Pretoria.
- 19 Hellenic Ladies' Association, in Pretoria.
- 20 Boy Scout System of Vaal Triangle.
- 21 Hellenic Ladies' Association, in Cape Town.
- 22 Hellenic Scientists' Association, in Cape Town.
- 23 Hellenic Students' Association of the University of Cape Town.
- 24 Hellenic Football Club, in Cape Town.
- 25 Committee of Greek Ladies, in Port Elizabeth.
- 26 Boy Scout System of Port Elizabeth.
- 27 Delphi Hellenic Sport Organisation, in Port Elizabeth.

These organisations and clubs, with very few exceptions, are really of doubtful relevance. Their main aim - to bring the Greek immigrants together - is in most cases a failure and their existence is not really necessary because their functions could be covered by the communities and the church. The writer began to understand this when one of the leaders of the Portuguese community in Johannesburg stated: "I have many Greek friends. The strange thing is that, in a group of five Greek friends, two or three claim to be leaders of Greek organisations, clubs, associations or brotherhoods."

As stated in the first chapter, the main problem is not merely to examine and analyse the Greek institutions in South Africa, but also to make suggestions on how these problems or several of them could be solved. The Greek communities, as already stated, are the basic Greek institutions

in South Africa and they must remain the basis. Their problems (financial, organisational, etc.) have already been mentioned in brief terms, and now some suggestions will be offered.

The Greek communities should function on three levels, which are mutually connected, i.e. the national, the cultural, and the social levels.

On the national level the communities must reorganise their connections with the motherland through the National Representation, or independently (let us not forget the indifference of the Greek Governmental Representative, i.e. the Greek Ambassador, who was the only Greek in South Africa who did not react to the statement of the South African Minister of Police, Mr Kruger, against the Greeks in South Africa: "Although he [the Greek immigrant] is living in my area, he must live here under sufferance."). (South African newspapers, 1977.)

Another aim of the communities on the national level should be the immediate establishment of a real Greek newspaper, which would reflect the political life of Greece, different viewpoints, etc. This can only be done with the co-operation of the Federation of Greek Communities in South Africa. (The establishment of a Greek newspaper must be the ultimate aim of the Federation because, as will be analysed in Appendix II, the Greek newspapers in South Africa are of doubtful relevance.) The problems for the establishment of this newspaper (mainly financial and organisational) are real but they can be overcome.

Another function of the Greek communities on the national level is undoubtedly economic aid to the homeland. Greece, facing the problem of the continuing situation in Cyprus and the Turkish threat towards the Aegean Islands and Thrace, must be helped by the immigrants - not only with words, but also materially. Many attempts to send money for the Greek army encountered indifference, not only on the part of the immigrants ("Our country is South Africa") but

from official national representation as well. Once again, we can remind the people who claim that there are legal problems concerning the export of money from South Africa, that there are legal channels through which money can be sent. They must not forget the legal economic aid of some of the Greek communities and associations to Cyprus in 1974 and 1975, and the legal economic aid that the Jewish community sent to Israel during the Seven Day War in 1967. It should also not be forgotten that specific Greek communities have donated much money to the Defence Forces of South Africa (currently R4 270, 51 was offered by the Greek authorities, church and organisations of Johannesburg to the South African Defence Forces Fund). (Lagudis, 1977.)

On the cultural level, it is common knowledge, as indicated in the analysis that the cultural assimilation of the new Greek generations of immigrants is increasing, and the cultural identity of the younger Greeks is being abolished. The main efforts of the Greek communities on the cultural level must be concentrated in the survival of the Greek cultural identity of the future Greek generations in South Africa. Of course, the boy scouts are not the solution. Besides the Greek schools, there should also be meetings of Greek scientists, senior scholars or students who will speak to the children, not only about "ancient Greek civilisation which gave the light to the Western world" but also about modern Greek culture, art and literature.

On the social level, which is directly linked to the foregoing, the first aim of the Greek communities must be the solution of the educational problem which is also a national problem. A central organisational committee (The Federation of the Hellenic Communities could undertake the task) should be established immediately, having close ties with the National Representation in the country and the Greek government, for the better organisation of the schools, the creation of new schools, etc. Actually, the communities and the Federation must fight against the indifference of the Greek government towards the problem of Greek schools and

force her to take new measures for bettering Greek educational facilities for the children in South Africa.

