CHAPTER FOUR

MANY READINGS OF ENVIRONMENTAL HERITAGE

Introduction

The urban cultural landscape of inner suburbs of large Australian cities is highly complex. Traditionally, cultural landscape readings have looked for layers of human use over time, most of which have evolved slowly. Since 1973, the process of change has been very rapid, a phenomenon which has been described as the post-modern condition derived from flexible economies (Harvey,1989; King,1996). Associated with the rapidity of change, there has been an increase in international migration of people, many of whom have settled in the inner suburbs of Australian cities. Identifying and understanding cultural pluralism as cultural heritage begs the question - does the migrant presence contribute to the environmental heritage and sense of place in the urban cultural landscape? To answer this, an area with the longest and most diverse representation of migrants, Marrickville, was studied using the Marrickville Heritage Study prepared in 1985 (Marrickville Municipal Council,1986), as the benchmark for the environmental heritage of the area. The findings of this study are the starting point for my research, which uses three discussion groups representing a time-line of immigrants to the area.

Marrickville Heritage Study as a Benchmark

Marrickville Heritage Study (MHS) 1986, assessed the environmental heritage of the local government area by using documentary evidence and fieldwork. The consultant team, Fox and Associates, looked at the documented histories of the area, reworking them into an appropriate thematic history in order to identify those places which reflect this history and to enable an analysis of their heritage significance. The MHS suggested that all parts of the municipality reflect the area's development in some way, but this does not necessarily mean that such places are items of environmental heritage. Instead, heritage places were selected because they provided important evidence about the area's past and made contributions to the area's present character or sense of place (MHS,1986:4).

Thematic studies are characteristic of heritage studies undertaken in Australia. The major heritage theme identified by the MHS was 'Process of Change'. This was suggested because the municipality acted as a barometer of major changes in Sydney, evidence of which persisted, while being lost in the fabric of the central city. Three minor themes augmented the heritage interpretations; proximity to Sydney, impact of rail and changing social status. Table 4.1 shows the heritage themes used to interpret the contemporary character of the area and the phenomena associated with these themes.

TABLE 4.1

Heritage Themes Associated with the Urban Character of Marrickville.

MAJOR THEME	MINOR THEMES	INDICATORS
Process of Change Evident in ***diversity*** of *residential heritage, *retail heritage, *industrial heritage, *views, landmarks.	*Proximity to Sydney. *Impact of rail. *Changing social status.	*The 2nd arc of walking distance from the centre. *Introduction of workingman's ticket. *Connection with industry. *From landed gentry to middle class villas to workers' cottages.

(Source: Marrickville Municipal Council,1986)

The heritage study pointed out that the concept of environmental heritage goes beyond the standard definition used by the NSW Heritage Act (1977) which states that, '"*Environmental heritage" means those buildings, works, relics or places of historic, scientific, cultural, social, archaeological, architectural, natural or aesthetic significance for the State'* (MHS,1986:43). Instead the Marrickville Heritage Study argues that environmental heritage significance is a concept which helps in determining the value of places beyond their obvious utilitarian role. This value is embodied *in* the materiality of the place as well as in perceptions *about* the place which may be '*existential, evidential, associational, or symbolic'* (MHS,1986:43). The heritage study synthesis, represented as a Statement of Significance (Figure 4.1), suggests that the most distinctive aspect of the area's heritage is its *diversity.* The Statement of Significance sets the context for the following four readings of cultural heritage, the professional reading, a Greek, a Lebanese and finally a Vietnamese reading. The comparison between the professional heritage assessment and a time-line of migrant groups' perception of the different themes shows that recent heritage in the area is more complex and diverse than orthodox assessments of documentary histories and field-work can reveal.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Municipality of Marrickville has retained tangible evidence of every stage of Sydney's suburban growth, from the days of the early, rural based economy and settlement of villages in the 1830s to the ultimate consolidation of the inner suburbs in the 1960s and 1970s.

The most distinctive aspect of the heritage of Marrickville is its diversity; not only does it demonstrate all stages of suburban growth with its associated administrative, educational and commercial development, but it has also experienced and retained a diverse history of metropolitan development, including transport infrastructure, services and industry.

The retention of such a diverse range of heritage items is largely due to the location of Marrickville in relation to the first settlements and the city centre. Marrickville experienced all stages of suburban growth, but was distant enough from the inner areas and associated competitive land values not to have had all evidence of its early history obliterated by successive waves of redevelopment.

The significance of the Municipality is embodied in the physical evidence of its history, its townscape character and in the historical documents

Statement of Heritage Significance for Marrickville, prepared for Marrickville Heritage Study,1986:55.

It could be argued that this Statement of Significance provides confirmation that the 'national space' of Australia does not include the values of marginal groups (Bhabha,1990; Hage,1998). I suggest however, that the MHS is not an example of cultural exclusion, but rather an indication that current heritage assessment methods do not facilitate such understandings. The MHS makes explicit reference to the migrant groups present in the area, thus their existence is acknowledged but their cultural landscape remains unknown. This chapter seeks to reveal their landscape concluding with a Statement of Significance which includes the migrant contribution to Marrickville's cultural heritage.

Marrickville as a Cultural Landscape

The orthodox heritage assessment procedure first requires an explanation of the evolution of the cultural landscape to provide a contextual framework. The physical landscape, shown in Plates 4.1 and 4.2, provides the foundation for the cultural landscape. In Marrickville, it is characterised by undulating topography derived from the shales of the Sydney Basin. The rolling hills, with occasional sandstone outcrops form part of the Cooks River catchment, the river becoming estuarine by the time it passes through Marrickville, and enters Botany Bay at Tempe, shown on Map 4.1. The original catchment was characterised by a number of streams draining down to low-lying swampy land with northern ridgelines marking the watershed of

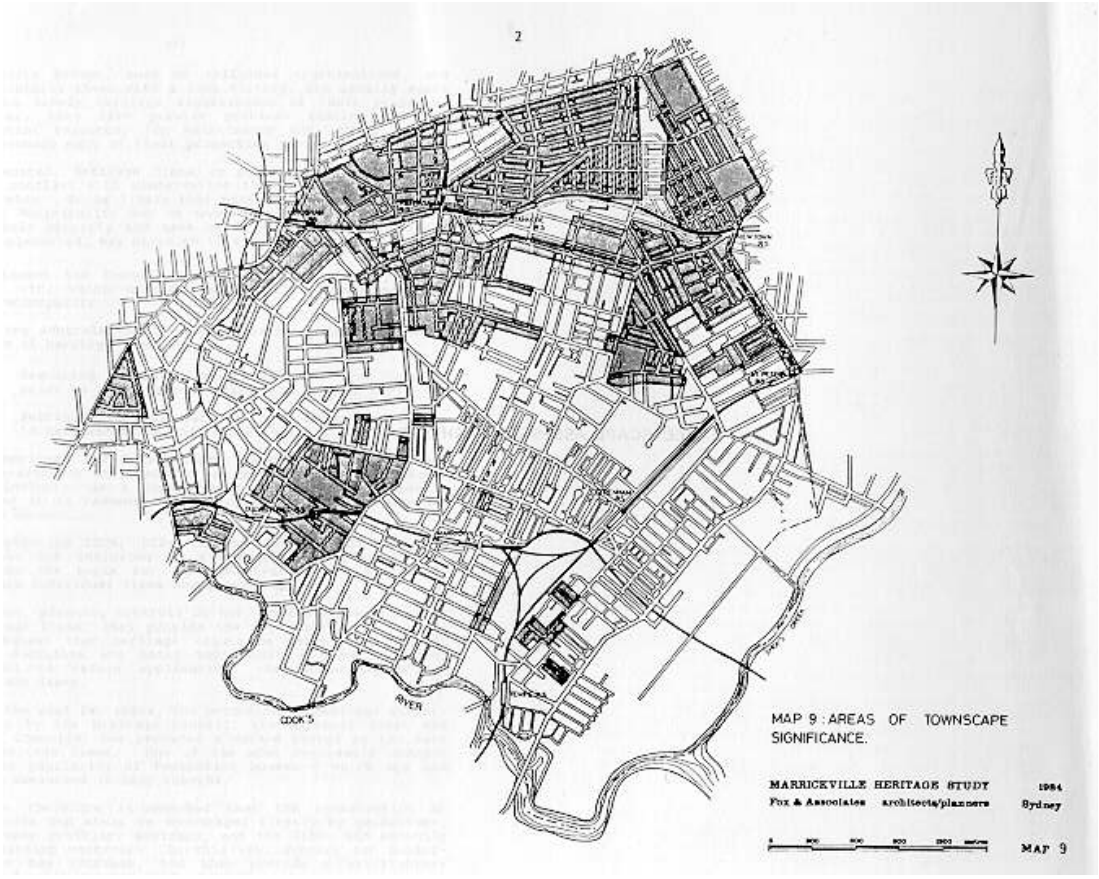
Cooks and Parramatta Rivers' catchments. The original vegetation was characteristic of Sydney shale country, namely open forests of large eucalypts growing in Aboriginal fired grasslands, with thick belts of scrub along the creeks and mangroves dominating the lower reaches of the river (MHS,1986).

PLATE 4.1
Undulating topography with sandstone outcrops near Cooks River. (A.P. 1992.)

PLATE 4.2
Rolling hills including northern ridgeline marking watershed of catchments. (A.P. 1993).

Little appears to be documented about the Aboriginal cultural landscape before European occupation other than the knowledge of a few remaining middens. In contrast, the cultural landscape of Anglo-Celtic settlers is evident in the built form, the road layouts and the cultural responses of the last 180 years.

The fertile clay soils precipitated the Anglo-Celtic changes to the landscape in the 1820s when the area was subdivided into large rural estates, the boundaries of which have generated the road patterns of today. Over the next thirty years substantial villas developed on higher land and the river-front, whereas villages and market gardens occupied the land between. The clay soils also became the focus of Sydney's early brick industry.



MAP 4.1
Map of Municipality of Marrickville showing Areas of Townscape Significance.
(Marrickville Heritage Study, 1986. Marrickville Townscape Study Addendum. p2)

In the 1860s, the railway passed through the area making it possible for workers to commute to Sydney. Between 1861-1871, municipalities were gazetted which in Marrickville included the suburbs of Newtown, Enmore, Petersham, Dulwich Hill, Stanmore, and Arncliffe. This was followed by a period when large public buildings such as railway stations, town halls, and post offices were constructed, shown in Plates 4.3 and 4.4.

PLATE 4.3
Marrickville Police Station, significant public building. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.4
Stanmore Railway Station, opened in 1878, enabling workers to get to industries. (A.P.1993).

While prestigious public buildings and substantial terrace housing resulted in one character of the area, important public works determined another character, namely industrial developments such as the large textile factory of John Vicars in the lower lands as a result of the installation of reticulated water in the 1880s. When drainage of low lying areas in Marrickville was completed in the 1890s, the area was marked for further industrial development and worker housing, shown in Plate 4.5; all of which was to have significance for the future migrant composition of the municipality. Later with increasing industrialisation, the wealthy moved out leaving their large villas to be transformed into boarding houses for factory workers. Meanwhile Newtown, by 1900, had become the focus of late 19th century shopping where the main street, King Street, featured elaborate four to five storey shopping emporia and equally substantial public buildings, shown in Plate 4.6.

PLATE 4.5
Early 20th century workers' cottages near industrial areas. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.6
Late 19th century shopping emporia, King street, Newtown. (A.P.1993).

In the 1930s, flats were built within subdivisions according to Art Deco planning in Dulwich Hill, shown in Plate 4.7. After World War II, the immigration program resulted in waves of migration into Marrickville; in the 1950s, Greeks and Italians; in the 1960s, the former Yugoslavians and Lebanese; in the 1970s, a second wave of Lebanese and Vietnamese; in the 1980s Vietnamese and Portuguese, to acknowledge the largest groups.

PLATE 4.7
1930s flats, typical of Art Deco flat developments in Marrickville. (A.P.1993).

During the 1970s, the character of the industrial area changed as heavy industry moved to outer areas of Sydney. At the same time there was a change in the residential character as home units and flats replaced some of the older housing stock. In the 1980s there was also a new wave of Anglo-Australians who returned to the area as middle class gentrifiers. Table 4.2 summarises the thematic history of the area.

TABLE 4.2
Thematic History of Marrickville

THEMATIC HISTORY	
Era	**Events**
Up to 1830	Aboriginal occupation
1793-1810	Land grants and consolidation
1810-1838	Farm grants and country estates
1838-1860	Villages and market gardens
	Early brick industry
	Water supply and river crossing
	Goods and passenger rail lines
1861-1892	Suburbs and Municipalities
	Encroachment of suburbia
	Early industrial development
	Transport for the working class
1893-1918	New industrial development
	Drainage of swamps for industry
	Newtown as the main commercial area
1919-1945	After the 'Great War'
	Increased industrialisation
	Middle class vacate villas
	Growth of flats and boarding houses
1946-1969	Migrants and industry
1970-1985	De-industrialisation
1970-1986	Home unit developments
	Gentrification of terraces, Federation cottages

(derived from MHS.1986)

Perceived Environmental Heritage

The Marrickville Heritage Study considered the environmental heritage of the area to be reflected in changes in three major types of development - residential, retail and industrial as well as vistas and landmarks revealed by the undulating topography. The heritage planners state that, '… *It is change rather than any on-going characteristic that most strongly represents the history of Marrickville*' (MHS,1986:12). Such change is clearly evident in the residential character. There is little left of the early country estates, except for the name Tempe, a former rural holding. Similarly, the area known as the 'Warren' was once a substantial estate enclosed by a stone wall, parts of which still exist, as shown in Plate 4.8. The most significant ***residential heritage*** in Marrickville today belongs to the building boom of the 1870s-80s, seen in Plate 4.9. It consists of narrow grid-patterned streets, back lanes, large elaborate villas and terraces on the high land and crowded single storey terraces in creek valleys. There are some modest Federation cottages in small, unified groups reflecting the 1890s – 1900s residential character. There are also areas of 1930s and 1940s bungalows and 1930s Art Deco blocks of flats.

PLATE 4.8
Remains of the Holt Estate, built in 1866 as an 11th century castle, in an area known as the Warren. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.9
Example of large Victorian terraces, built in 1884-5 indicating high social standing of the area in the 1880s. (A.P.1993).

Retail heritage identified by the heritage planners focused on the shopping street in Newtown which is considered to have outstanding examples of Sydney's retailing history, including details and fixtures which are now rare examples of past retailing practices. In the suburb of Marrickville there are also many corner shops, seen in Plate 4.10, rare in high-income areas, but frequently part of speculative low cost developments in the 1890s. The third major aspect of the heritage of the area is the ***industrial heritage***. This is valued for the archaeological significance of late 19th century industrial technology. There are however, other heritage values associated with the industrial areas. Industry influenced where employees lived, namely in close proximity to factories, while employers lived in large houses on surrounding ridges. The industrial areas

were also a major reason for the influx of the Mediterranean communities in the 1950s, adding another layer to the urban character of Marrickville.

The heritage planners included the ***views and vistas*** derived from the undulating topography as part of the cultural heritage. In Marrickville, the visual quality is subtle. It consists of unusual road alignments which provide unexpected views of internal ***landmarks*** such as the tall elaborate 1890 sewerage vents and occasional church steeples, seen in Plate 4.11, and highly urban and complex, distant vistas.

PLATE 4.10
Corner shop characteristic of low cost speculative developments in the 1890s. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.11
Views and vistas, unexpected view of St Brigid's church steeple. (A.P.1993).

To summarise, for planners the cultural heritage significance lies in the history of Marrickville since the 1830s. Included in their study is an acknowledgment of the changes over the last forty years in terms of different 'ethnic' groups. This, however, is limited to a reference to the Greek impact on the area, not other 'ethnic' groups and it only seeks to represent the Greek history through a Greek milk bar and a Greek Church. Such a limited representation of a multicultural presence confirms Hayden's (1995) view that minority groups are under-represented in urban conservation.

Given that the Statement of Significance (Figure 4.1) suggests that diversity is one of the most distinguishing aspects of Marrickville, I propose that multiple readings of the environmental heritage of Marrickville be undertaken as 'grids of difference' (Pratt,1998). The orthodox interpretation of environmental heritage can then be used as the framework into which layers and grids of meaning can be incorporated, particularly as cultural landscape theory allows for

the inclusion of intangible heritage such as folklore, rituals, religious beliefs and other abstract experiences (Samuels,1979; O'Keefe & Prott,1984).

