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who emigrated to Australia during the Greek economic crisis*

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Abstract

During the Greek economic crisis several thousand Greece-born Australian citizens, Greek citizens, and Australia-born persons of Greek ancestry, emigrated from Greece to Australia. The limited relevant research has focused on their initial years of arrival in Australia at a local level, mostly in Melbourne, and in the number and patterns of emigration of Greek citizens at the national level. However, there is no research on the main characteristics and settlement outcomes of the post-2010 Greece-born persons who emigrated in Australia. This paper aims to fill in this knowledge gap by analysing and comparing the main characteristics and settlement outcomes of the above group of migrants with those of previous waves of Greece-born migrants, all migrants and Australian born persons. This is done by using the following eight indicators from the 2016 Australian Census of Population and Housing: demography, place of residence, educational, qualifications, occupational and labour market status, industry of employment and income. The data and its analysis provide a reliable and current understanding of the profile and settlement outcomes of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants in Australia, and also draws attention to the particularities of (re)emigration of Greeks from Greece to countries of traditional Greek migrant destination.

Keywords: Australia, migration, Greeks, Greek crisis.

Introduction

Australia has two migration programs, a permanent and a temporary migration program. The permanent migration program (Migration Programme) has three streams – partner, skilled, and special eligibility – and is designed in staggered pathways of numerous subclasses of visas that can be granted either outside or in Australia. This program is based on the concept of *permanence*, of permanent membership in the society, the economy and the nation-state. The Migration Programme allocates a defined number of places every year. The 2019-20 Migration Program has set a target of 160,000 places, a reduction from 190,000 places set in the previous two financial years, representing the first reduction in more than ten years. Since

2015, however, the planning level has been treated as a ceiling rather than a target, thus the actual program delivery in 2017-18 was 162,417 places and not 190,000¹.

As a result of changing international economic conditions and increased competition for mobile skilled labour due to globalisation, as well as to address the need to attract international students for an emerging Australian, internationally orientated university sector, Australia introduced in the 1990s a temporary migration program². This programme is composed of eight visa categories and numerous subclasses of visas that can be granted either outside or in the country. There are temporary visas for short-term visits (usually 3 months), long-term visits (over 12 months) for employment, study, family reunion and other purposes. Most visa categories provide staggered pathways, that is, application from one visa type to another, which could lead after a few years to permanent residence and ultimately to citizenship. There is no limit on the number of annual grants of temporary visas. The temporary migration program is based on the concept of *temporariness*, of contingency and insecurity of the temporary visa holders (Boese & Robertson, 2017). The pathways from temporariness to permanence are seldom explicit or guaranteed, leading to 'long term temporariness' and ongoing insecurity which are manifold, ranging from increased vulnerability to exploitation by employers. The size and scope of Australia's temporary migration program is very substantial; at the end of 2016 there were approximately 2.1 million people in Australia on various temporary visas.³

Prior to the Greek economic crisis, Australia was not a favoured migration destination for Greek citizens - not even as a career destination choice among university graduates, as most of them chose the accessibility (free movement of labour) and the proximity of Greece to European Union (EU) countries, as well as the USA or other countries. For instance, in the 'year of arrival in Australia' range of 1996-2005 used by the Australian Census produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), only 1,605 Greece-born persons had settled in Australia. On the contrary, from the 1980s onwards there was a steady increase of thousands of Greece-born and Greek ancestry persons settling in Greece, as a result of improved economic conditions in Greece, particularly after Greece became a member of the then European Economic Community in 1981.⁴

¹ Australian Government. (2019). *Australia's 2019-2020 Migration Program*. Retrieved on 2019, March 26 from: <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/reports-and-pubs/files/discussion-paper-australias-2019-20-migration.pdf>

² The increasing reliance on temporary (as opposed to permanent) migration marks a transformation in the nature of Australia's migration program, away from migration as population building to migration as an economic factor. This transformation, among other things, challenges Australia's meaning of multiculturalism as a system of citizenship rights and obligations, and has led to new forms of personal identity and belonging often called 'transnational belonging'. These major changes, Castles argues, makes it necessary for Australia to adopt new policy responses that are flexible to the multi-layered identities that are an intrinsic aspect of transnationalism. (Castles, 2016, pp.391-398)

³ Australian Government. *Temporary entrants in Australia as at 31 December 2016*. This number also includes 565,760 visitor visa holders. Retrieved on 2019, March 26 from: <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/research-and-stats/files/temp-entrants-aust-31-dec-2016.pdf>

⁴ Greece, according to Fakiolas and King, has consistently failed to articulate a coherent return policy and has never found a place for returning working in development planning (p. 185). (The exception is the case of the

As a result of the Greek economic crisis, from 2010 until the end of 2015 an estimated 280,000 to 350,000 Greek persons emigrated from Greece (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis, 2016, p. 8). From 2010 onwards the following three groups of people left Greece and (re)emigrated to Australia: a) Australian born persons of Greek ancestry; b) Greece-born persons who were (mostly) Australian citizens or Australian permanent residents; and c) Greek citizens.

There is no statistical data on the post-2010 Australian born persons of Greek ancestry who have returned back to Australia from Greece, except of an estimate of their total numbers, if they stated their Greek ancestry in the census. This group, together with the second group of Greece-born Australian citizens and permanent residents, dominated the initial wave of arrivals in Australia, and are still trickling in as the levels of unemployment and economic uncertainty in Greece remain high. Once in Australia, the members of these two groups were able to exercise immediately their *permanency* rights, that is, their full civic, political, and social rights (i.e., access to state welfare services). These rights facilitated their speedy and successful reintegration in the Australian society and economy, even though they faced again issues of personal, social and cultural adaptation and integration associated with all newly arrived migrants.

The third group of arrivals, the Greek citizens, travelled/emigrated to Australia overwhelmingly under its temporary migration program (95.5%), either for short-term (up to 3 months) or long-term (over 12 months) periods of time, and the remainder on permanent visas (4.5%). In the period 2010/11 to 2016/17 approximately 60,769 temporary visas were granted to Greek citizens (Field-Theotokatos, 2019, p. 10). Of the temporary visas granted, 53,395 visas or 87.8% of the total were short-term visitor visas. Amongst these visitors the majority were persons who utilised this type of visa to investigate their migration options in Australia. Only few of them managed to obtain temporary long-term visas. The highest proportion of long term-visas granted were in two categories, student visas (4,069 or 6.6%) and Temporary Work Skilled (457) visas (1,353 or 2.2%). As of December 2016 there were in Australia approximately 2,100 Greek citizens on various long-term temporary visas (Field-Theotokatos, 2018, p. 17).

In contrast to the groups of Greece-born migrants who were Australian citizens and/or permanent residents, Greek citizen temporary visa holders experienced (and are experiencing) a state of *temporariness*. Temporariness means often long and arduous uncertainty, having constantly to satisfy various and changeable immigration bureaucratic criteria to remain in the country, with no social and political rights, very limited civil rights and luck having also a critical role in gaining long-term residence (Field-Theotokatos, 2018).

return of Greeks from the former communist countries in the 1980s where specific policies were initiated.) Instead, Greek return migration to Greece has been driven by individual socio-cultural factors. Most of the returnees re-settled in urban centres, as employees and many engaged in self-employment activities – e.g. shop owners, taxi owners and hotel operators. More qualified returnees found opportunities in the more advanced sectors of the Greek economy or even in EU countries. Another important reason for Greek returnees has been to maintain the ‘Greekness’ of their children by attending Greek schools and growing up in Greece, as well as for personal reasons linked to family and cultural aspects. (Fakiolas & King, 1996, pp. 171-190, Mavroudi, 2015, pp. 175-187).

Post-2010 Greek citizen migrants under-utilised Australia's permanent migration program because of its long waiting periods (up to 12 months) for visa approval, complexity, cost, as well as because it did not meet their urgent need for emigration during the Greek economic crisis. Thus, by 2016/17 only 2,866 permanent residence places were granted to Greek citizens, of which 2,162 places or 75.4% were under the partner (spouses) stream of the migration program, and only 549 or 19.1% places were under the skilled stream.