If the above points are not taken note of, the existing problems will remain static or become worse, and then we will have only ourselves to hold responsible.

APPENDIX II

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE GREEK PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In this appendix, the writer will try to give a brief but global description of the Greek press in South Africa which has a tradition of sixty-five years, the first Greek newspaper being established in Johannesburg in 1913.

There are at the present time two Johannesburg-based newspapers in South Africa, namely "New Hellas" and "Greek Press" (previously "Africanis"), and several other publications, mainly edited by the Greek communities and the students' associations.

This appendix will try to give only a brief picture of the present situation of the Greek press in South Africa, focusing on the analysis of their political, cultural and ideological natures, mainly using quotations from their contemporary writings.

The oldest newspaper in Southern Africa, "New Hellas", was established in Johannesburg in 1913 by Nicolaides, who was also the first author of a book written in the Greek language on the Greek immigrants in Africa, giving details concerning their life, activities, etc. in each particular country (the Belgian Congo, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Portuguese East Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa). At the present time, "New Hellas" is undoubtedly the most serious Greek newspaper in South Africa. The structure of the contents of the newspaper is as follows:

Page 1: political headlines and articles on the Greek political situation, and the South African political situation (mainly quotations from Greek newspapers).

Page 2: sports news and advertisements.

Page 3: world news and advertisements.

Pages 4 and 5: advertisements, general articles (never political), a serial ("The Woman in the Kitchen"), and fiction articles (detective and romance).

Page 6: anecdotes and a quiz.

Page 7: news of the communities and social life (marriages, christenings, etc.), i.e. the "gossip page" as the Greeks call it, plus advertisements and political comment.

Page 8: more world news and advertisements.

Since 1974, i.e. after the military junta was replaced by the "Government of National Unity", consisting of conservative politicians of the right and centre parties, there have been no original articles or writings on the Greek political situation. During the period 1967 to 1974, the newspaper had a mainly hidden but occasionally open political line of solidarity towards the military regime. Since 1974, there have been no political articles openly supporting a Greek political party, but anyone can understand that the newspaper supports the conservative Greek government (all the political news items covered by the newspaper are taken from the conservative Greek newspapers such as "Kathimerini" ("Daily"), "Acropol", and "Apogevmatini" ("Afternoon" newspaper)).

As far as the South African political situation is concerned, the newspaper clearly supports the Nationalist Government at all levels. On the front page, especially, there are articles taken from Greek newspapers which are merely copies of articles broadcast by the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

On page seven, under the title "What is happening in our town", an anonymous journalist (probably the editor) gives the political and ideological views of the newspaper concerning the situation in South Africa. For example, the South African government is always right, spending a great deal of money on the Africans and Coloureds (1977); Mr Kruger's apology for his statement on the position of the Greeks in South Africa was acceptable (1977); Biko was

ironically called the "black leader" - these are some of the contents of the "ideological mirror" of the newspaper.

A parallel comparison may be made of an article from this Greek newspaper with an article from the extreme right-wing Portuguese newspaper "Popular" (1976), to show the ideological similarities of these two newspapers. ("Popular" is a Portuguese newspaper which is mainly edited by and intended for the Portuguese refugees from Angola and Mocambique.)

Extract from the Portuguese newspaper "Popular":

"Message for Mr John Vorster

"We, the Portuguese refugees from Angola and Mozambique are tired of war. What happened last week in Soweto, Alexandra, Tembisa and other African townships is in no way unknown to us. Houses burned, cars stoned, shops looted, shots and deaths were our daily bread after the ill-fated April the 25th. The only thing we were not acquainted with - but with which now, fortunately we are - was the firm pulse of the Government, the strength of the Police Force and an Army.

"If this time the excuse was the adoption of Afrikaans in the schools, next time it will be something else, because the agitators still live there - many of them speaking the language of Frelimo and MPLA.

"We read that twenty-two of the dead Africans were hit by bullets of different calibre to those used by the police. We sincerely believe that they are Russian bullets smuggled in via Angola and Mozambique.