The Migrant Experience in Marrickville: 1950s – 1990s

A cultural landscape reading of the migrant experience in Marrickville supports Lowenthal's observation that in Australia, heritage is represented less by '*generational continuity'* than by '*tableaux of discrete moments'* (Lowenthal,1990:15). The descriptions of the Greek, Lebanese and Vietnamese experiences in Marrickville make up just such a tableau. Another contribution to understanding the cultural landscape of Marrickville comes from Relph's (1976) work on different levels of empathy associated with places. Phenomenologically, the experiences of place overlap and interpenetrate which, Relph suggests, can be analysed by exploring three components of place, the static setting, activities in the place and meanings attributed to the place. Here, the MHS provides the static setting, whereas the life-world experiences of the Greek, Lebanese and Vietnamese migrants in Marrickville provide insights into activities in the place. The phenomenological process of working with descriptions given by different migrant groups allows us to understand the '*unselfconscious intentionality'* involved in place-making (Relph,1976:43). Finally, the reflective discourse of migrant groups provides an understanding of meanings and values associated with these places. The migrant contribution to the character of Marrickville is thus interpreted through their life-world experiences, kept as 'things as they appear' and described in their own words (Spiegelberg,1975).

In the light of this, using stories told in discussion groups during 1992-1993, the following analysis of heritage places is drawn from a group of Greek migrants who have lived in the area since the 1950s. This is followed by focussed discussions held with a Lebanese group during 1993-1994 and a Vietnamese group during 1995-1996. Meeting dates, locations and participants are listed in Appendix Three. Interpretations about place are supported by social theorists such as Bachelard (1969) and Lefebvre (1991) who suggest '*spaces of representation'* contain collective experiences (Lefebvre,1991:25) and people's experiences and their associated memories generate many of the valued qualities of places (Bachelard,1969). Interpretations also draw from Shields' (1991) discussion about places on the margins and Bourdieu's (1984) concepts of 'habitus' and the experiences that lie behind patterns of taste and conduct in everyday life. The first study describes the Greek experience of migration and their relationship with Marrickville. The analysis into themes has been derived from orthodox coding practices (Minichiello et al,1990; Patton, 1990). This description is commenced using their term, the 'odyssey'.

1950s – The Greek Odyssey

The history of the Greeks in Australia goes back to 1829 when the first Greeks came as seven young male convicts from the island of Hydra. Later, in the 1850s, Greek mariners from the Ionian Islands left their ships to find their fortune on the Australian goldfields. By the 1880s, Greek communities called 'paroikies' came to Australia and settled in Sydney and Melbourne (Gilchrist,1988). The Greek community in Australia, however, resulted from two main periods of migration. The first migration consisted of a small number of people who came in the 1920s. They settled in country towns where they had small businesses such as cafes, fish or fruit shops (Gilchrist,1988). It would appear that they were not able to continue their farming way of life, because as Freeman & Jupp (1992) point out, unlike migrants to North America, there was not the opportunity in Australia for small rural holdings. The second migration was made up of the post World War II migrants who tended to stay in large cities because they were contracted to work in factories in order to pay off their assisted passage (Jupp,1992). Thus, when the second wave of migrants arrived in the late 1950s and 1960s, despite the earlier Greek migration, there was not a strong Greek urban presence.

For many Greek migrants, particularly the young men, the journey to Australia symbolised the Homeric Odyssey. Greek men today speak of how their pioneering spirit reflected the classic Greek journey (Armstrong,1993a). For Greek women, the odyssey was different. After the massive migration of Greek men in the late 1940s, young Greek women were sent out on 'bride ships' as prospective brides for the men who were working on new industrial projects. These young women, many clutching photographs of men they had never met, arrived in Sydney and Melbourne to embark on married life in a new country without the traditional support of their families (Armstrong,1993b:22). For all the Greek migrants, both the men and women, there were deeply emotional phenomena embodied in the experience of migration. In many cases, they knew little about Australia but the conditions in Greece as a result of World War II and the subsequent civil war had created such difficulties that they were forced to leave. Understanding the reasons for leaving Greece and the expectations about Australia are important in that they set a framework for first relationships with the new place.

The members of the group who provided the data for this study had all come to Australia in the 1950s and resided in the municipality of Marrickville. The textual data derived from transcriptions of the group discussions were coded into themes which were subsequently validated by the group over three meetings. The phenomena embedded in the experience of migration fell into four broad themes; perceptions of the new country, being a migrant, the process of settling-in, and emerging place values in Australia. Phenomenologically, the discourse about their life-world experiences of migration and the ways in which they adapted

and modified their new environment provide insights about how certain places are part of the Greek heritage in Marrickville. Table 4.3 summarises the themes and their associated phenomena.

TABLE 4.3.

Themes and Phenomena Derived from the Greek Migrant Discourse.

THEMES	PHENOMENA
PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEW COUNTRY	Heritage as pioneering spirit. New Worlds as lands of opportunity.
BEING A MIGRANT	The language barrier. Hardship and humiliation. Assimilation.
SETTLING IN	Establishing essentials. Sustaining cultural life. Creating new Greek places.
EMERGING PLACE VALUES IN AUSTRALIA	Greek heritage as a gift to Australian culture. Earlier Greek pioneers. Belonging.

Perceptions of the New Country

The theme, 'perceptions of the new country', consisted of a number of phenomena which were seen as pertinent to place values of Greek migrants. The life-world experience of why one leaves one's country in order to live permanently in another seemed to be imbued with certain Greek cultural values, as well as particular perceptions about Australia as an appropriate destination. These phenomena are summarised as 'heritage as pioneering spirit' and 'New Worlds as lands of opportunity'. The phenomenon of imagined communities explored by Anderson and Gale (1992) and Urry (1995) has particular resonances here, where members of the Greek group describe Australia as an imagined community and themselves as imagined pioneers in an emerging nation.

TABLE 4.4.

Perceptions of the new country: phenomena and places.

Phenomena	Places telling the story
Heritage as pioneering spirit.	Points of arrival.
New Worlds as lands of opportunity	Houses of pre-war Greek migrants.

Heritage as pioneering spirit

Evidence of the pioneering spirit, the willingness to work hard and be enterprising were seen to be important phenomenological aspects of the Greek migration experience within Australia. Greg, a post World War II migrant from the Peleponnes, pointed out *'what you suffer, when you go to a country with a suitcase and try to build your life ... you don't know what you go through psychologically, financially, physically .... It is heroism* (GM1).' Greg spoke of the *'pioneering spirit'* being a '*classical Greek journey'*. This comment draws attention to Hage's notion of the 'accumulated cultural capital' that migrants bring to Australia (Hage,1998:9). Freda , who came at a similar time, pointed out that the Australian Government had invited the immigrants here '*… to start Australia as a new country.*' She said '*We were invited more or less - they needed us .... We came to help them and to help ourselves too* (GM2).' This statement confirms Freeman and Jupp's (1992:3) observation that the New World was a setting where hard working, enterprising people could create new lives. Arriving in a new country with such attitudes implies an optimistic belief that by sustaining a pioneering spirit, they could build new lives in unlimited 'frontier space' (Freeman and Jupp,1992).

New World as lands of opportunity

The phenomenon of imagining community (Jacobs,1991,1992; Anderson and Gale,1992) is evident in the Greek migrants' stories of the 1950s where Australia was 'imagined' as a 'paradise' in terms of making money. Rena, who migrated from Rhodes, pointed out that '*… many people believed that in Australia and Canada - is plenty* [of] *money - paradise. And for this one leaves everything* (GM2).' The expectation that migrants in Australia would be rich is further strengthened by Rena's description of their visit to her husband's uncle on arrival in Australia. In Greece they presumed he was rich. She described how she was shocked that the house was bagged and whitewashed, '*… like in Greece'*. She was dismayed that the wood for the fire was inside the house and that there were only '*soldier's blankets'* on the beds (GM2). Clearly there were certain expectations of what being rich in a new country would be like. Cosgrove (1986) writes of how pioneering new settlers act out the 'landscape idea' of the New World as vast areas of available land, the commodity, which will lead to accumulated wealth. I

maintain, however, that the migrant arrives with received wisdom derived from descriptions of Australia told by returning migrants or through correspondence. I use Despina and Greg's stories as insights into the way in which received wisdom can become transformed into 'imagined communities'.

Despina, also from Rhodes, described how surprised she was when she saw the small houses in St. Peters, Sydney. Her village consisted of two-storey houses, one storey being for storage of food and animal shelter. She was confused when she first saw the single-storey houses in St. Peters because her impression, in Greece, was that her brother had made money in Australia. When he told her how much money the house in St. Peters was worth, she exclaimed '*I was shocked*!' She recounted how she told her brother '*I don't give even a cent for such a house!'*(GM2)

Greg provided a reflective story about a man who had a fish shop in Bondi and went back to Greece to marry. He gave the impression that in Australia he was rich, throwing sovereigns at the wedding. His bride was from a good family and he bought her the best fashions which she brought to Australia. When she came to Sydney, she had to live in a little flat over the fish shop in Bondi. Greg commented '*Can you imagine the shock she got! There she was going visiting the others - they all worked in shops in plain clothes and she had all these beautiful clothes ... but she compromised and stayed and now they are living in Vaucluse in a beautiful house* (GM2).' This humorous anecdote is laden with the migrant experience, misrepresentations about Australia in Greece, the shock of arrival, adaptations and the ultimate reward of affluence. In terms of place values, these phenomena set the context for the responses migrants exhibited as they started new lives in Australia.

Being a Migrant in Australia in the 1950s

The second major theme emerging from the life-world descriptions by the Greek group relates to the range of phenomena associated with being a migrant in Australia in the 1950s. These include 'experiencing the language barrier', 'hardship and humiliation', and 'experiences resulting from enforced assimilation'.

TABLE 4.5.

Being a migrant in Australia: phenomena and places.

Phenomena	**Places telling the story**
The language barrier. Hardship and humiliation. Assimilation.	Streets of Marrickville. Work places– the factories. The Salvation Army Centre. Hidden places.

The Language Barrier

The phenomenon of being isolated by language is true for many migrants. In discussions with a range of migrant groups, it is clear that the biggest problem they coped with on arrival in Australia was being unable to speak English. Different members of the Greek group described how the isolation of the language barrier persisted long after first arrival. The difficulty of having to work hard, often in consecutive shifts, meant that there was little time to learn the language, or even to read newspapers. As well as working long hours, people were living in crowded conditions to reduce costs and save money, all of which acted against learning English.

Descriptions of the value of Marrickville emerged as a place where one could speak Greek in shops and in the street and feel free from the sense of isolation and marginality. It would appear the sense of stigma associated with marginality (Shields,1991) was eased in enclaves where the language of the marginal group was the dominant one.

Hardship and Humiliation

Many of the group spoke of the hardship of having to leave everything behind and start with nothing; working long hours and living in crowded conditions. The issue of working hard seems to have been a dominant concern. As Greg said '… *the main thing was money and fortunately in the '50s and '60s there was work. They were exploiting every opportunity to improve and many people were living in crowded circumstances*'. Rena pointed out '… *you have to cook by hours. First I cook* [then] *she cook - she has to wash with hours - the gas and all*' (GM2).

But the willingness to work hard is best described by Melba's story of how the Minerva Restaurant was established.

> *When we left that hard times in Greece, … - I come from school and my husband comes from the University. He was studying medicine and with politics and all, he can't go on.*

> *We come here and we prepared to do any, any job - things you can't do in your country. So what job?* [my husband] *start work in the kitchen, I start in David Jones, dress making, you know. I don't have any idea, but we start work...and I always say to my husband - go to University, finish your medical studies, learn the language. He said 'no I can't leave you to look after us - I have to work in the kitchen to learn to cook.' He was very intelligent. Anyhow, we work very hard, we opened the restaurant and we start to make money. But after that we want something else to make it home...this is why we start the theatre* (GM2, Armstrong,1993a:20).

The phenomenon of 'humiliation' is closely associated with the phenomenon of hardship. The image and stigma of marginality was compounded by working in factories and living in poor conditions. As Shields (1991) points out, this stigma pervades the migrants' former sense of identity in their home country. The phenomenon, 'humiliation', was evident in discussions about the language barrier and members of the group's experiences of daily interactions with the host community. Some of the group spoke of the humiliations they were subjected to through frequent references to '*dagos'*. Freda remarked that as a result, in the 1950s one did not walk down the street speaking one's own language. Greg spoke of the verbal abuse of drunken Australian '*mates*' (GM2). Such descriptions are clear evidence of the concept of Australians occupying 'positional superiority' (Said,1978) where the so-called 'highs', mainstream Australians, maintain a certain relationship with the 'lows', the new migrants, without ever losing the upper hand (Shields,1991).

On first arrival, some of the Greek women had distressing experiences. Not all of the 'brides' on the ships were met. It would appear the possibility that some of the young women could be abandoned in a strange land, unable to speak English, had not been considered. The Salvation Army rescued these young women. In Sydney, the Salvation Army building near Taylor's Square, now a luxury apartment block, was a temporary home to many young Greek 'brides' (Armstrong,1993b:22).

Issues remain of how such experiences of fear, abandonment, humiliation, and hard work can be expressed as place values? While Relph's (1976) 'empathetic insideness' allows for emotional involvements with places, it is not clear whether this includes negative emotions. I suggest that a more pertinent representation of experiences of fear and abandonment lies with Low's typology of place attachments where negative experiences of place fit into her 'linkage through loss of land or destruction of continuity' (Low,1992:166). Phenomenological readings of migrant experiences validate the fact that all stories from the Greek group are associated with places. Such places are associational, having strong 'social heritage significance' (Johnston,1992).

Assimilation

The phenomenon of assimilation is highly complex. All the migrants of the 1950s there experienced enforced assimilation due to government policies (Jordens,1995; Jupp,1996; Murphy,1993). This confirms Bhabha's (1990) descriptions of the power of the 'national space'. As a result, the experiences related to this policy form part of this group's Australian cultural heritage. Interestingly, the migrants did not necessarily perceived themselves as assimilated. There was much discussion in the group about the pressure on Greeks to become '*New Australians'* and forget their Greek origins. Greg, in particular, felt this was unfair when the Anglo-Australians were free to '… *remember the stew of Mum, of great, great grandmother from Ireland and to celebrate everything that is important to the Scottish* [and English] - *but we had to forget*.' Greg reflected further '… *you can't just wipe it out and become Australian - consider for a moment, if I become Australian; I mean with the sense of being a "mate", I would be a very bad imitation. I am Australian and I feel Australian, but with a Greek background* (GM2).' These statements exemplify Chambers' (1994) exploration of migrant identity as forms of hybridisation. They also reveal the implicit resistance to the concept of assimilation.

The comments provide an interesting insight into the fact that, for this group, white Australians were also seen as migrants and therefore to the Greeks, Australians had a similar 'existential outsider' status in the new country (Relph,1976). Allied with this, the sense of frontierism, which the Greeks considered to be a shared phenomenon with Australians, was an important aspect of place-making for the migrants of the 1950s. If the mainstream Australians were also migrants and equal partners at the frontier, this suggests an intriguing paradox about 'positional superiority' (Said,1978). The phenomenon of assimilation is highly complex, but for the purposes of this study, official assimilation resulted in migrants concealing places which reflected their different cultural practices. Drawing from Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' which argues that '*spatial practices are cultural structures'* (Shields,1991:32), the assimilation process involved the migrant groups in a process where they came to understand the *habitus* and its *dispositions* (Bourdieu,1984) of the mainstream culture and the required codes of spatial behaviour in the context of social situations in the 1950s. It was not until the 1980s, however, that the mainstream culture became interested in understanding the *habitus* of migrant groups, because despite the hegemony of the Australian society in the 1950s, the everyday habits of different migrant groups persisted.

Understanding how the experience of migration is manifest in place not only requires an examination of the initial perceptions of Australia but also the ways in which migrant groups changed their Australian environment to make it feel more familiar.

Settling In: Establishing Essentials

The third major theme emerging from the life-world experiences of the Greek group, settling in to the new country, is most significant in terms of the place-making. How people affiliate themselves and adapt to new situations involves processes which transform 'space' into 'place' by embedding culturally meaningful symbols into shared environments (Low,1992). The discourse about their lived-in-the-world experiences revealed that for the Greek group there was a particular sequence of phenomena which reflects attempts to re-instate their *habitus.* Their cultural structure or *habitus* generated the impetus to make the unfamiliar Australian environment into a version of their everyday life in Greece. Nevertheless, as Shields (1991) points out, *habitus* is not only durable, it is also malleable. As a result the qualities of everyday life became mediated in the process of acclimatisation. From discourses about the process of settling in to Marrickville, the sequence involved three sub-themes, 'establishing essentials', 'sustaining cultural life', 'creating new places' and their associated phenomena.

There is a range of phenomena involved in establishing essentials for Greek migrants to begin the settling in process. These include finding Greek food, finding work, establishing places of spiritual worship, and altering houses.