This paper presents and discusses the profile and settlement outcomes of the Greece-born post-2010 migrants in Australia – Australian citizens, permanent residents and Greek citizens - through a detailed and comparative exploration of available secondary data. The data is drawn from the 2011 and 2016 Australian Census of Population and Housing of the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), and covers eight indicators: demographic, place of residence, educational, qualifications, occupational and labour market status, industry of employment and income.⁵

Literature review on the post-2010 Greece-born arrivals in Australia

To the best of my knowledge at the time when this paper was written there were only three publications on the post-2010 Greek emigration to Australia during the period of the Greek economic crisis. None of them cover the profile and the settlement outcomes of post-2010 Greece-born migrants in Australia presented in this paper. The first publication by A. Tamis focused on the early arrival patterns and certain settlement experiences of post-2010 Greek migrants in Australia, mostly in Melbourne, and on various initiatives by Greek-Australian institutions in Melbourne to better facilitate the arrival and settlement of these migrants (Tamis, 2014). The most distinguishing aspect of Tamis' work was his estimate of the total arrivals from Greece to Australia from 2009 to 2013 at 90,000 persons. As it is discussed in the demographic section of this paper, this claim grossly overestimated the number of these arrivals.

The second publication is a research study of the settlement experiences of newly arrived Greek migrants to Australia from 2010 to 2014 as recorded and researched by the Australian Greek Welfare Society (now called 'Pronia') in Melbourne (2014). The report is particularly valuable as it contains first hand responses of the experiences of a number of these arrivals from casework, surveys, interviews and workshops at the peak of Greece's economic crisis. And the third publication draws from available Australian immigration data from 2010/11 to 2016/17 on the types of Australian visas granted to post-2010 Greek citizen migrants (Field-Theotokatos, 2018). The paper refers to the methods and patterns of emigration of these Greek migrants, and discusses some of the key settlement challenges they had to face/are facing in Australia in their capacity as migrants with temporary residence status.

⁵ The Census data was extracted by using the Australian Bureau of Statistics 'Census TableBuilder', an online facility that requires registration to it, which provides access to most Census data and allows the construction of data tables. <https://auth.censusdata.abs.gov.au/webapi/jsf/login.xhtml>

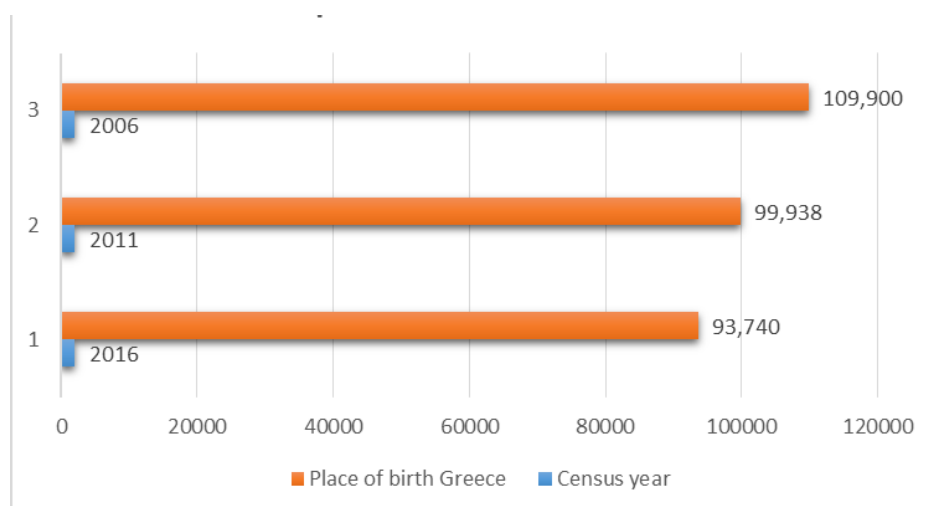
Data analysis and presentation

The census variable of 'country of birth', Greece, is used in this paper as the basis of analysis because it is objective and reliable, and it can be cross-tabulated with all the eight selected indicators. The variable of citizenship is used selectively, as the census provides only a binary choice on citizenship - either Australian or not - and this poses limitations in cross-tabulations and accuracy. The variable of ancestry or ethnicity is used only once, as it represents a different level of analysis than that of country of birth. No other data for Australian born persons of Greek ancestry can be disaggregated and cross tabulated in the Census, except that of their total number. Finally, where appropriate, other government data, various reports and other information sources are used to enhance the statistical analysis.

The demographic profile of the Greek community in Australia

The Greece-born population in Australia peaked at 160,200 persons in 1971 and ever since it has been declining steadily because of: a) low level of emigration from Greece to Australia - from 1976 to 2016, only 13,428 Greece-born migrants settled in Australia; b) return of Greece-born Australian citizens and migration of Australian born persons of Greek ancestry to Greece (either as children with their families or as adults) from the mid-1980s until the onset of the Greek economic crisis;⁶ and c) an ageing population with increasing mortality rates. Figure 1 below shows the trend of the continuous decline of the Greece-born population in Australia since 2006.

Figure 1: Greece-born population in Australia (2006-2016) – 2016 ABS Census

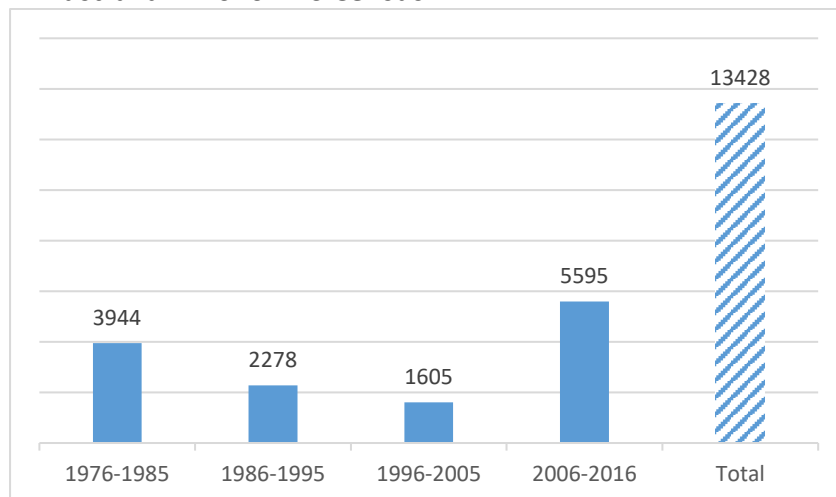


⁶ Among the returnees to Greece there is a large number of Australian social security age pensioners (persons over 65 years old), estimated at approximately 11,000 in 2014. Current statistical information does not show significant returns of this group after 2010 (only 156 persons aged over 60 years old), primarily because of their age and their lack of property ownership in Australia to use for residence.

The population profile of the Greece-born population in Australia in the last two censuses of 2011 and 2016, can be understood by two major demographic trends. The first trend is the ageing profile of the Greece-born population in Australia. In the 2016 census the mean age of this group was over 70 years old. The largest age cohort was that of over 65 years old, 62,561 persons or 66.7% of the total. The labour force age population (15-64 years old) was 29,646 persons or 31.6%, of which 19,916 or 67.1% were in the age cohort of 50-64 years old. The population aged 0-14 years old was 1,511 persons or 1.2% of the total and comprised almost exclusively of post-2010 Greece-born persons. The sex distribution was 44,910 males (47.9%) and 48,831 females (52.1%).

The second major demographic trend was the low emigration rate of Greece-born persons to Australia from 1976 to 2009, as seen in Figure 2. Since 1976, the rate of emigration from Greece to Australia declined steadily until the decade 1996 to 2005, when only 1,605 Greece-born persons had settled in Australia. By contrast, in the period 2006-2016, 5,595 Greece-born persons settled in Australia, an increase of over 350% from the previous decade. These 5,595 migrants represent 41.6% of the Greece-born migrants who have settled in Australia over the past 40 years, but only a 6% addition to the total Greece-born population in Australia by 2016. Overall, the number of Greece-born arrivals after 2010 was comparatively high but it was only sufficiently high to slow down the overall declining population trend – from 9,962 fewer persons in 2011 to 6,198 fewer persons in 2016 – and not to overturn it, Figure 1.