"It all forms part of the plan to destroy Africa in order to facilitate communist infiltration.

"It is not up to this Portuguese weekly magazine to meddle in South African politics. Therefore this message is to tell you, Mr Vorster, that the war-weary Portuguese are with you.

"To finish we say to you: God bless Mr Vorster."

Extract from the Greek newspaper "New Hellas":

"The commentator of Springbok Radio, Mr Rencken, gave a forceful answer to the recent writings of the "Time" magazine editor, concerning our country (South Africa) and its future. The South African commentator's main attack was on the corrupted policy of Mr Carter and Mr Andrew Young towards our country. Mr Marais Steyn in an interview gave a clear picture of the housing policy of the Government for the Africans, Coloureds and Asians. Mr Steyn gave details of the governmental

plans for the establishment of more schools especially for the Africans.

"At the time of the above interview the 'promising youth of Soweto', accompanied by the Tsotsies, stoned schools screaming 'same level of education for Blacks and Whites'.

"In one of our next issues, we will try to publish part of Mr Steyn's statement, in order to show the real picture of the governmental plans and to give a better answer to the 'aims and purposes' of the black trouble-makers and agitators who force the hesitating young blacks into acts which only injure them without giving them any advantage."

We can see in this parallel comparison the ideological and political similarities of the two immigrant newspapers. The same terminology, the same thoughts, and the same conclusions determine their aims and functions. "New Hellas" has a circulation of about two thousand copies per week.

The other Greek newspaper "Africanis" (or "Greek Press") was established in 1918. The structure of the newspaper is as follows:

Page 1: headlines of political interest (not articles).

Page 2: readers' correspondence and a religious article written by the Johannesburg religious authorities.

Page 3: occasionally an article from an extreme right-wing Greek newspaper (mainly from "Estia" which has the lowest daily circulation in Athens, selling less than eight thousand copies a day), and advertisements.

Page 4: a series of popular stories, and advertisements.

Page 5: one to three photographs of semi-naked women, and advertisements.

Page 6: a photograph of a semi-naked woman, titled "Girl of the week".

Page 7: articles of general interest such as Elizabeth Taylor's marriage, Telly Savalas and his new girlfriend, etc., and advertisements.

Page 8: occasional articles of a liberal nature

by the leading ministers of the South African government, e.g. "Our sports policy is no window-dressing" by Dr Koornhof, 1977.

Page 9: advertisements and a quiz.

Page 10: political news.

The nature of the newspaper is twofold. Firstly, it supports the National Party, sometimes hidden, but most of the time openly (besides the fact that its editor was a candidate for the mayorship of Johannesburg for the South African Party, scoring seventy-five votes). Secondly, the newspaper's standpoint towards the Greek political situation is sometimes confused and sometimes very clear. During the military regime (1967 to 1974) it was the Greek military regime's voice in South Africa. At the present time articles are written supporting the ex-king of Greece (who was expelled through the 1974 elections, with a majority of seventy percent Greeks voting against him) as well as printing his photographs. The newspaper also supports the "Neo-Liberals", a party formed by ex-minister Mitsotakis in 1977. Mitsotakis was one of the politicians who dissolved the "Unite of the Centre" government in 1965, under the leadership of King Constantine, with the tragic consequence of the coming to power of the military junta. Occasionally the newspaper supports the present government by publishing articles from the American journalist, Cyrus Schultzberger (1977), whose role during 1965 is questionable and who had close ties with the military junta (i.e. articles, reviews, etc., openly supporting the colonels).

No figures are available concerning the circulation of this newspaper.

Besides the two Greek newspapers and several monthly magazines released by a number of Greek communities (e.g., "The Greek Seaside", a monthly newsletter produced by the Pretoria community), a brief picture of two more Greek publications, namely "Student Horizons" (formerly "Student Pulse"), a publication by the Hellenic Students' Association

of the University of the Witwatersrand, and the newly released cultural magazine "The Southern Cross" will be given.