TABLE 4.6.

Settling in by establishing essentials: phenomena and places.

Sub-Theme	Phenomena	Places telling the story
ESTABLISHING ESSENTIALS	Finding Greek food. Finding work. Making places for spiritual worship. Altering houses.	Greek shops. Back gardens. Factories. Old Anglican churches. Converted houses. Modified houses.

Finding Food and Work

The phenomenon of finding suitable food seemed to be urgent for European migrants of the 1950s. The group indicated that their first imperative was to find familiar food and ingredients for Greek cooking. Such essentials as olive oil, at that time, could only be bought in small bottles in pharmacies. Similarly it was difficult to find fresh olives, garlic and fresh herbs such as basil, oregano, and parsley. To address the lack of appropriate fresh food, members of the group described planting grapevines, olive, fig, lemon trees and herbs in their small gardens. They also sought out the wholesale markets for fresh food. Purchasing food in market settings was a familiar ritual.

Finding work was the second phenomenon. Post-war migrants came to Australia to work, however most of the available employment was in factories. Both men and women worked long hours, often in double shifts, in order to make money and buy property. In Marrickville, the industrial area contained a number of large factories. Both Mersina, who came from Lesbos, and Despina, from Rhodes, had worked in the textile mill known as Vicars and shown in Plate 4.12.

PLATE 4.12.

Remnant wall of Vicars Textile Mill
where many Greek women worked. (A.P.1993).

Apart from changing from Greek village life and farm work to factory work in large cities, other experiences were associated with the phenomenon of finding work. The loss of the traditional extended family meant that care of children was difficult when both parents were working shifts. Greg pointed out that Mersina had many '*dramatic experiences* (GM1)' when she first came to Australia. Part of her Australian heritage was being forced to leave her children at home alone while she worked. He indicated that many mothers carry this memory of the distress of their first years in Australia. These descriptions of the lived-world of work add weight to the 'social heritage significance' of such places for migrants. They align with Hayden's notion that place attachment includes places of pain and humiliation where '*coming to terms with ethnic history in the landscape requires engaging with bitter experiences.*' (1995:22).

Places for Spiritual Worship

The phenomenon, establishing places for spiritual worship, enabled some reinstatement of Greek spiritual life. The group pointed out that the church was the main focus of Greek life and because most of the Greeks in Sydney were Greek Orthodox they required their own churches. Sites of spiritual worship are nevertheless complex in terms of place attachment for migrants. In the migrants' home country, sites of spiritual worship embody Low's (1992) 'cosmological' form of place attachment. But it is difficult for the migrant to reconcile cosmological aspects of

myth and spiritual symbolism within the space of the host country. This ambivalence becomes much clearer in later discussions about Greek heritage in Australia.

When post-World War II migrants arrived in Sydney, there were only two Greek churches in the inner city, built around 1896. Thus, to accommodate Greek spiritual needs, old Anglican churches were taken over or church groups were started in houses. It was not until the 1960s that other big Greek churches were built. The phenomenon of spiritual worship involved the whole family and was closely associated with many seasonal rituals, reflecting the close peasant traditions of many 1950s migrants.

Altering Houses

Phenomenologically, altering the place where one lives when one is in transition has been explored by Cooper-Marcus in her work on 'House as Symbol of Self'(1974). In this work she theorises that people in transition, possibly due to broken marriages, or migration etc, manifest their transitional state in the way they occupy the space in which they live. The Greek migrants were renowned for altering their houses. Freda, from Athens, pointed out that when she was a teenager in Marrickville all the Greek houses were blue and white. She said '… *the gutterings were blue and the walls were white and we used to say – "Oh, that's a Greek house,*"...(GM3)'. Rena, Despina and Greg agreed, indicating that blue and white houses reflected their national colours and also evoked the sky, the sea and the good weather on their islands. Such evocative descriptions of housing on Greek islands, masked Greg's patronising position on Australian housing. He remarked that when he came from Athens he did not understand the houses. '*Coming from Greece, how could people live in such houses which were so dark and depressing*'? He commented

> *I was used to white houses, straight lines, not fussy - why all these decorations?* [cast iron balconies] *This seemed a bit anachronistic you know…[*Greek people] *wanted fresh, new, plain, open …more spaces and so on…. I didn't understand the houses when I first came - small dark brick- but over the years I got used to it or came to appreciate it and sometimes I think, you know, this is the personality of Australia*. (GM3; Armstrong,1993a:32)

This comment supports the geographer, Ley's observation that '*the personality of a place*' can be derived from the coherence of '*inter-subjective experience'* where '*any habitually interacting group of people convey a character to a place they occupy, which is immediately apparent to the outsider, though unquestioned and taken-for-granted by the habitues'*(1977:508). It is, therefore, most interesting that the Greek migrant should establish their own 'personality of the place' through their desire to transform drab inner-city terraces into some sense of the Greek Islands by painting houses pastel colours and opening them to the sunlight with large aluminium-framed windows. This was restricted to some extent by the pitched roofs on Australian houses, which meant that traditional grape-arbours on Greek roofs had to be

recreated in back gardens. Small inner-city back gardens were highly productive as well as being places where Greek culture could be practiced in private, shown in Plates 4.13 and 4.14.

PLATE 4.13
Existing house with Greek decorative additions to the front. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.14
Greek back garden behind wall, private place for growing Greek fruit and vegetables.(A.P.1993).

When it was pointed out that one does not see many blue and white houses now, the group said it was a 'phase'. The group thought the recent Mediterranean changes to houses in Marrickville were more likely to be Spanish or Portuguese, the most recent immigrants, changing housing to reflect the Mediterranean character they had recently left. This observation further confirms that places of transition have a particular yet temporary character (Cooper Marcus,1974).

The 1950s was an era of high Modernism in Europe. In Australian cities, residential modernity tended to be evident in the suburbs as tentative changes made to Californian bungalows (Freeland,1972) or a few Bauhaus style houses. The migrants, however, were limited in terms of their modernising endeavours both by finance and by the form of the inner-city terrace houses. The Greek group felt that it was not until the late 1970s-1980s that valuing the character of old houses became an issue for everyone. In the 1950s, Australians were not interested in old buildings, particularly terrace housing. Despina pointed out that 'W*hen everybody got their houses 20-30 years ago, nobody talked about histories. Everybody bought the house - nice house for me; I have two rooms and three children so I blocked in the verandah to make one* [more] *room. Nobody give the importance to what I do* (GM3).' Freda and Greg confirmed this, saying that people modernised because they felt they were improving the houses. Greg reflected, however, that '*a lot of houses were destroyed* (GM3).' Greg's architectural sensibilities are reflected more generally by other European migrants' responses to Australian cultural production, viewed through European sophistication as a patronising gaze, particularly evident in Italian discussion groups.

It is also interesting to note the shift from '*we*' to '*they*'. The way in which people describe their experiences of migration provides strong evidence of the phenomenological concept of time, that is, experienced time rather than chronological time. This movement between being a migrant as *'I'* or objectifying the phenomenon as *'they'* becomes clearer in the final theme, 'Emerging Place Values in the New Country'.

Settling In: Sustaining Cultural Life

The sub-theme, sustaining cultural life, in the sequence of settling in to the new country involves a set of phenomena associated with sustaining cultural life either as translocating Greek cultural practices or transformed cultural practices which involved creating new forms of Greek places (Armstrong, 1993b:10).

Translocated Cultural Practices

This process results in a form of place attachment described by Low (1992:166) as '*linkages through narrative'*. Melba pointed out that while the Church and Greek food and were important in the process of settling in, continuing Greek culture in the new country was also important, in particular the tradition of Greek theatre. Despina added the traditional preparations for marriage needed to be sustained. It would appear that being able to continue expressions of Greek cultural practices helped people settle in to Australia. Many of these activities were related to particular places and although few of these rituals were obvious to the mainstream culture, they did much to establish a Greek sense of place in Marrickville.

TABLE 4.7.

Sustaining Cultural Life: Translocated Culture: phenomena and places

Sub-theme	Phenomena	Places telling the story
SUSTAINING CULTURAL LIFE.	Creating Greek Restaurants. Sustaining Greek Dances. Sustaining Greek Theatre.	The Minerva, Elizabeth St. The Majestic,Paddington Town Hall, the Trocadero. Minerva Restaurant, Elizabethan Theatre.

The phenomenon of Greek dances is another example of translocated culture where Greek dancing was seen as important to community life. Such dances, an event which included all ages - grandparents to babies - were held in different places. Sometimes they were held in Paddington Town Hall, sometimes Sydney Town Hall, and sometimes the Trocadero, now demolished. Dances were also held at the different associations such as the Cretan Association where they had special 'Schools for Dancing'. The group specifically remembered the Majestic

Theatre (Plate 4.15) as a place where the Marrickville Greeks went to Greek dances and movies. This was clearly a local landmark for the Greek community.

PLATE 4.15
Majestic Theatre built in 1921 as vaudeville theatre, converted to cinema in 1940s, used by the Marrickville Greek community as a cinema and for dances. (A.P.1993).

Sustaining cultural life also included translocating the traditional Greek theatre. Melba describes how they ran Greek drama performances in their Minerva Restaurant, after the last of the diners had finished. The fact that Melba and her husband had established a Greek theatrical group at an early stage of their settling in to Australia is an indication of how important this cultural tradition was to the Greek community. Melba commented that later they used the Elizabethan Theatre, now demolished. Angelos, an Athenian, recalled the Elizabethan Theatre. He confirmed that there were many Greek plays held there with up to 2000 people attending a Greek production. Every member of the group expressed strong regret that the Elizabethan Theatre had gone, as Greek theatre is a strong part of Greek cultural life.

Transformed Culture: Creating New Greek Places

The third sub-theme in the sequence of settling-in included nostalgia for the home country and affirming one's culture in the new country. For the Greek group, this meant colonising local cinemas and later creating Greek clubs.

TABLE 4.8.
Settling in – Creating New World Greek Places: Phenomena and Places.

Sub-Theme	Phenomena	Places telling the story
CREATING NEW GREEK PLACES	Colonising cinemas for Greek films. Creating Greek café neros. Creating New Greek clubs.	The Lawson, Redfern. The Hub, Newtown. Marrickville Rd, Marrickville. Macedonian Club, Marrickville, Hellenic Club, City.

The strong nostalgia for the home country appeared to be assuaged by viewing Greek films. Throughout group discussions, it became apparent that the Greek cinema was an important focus of community life for Greek migrants. The group revealed that the most well known Greek cinema was the Lawson Cinema in Redfern, now demolished. Later The Hub (Plate

4.16), in Newtown, screened Greek films. The Lawson Cinema seemed to be remembered as a particularly important part of the Greek community life. Angelos commented *'It was a very old cinema and I remember once when my wife and I went to a matinee on Saturday and I promised myself, never again! There were so many babies crying you couldn't hear the dialogue.'* Melba added that when she heard the stories about the Lawson Cinema she decided to go. She recounted '… [I] *never believed it* [the stories about the Lawson Cinema] *and I said I will go to see - and really, I went over there and the people, they took food for the kids, like a picnic .... I was really surprised - they used to go - so many people - to the pictures on Saturday and Sunday. It was like a festival* (GM2). This cinema, now demolished, was seen as part of their migrant heritage as watching Greek films embodied the group nostalgia for Greece in the early years of migration.

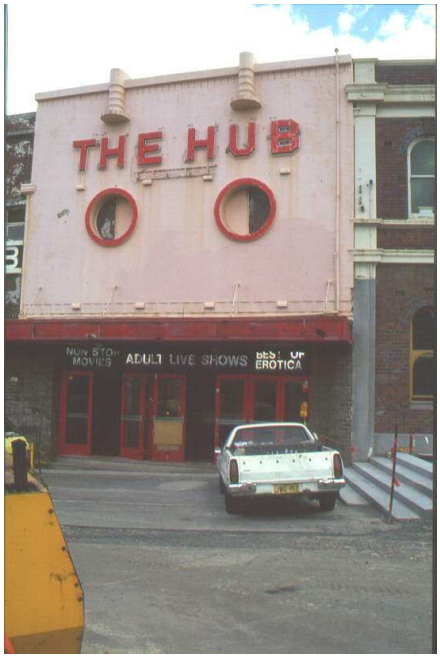


PLATE 4.16

The Hub, Newtown –
a former Greek movie
house in the 1950s. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.17

Coffee club (Café Neros) for Greek men,
located above shops
in Marrickville Road. (A.P.1993).

The mass migration of numerous migrant groups from Europe in the 1950s not only transformed existing Australian places, it also resulted in new places – the migrant clubs. There are numerous Greek clubs in Marrickville, Kensington and Kingsford, however Greg and John pointed out that the Clubs came later and were not part of the first period of settling in. They emphasised that people were working too hard with shiftwork to have time for clubs. Instead in the early stages of settling in there were many Greek coffee clubs, usually concealed in rooms above shops. Freda referred to them as *'Cafe Neros'*(GM2) where men can have Greek coffee and play cards. She indicated that there were at least forty of these clubs in Marrickville in the

1960s. In 1992 there were only four left (Plate 4.17), none of which were referred to in the MHS.

The range of phenomena just described provide insights into how Greek migrants translocated their life in Greece to a new life in Australia, including some cultural transformed practices. The strong Greek presence in Marrickville by the 1960s is an example of Jupp's (1992) concept of Australian migrant enclaves which are places created by choice to compensate for marginality rather than the stigmatised and enforced ghettos of North America. Clearly Marrickville is laden with 'social heritage significance' for the Greek community, however the phenomena associated with the migrant experience are complex and do not necessarily translate into concepts of heritage places.

Emerging Place Values in the New Country

The final major theme evolved from searching discussions about Greek heritage in Australia. This theme consisted of a number of phenomena each of which is highly reflective, revealing the complexity of place attachment for migrants in the host country. They include ways in which Greek culture has contributed to Australian culture, places which indicate the history of earlier Greek migrants and issues of belonging. Low (1992) indicates that for place attachment to occur there must be a symbolic relationship between the group and the place. In terms of the Greeks in Marrickville although there are shared experiences, it would appear that places have ambiguous cultural meanings as heritage. Phenomena associated with this theme include 'Greek heritage as a gift to Australian culture', 'earlier Greek pioneers', and the phenomenon of 'belonging'.

TABLE 4.8.

Emerging Place Values: phenomena and places

Phenomena	**Places telling the story**
Greek heritage as a gift to Australian culture.	The suburb of Marrickville. Sydney City block, Liverpool, Elizabeth, Castlereagh, Park Streets.
Earlier Greek pioneers.	Greece/Australia
Belonging	

Greek Heritage as a Gift to Australian Culture

Hage (1998) points out that ' national space' can contain accumulated capital of many nationalities. The phenomenon of Greek heritage as a gift to Australian culture was apparent in

the consistent discourse on pride about being Greek. Greg pointed out that there have been many important influences on him while he has been in Australia which are part of his heritage, but also the Greeks have influenced Australians. He expanded on this by pointing out that the Greeks changed their houses, changed the suburbs they lived in and created a more cosmopolitan atmosphere and that now Marrickville had '*the spirit of the Greeks'*(GM3). It is the hybridity in migrant identity, which Chambers suggests is a form of 'creole' (1994:17), that is central to understanding recent Australian history and emerging place values.

Earlier Greek Pioneers

Places created by the Greek community who had come before World War II were considered to be part of the Greek heritage in Australia because they were examples of Greek pioneering activities in Australia. Melba described how many Greeks who had migrated to Australia in the 1930s came to the Minerva Restaurant and talked about their experiences. This is the attachment that is derived existentially from simply living in a place (Low,1992). She reflected '*… we had hard times - but not like these people. A lot of these people were very intelligent - they wrote plays and poems. They worked very hard*.' She added that '*… we would be surprised at what they had done in this country before we came*' (GM2). When asked if the earlier Greeks lived in particular Greek areas, the group indicated that early migrants mainly lived in country towns, running shops and cafes. Greg explained that there was a significant difference in the economic conditions for the Greeks before the war, compared with the boom times in the 1950s-60s. He also indicated that they had to '*… hide, change their names - they had it very hard. At least we had work, we were a big group, we were independent*' (GM2).

There were well-known Greek places in Sydney which were found in the city blocks, enclosed by Liverpool, Bathurst, Elizabeth and Castlereagh Streets. This was considered the '*Greek Square'* particularly because the Hellenic Club was located there. Greg also spoke of other *Cafe Neros* in this area where Greek men had coffee and read Greek newspapers. The buildings which sustained this aspect of Greek heritage were demolished as recently as the mid 1990s to create new office blocks and hotels. None of the former Greek history is evident in the new developments.