Figure 2: Greece-born persons in Australia (1976-2016) by the Census range ‘Year of arrival in Australia’ – 2016 ABS Census



The census records clearly the speed and period of emigration of Greece-born persons at the start of the Greek economic crisis through the variable ‘place of usual address’, either in Australia or overseas, and by the indicators one year and five years ago (back to 2011). Of the Greece-born persons who arrived in Australia in the period 2011-2016 and responded to this question:

- 4,151 persons or 77.2% replied that their usual place of residence five years earlier was overseas; and
- 570 persons, or 10.4% replied that their usual place of residence a year earlier was overseas.

That is, a total of 4,721 Greece-born persons or 87.6% arrived in Australia from 2011 to 2016. If we add to this total the 492 Greece-born arrivals between 2009 and 2010 (Census 2011), then the total number of Greece-born migrants from the onset of the Greek economic crisis was 5,213 persons. This figure represents 93% of the 5,595 of the Greece-born migrants who arrived in the decade 2006-2016.⁷

The age cohorts of the Greece-born Australian citizens and of the Greece-born non-Australian citizens as recorded in the census - (assumed here to be all Greek citizens, either temporary visa holders or permanent residents) - helps us to understand each group's different patterns and composition of emigration. As shown in Table 1 below, there were slightly more migrants who were Greek citizens (2,827 or 51.3%) than Greece-born Australian citizens, (2,674 or 48.7%). Out of this total, 3,605 persons or 62.1% were of labour force age (20-59 years old), 1,905 or 35.2% were children/young dependants (0-19 years old) and only 156 persons or 2.8% were over 60 years old.

Table 1: Greece-born, by citizenship Australian and non-Australian, by 10 year age cohorts by period of arrival (2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Citizenship	0-9 years	10-19 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60+	Total	%
Australian	506	953	547	312	174	103	74	2674	48.7%
Not Australian	212	234	394	926	722	271	82	2827	51.3%
Total	718	1187	941	1238	896	374	156	5501	100%
Percentage	13.2	22.0	17.2	22.2	16.0	6.7	2.8		

The main observation from Table 1 is that Greece-born Australian citizens had a considerably larger non-adult population than that of Greek citizens. The fact that the largest age cohort amongst the Greece-born Australian citizen arrivals was 0-19 years old, 1,459 persons or 54.8% of their total, shows that this group returned back to Australia mostly as family units, rather as single persons. The same age cohort among Greek citizens was only 446 persons or 15.8%, indicating that only a small number of families where both parents were Greek citizens settled to Australia.

Among the Greek citizen arrivals the largest age cohort was that of 30-39 year olds (926 persons or 32.7%). This age cohort supports Labrianidis and Pratsinakis observation that the average age of Greek migrants in the post-2010 period has been 30.5 years, higher than that of the previous decade (1990-1999) (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis 2017, p. 10). The second largest age cohort of Greek citizens was that of 40-49 year olds (722 persons or 25.5%) and the third largest age cohort, by a considerable margin, was that of 20-29 year olds (394 persons or 13.9%) – (compared to 547 persons or 20.5% for the Australian citizens). Overall,

⁷ Throughout the analysis of this paper the figure of 5,595 Greece-born migrants is used in all cross tabulations. In addition, the totals used in all Census tables are those of the Census, they are not manual additions, and this accounts for any small variations if they are added manually.

the Greek citizens were an older group of arrivals, 81.8% were in the 20-59 year old age cohort, compared to only 42.5% of the Greece-born Australian.

So, what was the total number of Greek migrants – Greece-born and of Greek ancestry - in Australia in 2017? According to the 2016 Australian Census the number of persons of Greek ancestry - ancestry is defined as far back as two generations - who had settled in Australia in the period 2006-2016 was approximately 8,286 persons. This number included the 5,595 Greece-born persons, and the remainder 2,691 persons were Australian born persons of Greek ancestry. If we add to this number an estimated 2,100 Greek citizens on temporary long-term visas by the end of 2016, and other temporary long-term and Greece-born Australian citizens arrivals in 2016/17, then the estimated number of all post-2010 Greeks migrants in Australia by 2017 was approximately 10,500 to 11,000 persons (Field-Theotokatos 2018, p. 23).

The above estimate of Greek migrants in Australia contrasts greatly to that of Tamis' unqualified estimate of 80,000 Greece-born Australian citizens/permanent residents and Australian born persons of Greek ancestry, and 10,000 Greek citizens, a total of 90,000 persons, to have emigrated to Australia between 2010 and 2013. Specifically, the figure of repatriated persons is grossly overestimated, not substantiated by sources, reliable data or other relevant estimates at the time (Tamis, 2014, p. 160). It would appear that in formulating the above repatriation estimate, Tamis overlooked a critical implication of the very data he used for his calculation of the Greek-Australians in Greece. Tamis accepts an Australian researcher's estimate of the Greek-Australian population in Greece at the start of the economic crisis, at approximately 135,000 persons (p. 159). A reduction of this group by 80,000 persons, or by 60%, within a space of three years is statistically highly unlikely. Such an estimate assumes the questionable scenario that 60% of this group had found themselves in sudden dire employment and economic circumstances that they have had to return back to Australia urgently.

Tamis' estimate of a total of 90,000 arrivals is not supported by the 2014 'Pronia' report, which estimated the number of Greek and Cypriot arrivals in the state of Victoria from 2010 to 2014 at 6,000 persons (Pronia 2014, p. 9; 64). This estimate was based on the organisation's own statistics and those of the Department of Immigration. Besides this, there was also scepticism by certain population experts at the time on some media claims of very high numbers of Greek migrant arrivals in Australia (Simone, 2015).

Finally, in regards to the marital status of Greece-born arrivals from Greece (2006-2016), most of the 20-59 year olds, 1,847 of them or 53.6%, were married. There were significant differences in the marital status between Greek citizens and Greece-born Australian citizens. The number of married Greek citizens was 1,465 persons, or 63.3% of their total, with a sex distribution 55% male and 45% female. In comparison, 382 persons or 33.6% of Greece-born Australian citizens were married, with a sex distribution 49.5% male and 50.5% female. The large proportion of married Greek citizens is also supported, as already mentioned, by the high number of permanent partner visas granted to them, meaning they were married to Greece-born Australian citizens. Nevertheless, the above picture of Greece-

born married migrants is incomplete, as there are no statistics on the marital status of persons of Greek descent who returned to Australia from Greece.

The census does not provide information if the above married persons lived together in Australia, or if they were separated for a short-term period.⁸ Based on emigration patterns of the post-2010 Greek citizens, particularly in Europe, it could be assumed that there could have been a number of ‘target earners’ – usually men, who migrate short to medium term and support their families back in Greece – in Australia. However, given the large distance between Greece and Australia, which encourages aspirations of long-term settlement, and the large percentage of permanent partner visas granted to Greek citizens, this form of emigration of married persons would seem to have been rare in the case of Australia.

Place of residence of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants in Australia

Over three quarters of the Greece-born migrants (77.4%) in the period 2006-2016 settled in the two Australian states where most of the Greek-Australian community is settled (76.5%), Table 2. Nearly half of these migrants settled in Victoria (48.5%), particularly in Melbourne, which has the largest concentration of Greece-born persons at 45.1%. The second highest place of settlement of these migrants was in New South Wales (NSW) (28.9%), particularly in Sydney, which has the second largest concentration of Greece-born persons in Australia at 31.4%.

The pattern of geographical settlement of the recent Greece-born migrants was driven by a combination of factors, such as prior geographical settlement experience, the ‘pull’ factor of local Greek communities, and by the economic performance in their areas of settlement. Prior geographical settlement experience would appear to be the dominant driver for the pattern of geographical settlement, because it is reasonable to assume that the majority of Greece-born Australian citizens and permanent residents (48.7%) returned back to the cities, States and Territories they used to live and work. Furthermore, among this group of migrants there were significant numbers of Greek citizens married to them, and this further reinforced this pattern of settlement. Melbourne and Sydney had, and are still having, very high economic growth rates over the past 7-8 years, particularly in the construction and accommodation and food services, health care and social assistance industries⁹, where, as will be shown, a large numbers of the recent Greece-born migrants are employed.