The "Student Pulse" was established in 1971. Until 1974 it had a clear political line of support towards the military regime in Greece, e.g. counting 21 April (the day the junta took over) as one of the most important dates in Greek history (1972). After 1974, the magazine mainly included news of the Hellenic Students' body of the Witwatersrand University, Greek poetry (translated into English), and various articles. Since 1974 the magazine has changed, becoming one of the most serious and valuable Greek publications in South Africa, with contents such as the Cyprus problem (it was the first Greek publication to mention America as being an "imperialist force", 1975), and other serious problems faced by Greeks in South Africa. The latest publications of the magazine are the only ones that try to discuss some characteristics of South African Hellenism (Georgiou, Zairis, 1977), Greek culture (Neophytou, 1977; Haitas, 1977) and aspects concerning South African society (B G, 1977). These are the first articles concerning the Greek culture, the nature of the Greek communities, etc., in the history of the Greek press in South Africa. The lack of political aspects and viewpoints is fairly serious even for this publication. The only political problem discussed was the Cyprus problem.

"The Southern Cross" is the latest Greek publication in Johannesburg and the only one in South Africa with pure cultural contents. It was first published in 1977 by the "spiritual group of Johannesburg" consisting of five members. This effort (apart from material profit) is, in the opinion of the writer, the most important ever produced in South Africa on the cultural level, although it is doubtful whether the Greek masses could completely understand all the writings because of their high level. The editor and main contributors to the magazine try to give the reader a background and the basic aspects of Greek culture, with poems, novels and small studies sometimes of high quality. (Some of the contributors are Leos, 1977; Paizes, 1977; and

Zilianos, 1977).

In conclusion the following points are mentioned: The Greek press in South Africa should play a very important role in the survival of the cultural and national identity of the Greeks in the country. The existent press, with the exception of the "Southern Cross" and in some instances the "Student Horizons", do not play this role at all. The Greek newspapers do not offer much because the cultural and national identity is not offered with huge headlines and semi-naked women, but with contents of cultural and national interest. That is why it is the writer's belief that the establishment of a real national newspaper, led by the Foundation of the Greek Communities in South Africa, is an urgent necessity.

APPENDIX 3

INDEX

* Respondent

Occupational categories: a Professional, b White collar worker, c Technician, d Artisan, e Shopowner

The respondents numbered 1 - 39 and 41 are from Cape Town. Respondent number 40 and respondents numbered from 42 onwards are in Johannesburg.

No.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
1	Primary school	Traveller a*	a University b High school	a Business a b Business a	-	-
2	Primary school	Shop owner e*	a High school b High school	a Business a b Business a	High school	Non-economically active
3	High school	Shop owner e*	Still at University	-	Technical college	White collar b
4	Primary school	Shop owner e*	University	General business a	Technical college	General business a
5	Technical college	General business a*	University	Administrative clerk b	University	Clerk b
6	Primary school	Professional a*	University	Business a	Technical college	Pharmacist a
7	High school	Clerk b*	a High school b University c Technical college	a Business a b Manager b c Business a	-	-
8	High school	Shop owner e*	University	White Collar b	a High school b still at school	a Professional a b -
9	No primary school	Shop owner e*	University	Clerk b	still at school	-
10	Primary school	Shop owner e*	No primary	Technician c	Technical college	Typist b
11	Primary school	Shop owner e*	University	Manager b	High school	Typist b
12	High school	Shop owner e*	Primary school	Business a	University	Chemist a
13	No primary school	Garage owner d*	a High school b High school	a Hair stylist a b Business a	High school	Art designer a
14	Primary school	Shop owner e*	a High school b University	a Business a b Business a	High school	Non-economically active
15	High school	Shopkeeper e*	High school	Clerk b	High school	Non-economically active