Belonging

The phenomenon, 'belonging', reveals a dilemma for all migrants. Divided loyalties immediately become obvious when migrants are asked about whether evidence of their presence in Australia is sufficiently important to be considered Australian-Greek heritage. Greg commented that while there is a Greek heritage within Australia, it depends on how '*deep*' it is. He pointed out that although everyone is free to go back to Greece *'… the years we have lived here are not just water under the bridge; it is part of us'*. Freda agreed saying *'… it has changed*

us' (GM3). This again reinforces Chambers' (1994) notion of hybridity in his discussion of 'migrancy and identity'. Greg stated that although he has been in Australia for a long time he will never be '*a fair dinkum Australian'*, but that he will also *'… never be the same as when he came here'* (GM3). There have been influences on him and the Greeks have influenced Australia and he felt that these things should be considered. The symbolic capital of Greek culture is clearly seen as a gift to Australian culture.

Although discussions centred on how people made Sydney become familiar - more Greek - to them, other issues related to whether different members of the group felt they belonged in Australia began to emerge. As Chambers (1994:3) indicates, being a migrant involves a discontinuous state of being and a 'journey of restless interrogation'. Melba verified this by commenting *'If you stay in Australia more than 5 years, you build your life and you can't go back ... after 35 years I belong in Australia ... I belong in two countries.*' She also repeated a statement made by her friend *'… they didn't understand in Greece. They didn't understand how I* [her friend] *feel here.* [Her friend] *said "never Australia take it from my heart, Greece, but never Greece take it from my heart, Australia".'(GM3).*

This divided sense of belonging is important to acknowledge, as it establishes the justification for considering whether places valued by the Greek community should be conserved as cultural heritage. It also raises the questions of whether this heritage is only sustained through lifestyle and rituals or whether it is the combination of place and cultural rituals which create cultural heritage.

Whether these places have enough value to the Greek community to be conserved as heritage, highlights the complexity embedded in phenomenological concepts of time. Places may not be valued today but may be valued in the future and visa versa. It is therefore interesting to see whether more recent migrations to the area have similar forms of environmental heritage.

1970s – The Lebanese

Most Lebanese migrants in Australia have come in one of three waves of migration; the 1890s, the 1950s or the 1970s. Each of these emigrations from Lebanon has been for different reasons. Those who came in the 1890s were predominantly fleeing Maronite religious persecution under the Turkish Ottoman rule (Batrouney,1985). Post-World War II Lebanese migrants came for a better life. In 1970s, the Lebanese fled a country torn by civil war. These different periods not only reflect different times in Lebanon, they also reflect changing attitudes in Australia towards cultural difference. The first group arrived when cultural difference was foreign and alien. The

second group came to Australia when migrants were expected to assimilate so their Lebanese culture was hidden from view. By the mid-1970s cultural difference was beginning to be accepted, however it was a period of high unemployment in Australia so the migrants were seen as threatening Australians' jobs (Jupp,1996; Murphy,1993).

Apart from religious persecution, the first wave of Lebanese migrants, often known as 'Turks' or Syrians, emigrated as result of the combination of the collapse of the silk industry and the affect on trade with the Suez Canal opening in 1869. In Sydney, they initially settled in Redfern. Many early Lebanese migrants brought with them the tradition of trading in cloth which became known in Australia as 'hawking' (Batrouney,1985). From 1900 to 1920s Lebanese men carried bolts of fabric and other goods to remote rural towns and settlements. With the advent of cheap cars, rural people were not so dependent on the Lebanese traders. As a result, the Lebanese tended to settle in rural towns, often opening drapery shops (Batrouney,1985).

The second major migration from Lebanon occurred after World War II. Although Lebanon was not as badly affected as other countries by the war in Europe and the Middle East, it was nevertheless economically difficult for people. Before the war, stories had been coming back to Lebanon of opportunities to make one's fortune in countries like America, Australia and Canada. During the war many Australian troops took recreation leave in Beirut where they conveyed a sense that Australia was a land of opportunity. Lebanese migrants who came to Australia at this time were either following other people from their villages or were educated city-dwellers from Beirut and Tripoli who saw the potential for a better life in Australia. At this time the Lebanese migrants were predominantly Christian and, in Sydney, they settled in Redfern, Canterbury and Punchbowl (Batrouney,1985).

The third wave of migration, in the 1970s, resulted in a massive increase in the Lebanese in Australia. These were refugees, predominantly Muslim, who were fleeing civil war. Many migrants in Sydney came from Tripoli and the surrounding villages in the north, gravitating towards Canterbury where a Sun'ni mosque had been established in a converted house. There was also a small community who settled in Marrickville. Typically Muslim Lebanese came as large inter-generational families. The group who participated in this study is characteristic of the Lebanese migration experience at this time. First an educated young male family member, skilled in English, came alone to establish the conditions under which he could bring out the rest of the family. The parents and the remaining children fled to Cyprus where they waited for their immigration papers, usually reaching Australia within two years.

Arriving in Marrickville with large families created different migration experiences from the 1950s Greek group who tended to arrive singly or as young couples. Places reflecting the Lebanese migration experience included schools, local swimming pools and local parks. None of the places identified by the Lebanese as important were included in the Marrickville Heritage Study (1986). Phenomenologically, discourse about life-world experiences as Lebanese migrants confirmed similar themes to those of the Greek migrants, namely 'perceptions of the new country', 'being a migrant', 'settling in', and 'emerging place values in Australia. Table 4.9 summarises the themes and phenomena for the Lebanese Muslims in Marrickville.

TABLE 4.9

Themes and Phenomena for the Lebanese in Marrickville

THEMES	**PHENOMENA**
PERCEPTIONS OF THE NEW COUNTRY.	Expecting Manhattan.
BEING A MIGRANT, - AS AN ADOLESCENT GIRL,	The language barrier. Young motherhood.
- AS AN ADOLESCENT BOY.	School harassment. Adolescent leisure.
SETTLING IN.	The role of the scout. Creating an enclave. Sustaining cultural life.
EMERGING PLACE VALUES IN AUSTRALIA.	Valuing Australian built heritage. Frontierism. Egalitarianism. Pragmatism.

Perceptions of the New Country.

This theme embodies expectations and first impressions about Australia; a theme consistently discussed by different migrant groups as they tried to explain why Australia felt so unfamiliar. As Bhabha (1990) argues in his discussion on narrating 'nation', imagined communities are inevitably given essentialist identities which do not conform with reality.

TABLE 4.10.

Perceptions of the New Country: phenomena and places

Phenomenon	Places telling the story
Expecting Manhattan	Low density housing. Terra cotta roofs. Street tree planting.

Expecting Manhattan

Just as the Greeks in the 1950s had certain perceptions about Australia which were dispelled soon after arrival, so too did the young Lebanese. They expected to find a Manhattan-like city of high-rise buildings surrounded by extensive high-tech industrial developments. Instead they saw from the plane a low-density sprawling city of cottages with red tiled roofs (Plate 4.18). Hassan, at 15, expressed his disappointment. *'I was disappointed, which is true. Because I am coming to an industrial country, I am going to see Manhattan or something'* (LM3). Whereas Ali and the others were more intrigued. Ali states,

> *My impression is when I first landed in Australia, when I am still up in the sky – because I came from [a] city and I was living in high flats, I said " Gees, this is meant to be an old city – you know- you see where is the, where is the buildings?"* [group laughter]. *'It is like a village!' Hala exclaimed. Ali continued 'When you think of Sydney, you think "Ah, Australia, this is a modern country – straight away you think high-rises, flats and apartments and all that" – and I was so surprised'* (LM3) .

PLATE 4.18
Low density suburb with red terra-cotta tiled roofs. (A.P.1993).

Beirut and Tripoli are compact cities made up of 10-12 storey apartments and commercial buildings. This was the group's concept of an 'old city' whereas essentialist imaginings of modern industrial countries appear to be modelled on North American cities of high-rise buildings. The other form of imagined communities is the 'exoticized other' (Stallybrass & White,1986). There are aspects of such exoticizing in the way Sam, an older cousin, saw Sydney. *'The thing I remember when I came. I was in the aeroplane – 11.00am – I can see really beautiful things – the greenness of Australia; the colours of the clay* [tiled roofs] *– very,*

very nice. As you arrive to Australia, you feel you are living in a garden – honest' (LM3). The phenomenon of Australia as an imagined community, living in a tropical paradise, is consistently evident in autobiographical writings about migrant perceptions of Australia (Riemer,1992; Varga,1994).

Because this group were predominantly young adolescents when they migrated, they were not involved in decisions about coming to Australia. As a result, their impressions about Australia were recounted with the bemused humour of adults looking back at childhood innocence. This is in strong contrast to the way they spoke of their experiences of school.

Being Migrants as Adolescents

As with the Greek migrants, the second theme that emerged from the Lebanese group's life-world experiences related to phenomena associated with 'being migrants in Australia'. For this group, however, phenomena reflected young adolescent experiences in the 1970s. These are described as sub-themes, 'being an adolescent girl' and 'being an adolescent boy'.

TABLE 4.11

Being an Adolescent Migrant in Marrickville: phenomena and places

Sub-Themes	Phenomena	Places telling the story
BEING AN ADOLESCENT GIRL.	The language barrier. Young motherhood.	Local schools, hospital and shops. The Community Centre.
BEING AN ADOLESCENT BOY .	School harassment. Adolescent leisure.	Local schools, sport fields. Marrickville swimming pool.

Being an Adolescent Lebanese Girl: the Language Barrier.

Heritage places are adult determined, however the Lebanese group in the 1970s, were predominantly adolescents and children belonging to large families. The young adolescents who came to Marrickville were expected to learn English quickly so that they could act as interpreters for their parents. The expectation that children would learn English at school and thus teach their parents was an early immigration policy of the Australian Government (Murphy,1993). The fact that the parents of the extended family used in this study seventeen years after arriving in Australia still do not speak

English is evidence that this policy was not successful. Memories of adolescence reveal how distressing it was to be a migrant. They entered high school speaking only Lebanese which made it difficult for them to keep up with other students and their plight was compounded by the fact that their parents were unable to assist them with their homework. Zawat and Inaam described their high school experiences. Zawat reminisced.

> *We dress nicely to* [go] *to school – people teasing you, pulling my hair. You didn't know what to say. I used to cry a lot. But my brother*[Ali] *used to push me all the time* [saying] *"one day you have to take your kids to the doctor. There are things you have to learn." I wanted to stay home and not go back.*

Inaam added,

> *…When we went to high school it was really hard because we couldn't understand the language very well and yet they gave us all the assignments to do and all that - and we didn't know what we were doing - and like, there wasn't anyone that could help us or that we could turn to. I didn't finish high school because I found it really hard to struggle, because of my language. To be in high school, even kids that are born here, they find it hard. Imagine the people that didn't understand the language. I used to hate it … I left school* (LM1).

School experiences for migrant girls often involved the loss of one's name. Eva Hoffman (1987:105) describes the experience for migrant girls at school,

> … these new appellations, which we ourselves can not yet pronounce, are not us. They are identification tags, disembodied signs pointing to objects that happen to be my sister and myself. We walk to our seats, into a room of unknown faces, with names that make us strangers to ourselves.

The schools where the young Lebanese experienced such hardship and humiliation have similar social heritage significance to the factories for Greek migrants of the 1950s. They are heritage sites laden with memories of pain.

Adolescents not only had to deal with the pressure of fulfilling the Immigration Department's policy of rapidly mastering English and bringing it into the home, they also had to conform to strict family protocols. The girls were expected to do home-duties, act as interpreters for their mothers as well as assist when their mothers needed medical help. Inaam described '*… my mother got sick one time and had to be admitted to hospital. She couldn't speak English and it was very hard on us. One of us had to stay with her all the time. We used to take turns to translate*' (LM2).

Shopping was often difficult because their mothers were accustomed to the practice of bartering. Young Lebanese girls were caught between hostile Australian shop assistants who considered bartering an insult and their mothers who were confused about the different shopping culture. Muslim Lebanese girls existed in a strict culture where they were not allowed to go out alone, so recreation tended to be restricted to family picnics and taking their younger siblings to local small parks.

Being an Adolescent Lebanese Girl: Young Motherhood.

As a result of school difficulties and their relatively restricted lives, girls left school early and worked in family-owned shops until they made early marriages and started having children. The local neighbourhood and baby health centre (Plate 4.19) became a place where young women could meet. Initially as adolescents, they used the small lending library of Lebanese books in the centre. Zawat explained '… *they met for crafts and everything here – I used to come* [to] *the clinic.*' Hassan, her brother-in-law, explained further '… *they used to come here when they were young – Baby Health Centre – this is very important. This place used to be a library – because very important to the children – Arabic books in the library.*' At which point Inaam added '*I used to come here and actually get some stories from here when I first arrived*' [11years old] (LM2).

PLATE 4.19
Local Baby Health Centre for young
Greek and Lebanese mothers. (A.P.1994).

As young mothers, they joined existing Greek knitting and sewing clubs, also in the centre. Zawat explained,

> *… we used to come here [the centre] – I mean all the women and get the kids like a playgroup and we used to do sewing, knitting. But [it] was for the Greeks not the Lebanese … I used to come here, twice a week … But now they don't have it because the Greeks didn't come and we lost it' (LM2).*

Descriptions of how young Lebanese women followed Greek women bring out Pratt's (1998) concept of intersecting grids of difference. Pratt claims that places are not bounded, but permeable. She points out that the desire to map place as bounded ignores the fact that places inter-connect over time. As a result, she is suspicious about mapping cultures onto place, because multiple cultures can inhabit a single place both at the same time or sequentially. Pratt argues that there are multiple grids of difference with complex and varied links between place and identity formation (1998:27). In 1993, when the discussion groups for this study were conducted in the building referred to, it was still owned by Marrickville Council but rarely used by local migrant mothers, now mostly Vietnamese, in the ways this group described.

Being an Adolescent Lebanese Boy: School Harassment.

Phenomena associated with being a Lebanese boy in Marrickville in the 1970s include coping with school harassment, playing sport and enjoying the local swimming pool. Boys experienced similar language difficulties as the girls and similar discrimination. Fred described his introduction to high school in Marrickville.

> *At school hardly anyone speaks your language – only three or four people and they are all in different classes – other kids, they all had long hair. I had short hair – they start picking on me. First day* [they] *picked a fight of my shoes with high heels. They weren't in fashion here. Four to five picked on them* –[I] *slapped him* –[they say I] *fight like a woman.* [They] *hit my head on the locker… only stay at school three months* (LM1).

Fred's story, like Inaam's and Zawat's, is painful but the pain is deeper than physical taunts. Richard Rodriguez (1983:28) describes how the process of going to school and learning English, the public language, meant the loss of his private and intimate home language.

> Once I learned the public language, it would never again be easy for me to hear intimate family voices. More and more of my days were spent hearing words. But that may only be a way of saying that the day I raised my hand in class and spoke loudly to an entire roomful of faces, my childhood started to end.

These descriptions add further weight to schools as heritage sites of social significance, showing how migrant adolescents suffered hardship, humiliation and profound

displacements associated with being 'between language' (Kaplan.1994:63), because under the migration policies they were to be the vehicles which would bring the new language into their parent's home.

The value given to male sport in Australian society enabled those Lebanese boys who played soccer to achieve integration more easily. Hassan explained,

> …[I] *went straight to Year 10 – came first in science – if my English had been better maybe I would have continued. … It wasn't very hard for me because I started playing sport. There were a lot of activities and I acclimatised with the life style here. Later on we left school – got a job and just become like normal Australians* (LM1).

The trope 'normal Australians' highlights the way essentialising occurred in migrant groups as much as in the mainstream culture. Sam indicated that a soccer team made up of young men from Tripoli was formed in 1977. This provided cohesion and allegiance for the Lebanese males as well as enabling contact with other migrant teams. Soccer was a strong part of male migrant culture in Australia (Murphy,1993).

Phenomena related to adolescent leisure for boys were different in that they had more freedom in their leisure time. Interestingly, the swimming pool became a gathering place for young male Lebanese adolescents. In both Beirut and Tripoli, people were accustomed to swimming in the river, the few Olympic pools being reserved for athletic training. As a result, the Lebanese boys were delighted to find local pools were available for recreational swimming. Sam and Ali explained the significance of Marrickville Pool (Plate 4.20) for Lebanese men and boys.

> *Marrickville swimming pool is really- is really - heritage for us. Because when we came in 1977, a large group of youth came at the same time … and they came to Marrickville… to the area surrounding this swimming pool. And there were at least fifty young male people go there at a time. Marrickville Pool was the Lebanese pool, really! … When we came from Lebanon there were no swimming pools* [in Lebanon]. *What we have, we have beaches close to the city and rivers … Here it* [the pool] *is open to everyone and it is very cheap and* [we] *used to go and spend half a day … It is a heritage thing … the Marrickville Pool. Bye the way, it used to be the Lebanese Pool, now it is … the Indo-Chinese Pool … Each generation* [of migrants] *they will enjoy this little swimming pool* (LM3).