In certain instances, the recent Greece-born migrants have made a disproportionate demographic impact in small Greek-Australian communities, as in the case of Northern Territory, capital city Darwin. In 2016, the Northern Territory only had 1.4% (1,268 persons) of the total Greece-born population in Australia. However, 403 Greece-born persons or 7.2% of the recent Greece-born migrants, the third highest percentage, had settled in this tropical

⁸ The number of Greece-born single parent families that arrived in Australia during this period is not known. The census recorded only 6 separated persons and 28 divorced persons aged 20-59 year olds.

⁹ Australian Government, Department of Employment, *Australian Jobs 2017*, pp. 6-7. Retrieved from: <https://cica.org.au/wp-content/uploads/Australian-Jobs-2017.pdf>

part of Australia, contributing 25% to the Greece-born population of Northern Territory. This settlement is largely explained by the dominant type of economic activities of the Greek-Australian community over there, discussed in more detail in the section of industry of employment.

Table 2: All Greece-born persons in Australia and Greece-born migrants (2006-2016) by State/Territory of residence - 2016 ABS Census

State of residence	All Greece-born persons in 2016		All Greece-born persons arrived 2006-2016	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
Victoria (capital city Melbourne)	42236	45.1	2715	48.5
NSW (capital city Sydney)	29479	31.4	1617	28.9
S. Australia (capital city Adelaide)	8681	9.3	283	5.1
Queensland (capital city Brisbane)	3304	3.5	267	4.8
W. Australia (capital city Perth)	2308	2.5	207	3.7
North. Territory (capital city Darwin)	1268	1.4	403	7.2
Aust. Capital Territory (capital city Canberra)	978	1.0	80	1.4
Total	93740		5595	

Drawing from the census statistical variable of 'usual address in Australia', Table 3 below, it would appear that there was a significant degree of internal movement among the recent Greece-born migrants in Australia. However, the ABS cautions about the reliability of its indicator 'usual address in Australia', which refers to the geographic area (State/Territory/city) where a person has lived one or five years prior to the census night, and not to their residential address.¹⁰

Table 3: Usual place of residence in Australia of Greece-born migrants (2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

	Place of residence		
	Same as 2016	Elsewhere in Australia	Total
1 Year ago	3646 (74.5%)	1248 (25.5%)	4894
5 years ago	508 (45.1%)	718 (54.9%)	1126

There was significant mobility among the recent Greece-born migrants in terms of their usual place of residence in Australia, 54.9% indicated a different place of residence elsewhere in Australia five years before the census, and 25.5% a year before the census. However, when we take into consideration the fact that many of these migrants lived initially temporarily with friends and relatives, plus the prior geographical settlement experience of

¹⁰ Australian Bureau of Statistics. (2018). 2900.0 - *Census of Population and Housing: Understanding the Census and Census Data, Australia, 2016*. Persons visiting Australia from another country for less than one year are considered overseas visitors and are not recorded. However, the data are self-reported and in some cases, the address that is reported may be that which respondents consider their 'usual address' rather than necessary meeting the technical definition.

many of these migrants, it is highly likely that the recorded change of ‘usual address’ referred more to residential address change, rather than other geographical location.

Attendance to educational institutions of post-2010 Greece-born migrants

Of the 5,595 post-2010 Greece-born migrants, 2,699 or 47.7%, were attending educational institutions in Australia at the time of the census, Table 4. This high proportion of educational attendance reflects the age structure of this cohort: 61% (1,626 persons) were children attending preschool, primary and secondary education, 13.4% (358 persons) were attending university or other tertiary education, 11.7% (311 persons) were attending technical or further education, and 9.0% (240 persons) were attending other educational institutions.

Table 4: Greece-born migrants by attendance to educational institutions (2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Educational Institution Attending	Greece-born arrivals 2006-2016	
	Number	%
Preschool	73	2.7
Primary School	858	32.1
Secondary school	695	26.0
Technical or Further Education	311	11.7
University or other Tertiary Education	358	13.4
Other	240	9.0
Not stated	132	4.9
Total	2669	

The educational attendance among Greece-born migrants aged 20-59 year olds was 843 persons or 23.4% of the total of this age cohort (3,605 persons), Table 5. Of these 843 persons, nearly half (416) were 20-29 year olds. Attending university or other tertiary institutions were 35.2% (297 persons) – and most of them were under 30 years old (221) – 32.9% (277 persons) were attending technical or further educational institutions¹¹ and 25.6% (216 persons) were attending other institutions.

The pattern of educational attendance of Greece-born migrants aged 30 to 59 years showed a strong bias towards technical or further education and other studies (313 persons), shaped by both the high number of Greece-born citizens on student visas¹², and the effect of unplanned and rapid emigration in a short period of time. Even in the age cohort 40 to 59 years, mostly made up by Greece-born Australian citizens, 17.4% (147 persons) of the total

¹¹ Some technical or further educational institutions in Australia also offer undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, the same as those offered by universities.

¹² There were approximately 900 Greek citizens on student visas throughout 2016, (Field-Theotokatos 2018, pp. 16-17).

were attending mainly vocational or other studies, to improve their occupational and salary positions.

Table 5: Greece-born migrants by educational institution attending, by age 20-59 years old (2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Educational Institution Attending	Age				Total	%
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years		
University or other Tertiary Education	221	49	20	7	297	35.2
Technical or Further Education	116	94	45	22	277	32.9
Other	64	72	60	20	216	25.6
Not stated	12	20	19	8	59	7.0
Total	416	231	145	51	843	
%	49.3	27.4	17.2	6.0		

Highest educational attainment of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants

For the comparison and analysis of the highest educational attainment of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants in Australia, three reference groups are used here: a) the Greece-born migrants who arrived in Australia in the period 1996-2005, who are statistically a more relevant comparative group to the recent Greece-born migrants than all the Greece-born migrants in Australia; b) all migrants who arrived in Australia in the period 2006-2016; and c) Australian born.

The main observation from the comparison of the highest educational attainment between the two Greece-born groups of migrants, is that their educational attainment rankings are very similar, even though there were certain important differences in the percentage distribution among their educational attainment levels, Table 6. The two groups shared five out the eight rankings – Secondary Education (years 10 and above), Certificate Level II & V, Certificate Level & II, Graduate Diploma and Postgraduate Degree level.

Table 6: Greece-born, by age (20-59), by level of highest educational attainment, by period of arrival in Australia (1995-2005 and 2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Highest Level of Educational Attainment	Greece-born arrivals 1996-2005		Greece-born arrivals 2006-2016	
	Number	%	Number	%
Postgraduate Degree Level	71	5.1(6)	345	9.0(6)
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate Level	12	0.9(7)	35	0.9(7)
Bachelor Degree Level	176	12.6(4)	520	13.6(3)
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	134	9.6(5)	454	11.9(4)
Certificate Level III & IV	207	14.8(2)	541	14.1(2)
Secondary education - Years 10 and above	600	42.9(1)	1530	40.0(1)
Certificate Level I & II	0	0(8)	3	0.1(8)
Secondary education - Years 9 and below	197	14.1(3)	396	10.4(5)
Total	1397		3824	

The highest ranked educational attainment level for both groups was that of senior high school education – years 10 and above (Lykio in Greek), 42.9% for the earlier migrants and 40.0% for the recent migrants. The second highest level was that of Certificate Level I & II - regarded as an equivalent to senior high certificate educational qualification - at 14.8% and 14.1% respectively. The combined percentage of the above two educational attainment levels was 57.7% for the earlier migrants and 54.1% for the recent migrants. The similarity in the rankings of the senior higher school levels between the two groups can be explained by two factors. The first factor relates to the composition of the recent Greece-born migrants, where 48.7% of them were Greece-born Australian citizens. This implies that the educational background of this group of former settlers, largely mirrored that of the general Greece-born population in Australia. It is also not unreasonable to assume that a number of Greece-born Australian citizens amongst the recent migrants could have arrived in Australia after 1995, and at some point of time had returned to Greece prior 2010. The second factor relates to types of economic activities that certain Greek-Australians were engaged to, such in the hospitality and accommodation sectors, the construction and retail trade sectors, which do not require high levels of educational attainment.