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
16	High school	Shop owner e*	University	Doctor a	a University b Primary school	a Chemist b b non-economically active
17	No primary school	Shop owner e*	High school	Clerk b	University	Book-keeper a
18	No primary school	Shop owner e*	a University b High school	a Business b Business a	High school	Non-economically active
19	No primary school	Shop owner e*	High school	Clerk b	University	Architect a
20	High school	Shop owner e*	Still at University	-	Technical college	White collar b
21	Primary school	Shop owner e*	Primary school	Business a	High School	Hair stylist a
22	Primary school	Store owner e*	a High school b Technical college	a Business b Business a	a Technical college graduate	Office clerk b
23	No primary school	Store owner e*	a University b High school	a Clerk b Business a	b High school	Actress a
24	High school	Worker in metal works c*	High school	Commercial artist a	High school	Non-economically active
25	Primary school	Shop owner e*	University	Professional a	Primary school	Non-economically active
26	No primary school	Shop owner e*	University	Accountant in firm b	High school	White collar b
27	No primary school	Shop owner e*	University grad	Accountant a	University grad.	Book-keeper a
28	Primary school	Shop owner e*	High school	Private business a	a High school b High school	a Non-economically active b Business a
29	Primary school	Shop owner e*	No primary school	Technician	Primary school	Non-economically active
30	Primary school	Industry tech. c*	No primary school	Industry tech. c	University	Commercial art a
31	High school	Shop owner e*	a Still at school b Technical college	- White collar b	Still at school	-

o.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
32	High school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Technical college	Accountant <i>a</i>	High school	Book-keeper <i>a</i>
33	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a No primary b University	a Technician <i>c</i> b White collar <i>b</i>	Technical college	Typist <i>b</i>
34	High school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a High school b Technical	a Business <i>a</i> b Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
35	High school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	High school	Bank clerk <i>b</i>	Primary school	Typist <i>b</i>
36	High school grad.	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	University graduate	Private Business <i>a</i>	a University grad b Technical college	a Teacher <i>a</i> b Saleswoman <i>a</i>
37	Technical Coll grad	Factory technical worker <i>c*</i>	Technical College	Technician <i>c</i>	High school grad	Non-economically active
38	No primary school	Artisan <i>d*</i>	a High school b High school	a Business <i>a</i> b Business <i>a</i>	High school	Business <i>a</i>
39	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	University	Public relations in company <i>b</i>	-	-
40	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a Still at school b Technical College	- b Clerk <i>b</i>	-	-
41	Technical college	General business <i>a*</i>	High school	Clerk <i>b</i>	a High school b Primary school	a General bussiness <i>a</i> Non-econom. active
42	High school	Professional <i>a</i>	University	Lawyer <i>a</i>	Primary school	Clerk <i>b*</i>
43	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e</i>	-	-	High school	Clerk <i>b*</i>
44	Technical college	Accountant in firm <i>b*</i>	University	Manager	Stil at school	-
45	High school	White collar <i>b*</i>	University	Professional	Still at school	-
46	Technical Coll grad	Admin. Manager <i>b*</i>	Technical Coll grad	Book-keeper <i>a</i>	-	-
47	High school	Industrialist <i>a</i>	-	-	a University b High school	a Clerk <i>b*</i> b Clerk <i>b</i>
48	University	Company clerk <i>b*</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
49	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	High school	General business <i>a</i>	-	-
50	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a High school b University	a Traveller <i>a</i> b Business Manager	-	-
51	High school	Clerk <i>b</i>	Technical College	White Collar <i>b</i>	High school	Typist <i>b*</i>
52	Primary school	Private artisan <i>d*</i>	-	-	a Still at school b Still at school	- -
53	University	Salesman <i>b*</i>	University	Doctor <i>a</i>	a Still at school b Still at school	- -
54	High school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	University grad.	Company clerk <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
55	High school	Traveller <i>a*</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
56	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Technical Coll Grad	Clerk <i>b</i>	Technical Coll Grad	Architect <i>a</i>
57	High school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Technical College	Mechanical Eng <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
58	High school	Shop owner <i>e</i> (Jhbg)	-	-	a University b Technical College	a Doctor <i>a*</i> b Typist <i>b</i>
59	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
60	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a High school b University	a Clerk <i>b</i> b Lawyer <i>d</i>	-	-
61	Primary school grad	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Technical Coll grad	Clerk <i>b</i>	University	Architect <i>a</i>
62	Technical College	Marketing agent <i>b*</i>	High school	Doctor <i>a</i>	-	-
63	Primary school	Industry worker <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
64	Technical College	Industrial Tech <i>c*</i>	University	General business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
65	University	Doctor in clinic <i>b*</i>	University	Teacher <i>a</i>	-	-
66	Primary school	Television Tech <i>d*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
67	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	High school	Laundry owner <i>a</i>	-	-
68	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Still at school	-	High school	Hair stylist <i>a</i>
69	Technical college	Construction bus <i>a*</i>	University	Doctor <i>a</i>	Still at school	-