PLATE 4.20

Marrickville Pool – a meeting place for young Lebanese men. (A.P.1994).

This discussion brings out pleasures that can occur as a result of difference. bell hooks suggests that moving from one place to another creates a heightened awareness of the potential of different places (hooks,1998). It also highlights the continuity embedded in many migrant places. Pratt's (1998) notion of grids of difference in time are confirmed by the young Lebanese women following the Greek women in their use of the neighbourhood centre and Lebanese boys being replaced by Vietnamese boys in the use of Marrickville pool.

None of the places that were important to the migrant experience for adolescent Lebanese in Marrickville are listed in the MHS (1986). Understanding how the experience of migration is embedded in meanings of places is complex in that it involves the interactions generated by both the culture of the country of origin and the culture of the host country at the time of migration. This inevitably includes children, adolescents and adults. Stories about place values for children and adolescents are rarely evident in heritage studies, thus the theme ' being adolescent', contributes to understanding social significance.

The Settling-In Process

As with the Greek group, settling in was the third major theme in discussions about migrating to Australia. The phenomena involved for the Lebanese, however, were different. The group had come to Australia in the mid 1970s when the migration policy was one of 'Multiculturalism' and therefore 'difference' was accepted and in some cases celebrated (Murphy,1993). This group can also be distinguished from the 1950s

migrant groups in that they arrived as large extended families with many children. As a result, insights provided by this group are embedded in the phenomena of 'the role of the scout', 'creating an enclave', and 'sustaining cultural life', all as experienced by an extended family.

TABLE 4.12

Settling in process: phenomena and places

Phenomena	Places telling the story
The role of the scout	Houses in Redfern, the 'slang language' school.
Creating an enclave	Lebanese streets in the Warren, Precincts of houses & small parks, Lebanese corner shops, Mosques, shopping areas.
Sustaining cultural life	Nightclubs and restaurants, Large parks for traditional picnics.

The Role of the Scout

In the early 1970s, a small group of single Lebanese men preceded the main migration undertaking a form of reconnaissance as 'scouts'. Their role was to find accommodation for their large extended families and to earn money which was sent back to assist with the cost of migrating to Australia. Because of the language barrier, 'scouts' tended to stay together, finding cheap accommodation in Marrickville which was close to Redfern and Canterbury, both existing Lebanese communities. As a result, they pioneered the Muslim Lebanese presence in Marrickville. Ali came to Sydney in 1974 at the age of 21 to act as a 'scout' for his family and assist Lebanese people already in Sydney. Despite being highly educated, Ali was only able to find employment in a sheet-metal factory. Like many educated migrants he was unhappy doing factory work but it enabled him to earn good money which he sent back to the family (Batrouney,1985:65). This process was characteristic of chain migration patterns developed by Italian migrants in Australia, commencing early in the 20th century (Pascoe & Ronayne,1998).

Because of his English skills, Ali's role in the community was to translate and assist with paper work for sponsoring families trapped in Lebanon. As well, it was part of his

regular routine to accompany the Lebanese to get their driving licences and travel with them on public transport. He would often walk with them to Paddy's market to help them buy food. He was frequently called to take women to hospitals or doctors, which, because of his youth, was embarrassing for both Ali and the women. The role of intermediary altered traditional hierarchies and forced many gender taboos to be transgressed.

Despite his scholarship in English, he often had trouble communicating because he was unable to understand the Australian accent, particularly those of factory foremen and shop assistants. He explained,

> *I was so highly educated in Lebanon, but I couldn't understand the street accent* [in Australia]. *With my English I used to study Shakespeare. I had English literature books …. We wanted to rent another house because the one we were in was so crowded. I went to the agent – speak good English – but I couldn't understand the secretary's accent. The person who was translating for me – he didn't even go to school … but he picked up a street accent. I was so depressed. I said to my family 'I've got all this knowledge, school and all my years and I can't speak the everyday in the street.' I spoke to someone and they referred me to a special school that only teaches slang language* (LM1).

The growth of 'slang language' schools may well have emerged as a result of entrepreneurial activities within the Lebanese community (Armstrong,1993b), particularly because government migration policies eschewed responsibility for providing English classes to non-English speaking migrants (Murphy,1993). The issue of being isolated by language has clear links with the development of enclaves of similar language groups. This was true for the Greeks and is evident in the stories of everyday lives of the Lebanese. The phenomenon of isolation and displacement through the loss of one's language as a result of migration often results in the new language creating a new identity and the inevitable discomfort about how this new identity has bearing on 'self and family' (Kaplan,1994:59).

Ali's role included finding appropriate accommodation and helping the Lebanese, mostly from Tripoli, to settle into Marrickville. Their former cities, Tripoli and Beirut, were defined by long beaches, waterfront promenades and high-rise buildings. Most people lived in large spacious flats, surrounded by wide balconies. The ground floors consisted of small shops with laundries and other services located on first floors. Thus all flats were above street level. The urban form consisted of relatively continuous

high-rise, divided by wide boulevards and narrow streets in which were found outdoor markets or bazaars. A few formal parks were the only significant interruptions to the dense urban fabric. The city was surrounded by rural land with a backdrop of mountains. Beirut, and to some extent Tripoli, are highly sophisticated cities and have been the cross-roads of numerous cultures for centuries. Prior to the commencement of the civil war in 1975, they were renowned for their elegance and beautiful settings. So, unlike the Greek migrants in Marrickville, who had come from a range of places including rural or island villages as well as cities, the Lebanese in Marrickville were predominantly high-rise dwellers from one city.

PLATE 4.21

Art Deco flats were too small for Lebanese families. (A.P.1993).

At first Ali tried to find appropriate flats for his family but in Marrickville, both the 1930s Art Deco flats (Plate 4.21) and the 1960s home units were too small. He said,

> … *the problem we suffered when we first came is the small rooms in the houses, the flats – we were delighted to have flats, but then we were disappointed because the flats had only two bedrooms … so we have to live in the house. At that time it was so confined in there, you can't move and with the big families – big problem* (LM3).

The experience of living in a house was new, however this generated other problems as the housing stock in Marrickville consisted mostly of terraces or semi-detached houses, characterised by small rooms, narrow blocks of land with little room to expand. None of the group or their friends lived in terraces. As Hassan, who came to Marrickville as a youth of 15 and now is married with a family, explained,

> *I wouldn't buy* [a terrace] *because I plan to have a big family. Even if I am single or just married, I would buy something that can be made bigger –*

> *because – we have a big family – I get my father, my mother – things like that* (LM3).

Ali realised the appropriate housing for the Lebanese in Marrickville were the small single storey cottages (Plate 4.22). Most of this housing stock was built at the same time in a particular area of Marrickville and this is what determined where the Lebanese lived. Ali explained,

> *… when I moved from one house to another – at that time, houses built in 1910s, 1920s – Federation style- compact styles. They built small houses. Like they have open space outside, but not open space inside …while our buildings we would like to have as big as we could, because our families are bigger families … the house I lived in was so small and the first thing we do is break down the walls inside* (LM1).

In 1976, two years after Ali's arrival, the extended family arrived to live in the house Ali had organised in what was to become a strong Muslim Lebanese neighbourhood.

PLATE 4.22

Row of small cottages occupied by Lebanese families. (A.P.1994).

Creating an Enclave

Although Marrickville had some familiar qualities, because, by the 1970s, the Greeks had changed Marrickville shopping to reflect the needs of Mediterranean people, there were aspects of the Lebanese culture which were missing. Fred, who came out as ten year old boy, commented '[In Tripoli, there are] *cafés – lot of people playing cards and chess. When you come to Australia you don't find these things. You feel so strange and lonely. Where you spend your time?'* (LM1).

Similarly, unlike the 1950s migrant experience, by 1976 there were established Lebanese mosques, churches, shops and nightclubs in Redfern and Canterbury. So the

sequence of settling in was different. Most of the focus was on how to sustain the needs of large extended families within an inner Sydney suburb. The insights presented here include the migrant experience for young Lebanese, a perspective of high relevance because children far outnumbered adults.

The Lebanese enclave in Marrickville developed because they wanted members of the large extended family to be close to each other. Hassan, somewhat defensively, explained how the enclave developed.

> *Everybody prefers here* [pointing to a local area, the Warren]. *Like when we first came –somebody saw – a nice house to live in – to rent or buy … like say you bought here* [gestures to the others in the group]. *If I wanted to have a cup of coffee, I don't want to drive half an hour or walk to see you – you know, close, around each other, you know. Not because they want to - you know – not sort of mix with the Aussies or the Greeks or whatever.*
>
> *Like some of the people I know – some Aussies - they might think the Lebanese groups or Vietnamese groups or Greek groups, they live in the area because they want to lock themselves away from the Australian culture or the Australians* –[migrants] *they just want to stay together.*
>
> *The Aussies who think like that – they don't know what it is like … if I live here, it makes me feel more relaxed, more comfortable, if I see my sister not far from me. What is wrong with that? We have the family value – we want to keep it. There is nothing wrong with that?* (LM1).

This is an interesting insight into how the group experienced their enclave. There is no hint that they feel marginalised into a ghetto. Their attitude supports the work of Jupp (1992) where he contrasts Australian migrant enclaves, which are voluntary, with North American ghettos, which are sites of marginalisation. Hassan's explanation also supports Lechte and Bottomley's (1993) observations that the shift in status of the migrant by the 1970s subverts earlier notions of the Anglo-insider and the non-Anglo-outsider, a position also taken up by Hage in his discussion of *White Nation* (1998).

Houses and parks were important aspects of the Lebanese enclave. As soon as they settled into their houses, this group altered kitchens to accommodate their form of cooking and removed interior walls to create large family spaces. As Hassan and Ali explained,

> … [we] *bought houses – very small particularly the kitchens – changed the interior of the houses – the fire place – didn't like – get rid – make open space – demolish walls to make one big room – always change the kitchen. Lebanese have big families – like to eat at home – need big room – big families eat together* (LM2).

Although many did not alter the exterior of houses, when it was necessary to repaint them, they selected bright colours. They commented that bright colours distinguished their houses from the drab monotone of Marrickville streets. Ali explained,

> *… this is one thing – the Australians hated us for it. We always went for bright colours. The Australians went for beige, yellow or white – we loved to have the different colours. Australians say "this is a Wog house". Why is that? because of the colour. White, beige, green, we like on the inside, but not on the outside – the exterior, we like to have in lovely colours.*

Ali continued, warming to the subject,

> *… all the streets, they look the same – there is nothing to distinguish – there is nothing that can tell- it is different in our culture. One man* [Ali laughs] *got lost –rang up- " I am in the red box". There is nothing to distinguish. Are any houses different? No No. They are all the same colour. Don't have telephone boxes in Lebanon. First thing you try to look for is something different – but everything is the same* (LM2).

They were disappointed by the lack of large apartments, as Oumima, one of the youngest, explained '*When I moved downstairs* [living in Australian houses], *I used to cry everyday " I want to go back to Lebanon. I want to go back upstairs*"(LM2). Hirsch (1994:72) in her essay, 'Pictures of a Displaced Girlhood', describes how she cried all the way from her homeland to the new country and her sense of despair at the loss of her childhood places.

In contrast, they were delighted by the numerous small parks close to the housing. Inaam, now a young mother, explained,

> *… what I liked when I came here were the parks – like in Lebanon you can't afford to leave that blank space in the city for a park, because the population is so high. But when we first came here* [she was 11], *that was the first thing we really enjoyed* (LM3).

The parks (Plate 4.23) were an essential part of large families adjusting to living in small houses. In Tripoli, the children played on the wide balconies outside their apartments. Ali explained,

> *The problem … in the houses – it is so confined. … From a parent's point of view, they were so relieved to have so many little parks – every ten or fifteen streets, there is a little park at the back or somewhere, you know…. We found it different from our country, in that there are parks so close to your house* (LM3).

PLATE 4.23

Small park near flats and house in Marrickville. (A.P.1994).

Shopping and finding familiar food was another facet of the phenomenon of making an enclave. Again, because of earlier post-war Lebanese migrants, Lebanese shops and restaurants were already established in nearby Redfern and Canterbury, but not in Marrickville. In trying to make Marrickville feel more familiar, the Lebanese tended to take over small corner-shops within residential districts. Fred described a typical Lebanese corner-shop in Marrickville '*There was one Lebanese shop … feel like home – can have a falafel sandwich. He's got the LP records, the cassettes – still can find songs from home. He's got Lebanese ice-cream'* (LM2). It is interesting that he added *'Now it's Vietnamese*.' This is further evidence of the continuous change of occupancy while retaining the same use from one migrant group to the next. Plate 4.24 shows a typical Lebanese corner shop in Marrickville.

PLATE 4.24

Characteristic corner shop in Marrickville,
often taken over by the Lebanese. (A.P.1994).

Places of work for the Lebanese were less integrated into their enclaves than the Greek group who lived near Marrickville factories. Lebanese who came out in the mid-1970s encountered a climate of unemployment due to a recession. Although Ali had obtained factory work, many Lebanese bought fish shops or small delicatessens. Others went into the building industry as brick-layers and stone-masons. Lebanese were also employed by railway services. The unemployment situation was compounded in Marrickville because by the late 1970s, factories, which had employed so many migrants in the 1950s-60s, were closing down. Finding work was not a pressing concern for young adolescents, so it does not come through in group discussions about early everyday life as migrants.

Sustaining Cultural Life

For the Lebanese, the phenomenon of sustaining cultural life included finding places for spiritual worship as well as places for recreation that could accommodate their large families. In terms of sustaining spiritual worship, distinctive religious communities have emerged in different areas of Sydney. Parramatta is predominantly Maronite, Arncliffe, Shi'ite, whereas Canterbury, Bankstown and Punchbowl are religiously mixed groups. Various Maronite churches were established for the Lebanese Christians in Sydney but not in Marrickville. Similarly the mosques were in other municipalities, the Sun'ni Mosque in Canterbury, the Imam Ali Mosque in Lakemba and the Shi'ite mosque, Al-Zahra in Arncliffe. Churches and mosques are considered to be most significant to the community (Batrouney,1985).

Places for recreation included daytime family gatherings and evening entertainment evocative of life in the Middle East. The Lebanese in Sydney traditionally attended large picnics on Sundays. Early Lebanese travelled in convoys of cars to Royal National Park, south of Sydney or larger parks in the south west of Sydney. Ali describes the significance of Sunday picnics, '[the Lebanese before] *1973 – every Sunday – go to Captain Cook or National Park – 5 or 6 cars. In 1974, we did not have enough income, therefore no cars. Sunday go to the park – walk to Enmore Park or Steele Park* [local large parks in Marrickville] (LM2).

Many migrants in the 1970s took advantage of the new government policies and funding for multiculturalism by incorporating folkloric activities into their recreation. In Marrickville, this included a Lebanese 'hut' in the Addison Road Complex (Plate

4.25). In this complex different cultural groups were allocated former army huts where they could undertake folkloric activities. As Hassan explained '*the huts would be some* [heritage] *place because we did go there when we had carnivals, multicultural activities*' (LM3). Another Lebanese centre, where Islamic culture is taught to young Australian-born Lebanese, was established by the Lebanese community at 44 Carrington Road, in Marrickville (Plate 4.26).

PLATE 4.25
Addison Road Complex (1994).

PLATE 4.26
Lebanese Centre, Marrickville (A.P.1994).

Evening leisure included enjoying Lebanese restaurants and traditional Lebanese nightclubs which had been established by earlier waves of Lebanese migrants in Redfern and continue to exist in these locations.

To summarise, the material evidence that revealed the Lebanese process of settling into Marrickville related to their particular ways of life associated with large extended families and their use of parks and pools. The material expressions of Lebanese culture related to food, spiritual worship and certain forms of leisure were located in areas of Sydney with an older Lebanese presence.

Emerging Place Values in the New Country

This theme is complex as it reveals the way the group valued the Australian way of life as much as they valued particular places. Phenomenologically, a number of insights about the sense of allegiance this group had with Australia emerged, contrasting quite strongly with feelings of alienation expressed by the Greek group. Physical evidence of valued places was also relatively subtle compared with many Mediterranean and Asian

migrant groups. Broader conceptual phenomena associated with this theme are 'valuing the Australian built heritage', 'frontierism', 'egalitarianism' and 'pragmatism'.