In terms of percentage differences in educational attainment levels between the two groups of Greece-born migrants, the most noticeable differences were these: the earlier migrants had a slightly higher share (14.1%) of people with low educational attainment (up to 9 years of education), when compared to the recent migrants (10.6%). The recent migrants had a higher percentage of university educational attainment at 23.5%, compared to the earlier migrants at 18.6%. The exceptional difference at the university level of attainment was the very high proportion of postgraduates among the recent migrants (9.0%) – primarily Greek citizens - compared to the earlier migrants (5.1%). It has been estimated that 2 out of 3 of the people who left Greece from 2010 until the end of 2015 were university graduates (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis 2016, p. 16). In this context, therefore, the proportion of university graduates among the recent Greece-born migrants in Australia (23.5%) is very low.

Table 7: Greece-born migrants, all migrants in Australia (2006-2016) and Australia born, by age 20-59 year olds, by level of highest educational attainment - 2016 ABS Census

Highest Level of Educational Attainment	All migrants 2006-2016	Greece-born migrants 2006-2016	Australia born 2016
Postgraduate Degree Level	1.5% (7)	9.0% (6)	4.1% (5)
Graduate Diploma and Graduate	1.7% (6)	0.9% (7)	2.8% (7)
Bachelor Degree Level	31.9% (1)	13.6% (3)	18.9% (3)
Advanced Diploma and Diploma Level	12.2% (3)	11.9% (4)	11.2% (4)
Certificate Level III & IV	9.3% (4)	14.1% (2)	24.3% (2)
Secondary education - Years 10 and above	26.1% (2)	40.0% (1)	34.8% (1)
Certificate Level I & II	0.1% (8)	0.1% (8)	0.1% (8)
Secondary education - Years 9 and below	2.9% (5)	10.4% (5)	3.7% (6)

The comparison between Greece-born, all migrants who arrived in Australia in the period 2006-2016, and Australian born aged 20-59 years old, shows significant differences in rankings and percentages in the extremes of the educational attainment levels, Table 7.

The main observations from the above table are:

- all migrants had a substantially higher percentage of persons with bachelor degrees (31.9%), compared to both the Australian born persons (18.9%) and the recent Greece-born migrants (13.6%)
- the recent Greece-born migrants had substantially higher percentage of persons with postgraduate degrees (9%), compared to the Australian born persons (4.1%) and all other migrants (1.5%);
- Australian born persons had a higher percentage of senior high school education – Years 10 and Certificate Level III& V (59.3%) - followed closely by the recent Greece-born migrants (54.1%), and significantly lower for all other migrants (35.4%); and
- the recent Greece-born migrants had a significantly higher percentage of persons with high school education – Year 9 and below (10.4%) - compared to the Australian born persons (3.7%) and all other migrants (2.9%).

It is reasonable to argue that were it not for the high percentage of Australian citizens among the recent Greece-born migrants (48.7%), under normal immigration selection criteria fewer Greece-born persons would have been able to migrate to Australia. This is clearly shown when compared to all migrant arrivals who had the highest proportion of persons with bachelor degrees (31.9%) and the lowest percentages of high school and senior high school graduates.

The English language proficiency of the recent Greece-born migrants was significantly higher to that of all migrants who arrived in the same period (2006-2016). In the census, 55.0% of Greece-born migrants indicated that they spoke English 'Very well', compared to 33.6% of all migrants, spoke English 'Well' was very similar between the two groups, 27.2% and 26.0% respectively, and spoke English 'Not well' 12.1% and 9.7% respectively. One of the most obvious reasons for the superior English language proficiency of the recent Greece-born migrants was the large number of Australian citizens among them.

Qualifications of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants

Three areas of studies dominated the qualifications of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants, Table 8. These were: management and commerce (18.8%), engineering and related technologies (17.8%), and society and culture (15.1%). These three fields of study comprised more than half of the total completed fields of study (51.7%) of these migrants.

Food and hospitality, architecture, health and education made up more than a quarter of the other studies (27.4%). Overall, the fields of study of the recent Greece-born migrants were aligned to the demands of Australian economy, as shown in the following sections. The sex distribution of the persons with the above qualifications was similar to that of the general population of the recent Greece-born migrants, that is, 54% male and 46% female.

Table 8: Top ten fields of study completed by Greece-born migrants (2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Field of study	Persons born in Greece and arrived 2006-2016	
	Number	%
Management and Commerce	428	18.8
Engineering and Related Technologies	405	17.8
Society and Culture	344	15.1
Food, Hospitality and Personal Services	206	9.1
Architecture and Building	151	6.6
Health	134	5.9
Education	131	5.8
Creative Arts	104	4.6
Information Technology	106	4.7
Natural and Physical Sciences	92	4.0
Agriculture and Environment	30	1.3
All other	29	1.3
Not stated	127	5.6
Total	2273	

Labour market status of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants

There was limited differentiation in terms of the labour market outcomes between the two comparison groups of Greece-born migrants (1996-2005 and 2006-2016), Table 9. The labour market participation rate of the recent migrants was 82.4%, marginally higher than that of the earlier migrants at 80.1%.

Table 9: Number and percentage of Greece-born migrants, by age 20-59 years old, by labour force status by period of arrival in Australia (1996-2005 and 2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Year of Arrival in Australia	Labour Force Status							Total
	Employed f/t	Employed p/t	Employed, away from work	Total employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Participation rate	
Arrived 1996-2005	536 (48.7%)	243 (22.1%)	42 (3.8%)	821 (74.6%)	61 (5.5%)	219 (19.9%)	80.1	1101
Arrived 2006-2016	1452 (41.8%)	969 (27.9%)	133 (3.8%)	2554 (73.6%)	309 (8.9%)	608 (17.5%)	82.4	3471

Two significant variations are observable between the two groups in regards to the forms of their employment. The most recent migrants tended to have a noticeably lower proportion of participation in full-time employment (1,452 persons or 41.8%) compared to that of the earlier migrants (969 persons or 27.9%). Conversely, the recent migrants had a higher proportion of participation in part-time employment (969 persons or 27.9%) to that of the previous migrants (243 persons or 22.1%). Some key reasons for the higher rate of part-time employment among the most recent migrants were: many Greek citizens on student

visas who were not allowed to work more than 20 hours per week; many 457 temporary visa holders employed in the accommodation and food services, which traditionally have high rates of part-time employment; and married persons working part-time due to family commitments (having young children) and/or inability to find full-time employment. Nevertheless, the percentage of part-time employment of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants was very low compared to that of the total Australian workforce, which was 30.5% at the time of the census, one of the highest among OECD countries.

The unemployment rate of the recent migrants was higher (8.9%) than that of the earlier migrants (5.5%), which was not surprising given the recency of their arrival and the diversity of their circumstances.

In summary, the main employment characteristics of the recent Greek arrivals compared to the total number of Greece-born persons in the labour market, were very high levels of proleterianisation (87.2% were employees vs 69.4%), extremely small representation in business with employees (1.3% vs 14.2%), and a reasonable representation as self-employed without employees (11.8% vs 16.0%), Table 10. Other significant factors for the high employee status of the recent Greece-born migrants, were the large number of temporary long-term visa holders amongst them, absent among the earlier migrants, and their short period of residence in Australia, 5-6 years.