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
70	Primary school	Nighclub owner	<i>a*</i> Technical college	Clerk <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
71	No primary school	Store owner	<i>e*</i> Technical coll grad	Clerk <i>b</i>	Technical coll grad	Saleswoman <i>a</i>
72	Primary school	Store owner	<i>e*</i> University graduate	Chemical Engineer for firm <i>b</i>	Technical coll grad	Dental assistant <i>b</i>
73	Technical College	Pharmacist	<i>a*</i> University	Administrative staf staff <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
74	No primary school	Shop owner	<i>e*</i> a Still at school b University	- Clerk <i>b</i>	-	-
75	Primary school	Shop owner	<i>e*</i> University	Chemist <i>a</i>	Technical College	Doctor <i>a</i>
76	High school	Transport bus.	<i>a*</i> University	Lawyer <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
77	High school	Travel agent	<i>a*</i> -	-	Technical College	Medical assistant <i>b</i>
78	Technical college	Store manager	<i>b*</i> University	Book-keeper for firm <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
79	Primary school	Store owner	<i>e*</i> a Technical college b Technical college c High school	a Clerk <i>b</i> b Business <i>a</i> c Business <i>a</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>
80	Primary school	Shop owner	<i>e*</i> University	Dentist <i>a</i>	-	-
81	Primary school	Shop keeper	<i>e*</i> Still at school	-	University	Attorney <i>a</i>
82	Primary school	Restaurant owner	<i>a*</i> University graduate	Accountant for firm <i>b</i>	University graduate	Teacher <i>a</i>
83	High school	Private artisan	<i>d*</i> a University b Still at school	Lawyer <i>a</i> -	Still at school	-
84	Technical college	Manager in comp.	<i>b*</i> University	Lower manager <i>b</i>	-	-
85	University	Medical doctor	<i>a*</i> Still at school	-	Still at school	-
86	Technical college	Manager in comp	<i>b*</i> Technical College	General business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
87	Technical college	Industry advisor	<i>c*</i> Technical college	Business <i>a</i>	-	-
88	Primary school	Technical Industry supervisor	<i>c*</i> Still at school	-	a Still at school b Still at school	-

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
89	High school	Truck driver <i>a*</i>	University	Dentist <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
90	Primary school	Industry supervisor <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
91	Primary school	Technical worker <i>d</i>	High school	Industrial Tech. <i>c*</i>	-	-
92	Technical college	Mechanical bus. <i>d*</i>	Technical college	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
93	Primary school	Shop keeper <i>e*</i>	a University b Technical	a Company clerk <i>b</i> b Industry Chemist <i>b</i>	Technical college	Chemist <i>a</i>
94	Primary school	Traveller <i>a*</i>	University	Manager <i>b</i>	-	-
95	High school	Finance account. <i>a*</i>	University	Manager <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
96	Technical college	Industrial tech. <i>c*</i>	Technical college	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
97	No primary	Business (general) <i>a*</i>	Technical college	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
98	Primary school	Industry tech. <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	-	-
99	Primary school	Technical bus. <i>d*</i>	a Still at school b Still at school	- -	- -	- -
100	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a University b University	a Business <i>a</i> b Business <i>a</i>	-	-
101	High school	Garage owner <i>d*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
102	High school	Garage owner <i>d*</i>	High school	Clerk <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
103	High school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Still at school	-	University	Doctor <i>a</i>
104	High school	Business <i>a*</i>	a University b Still at school	a Business <i>a</i> -	Still at school	-
105	University	Teacher <i>a*</i>	University	Accountant in firm <i>b</i>	University	Pharmacist <i>a</i>
106	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a University b University	a Clerk <i>b</i> b Chemist <i>a</i>	-	-
107	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	University	Mechanical Eng. <i>a</i>	-	-
108	Technical school	Technician <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
109	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	High school	Business <i>a</i>	-	-
110	Primary school	Industry worker <i>c*</i>	Technical College	White collar <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
111	Primary school	Laundry owner <i>d*</i>	University	General business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
112	High school	Industry tech <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
113	Technical college	Taxi driver <i>a*</i>	University	Business(general) <i>a</i>	University	Doctor <i>a</i>
114	Primary school	Industry worker <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
115	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e</i>	-	-	a University b High school	a Doctor <i>a*</i> b Clerk <i>b</i>
116	High school	Business <i>a</i>	High school	Business <i>a</i>	High school	Clerk <i>b*</i>
117	University	Pharmacist in State Hospital <i>b*</i>	a Still at school b University	- Doctor in State Clinic <i>b</i>	-	-
118	High school	Technical worker <i>c*</i>	Still at school	-	a Still at school b Still at school	-
119	High school	White collar <i>b</i>	University	White collar <i>b</i>	High school	Clerk <i>b*</i>
120	Primary school	Private artisan <i>d*</i>	Still at school	-	Technical College	Book-keeper <i>b</i>
121	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e</i>	University	Lawyer <i>a</i>	Technical college	Pharmacist <i>a*</i>
122	Technical college	Accountant in firm <i>b*</i>	University	Bank clerk <i>b</i>	Still at school	-
123	Primary school	Professional <i>a</i>	-	-	High school	Clerk <i>b*</i>
124	High school	Professional <i>a</i>	University	Lawyer <i>a</i>	a University b High school	a Doctor <i>a*</i> b Clerk <i>b</i>
125	University	Clerk <i>b*</i>	a University b University	a Doctor <i>a</i> b Bussiness <i>a</i>	-	-
126	High school	Professional <i>a</i>	High school	Clerk <i>b</i>	University	White collar <i>b</i>
127	Primary school	Bottle store owner <i>e*</i>	High school	Computer programmer <i>b</i>	-	-