TABLE 4.13

Emerging Place Values in the New Country: phenomena and places

Phenomena	*Places telling the story*
Valuing Australian built heritage.	Circular Quay, Federation houses.
Frontierism.	Everyday life in Marrickville.
Egalitarianism.	Everyday life in Marrickville.
Pragmatism.	Lewisham Hospital.

Valuing Australian Built Heritage

Lechte & Bottomley's (1993:32) observations about the collage/montage effect of the 'incessant inter-weaving of cultural practice' found in migrant communities is evident here in ways in which Australian places have value not only for their Australianness but also for the Lebanese family experiences associated with them. The group spoke warmly about the 'old city' around Circular Quay. Sam reflected that '*George Street, City – old city … when we stop* [arrive] *here, we see 'this is Australia'. But now it is very much like New York and other countries*' (LM3). Others spoke of how much they liked the Federation detailing in houses in their area. It is interesting that, like the Greek group, when asked about what they would like to be conserved, this group also spoke about the older Australian built fabric. It could be that as part of the successful migrant experience one absorbs a form of cultural identification with the host country. Neither the Greek group nor the Lebanese group arrived with any fore-knowledge of places they now valued. In the both cases they were initially disappointed in what they found in Australia. As Hassan explained

> *I said I was disappointed* [on arrival] *which is true. Because I coming to an industrial country, I am going to see Manhattan or something. But now I find I am glad we didn't go to Manhattan and came to Sydney. Like now … I realise … because I like the idea of an Aussie dream – you know, like an old house with a driveway. Like now there is a lot of things that Australians value that I do now too – now that I understand* (LM3).

Hassan had clearly taken on the imagined communities of Australia. Ali confirmed this shift in identification with Australian heritage values stating,

> *I would still like to see those old houses. The reason is when I first came to Australia, which then I started to realise – uh uh – this is a different country. I started to like it later on. Even though it is a house* [not a flat]. *It is something private, you know* (LM3).

The group indicated the extent to which they valued these places when they were confronted with the knowledge that many had been demolished. Zawat remarked '*I feel bad* [if older houses are demolished] *because you don't have anywhere to remind you of older Australia.*' Zawat's reflective observation is meaningful but the following spontaneous conversation is a clear indication of their values. Sam reminisced with the group,

> *… one of the very good things I remember in my life, he took me to Circular Quay and there was this fish and chip shop there* [former 'Sorrento'] – *Oh my God, this is a very, very important place for Australian tradition!*
> *Yes, I fought to save that.* (Convenor).
> *It is gone!!* (Sam).
> *Yes. They have redeveloped around the Quay. Now it is a Duty Free shop.* (Convenor).
> *Oh! No!* (The group).
> *These are the things we are losing.* (Convenor).
> *Yes. You are upset it is gone. We've got something in common – you know- I'm upset that it's gone – we've all got something in common.* (Hassan)
> *Even my son now, if he hears that he will be very disappointed. You know why? We used to go, when I take them to the Quay… the first thing they have on their minds … Ah, fish and chips at that shop, from <u>that</u> shop!* (Ali). (LM3).

Phenomenologically, it is the phenomena related to humble everyday aspects of life as lived (Lefebvre,1991), which are not revealed in orthodox heritage studies. Yet such humble places have intense meaning for communities. As well migrant conversations indicate their recognition of mutual place-values between themselves and the mainstream Australian community. Interestingly, the place-values associated with a Lebanese presence in Marrickville seemed to be less important to this group. This may be associated with their age at migration. Their evolving adult values would inevitably be cross-cultural.

Frontierism

The phenomenon of frontierism is evident in the way the Lebanese see themselves as pioneers. Unlike the Greek group who saw their frontierism as helping Australians build a new country, the Lebanese men in this group see frontierism as mutual Australian–Lebanese willingness to work and the experiences they have shared. Sam

stated '*It is the Aegean tradition to work.*' He expanded on links between Australians and the Lebanese.

> *We are the fighters* [pioneers]. *We fought the environment, we fought the bad circumstances. We passed the bad time, the Depression, together. We fought together against the Russians. Australians are like a* [our] *family. But it is not the petit bourgeois family. It is the really hard working family – and that is why you* [Australians] *eat – it is not the chic one* – [instead] … *meat pie, sausage roll, fish and chips, simple things…. To me this is respectful of human beings. You don't spend a lot of time on lies – you go straight, no pretence* (LM3).

The identification with a certain kind of Australianness, is evident in place values as giving importance to the relatively humble aspects of Australian urban life.

Egalitarianism

The phenomenon of egalitarianism is closely related to the phenomenon of frontierism. Group discussions revealed a form of synthesis between Lebanese cultural values and what are perceived to be Australian cultural values. This relates to subtle aspects of how this group values where they live and how they live. It is interesting to contrast this group's value for the simple Australian life with those of the Greek group who valued the emerging cosmopolitanism in Marrickville. Because of the focus on family life, fulfilled by large extended families living in close proximity and the growing acceptance of cultural pluralism in mainstream Australian culture in the mid 1970s, a certain synthesis of values seems to have occurred. This is evident in a particular discussion about Australian cultural traditions and their similarities with Lebanese cultural traditions. Sam initiated the discussion,

> [Australians] *have no values* [class system] - *fixed values. … For example any Mediterranean teacher – I am a teacher – has petit bourgeois – don't feel humble … Like when I came to Australia*, [in his country] *not good to be a teacher and to carry things in your hand – shopping – especially the female teacher. When you get to Australia, you think "Oh, my God, - Is this the judge I saw* [shopping], *is this the solicitor, is this the professor?" This really I was shocked to see. The Mayor of Marrickville-painting! My God! Look at this!* (LM3).

Oumima added with equal incredulity '*Can you imagine a Mayor painting? By himself!*' Sam continued to reflect on this aspect of Australian life and how it related to the Lebanese.

> *Actually, it is our Aegean tradition to work. But when the French came to our country, they educated us badly. They put* [introduced] *the word*[s]

> *'petit bourgeois' – status. Australians don't do this. I am very proud to have this tradition* [Australian] *adding to my tradition* (LM3).

Pragmatism

Although evidence of increased identification with Australian culture and an interest in Australian built heritage emerged as phenomena. The phenomenon of pragmatism, in discussions about what should be conserved, emerged as the stronger value. Sam explained '*If we are to keep our heritage, then houses ... if you look at the needs of the people – when you are forced to choose between housing and fifty families ... you must sacrifice*' (LM3). Nevertheless, there was not consensus about pragmatism in discussions about the loss of Lewisham Hospital (Plate 4.27); an event which had aroused much community concern about heritage. Sam commented that the old building was inadequate ' *I am not talking about the building, I am talking about the service. We need the service to be there.'* Hassan, however, felt differently. He argued,

> *It* [the hospital] *did affect our lives. I am upset myself* [at the loss of the hospital] *because they let it deteriorate. Had they kept it up, you know, every year spend a little bit of money … Why didn't they keep it going, you know, looking after it and, you know, leave it there? It is heritage, you know, because a lot of people went there. A lot of people seen it there. Like you can say to your children "This is part of their* [your] *heritage*."(LM3).

PLATE 4.27

Lewisham Hospital, erected in 1889,

Valued by Greek and Lebanese community. (A.P.1994).

The apparent lack of interest in conservation of the physical evidence of migrant history in Australia by migrant groups themselves, indicated by both the Greek and Lebanese groups, highlights potential conflicts over values, where members of the mainstream

community see evidence of other cultures as important aspects of Australian heritage. As Sue McHattie, a community arts worker in Marrickville pointed out,

> *…one thing that interests me is who gets to nominate migrant heritage places? As someone who has the cultural background that I have [Anglo-Celt arts worker]. I can nominate something from the Greek community in Newtown as a significant site for me. …Whereas a member of the Greek community may come along and say "That is trash. Get rid of it". But it may have value to me for my perceptions of Greekness. (Armstrong,1993b:46)*

Contested values about migrant heritage places can be anticipated. This includes not only the exoticizing of the 'other' but also fears related to constraints on property development.

The values which have emerged from discussions with the Lebanese group are associated as much with their time of migration as with their particular Lebanese culture. It is therefore important to look at a migrant group who came to Marrickville more recently, the Vietnamese. This group has a strong physical presence as part of the character of Marrickville, but like the Lebanese, the physical evidence of their presence is not discussed in the heritage study.

1980s -The Vietnamese

Before 1975 there were few Vietnamese residents in Australia, most being students who undertook studies and then returned to Vietnam. The Vietnamese community in Australia today consists of two main groups; those refugees who came between 1975 and 1985, the first arriving soon after the fall of Saigon, and those who have come since the 1990s as immigrants from the northern part of Vietnam. Each of these groups defines itself as a separate community.

The first group do not see themselves as migrants, instead they consider that they are refugees in exile. There is a difference between the migrant experience and the refugee experience (Jupp,1994). Refugee experiences carry the shame of defeat as well as loss of homeland and its associated enforced displacement. Inevitably these experiences impact the way communities settle in Australia. Vietnamese men see a strong part of their heritage as their warrior culture, so to be in another country as a result of defeat in war is to be in a state of exile.

The Background to the Vietnamese Community in Australia

Because the phenomenon of migration is new to the Vietnamese, I have provided a short overview of the history of the different influences on Vietnamese culture to assist in understanding the nature of Vietnamese place-making outside Vietnam.

Vietnamese history has been one of continual resistance to invasion by the Chinese and internal battles between war-lords. For over 1000 years Vietnam was under Chinese protectorate rule resulting in the integration of many aspects of Chinese culture into Vietnamese society including Confucianism, the prevailing form of spiritual worship. In contrast to the harmony created by such spiritualism the period was also marked by guerrilla resistance. Continuous resistance to outside invasion and constant internal feudal wars established a strong warrior culture (Tran,1994; Viviani,1984).

Western contact began in the 17th century when different European groups sought to establish the highly lucrative spice trade. Exchanges between East and West and the long heritage of spices are evident in much of Vietnamese culture today, particularly in poetry and gardening. This heritage was brought to Australia.

Equally pervasive in Vietnamese culture is the impact of 19th century French occupation. This led to the collapse of the traditional Vietnamese society, in particular the Confucian mandarinate. Instead a new French-educated elite developed and Vietnamese culture today still contains strong French influences.

Communism began in Vietnam in the 1930s and continued as a marginal movement until the French were defeated in 1954. At this time the fate of the Vietnamese who ultimately came to Australia was sealed when the Geneva Peace Treaty divided the nation into north and south along the 17th Parallel. Inevitably this peace was short lived and by 1956 the Vietnam War involving America and Australia started. By 1975, the North Vietnamese defeated the South. As a result Vietnam became unified under the communist regime. Those who had served in the South Vietnamese government and armed forces were interned in Re-education Centres and a massive exodus began (Thayer,1988; Tran,1994).

Thus Vietnamese culture can be seen as a close inter-weaving of ancient agricultural practices, spiritual worship and the secret sub-culture of guerrilla resistance; each reflected in the other.

Refugees to Australia

The fall of Saigon marked the first wave of Vietnamese refugees to Australia. This was followed by further waves in 1978,1979 and 1982. Refugees were people who were most affected by communist government policies. They included elite North Vietnamese who had been residing in the South, as well as elite South Vietnamese, Catholics and the Chinese.

People who fled during this period were known as 'boat people'. They were shipped under contract in small ocean-going vessels or in small private boats, landing in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Thailand where they were interned in temporary refugee camps. Australia became the major receiving country for Vietnamese refugees, accepting the greatest number of refugees per head of population in the world (Kelly,1988:833; Lewins & Ly,1985; Viviani,1984).

Refugees arriving in Sydney were taken to migrant centres where they resided for a short time before settling in nearby suburbs. Many of the first intake were former army personnel, administrators, professionals and business people. By the early 1990s, with the arrival of North Vietnamese migrants, the South Vietnamese moved from their original settlement areas to other locations in Sydney. North Vietnamese settled in the areas vacated by the South Vietnamese (Castles,1994, Tran,1994). The presence of the Vietnamese in Marrickville began in the late 1970s and continues to the present, despite the growth of the major Vietnamese centre, Cabramatta, in Western Sydney (Burnley,1996).

Cross-cultural Methodological Variation

Whether it was the result of being in exile, the rawness of the community in Australia or a facet of Vietnamese culture, despite protracted contact with community leaders, the Vietnamese discussion group for this project consisted of only three members.

Typical of communities in exile, those most likely to be subject to reprisals in defeat, generals, army personnel and professionals were the first to be evacuated. It would appear that these power structures were then transferred to the host country, particularly in the interface between the refugee community and officials of the host country. In this case the 'gatekeepers' making up the discussion group were a Sorbonne University-educated Vietnamese police liaison officer, Loc, a welfare officer, Lam, and a

community welfare worker, Lan. In this role they maintained two postures, namely blocking any further contact with the community while concurrently maintaining that they could not speak for the community. Loc stated '*We have no authority to call them in for that* [this research project].' Lam agreed saying '*I can encourage my people to respond to your request* [but] *It would be very hard to contact people to have a discussion like that* [similar to the Greek and Lebanese discussions]' (VM1). As well they maintained that there were cultural reasons why the discussions I proposed could not occur with Vietnamese people. Loc explained

> *… even if I invite people who have knowledge and things like that, they wouldn't come, because the Vietnamese psyche is very strange … they don't want to talk. They think to give your opinion or discussion is rudeness … so they do it through writing. Because confronting is something Vietnamese people try to avoid at all costs. You say something, they smile even though they disagree ….They smile because they don't want to say "no", but when they turn around – there is nothing* (VM1).

The others agreed laughing which encouraged Loc to expand, '*so the thing they want – to do it in private. Right? They don't want to do it in public. They can give their opinion in writing* (VM1). Lam and Lan agreed. The reticence to engage in open discussion is borne out by numerous articles about the Vietnamese in Australia which point out that Confucian ethics require respect for authorities (Tiep, Hein, & Huong,1994; Integration,1995).

Despite these comments, discussions with the three 'gatekeepers' provided important insights. Comments, however, tended to remain in the third person objectifying and essentialising the Vietnamese community. This is in strong contrast to the immediacy of the Greek and Lebanese subjective descriptions. Thus because of the anomalous structure of the group, I augmented the data with one-to-one interviews with two Vietnamese migrants, one an early military refugee and one a recent migrant. Analyses of transcripts of discussions and interviews resulted in five broad themes associated with place-making by the Vietnamese; 'being Vietnamese', 'being in exile', 'pioneering a Vietnamese presence in Australia', 'keeping the community together', and 'Vietnamese heritage places in Marrickville'. Table 4.14 summarises the themes and phenomena.

TABLE 4.1

Summary of Vietnamese Themes of Migrant Experience and Related Phenomena

THEMES	PHENOMENA
BEING VIETNAMESE	Being spiritual people. VIETNAMESE WARRIOR INHERITANCE.
BEING IN EXILE	Fleeing the home country. Selecting Australia. REMAINING SEPARATE.
PIONEERING THE VIETNAMESE PRESENCE IN AUSTRALIA	Pragmatism of exile. Locating first communities. CREATING COMMUNITY.
KEEPING COMMUNITY TOGETHER	GROWTH OF ORGANISATIONS. ACCOMMODATING UNIFICATION. CELEBRATING VIETNAMESE EVENTS.
MARRICKVILLE AS A VIETNAMESE PLACE	SITE OF TRANSITION. HERITAGE AS CULTURE RATHER THAN PLACE.

Being Vietnamese

The importance of understanding Vietnamese culture, particularly its origins in inter-weaving ancient agricultural practices with spiritual worship and centuries of guerrilla resistance, provides insights into the nature of the Vietnamese community in Australia. A consistent aspect of this theme in group discussions was that Australians find it difficult to comprehend Vietnamese culture. Castles (1993:52), an expert in Australian multiculturalism, suggests that ethnicity and community formation are products of 'the interaction of self-definition and other-definition' where self-definition is based on ethnic identity and cultural maintenance. Discussions indicated there is strong focus on self-definition and cultural maintenance for the Vietnamese in Sydney. This was evident in consistent statements of single-minded essentialism (bhabha,1990). To be Vietnamese was to sustain actively the position of 'other' in Australia thus ensuring the state of exile. Discussions about the Vietnamese commitment to spiritual life indicated that they were seen as private and separate people in the wider community. Equally the Vietnamese were proud of their warrior traditions and their fierce commitment to their

country. Because of this, until 1976, migration and marginality had not been part of the Vietnamese experience evident in the seeming disinterest in mainstream Australian life. Phenomena associated with this theme are 'being spiritual people' and the 'Vietnamese warrior inheritance'.