Table 10: Employment status of Greece-born persons by periods of arrival 1945-2005 and 2006-2016 - 2016 ABS Census

	Status in Employment		
	Employee (%)	Self-employed with employees (%)	Self-employed without employees (%)
Period of arrival			
Greece-born migrants 1946-2005 (17,281 persons)	69.4	14.2	16.0
Greece-born migrants 2006-2016 (3,471 persons)	87.2	1.3	11.8

The arrival of the recent Greek migrants has had a more noticeable impact on the labour force participation rates of Greece-born migrants in Australia, rather than on the Greece-born general population in Australia (6%). In 2016 the labour force participation of Greece-born migrants in Australia (1945-2005) was only 25% or 17,281 persons, while 75% or 69,217 persons were not in the labour market, mostly pensioners. The recent Greece-born migrants (3,471 persons) made up 16.7% of the total Greece-born workforce. This represented a significant increase in the labour market age of the Greece-born population of Australia in a very short of period of time, and could enhance the current and future economic role of the Greek-Australian diaspora in Greece, given also the recent working experience and networking connections of these new migrants with Greece.

When comparing the main labour force characteristics of the recent Greece-born migrants, with those of the Australia-born and all migrants aged 20-59 years old, they were generally comparable, and in certain instances better than the other two groups, Table 11.

The Australian born population had the highest employment rate (78.8%), and significantly lower unemployment rate (4.6%) than the other two groups.

Table 11: Labour force status of persons born in Australia, Greece and all other migrants by period of arrival in Australia 2006-2016, by age 20-59 years old - 2016 ABS Census

Year of Arrival in Australia	Place of birth	Labour Force Status (%)			
		Total Employed	Unemployed	Not in the labour force	Participation rate
	Australia	78.8	4.6	16.6	83.4
Arrived 2006-2016	Greece	73.6	8.9	17.5	82.4
Arrived 2006-2016	All arrivals	68.1	7.3	24.7	75.4

The employment rate of the recent Greece-born migrants was 5.2% lower than that of the Australian born, but 5.5% higher than that of all migrants. Moreover, the recent Greece-born migrants had very similar rates in labour force participation as with the Australian born population (82.4% vs 83.4%), and better outcomes in this area than all the migrants (82.4% vs 75.4%). Nevertheless, the recent Greece-born migrants had the highest unemployment rate at 8.9%, compared to 4.6% for the Australian born and 7.3% for all migrants. Two of the most likely reasons for this situation were the shorter period of Australian residence for the majority of recent Greece-born migrants, and the fact that most of them migrated suddenly and with limited pre-emigration planning.

Occupational status of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants

In this section the occupational status of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants is compared to that of all migrants (2006-2016) and of the Australian born, Table 12. In 2016 the three highest occupational statuses of the Australian born were: professionals (22.4%), followed by clerical and administrative workers (13.7%) and technicians and trade workers (13.6%). The three highest occupational statuses of all new migrants were also professionals (26.2%), higher than the Australian born by 3.8%, – followed by labourers (13.7%), 4.2% higher than the Australian born, and technicians and trade workers (13.6%), the same as the Australian born.

The three highest occupational statuses of the recent Greece-born migrants were technicians and trade workers (20.2%) – 6.6% higher than that of the other two groups (13.6%) – followed by labourers (19.6%) – 5.9% higher than that of all migrants and 10.1% than that of the Australian born - and the third highest were professionals (15.4%) – 10.8% lower than that of all migrants and 7% than that of the Australian born.

This occupational distribution of the recent Greece-born migrants indicates the following: a) their first two top occupations, technicians and trade workers and labourers (39.8% combined), was strongly linked to their highest educational attainment, where 74.2% had no university education (Table 7); and b) It was also linked to certain industry sectors where Greeks in Australia have a strong presence, like in the construction and hospitality sectors, which have acted as a ‘pull’ factor for recent Greece-born migrants.

Table 12: Percentage of persons born in Australia, Greece and all other migrants by period of arrival in Australia 2006-2016, by top eight occupational statuses - 2016 ABS Census

Occupational status	Place of Birth		
	Australia	All migrants arrivals 2006-2016	Greece-born arrivals 2006-2016
	%	%	%
Professionals	22.4 (1)	26.2 (1)	15.4 (3)
Clerical and Administrative Workers	13.7 (2)	9.4 (6)	6.8 (7)
Technicians and Trades Workers	13.6 (3)	13.6 (3)	20.2 (1)
Managers	13.1 (4)	10.3 (5)	7.6 (6)
Community and Personal Service Workers	10.9 (5)	13.1 (4)	14.4 (4)
Labourers	9.5 (6)	13.7 (2)	19.6 (2)
Sales Workers	9.4 (7)	8.1 (7)	8.7 (5)
Machinery Operators and Drivers	6.3 (8)	5.9 (8)	6.2 (8)
Inadequately described	1 (9)	1 (9)	1.1 (9)

The aforementioned occupational distribution of the recent Greece-born migrants in Australia also supports the arguments of Labrianidis and Pratsinakis that the new Greek migrants are more diverse, more heterogeneous, in educational, occupational, social class and regional composition than often portrayed in the Greek media, which tends to focus more on tertiary educated migrants (2016, pp. 18-19).

Nonetheless, the occupational status outcomes of the recent Greece-born migrants in Australia have to be also understood in the broader contexts of Australian migration policies and of the economy. As shown in Table 12, Australia attracts many professionals as migrants, as there is a huge pool of professionals in Asia who would like to move to a country with Australia's salary levels and quality of life. However, only a small proportion of recently-arrived migrant professionals (2011-2016) - under Australia's permanent migration program - were actually employed in professional positions, that is, 26% of persons from Non-English-Speaking-Countries (NESC), compared to 53% of persons from Main-English-Speaking-Countries (MESC) and 58% of Australian born (Birrell, 2018, p. 12). Other factors affecting this situation is that employers who are choosing their employees from the MESC and the Australian born cohorts, these employees have an enormous advantage because of their English language proficiency and in the case of the Australian born, their cultural awareness and networking connections. And there is also an element of cultural bias or racist discrimination in the Australian labour market.

The above observations apply to the recent Greece-born migrants, particularly those on temporary visas or with newly acquired permanent resident status, based on comments made by them in the Pronia report in Melbourne (Pronia, 2014, pp. 55-60). These comments can be demonstrated to a certain extent in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Greece-born migrants arrived in Australia 2006-2016 by fields of study by their occupational statuses - 2016 ABS Census

	Professionals	Technicians and Trades Workers	Community and Personal Service	Labourers	Managers	Clerical and Administrative Workers	Sales Workers
Field of study							
Management and Commerce				2nd	3rd	1st	
Engineering and Related Technologies	2nd	1st		3rd			
Society and Culture	2nd		1st			3rd	
Food, Hospitality and Personal Services		1st	2nd	3rd			
Architecture and building	3rd	1st	2nd				
Health	1st		2nd		3rd		
Education	1st		2nd				3rd
Creative Arts	1st		2nd		3rd		
Information Technology	1st	2nd		3rd			
Natural and Physical Sciences	1st			2nd		3rd	
Total persons	369	310	261	218	150	133	106

The majority of persons with specialised qualifications (369) worked as professionals in their field of studies (5 out of 10). The second largest group employed in their field of studies (3 out of 10) were technicians and trades workers (310). And the third largest group employed in their field of studies (1 out of 10) were community and personal service workers (261). This occupational sector seems to have accommodated a broad range of qualifications, judging by the number of times (5) it was recorded as the second highest occupational sector.

The most noticeable dissonance relates to the number of persons with specialised qualifications – in management, engineering and information technology - who worked as labourers (218), the fourth largest group. This indicates issues of recognition of qualifications and permit to practice, oversupply of qualifications in certain industries, age, and economic pressure to find employment quickly. For instance, in regards to recognition of qualifications from outside Australia, in the case of architects (as well as with other professional groups such as doctors and lawyers), there are additional administrative requirements for practicing architecture in Australia¹³, which are regulated by their respective professional bodies and State/Territory registration boards. These requirements can act at times as barriers to newly

¹³ In each State and Territory of Australia it is a legal requirement that any person using the title ‘architect’ or offering services to the public as an architect, must be registered with the Architects’ Board in that jurisdiction. In the case of overseas qualified architect practitioners, the Architects Accreditation Council of Australia offers a pathway to registration for some overseas qualified architect practitioners, called the ‘Experienced Practitioner Assessment Program’ (EPA). Retrieved on 2019, March 28 from: Architects Accreditation Council of Australia (ACCA).