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
128	High school	Electrician <i>d*</i>	Technical college	Clerk <i>b</i>	-	-
129	Primary school	Garage owner <i>d*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
130	High school	Private technician <i>d*</i>	Still at school	-	Still at school	-
131	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Technical college	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
132	High school	Shop owner <i>e</i>	-	-	a High school b University	a Hair stylist <i>a*</i> b White collar <i>b</i>
133	High school	Professional <i>a</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	University	Teacher <i>a*</i>
134	High school	Private technician <i>d*</i>	High school	Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
135	High school	Shop owner <i>e</i>	-	-	a University b Technical college	a Dentist <i>a*</i> b Typist <i>b</i>
136	No primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a University Grad b University Grad	a Teacher <i>a</i> b Manager <i>b</i>	-	-
137	High school	Manager <i>b*</i>	University	Teacher <i>a</i>	-	-
138	Primary school	Technician <i>c</i>	-	-	University	Doctor in clinic <i>b*</i>
139	Primary school	Clerk <i>b*</i>	Still at school	-	University	Professional <i>a</i>
140	High school	Industrialist <i>a</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	High school	Clerk (Jhbg) <i>b*</i>
141	No primary school	Shop keeper <i>e*</i>	University	Professional <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
142	Primary school	Professional <i>a</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	High school	Clerk <i>b*</i>
143	University	Lawyer <i>a*</i>	University	Business <i>a</i>	a Still at school b Still at school	a - b -
144	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e</i>	-	-	Technical college	Chemist <i>a*</i>
145	Primary school	Taxi driver <i>a</i>	High school	Business <i>a</i>	High school	Typist <i>b*</i>
146	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	Technical Coll Grad	Accountant in firm <i>b</i>	High school graduate	Saleswoman <i>a</i>
147	Primary school	Shop owner <i>e*</i>	a Technical Coll b University	a Clerk <i>b</i> b Business <i>a</i>	Still at school	-

NO.	FATHER'S EDUCATION	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	SON'S EDUCATION	SON'S OCCUPATION	DAUGHTER'S EDUCATION	DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATION
148	High school	Technician <i>c</i>	-	-	a Technical college b University	a White collar <i>b*</i> b Biochemist <i>b</i>
149	University	Accountant <i>a*</i>	University	Lawyer <i>a</i>	Still at school	-
150	High school	Clerk <i>b*</i>	Still at school	-	High school	Hair business <i>a</i>

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