TABLE 4.14

Being Vietnamese: phenomena and places

Phenomena	Places telling the story
Being spiritual people	Gardens & shrines in houses
Vietnamese warrior inheritance	Sites of community networks

Being Spiritual People

'Being spiritual people' was evident in discussions about the role of Vietnamese poetry where the landscape of the homeland is a vehicle for spirituality and ancient traditions. The group explained that their spirituality comes from three forms of worship; Buddhism contributing the practice of meditation and compassion, Confucianism contributing the concept of ethics with the family as the core of social relationships overlain with strict obedience to social hierarchies, and Taoism contributing metaphysical understanding about the duality of nature. Over centuries, these religions have become fused into a vague code of ethics and philosophy of life. More recently Caodaism, an eclectic religious movement, incorporated most of the main belief systems in Vietnam. Their faith can be seen as a typically Vietnamese quest for harmony (Lewins & Ly,1985; Kelly,1988; tran,1994; Viviani,1985). Loc explained,

> [for] *the Vietnamese people*, [their] *culture is very much influenced by Confucianism and every man and woman have to follow the five essential virtues … humanity, righteousness, urbanity, wisdom* [and] *trustworthiness* (VM1).

Later loc explained how spiritual life is expressed as harmony with nature.

> *According to Taoism, men should live in harmony with nature. So Vietnamese people, when possible – of course in big city have to live in high rise building … but anywhere possible people tend to live with nature* (VM2).

Not all refugees were Buddhist, numerous Vietnamese in Australia are practicing Catholics resulting from the long occupation by the French. The places which reflect Vietnamese spirituality include existing catholic churches and private flats and houses containing small shrines for families worship (Watson & McGillivray,1994:211). Other places include small offices which publish numerous Vietnamese newspapers and newsletters containing poetry about symbolic attachments to the landscape of Vietnam.

Vietnamese Warrior Inheritance

The phenomenon of deep respect for the Vietnamese warrior culture emerged in different ways. It became immediately evident in early discussions about heritage places. Loc heatedly explained

> *…in our Vietnamese heritage…*[it] *is somewhere you have to fight for – to die for is heritage. We can't say the first Vietnamese came here and lived in no. 5 Marrickville Street! That is heritage? That is nonsense to us!*

Lan giggled nervously, but Loc continued

> *It is nonsense. Because don't forget we are warrior people. OK? We've been fighting – so war and the reasons why we never left Vietnam in the war is because our heritage was there. It is not in Australia or America. That is what we have spilt blood for and that is real* (VM1).

Warrior culture is also evident in that despite long periods of war, there has never been a culture of migration with people leaving for a 'peaceful and economically better life in a foreign country' (tran,1994:x). The concept of a warrior culture and that the fact that until now, Vietnamese have never been migrants, brings out issues related to 'fatherland' and 'exile'. Hage (1993:93) suggests that subjects of fatherland are not 'bodily subjects', but rather 'subjects of fatherland are subjects of pure commitment' and as such are abstracted from their bodies, in other words their commitment to the nation is such that they can die for it. This would explain the consistent intensity in Loc's statements about Vietnamese heritage in Australia being 'a nonsense'. Vietnamese civil war experiences are also different from Lebanese experiences. Humprey (1993:105), in his analysis of modern civil wars, suggests that these occur when peaceful nation-states have been subject to something abnormal, whereas it would appear from Vietnamese history that war was not an abnormal phenomenon but a continuation of the warrior culture over many centuries.

Places which reflect this warrior culture in Australia are sites of community networks. This will become evident in subsequent themes. Other aspects of warrior culture contribute to the themes, 'being in exile' and 'keeping the community together'.

Being in Exile

The fact that the Vietnamese are relatively recent members of the Marrickville community heightens the distinction between being a migrant by choice or a refugee in exile. The Greek and Lebanese migrants, although similarly leaving civil wars, elected to be migrants and create new lives in Australia. They came from a culture of migration and there were small existing Greek and Lebanese communities already in Australia. For the Vietnamese, a non-migrant culture, people fled in boats often resulting in members of their family being separated. They were then incarcerated in refugee camps before being relocated to Australia. Thus phenomena that encapsulate this theme are 'fleeing the home country', 'selecting Australia as a temporary destination' and 'remaining separate from the mainstream Australian community'.

TABLE 4.15.

Being in Exile: phenomena and places

Phenomena	Places telling the story
Fleeing the home country.	Gathering places to share stories.
Selecting Australia.	The hostels. RSL clubs.
Remaining separate.	Marrickville Library.

Fleeing the Home Country

The trauma of being a refugee is carried to the host country. In the case of the Vietnamese in Australia, the community profile reflects particular conditions for former South Vietnamese after the war. The reasons for the first 'boat people' were the withdrawal of the heavy American presence, its devastating affect on the South Vietnamese economy, the ideological change from democratic capitalism to socialist communism, and the inevitable reprisals for those who had high-profile positions in the south. Early refugees were predominantly senior army personnel and educated professionals, soon becoming key community leaders in Australia (Kelly,1988; Mellor

& Ricketson,1991; Viviani,1985). Subsequent boat people were predominantly Chinese and a mixed profile of Vietnamese. Loc explained,

> *…the government in Vietnam wanted all the Chinese to leave… They said "OK, if you're Chinese, we will let you go by boat. You can put your money together and then you go and we won't create any difficulties or anything." So the Vietnamese [also] took the opportunity, as security became a bit more lax during these two years. … all the Vietnamese took the opportunity to buy boats and go* (VM2).

The Chinese were encouraged to go, however for the Vietnamese, the process of departure was fraught with danger. A former officer in the republic army, Quynh Duc, came to Sydney in 1980 as a refugee. Fearing reprisal after the fall of Saigon, he and his family fled in a fishing boat he had been secretly modifying. As they prepared to depart, they were surprised by coastal guards and in the ensuing melee one of his daughters was left behind. They escaped and despite being attacked by Thai pirates, made the treacherous journey across the waters to Malaysia where they were placed in a camp. (interview.10/7/96)

Lan described her journey which took seven days from Saigon to a camp in Malaysia.

> *Yes, it was a horrific experience because my boat, it had been attacked seven times all together; by the Thai pirates six times and by the Vietnamese communists one time. Because the police, they also attacked. … one hundred and seventeen on that small boat* (VM2).

Lam, as a senior member of the army, took a group of people by boat sparing his wife and young family the dangerous journey until he was able to bring them out. His story is typical of many of the early group of 'boat people' in that, having arrived in Australia, he then heard

> *…my first daughter tried to escape from Vietnam to Malaysia but unfortunately she was shot to death by the Vietnamese communist police. …My wife was in jail many times because she tried to escape- and well –* [she] *was very anxious to see me and be united with the family* (VM2).

The places which bear witness to the impact of these horrors in Marrickville are the numerous welfare and support organisations formed by the Vietnamese community. Most are now located in Bankstown and Cabramatta, but some early meeting places in Marrickville still maintain their function, such as the Herbert Greedy Hall where senior Vietnamese meet and practice tai-chi (smh, 27/3/93:7) and the May Murray Centre (plate 4.28) which was the first organisation in Marrickville to establish services for the Vietnamese community (Marrickville community profile,1994:187).

PLATE 4.28.

The May Murray Community Centre
providing community services for the Vietnamese
in Marrickville. (A.P.1995).

Selecting Australia as a Destination

The second phenomenon, selecting Australia as the destination, relates directly to these experiences. The Vietnamese wanted to stay in Australia because of its proximity to Vietnam so that people could reunite their families. Loc explained that early boat people were predominantly men, because,

> *…after two years of terrible experiences with the pirates, most of the people to leave Vietnam are men. They didn't want to risk their sister or wife. So after 1981-83 - have to sponsor their wife to come here* (VM2).

Lam later confirmed this in his explanation of why he selected Australia as his destination. As an officer in the army, he had contacts with senior us generals who offered him residency in United States. He explained,

> *…the American delegation, they asked me to go to the US… but I refused because I like to go to Australia and they asked me why. "You are a soldier of the republic of Vietnam, why don't you like to go to the US?" At that time I thought if I am in Australia, it will be easier to sponsor my wife and children who are still in Vietnam* (VM2).

PLATE 4.29.

Marrickville R.S.L. where Australian ex-service personnel
host functions for Vietnamese migrants. (A.P.1995).

Thus Australia was less a destination than a temporary location while repairing the damage of defeat and exile. Places which tell this story are the hostels and interestingly, Marrickville returned service league club (plate 4.29) where ex-servicemen and Vietnamese from the south met to share their war experiences.

Remaining Separate

The third phenomenon associated with being in exile is the desire for Vietnamese people to remain separate from mainstream Australia. Loc struggled in his explanation of what this meant,

> *… we are forced by circumstances to leave our fatherland to live somewhere else. Once you are there – a lot of people talking about – I mean- a lot of people from the wider community [Australians] talking about integration and things like that. I say it is impossible! You are not racist, but we consider ourselves as separate. It is different … I never said you are racist, but the thing is we want to be separated. Without being separated, we have no identity anymore* (VM1).

This is far from the enforced assimilation policies experienced by the Greek group. It is clear from Loc's words that by the 1980s, there had been a shift in power relations between migrants and the mainstream Australian community. The Vietnamese felt free to decide whether they would become part of the mainstream culture.

Essentialism involved in maintaining a state of exile requires the community to resist the montage/collage phenomenon in culturally pluralist places described by Lechte &

Bottomley (1993). Rapid growth of Vietnamese organisations and their high level of community involvement are further examples of Castles' (1993) notion of sustaining an ethnic self-definition. The assertiveness of the Vietnamese community in Sydney supports Bhabha's discussion of the paradox of modern 'nation-space' where the desire to represent the nation as one people intersects with 'a contentious internal liminality that provides space for the minority, the exilic, the marginal, and the emergent' (1990:300). Another paradox is that the desire to remain separate inevitably results in strong evidence of place-making, and yet any form of place attachment is denied. According to Low's typology of place attachment, there is reticence to acknowledge attachment to Australia because for the Vietnamese, attachment is 'linkage through loss of land' (Low,1992:169). Thus instead of local places, it is Marrickville Library (plate 4.30) where the cultural production of Vietnam is readily available, which is valued because it enables continued connection with the former country.

PLATE 4.30

Marrickville Library housing a collection of Greek and Vietnamese books. (A.P.1995).

Pioneering the Vietnamese Presence in Australia

This theme is strongly related to Vietnamese place-making. Phenomena in this theme are 'the pragmatism of exile', 'locating the first communities', and 'creating community'.

Table 4.16.

Pioneering Vietnamese presence in Australia: phenomena and places

Phenomena	Places telling the story
Pragmatism of exile	Carrying culture within, private homes with shrines.
Locating first communities	Hostels, Vietnamese precincts,

Creating community	Housing Commission dwellings. Houses & shrines, 1st food shops, jewellery shops, Places for worship.

Pragmatism of Exile

The group explained that certain aspects of Vietnamese spiritualism reflect the particular crisis for the Vietnamese as they try to settle in the new country. Loc spoke personally,

> *I believe that when you die your soul is still alive and then your soul goes to another life – but before going to be reborn, someone … gave you a soup called the 'forgetting soup'. You drink it and you forget completely about your past life, so you can live this life without anything from your past haunting you … but people* [the exiles in Australia] *have been forced to make the transition without drinking the potion* (VM1).

Poetry and literature are considered essential aspects of culture that individual Vietnamese carry within themselves to the new country. Loc referred to the writings of Nhu–Nguyen Duong, a refugee now living in United States, who writes of how her childhood memory of the fragrance of the cinnamon tree is deeply embedded in her subconscious. She writes of her state of exile in United States as

> *The fragrance of cinnamon is bittersweet, both subtle and provoking; the fragrance of cinnamon travels somewhere between my consciousness and sub consciousness, links [my] past and present, yet exists only in that 'previous life' of [mine]…(* Duong, 1990:26)
>
> *I simply want to transform into a small fish to cross the waves, searching for the fragrance I have long missed.* (Duong, 1990:31)

The issue of having to forget in order to settle is in conflict with those Vietnamese in Australia who desire to stay in close contact with what is happening in Vietnam. As a result Vietnamese carried their culture within themselves, worshipping at shrines within their homes and keeping to themselves. The apparent disinterest in the host community and a desire to remain separate is evident as pragmatism towards the host country. This directly relates the phenomenon of locating first communities.

Locating First Communities

Because the Vietnamese had no former association with Australia, they formed their first communities close to the location of particular hostels; in Sydney, Westbridge, Villawood, East Hills and Maroubra (Wilson,1990). Those who were in the Endeavour

Hostel at Maroubra tended to find accommodation in Marrickville. The men of the group, Loc and Lam, suggested that Vietnamese chose Marrickville because it was close to the city and there appeared to be plenty of work. Lam explained

> … *most of the people were in the Endeavour Hostel* [Maroubra]. *They moved to Marrickville and surrounding area. The reason why? Because they think Marrickville is close to the city.*

Lan who stayed in the Endeavour Hostel for six months corrected him. She said,

> *No, first they moved to Newtown, because* [at that time] *the Department of Youth and Community Services provided them with furniture. So that is why they moved to Newtown a lot* (VM2).

Whether they were initially in the suburbs of Newtown or Marrickville, the census data for the municipality shows that the Vietnamese had a high statistical presence. In 1986 when the mhs was undertaken, they were 15.4% of the overseas born population within the municipality, falling to 9.5% by 1991 (census data,1991). It would appear that Marrickville was the first Vietnamese location, rapidly followed by Cabramatta.

The Vietnamese presence in Cabramatta developed because many refugees were housed in hostels in Villawood, Westbridge and East Hills, all in the outer south-west of Sydney (Burnley,1996; Wilson,1990). Loc explains '*most people went from Villawood hostel to Cabramatta because at that time Cabramatta was dead – very cheap – the rent.'* Lam agreed '*cheaper than Marrickville, the rent.*' Loc expanded '…*Cabramatta was really cheap because it was dead suburbia. I mean it was dead – way out and dead!'* (vm2).

Creating Communities

The third phenomenon in this theme involved creating communities. This implies some acceptance of the exiled state and possibilities for some translocated qualities of 'motherland', that is, a place imagined as a 'habitual space where our need for security, peace, and plenitude are fulfilled' (Hage,1993:85). This is in strong contrast to the non-bodily nature of 'fatherland' adding further dimensions to the paradox of Vietnamese place-making in Australia.

At first many Vietnamese moved out of hostels into Housing Commission flats or houses, flats being available in Marrickville and houses in Cabramatta. These formed temporary habitual space, within which were small shrines in living rooms for spiritual worship. Loc explained

> *You can go to her place, to his place to my place and you can see a shrine in our house … I mean, maybe not as in Vietnam … Here* [in Australia] *can have on top of a bookcase - thing like that … so we don't have a big place. We have at my place, his place and her place and this is practice – you see?* (VM2).

Despite the temporary nature of dwelling in exile, those living in houses rapidly created productive gardens in the back and flower-beds for the shrines in the front (Plate 4.31). Those in flats grew vegetables, herbs and flowers in pots on balconies and windowsills.

PLATE 4.31.

Vietnamese back garden with sacred flowers, herbs and aviary. (A.P.1995).

Creating community involved the same need for food of the homeland as expressed in other migrant groups, as a result early Vietnamese shops were in Marrickville. The group discussed at length which were the first shops and whether they were in Cabramatta or in Marrickville. Lam suggested '*I don't remember exactly but it was in 1978 they opened the* [Vietnamese] *grocery shop in Marrickville.'* This prompted intense interest as they tried to reconstruct the early experiences of Marrickville. Lam finally said definitively *'The first one is Hung Fu – that is the grocery shop. The second one is a butchery shop. Then came the jewellery shop.'*(VM2).

This sequence is quite different to that of the Greek and Lebanese migrants. Jewellery shops had relevance to the community because wealth was always carried as gold; one of the main reasons why the boat people were constantly attack by Thai pirates. After jewellery shops, bakeries, noodles bars and restaurants opened.

The phenomenon of creating community assumed a different profile in Marrickville to Cabramatta. The constant flow of migrants to Marrickville meant that the Vietnamese were just one immigrant group amongst many, whereas in Cabramatta, although there was a small existing post-WWII European migrant presence, the community was predominantly Anglo–Celtic Australian. Many of the 1980s waves of Vietnamese described themselves as small business people and rapidly established new businesses in '*cheap and dead*' Cabramatta. This would have been more difficult in Marrickville. Cabramatta quickly assumed a strong Vietnamese presence, shown in plate 4.32. As a result, the first Vietnamese temples, Pha Bao and Phuo Chue, were established in south-western Sydney rather than Marrickville. The success of Cabramatta as a vibrant Vietnamese centre in Australia poses challenges for sustaining a mindset of exile, as seen in the next theme.

PLATE 4.32.