<http://www.aaca.org.au/wp-content/uploads/Experienced-Practitioner-Assessment-Overseas-Architect-Guide.pdf>

arrived migrants wanting to practice the profession they had practised or studied prior to their arrival in Australia.

Industry of employment of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants

In this section the comparison of the industry of employment of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants (2,349 persons) is made with that of the 1945-2005 Greece-born migrants (14,778 persons), instead of the 1995-2006 group of arrivals because the small size of this group (1,605 persons) cannot provide a reliable comparison. The outstanding feature between the two groups is that both shared four out of the top five rankings in the industries of employment, at 57.3% of the earlier migrants, and 64.8% of the recent migrants, Table 14.

This exceptional result underlines two overlapping, issues: a) the strong 'pull' factor of ethnic affiliation (Greek owners) in certain industries that attract small business, such as construction, retail trade and accommodation and food services industries, where 35.9% of the earlier migrants were employed, and 46.5% of the recent migrants; b) the general educational, occupational, age and work experience characteristics and immigration status of the recent migrants matched the employment needs of such industries.

Table 14: Industry of employment, all Greece-born persons by period of arrival in Australia, (1946-2005) and (2006-2016) – 2016 ABS Census

Industry of Employment	Greece-born arrivals 1945-2005	Greece-born arrivals 2006-2016
Construction	13.6% (1)	17.1% (2)
Retail trade	12.8% (2)	11.1% (3)
Health care and social assistance	11.7% (3)	9.8% (4)
Manufacturing	9.7% (4)	8.5% (6)
Accommodation & food services	9.5% (5)	18.3% (1)
Transport, postal and warehousing	8.6% (6)	4.3% (10)
Education and training	8.1% (7)	9.2% (5)
Professional scientific & technical services	7.2% (8)	5.4% (8)
Other services	6.4% (9)	5.3% (9)
Administrative & Support Services	6.2% (10)	7.4% (7)
Public Administration and Safety	6.3% (11)	3.2% (11)

The most significant difference between the two groups was in the accommodation and food services industry where it was the top industry of employment for the recent migrants at 18.3%, compared to 9.5% of the earlier migrants, a difference of 8.8%. The high concentration of the recent migrants in this industry was partly due to the high percentage of part-time employment in the food and beverage services segment of this industry (92%), which seems to have attracted many Greek citizens on temporary visas, while there were more earlier Greek migrants and of Greek-Australian ancestry business owners in this industry. The recent migrants had a higher representation in the education and training

industry (9.2% vs 8.1%)¹⁴, but lower representation in the professional scientific and technical services (5.4% vs 7.2%), which is linked to immigration status, recognition of qualifications, age, and duration of settlement.

The industry of employment outcomes of the recent Greece-born migrants also varied geographically, as they were largely aligned to the major economic activities of each State/Territory and of their respective Greek-Australian communities. Thus, in Victoria, the top industry of employment for the recent Greece-born migrants was accommodation and food services at 18.8%, more than double of that of the earlier migrants at 9.1%. In the case of NSW, the top industry of employment for the recent Greece-born migrants was in construction at 21.5% compared to 15.2% of the earlier migrants. What is also noteworthy on the industry of employment distribution of recent migrants in Victoria and NSW, was the case of their high representation in the health care and social assistance industry – 11.3% and third highest in Victoria and 8.5% and fifth highest in NSW.

Finally, the most extreme example of the ‘pull’ factor in an industry of employment between the two comparing groups of Greece-born migrants, was that in the construction industry in Northern Territory, capital city Darwin. Darwin was hit by a powerful cyclone in Christmas 1974 that killed 71 people, and destroyed more than 70% of Darwin's buildings, including 80% of its houses. The reconstruction of Darwin attracted many people with construction related skills from across Australia, including Greece-born persons. In the 2016 Census, 54.2% of the earlier migrants – 266 out 491 persons – in Northern Territory, and 51.3% of the recent Greece-born migrants – 77 out 150 persons - cent were employed in the construction industry.

Personal income levels of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants

The census ‘total personal weekly income’ variable covers every source of weekly income of a person over 15 years old and is self-reported, Table 15. The largest percentage of post-2010 Greece-born migrants and all migrants, was in the income bracket ‘Nil’ but with a lower percentage for the former (14.2%) than the latter (18.4%). The percentage of the Australian born population with ‘Nil’ income was 6.2%. In the case of recent Greece-born migrants, out of the 779 persons who recorded ‘Nil’ income, 550 were children aged 15-19 years old or 70%. This income bracket, therefore, had a rather limited impact on their overall levels of total weekly income.

The Greece-born migrants and all migrants shared the same other top three income rankings AUD650 to AUD1,249 (AUD33,800–AUD64,999), 22.9% and 22.7% respectively, while the Australian born persons shared two of these rankings. The Greece-born migrants and all migrants had the same highest percentage representation (8.1% and 8.0% respectively) in the total weekly income bracket of AUD800-AUD999 (AUD41,600-AUD51,999). This can be considered as a generally good result for the recent Greece-born

¹⁴ In the 2016 Census the breakdown of occupations in the education and training industry for the post-2010 Greece-born migrants was 45% in preschool and school education and 41% in tertiary education.

migrants, considering all their migration and personal settlement challenges. For the Australian born population the highest percentage of total weekly income was one bracket higher than that of the other two groups, at AUD1,000-AUD1,249 (AUD52,000-AUD64,999). The third highest percentage of weekly income for the Australian born population was considerably lower than that of the other two groups at 6.6% - AUD400-AUD449 (AUD20,800-AUD25,999) – because this income bracket includes pensioners, who were not an age group among the other two groups of migrants here.

Table 15: Total personal weekly and yearly income of persons born in Australia, Greece and all other migrants by period of arrival in Australia (2006-2016) - 2016 ABS Census

Total Personal Income (weekly)	Australia born	All migrant arrivals 2006-2016	Greece-born arrivals 2006-2016
	%	%	%
Nil income	6.2	18.4 (1)	14.2 (1)
\$1-\$149 (\$1-\$7,799)	3.7	3.9	3.7
\$150-\$299 (\$7,800-\$15,599)	5.6	5.8	6.2
\$300-\$399 (\$15,600-\$20,799)	6.5	4.9	5.0
\$400-\$499 (\$20,800-\$25,999)	6.6 (3)	4.8	5.1
\$500-\$649 (\$26,000-\$33,799)	6.2	6.0	6.0
\$650-\$799 (\$33,800-\$41,599)	6.2	7.0 (3)	7.7 (2)
\$800-\$999 (\$41,600-\$51,999)	6.7 (2)	8.0 (1a)	8.1 (1a)
\$1,000-\$1,249 (\$52,000-\$64,999)	6.9 (1)	7.9 (2)	6.9 (3)
\$1,250-\$1,499 (\$65,000-\$77,999)	4.8	4.8	3.3
\$1,500-\$1,749 (\$78,000-\$90,999)	4.1	3.8	2.2
\$1,750-\$1,999 (\$91,000-\$103,999)	2.8	2.6	1.5
\$2,000-\$2,999 (\$104,000-\$155,999)	4.2	4.1	1.9
\$3,000 or more (\$156,000 or more)	2.5	2.4	0.9
Not stated	2.7	1.6	2.3
Not applicable	24.3	14.1	25.2

By using as a guide, the full-time adult average weekly total earnings of AUD1,516 as of May 2016 - (the census was conducted in August 2016) – we can obtain a better understanding of the recent Greece-born migrants total weekly income outcomes. These migrants had considerably less representation above the census total weekly income range of over AUD1,500, (6.5% in total), which was less than half of that for the Australian born average (13.6%) and half of that of the all migrants (12.9%). This was due to the relatively narrow range of industries (and often low earning industries) these migrants were employed in, and to their low numbers of professionals and managers (e.g., they had no representation in the financial industry), who are generally high earners.

For instance, wage/salary levels are low in the accommodation, food services and retail trade industries. At the time of the census, weekly wages in these industries started at

AUD700 up to AUD1,200.¹⁵ Actually, the ABS notes that the industry with the lowest level of full-time adult average weekly ordinary time earnings was the accommodation and food services industry (AUD1,069.80). Whereas in the construction and health care and social assistance (excluding doctors) industries¹⁶, weekly wages were higher, starting at AUD900 up to AUD1,700.

Consequently, it is not surprising that there were noticeable income disparities among the recent Greece-born migrants by geographical location because of the industries they were concentrated in these locations. For instance, in Victoria, where most of the recent Greece-born migrants worked in the accommodation and food services (18.8%) and fewer in construction (13.5%), education and training and professional and technical services (12.3%) than in NSW, only 8.2% of them had weekly income over AUD1,500. In NSW, although recent Greece-born migrants had similar percentage levels of employment in the accommodation and food services (18.4%) as in Victoria (18.8%), most of them were employed in the construction industry (21.5%), and more in education and training and professional and technical services (15.8%) than in Victoria, and so 15% of them had weekly income over AUD1,500, almost double that of Victoria. In the Northern Territory, where 54.1% of these migrants were employed in the construction industry, 20% of them had weekly income over AUD1,500.

Conclusion

Four major observations/conclusions can be drawn from the post-2010 migratory experience of Greek persons from Greece to Australia. Firstly, the emigration of all Greek persons - Greece-born and of Australian born of Greek descents - from Greece to Australia (2010-2017) has been very modest: 10,500 to 11,000 persons, compared to both the earlier estimates for Australia (90,000 persons by 2014) and to the overall post-2010 emigration of Greeks from Greece (350,000 by 2015).

Secondly, the settlement outcomes of these Greece-born migrants were generally good across the majority of the selected indicators, considering the composition of these migrants and the speed by which they had to migrate, and mostly comparable to those of previous groups of Greece-born migrants and to all migrants who arrived in the same period (2006-2016), and to a certain extent to the Australian born population. These outcomes were

¹⁵ Australian Bureau of Statistics. *6302.0 - Average Weekly Earnings, Australia. May 2016*. Retrieved on 2019, March 28 from:

<http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Previousproducts/6302.0Main%20Features4May%202016?open=document&tabname=Summary&prodno=6302.0&issue=May%202016&num=&view=>

¹⁶ Due to the very large number of over 65 years old Greece-born persons in Australia, Greek welfare organisations in Sydney and Melbourne run many aged care facilities and services, and they have consciously recruited recent Greece-born migrants because of their qualifications, language and cultural skills. In the 2016 Census the national breakdown of occupations of these migrants in the health care and social assistance was: 38.5% in social assistance, 37.2% in institutional aged care services, 13.4% in medical and other health care services and 10.8% in hospitals.

largely possible because the labour force outcomes for the recent Greece-born migrants were very good – their labour force participation and employment rates were higher than that of all other migrants and highly comparable to the Australian born - due to a combination of factors such as: prior migratory experience in Australia, the requirement/need of most long-term temporary visa holders to work, favourable economic conditions in the areas they settled, and high levels of employment in industries with strong presence of Australian-Greek owners.

Thirdly, the post-2010 migratory and settlement experiences of Greece-born migrants in traditional post-1950 countries of Greek migrant destination, such as Australia, is more multilayered and complex than in non-traditional migrant destinations. The most critical factor in these experiences, at least in the case of Australia, is the dichotomy between the legal status of these migrants, that is, their citizenship and permanent residence versus their temporary residence. This dichotomy has significant implications in the form of their emigration, and even more so, as presented in this paper, in their levels and quality of settlement outcomes.

Fourthly, Australia's temporary migration program is an interesting case of a self-defined country of (mostly permanent) migration, trying to address the complex demands of international mobile labour and of transnational belonging. Australia's temporary migration program offered to approximately 95% of Greek citizens an immediate access to investigate their migration options. However, unlike the immediate transnational belonging offered by the EU's free movement of labour (in terms of relatively frictionless access to the labour market and social rights), the Australian experience of temporariness for migrants on long-term temporary visas is far more complex, insecure and conditional, as witnessed by the very small number of Greece-born migrants who managed to obtain long-term and permanent residence visas.

Furthermore, the majority of Greece-born migrants (re)migrated in Australia to the two states and cities with the highest concentration of Greek-Australian migrants, Victoria (Melbourne) and New South Wales (Sydney). The majority of the Greece-born Australian citizens (re)migrated as families with children, strongly suggesting a permanent migration driven by long-term considerations of the welfare of their children.

The educational attainment rankings of the post-2010 Greece-born migrants in Australia were closely aligned to those of the Greece-born migrants who had arrived a decade earlier, though the former had higher university education attainment levels. Nevertheless, the educational attainment rankings of the recent Greece-born migrants were lower than those of all migrants who had arrived in the same period of time as them, except in terms of postgraduate attainment. This was mostly due to the specific composition of the legal status of the recent Greece-born migrants, where nearly half of them were Australian citizens and therefore they were not subject to the strict criteria for permanent migration to the country. In addition, because of this specificity, their educational attainment levels were also more diverse than those found in less traditional Greek migration destinations, where university graduates have tended to predominate among recent Greek migrants.

Most recent Greece-born migrants were concentrated in a narrow range of industries of employment that attract small business where many Greek-Australians are owners, such as in the accommodation and food services, construction, and retail trade services. At the same time, there were decent levels of employment of these migrants in the social and health sectors, largely due to the aged care services provided to an ageing Greek-Australian population of Australia, and in certain other professions. As a result of the above patterns of employment, recent Greece-born migrants had significantly lower representation in the above average weekly income levels than all migrants and the Australian born population, but comparable rankings of average weekly income levels to all migrants.

Finally, the recent Greece-born migrants have accounted for approximately 6% of the Greece-born population in Australia, and as such their demographic impact has had a limited impact to reverse the declining trend of this ageing population. However, their impact on the Greece-born working age population in Australia has been more significant, approximately 16.7%, and therefore their economic, social and cultural influence in the Greek-Australia community and beyond could be more important and visible in the coming years as they also have the potential for further improvement and integration, as well as further increase of their numbers.

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The Greek Diaspora Project at SEESOX

Mission statement

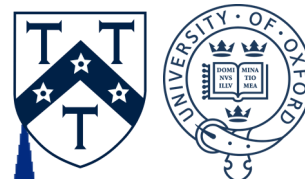
The Greek Diaspora Project (GDP) was set up at SEESOX with the overall aim to serve as a nexus between academic research and policy, and to help identify ideas to maximise the developmental impact of the Greek diaspora on contemporary Greek politics, economy and society. The project studies the relationship between Greece and its diaspora within the context of the current economic crisis and beyond.

Project objectives

- Become the preeminent forum for debate between the wider diaspora scholarship and scholarship dedicated to the Greek diaspora;
- Relate Greece and its diaspora to other similar countries and conduct in-depth comparative studies;
- Be a port of call for anyone interested in contemporary aspects of the Greek diaspora, in terms of its library and archival resources, activities, institutional affiliations, policy relevant research;
- Analyse the new trends characterizing the current Greek diaspora in conjunction to the historical context, socio-economic change, varieties of cultural affinities;
- Assess the developmental impact of the diaspora on the Greek economy and identify policies that can maximize its contribution;
- Inform Greek public debate and Greek policy makers on the Greek diaspora, its evolution and the policy implications of actual and potential interactions between the diaspora and Greece;
- Secure funding and research opportunities for a young generation of scholars dedicated to the study of the Greek diaspora.

About SEESOX

South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX) is part of the European Studies Centre (ESC) at St Antony's College, Oxford. It focuses on the interdisciplinary study of the Balkans, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus. Drawing on the academic excellence of the University and an international network of associates, it conducts academic and policy relevant research on the current multifaceted transformations of the region. It follows closely regional phenomena and analyses the historical and intellectual influences which have shaped perceptions and actions in the region. In Oxford's best tradition, the SEESOX team is committed to understanding the present through the *longue durée* and reflecting on the future through high quality scholarship.



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