Ceremonial gates in Vietnamese centre, Cabramatta, N.S.W. (A.P.1995).

Keeping the Community Together

Given that the first refugees were the highly educated elite and those with senior positions in the army, it is not surprising that Vietnamese children were high achievers in school and that many of the first wave gained academic employment. Subsequent refugees were less well-educated but just as strongly independent of government welfare systems. Migrants from the south of Vietnam established their own welfare organisations. The final wave of immigrants, predominantly rural people from North Vietnam, have tended to be somewhat marginalised by the hierarchy established by the first group. The particularities of the Vietnamese community in Australia are evident in a number of phenomena, 'the growth of organisations and newspapers', 'accommodating unification', and 'events and frozen culture'.

TABLE 4.17.

Keeping Community Together: phenomena and places

PHENOMENA	PLACES TELLING THE STORY
GROWTH OF ORGANISATIONS	MARRICKVILLE TOWN HALL MARRICKVILLE LIBRARY
ACCOMMODATING UNIFICATION	MAY MURRAY CENTRE
CELEBRATING VIETNAMESE EVENTS	MARRICKVILLE TOWN HALL

Growth of Organisations

The fierce sense of independence within the Vietnamese community has resulted in a proliferation of self-help networks. Since 1979 there has been a remarkable growth of community organisations which are considered to be one of the most important social resources in the community. The 1984 directory of community organisations listed 42 Vietnamese organisations (Loh,1988:836). This is surprising as voluntary work on a community basis is not familiar to Vietnamese where the extended family normally carries this role (Loh,1988).

Vietnamese are unfamiliar with the phenomenon of migration and its associated accommodation of the dominant host culture. To resist this and address the fear that that their identity will be lost, refugees hold onto the anti-communist stance (Loh,1988). As a result the organisations, their annual conferences and high participation are ways of re-affirming the reasons why they are in Australia (Lewin & Ly,1985). Loc described Vietnamese refugees' anxieties.

> *He is scared that one day we lose our identity, not because of the loss of use of language, but the distance in our heart – not the physical geographical distance … but it is the distance in the heart* (VM2).

Along with the growth of these organisations, early newspapers were established facilitating the culture of publishing special newsletters, often including poetry about exile. The first newspaper, the *Bell of Saigon* – 'Chuong Saigon', was established in 1979 and by 1994 there were ten Vietnamese newspapers in Sydney.

PLATE 4.33.

Ceremony for Vietnamese Conference held at Marrickville Town Hall, 1994. (A.P.1994).

The Vietnamese community holds annual conferences as umbrella events for their large number of organisations. These are commonly held in Marrickville Town Hall (plate 4.33), with titles such as 'Vietnamese settlement in Australia'. As well as newspapers and newsletters, there are journals and all are used as vehicles to publish local poems evoking nostalgic states of exile. Most of these publications are produced in Cabramatta and Bankstown, whereas Marrickville Town Hall continues as the venue for annual conferences. Likewise Marrickville Library fulfils an important role in housing a growing collection of Vietnamese reference material.

Accommodating Unification

The phenomenon of accommodating unification is complex. Group discussion revealed that Vietnamese from the South consider that they have sustained Vietnamese culture which has been lost in the North under many years of communism. Loc's comments reveal that essentialising occurs within migrant groups as well as externally. Loc indicated,

> *I can recognise them* [North Vietnamese] *by, if they open their mouth, by their accent. But even if they don't speak anything, their manners I can pick it up. You see … all the traditional values during twenty years under communist regime – I mean the communist regime never believe in culture or religion or anything … they try to erase that. Secondly, by economic reasons. North Vietnam- during the war- you have to live very harsh economic life … they don't care about the other values, the social values – things like that* (VM1).

In Marrickville, the profile of the Vietnamese community in the late 1990s consists predominantly of northern people. Members of the discussion group, all community workers, discussed the difficulties associated with this. Loc explained

> *Well they stick together. They don't want to mix with the South Vietnamese … we don't consider them to be the enemy or anything, but well, they don't want to have anything to do with the South Vietnamese. It is the legacy of the war. …The South Vietnamese are very well organised and we want to incorporate the North Vietnamese in these organisations but they never want to come … psychologically there is some sort of conflict* (VM1).

The May Murray Centre, a well-established community centre in the area, has become the focus of community assistance for North Vietnamese migrants in Marrickville. It is recognised that there are inevitable tensions in the theme of keeping the community together in a state of exile, now that the North Vietnamese are arriving as migrants.

Celebrating events

The phenomenon of celebrating Vietnamese events has become a way of sustaining culture and so keeping the community together. The annual moon festival of Trung Thu is held as a street parade with fireworks outside Marrickville Town Hall (plate 4.34). It is organised every year by the Vietnamese Seniors Association and the May Murray Centre, thus maintaining Marrickville's Vietnamese heritage despite the strength of the community in south-western Sydney. The group also recognised that they hold cultural practices true of Vietnam in 1976 and that as a result, their culture in Australia is frozen in time. Loc reflected on this,

> *… I think that when there is a community living away from their land, the culture in some ways stopped developing. Like we are still listening to music – but music of twenty to thirty years ago because it was something they took out at the fall of Vietnam* (VM2).

To maintain Vietnamese culture, Saturday language schools are held in Marrickville Library, heavily used by Vietnamese children as a source of much Vietnamese culture.

PLATE 4.34.

Moon Festival gathering at Marrickville Town Hall. (A.P.1994).

Marrickville as a Vietnamese Place

The final theme, 'Marrickville as a Vietnamese place' embodies all the tensions associated with exile and can be summarised within two phenomena, Marrickville as 'a site of transition' and 'heritage as culture rather than place'.

TABLE 4.18.

Vietnamese Heritage in Marrickville: phenomena and places

Phenomena	**Places telling the story**
A site of transition.	The hostels. Shopping strip along Marrickville and Illawarra Roads.
Heritage as culture.	Community places, Marrickville Town Hall and Library.

A Site of Transition

Marrickville as a site of transition allows recognition of places which explain why the Vietnamese are in Australia. Inevitably seeing such sites, as heritage places, elicits ambivalent emotions. Loc explained

> *…we fought in South Vietnam for so many years and come here. Why? Because of circumstances which forced us to be here. So we don't feel proud to be here. Most of us feel kind of hurtful, pain. We still express a lot*

> *of pain for having left the fatherland. So we don't think anything here is close to our heart to be honest* (VM1).

After much discussion it was finally agreed that the hostels were possible heritage places for the Vietnamese. As well, it was felt that the shopping strip along Marrickville and Illawarra Roads had an early Vietnamese presence which was culturally fulfilling for members of the community, as Loc explained,

> *… we are not European – we don't express ourselves. We are very esoteric. … one day I walked on Illawarra Road* [Marrickville] *on a Sunday. I saw the odd Vietnamese walking in the opposite direction. I don't need them to be my friends. What I need – I can see the same people – so I feel comfortable and if I have to live somewhere far away – I need – some sort of urge – you need to be there – to walk on the street, to see the restaurant, although you don't know anyone – but you know – immerse yourself in the atmosphere – for why? It makes you feel a bit more comfortable – more at ease* (VM2) .

The Vietnamese presence in Marrickville is quite subdued compared with Cabramatta.

Heritage as Culture Rather than Place

Finally, the phenomenon that heritage is in culture rather than in places, a consistent theme running through all migrant groups, was re-iterated by Loc,

> *… we don't need a place to keep, we don't need a symbol because what we keep, we keep in our heart…we have in our brain – in our heart – because we are a very esoteric people. …Basically you have to look at Vietnamese culture to understand the Vietnamese* [in Australia]. *You have to look at the way we are thinking. Vietnamese people don't need to express ourselves* [in special places]. *We are much more esoteric in a way. We don't need places as heritage places to continue our culture* (VM2).

But the anger embedded in the community's recent exile is very close to the surface. Loc's scepticism about Vietnamese heritage in Australia is clear in his earlier comment

> *It is nonsense. Because don't forget we are warrior people. OK? We've been fighting – so war and the reasons why we never left Vietnam in the war is because our heritage was there. It is not in Australia or America* (VM1).

Despite Loc's comments, Vietnamese refugee experiences and everyday life has resulted in places that tell their story. Vietnamese heritage places in Sydney are the interface between such pragmatism and those elements which continue Vietnamese spiritualism.

Comparative Readings of Marrickville Heritage Places.

Using MHS (1986) as the benchmark, the following discussion compares the responses of the three migrant groups to the categories of cultural heritage identified in the MHS (1986).

Residential Heritage

Greek Residential Presence in Marrickville

The Greek group indicated that the residential areas have a discernible Greek presence. The group discussed how you could '*see things*' such as '*the food, the clothes, the jasmine, the lemon tree in the front garden, the olives.*' Despina observed '*...if you hear one word of Greek you feel a difference.*' Whereas Greg said '*you sense certain things - the basil in the front …or there is a custom when Greeks come back from the resurrection at Easter, they make a cross with candles on the door.*' Despina added '*… in Sydney, to pass somewhere, it is easy to see it is a Greek house for first you see one olive tree, or you see a fig tree, or marigolds, oregano, basil and oh-jasmine or otherwise grapevines*' (GM3).

When reflecting on whether the Greek elements were heritage, some of the group expressed that today they regret the changes they made to houses in the 1950s-60s. In terms of the Greek character added to the housing, the group did not feel this was important as heritage. Instead they felt if reflected a 'phase' associated with settling in. When asked what the group would like to keep, it was felt that the *'Australian character'* was important and should be kept, particularly the early 1880s housing. Greg reflected that although he did not understand the houses, over the years *'I got used to it or came to appreciate it and sometimes I think - you know, this is the personality of Australia and that's why I love it.'* (GM3).

Lebanese Residential Presence in Marrickville

There is a clear Lebanese precinct in the suburb of Marrickville, known as the Warren, consisting of a number of streets with small freestanding houses of the Federation era. Although little has been done to alter the houses from the front, there are small clues to a Lebanese presence, particularly in the garden. These signifiers include either concrete or tiled front gardens with surrounding beds of roses.

House interiors in the Lebanese residential precinct have been significantly altered to accommodate large families. Other evidence of a Lebanese presence is in the back garden, commonly concreted with grapevine covered trellises adjoining the back of houses and planting beds containing mint, parsley and spring onions – the ingredients of a Lebanese staple, taboulleh – and occasional olive and citrus trees. In some back gardens, traditional Lebanese bread ovens occupy back corner sheds.

Multi-layered meanings of gardens challenge heritage planners. If they are to represent the character of Marrickville in their study and have included shop fittings in the MHS, perhaps elements in residential gardens should also be included?

Although the Marrickville Heritage Study (1985:49) has identified street-scapes as an important aspect of heritage of the area, there is no reference to Lebanese streets such Greenbank Street, which has been almost entirely Lebanese for at least seventeen years. The heritage study acknowledges precincts but they are made up of Anglo-Celtic Australian historic streets and houses (MHS,1985:9). For the Lebanese, precincts include the network of small parks and large parks such as Steele Park (Plate 4.35) as well as swimming pools. None of these places are included in the Marrickville Heritage Study.

PLATE 4.35.

Steele Park located beside Cooks River, used for Lebanese picnics. (A.P.1995).

Like the Greek group, the Lebanese also valued the older Australian residential character. They did not desire to keep Lebanese changes to residential areas. Their comments seem to indicate that the way of life they have established in Marrickville is

their heritage rather than houses. There is, however, strong desire for local parks to be seen as part of Marrickville's residential heritage.

Vietnamese Residential Presence in Marrickville

The Vietnamese residential presence is subtle. It is limited to changes to internal spaces of flats and houses in the form of shrines. The somewhat ephemeral changes confirm the sense that this group is in transition. The concept of physical heritage in the area is seen as irrelevant by the Vietnamese.

Retail heritage

Greek Retail Presence in Marrickville

Retail heritage significance for the Greeks is strong (Plates 4.36 and 4.37). Although Kensington and Kingsford were Greek communities before Marrickville, as Greg explained '[Greek], *people came to Marrickville to shop'*. The theme of change is also evident as the shopping area is now predominantly Vietnamese.

PLATE 4.36

Olympic Milkbar, Stanmore. Greek owned and listed in MHS(1986). (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.37.

New Greek bakery in Marrickville. (A.P.1995).

Lebanese Retail Presence in Marrickville

Unlike the Greek group, the Lebanese shopped in Redfern and Surry Hills, where the earlier Lebanese migrants had established a strong Lebanese character. Later Lakemba and Punchbowl became Lebanese shopping areas. The Lebanese retail presence in

Marrickville is evident in older isolated corner shops in residential areas. Although retail heritage is an important aspect of Lebanese heritage in Australia which will be explained in Chapter Five, it is not particularly strong in Marrickville.

Vietnamese Retail Heritage.

There is clear evidence of a Vietnamese retail presence both in the type of shops; fruit and vegetable shops, butcheries, bakeries and jewellers, and the physical form they take (Plate 4.38 and 4.39). They are characteristic of shops in Asian market places with metal roller shutters and clutter of boxes in the street. The concept of sustaining migrant shops as heritage poses the important issue of how low rents and marginal shopping areas can be sustained in the face of increasing gentrification and the impact of large enclosed shopping malls.

PLATE 4.38

Vietnamese shop in Marrickville with boxes of produce on the street and roller shutter doors.(A.P.1995).

PLATE 4.39.

Vietnamese butchery with evidence of former owners in signage. (A.P.1994).

Industrial Heritage

Greek Industrial Presence in Marrickville

There were two issues related to industrial heritage. The first was the social significance for the Greeks who had worked in factories from 1950-1970 and whether

they saw value in the old factories as their heritage in Australia. Recognising the social significance of the factories did not appeal to this group.

The other issue related to whether the Greeks had established their own industries in the area. This could be seen as cultural heritage continuity. Such continuity is evident as Greek food manufacturers, timber yards, some large warehouses and a few remaining small knitting mills, now owned by Greeks.

Lebanese and Vietnamese Industrial Presence in Marrickville

The Lebanese have a particularly strong manufacturing heritage in Australia some of which is located in Redfern, Tempe and Alexandria, however, this did not emerge in the discussions. The particular Lebanese industrial heritage is explained in Chapter 5.

The Vietnamese have brought skills as small business traders rather than manufacturing skills. Added to which by the time they arrived in Marrickville the existing industries had closed. There are some small manufacturing enterprises associated with the clothing industry and importation and these have occupied cheap space in the industrial areas. This can be seen as heritage in the form of continuity of use.

Topography, Views and Landmarks

Greek Reflections

The group generally agreed with the heritage study's observation that the undulating topography and layout of roads were part of the heritage of the area. The fact that this created many interesting vistas within the Municipality both as internal landmarks and as distant views over the city and to Botany Bay prompted much discussion about what was meant by views. Some argued that a view is what is seen when one promenaded in the street, whereas Angelos suggested that views meant vistas of open areas, such as the area near Cooks River. He commented,

> [there are] *certain parts, if you can use your imagination you might think you are back in Greece. Actually, you know the name, Tempe? It is taken from the Greek.* [There was a] *Scotsman ... He went down there* [Cooks River] *and he was allotted this big* [area of land] *…and he built a big mansion in there and he called the place Tempe because there was flowing around a* [river] - *remind him of - he had visited Greece* (GM3).

Angelos added that there were also views of the rooftops '*even the rooftops you see, they give it* [the view] *character'*(GM3). Such a response suggests a certain European urban sensitivity to elements within a view.

In terms of landmarks, the group felt that some churches in the area were landmarks. When it was pointed out that St. Nicholas, the Greek Church, (Plates 4.40 and 4.41) is listed in the heritage study, Greg commented with some intensity that *'it is not special ... it is just a typical Greek Church'*. Freda added 'the *Greek Church was designed by the Greek priest, so he had no knowledge of architecture'*. Greg was interested to know this and commented '*so that is why it is not specifically beautiful ... like for example the Belmore* Church - *it is a beautiful building'*. John added *'the Belmore Church was designed by the Professor di Architecture (GM3)'*(Plate 4.42).

PLATES 4.40

Front view of Greek church, built in 1966 and listed by MHS (1986). (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.41

Side view of church showing perceived poor architectural detailing. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 4.42.

Greek Church at Belmore, designed by Greek Professor of Architecture and considered to be ‘a beautiful church’. (A.P.1993).

Clearly views and vistas in Marrickville, particularly distant views and interesting views of rooftops were valued by the Greeks. It would appear that what is valued as a view is strongly related to cultural experiences. This is also evident in the Lebanese perceptions, discussed later.

Landmarks, in contrast, were well understood. Landmarks of importance to the Greek community included the Majestic Theatre which had social significance for everyone in the group. They did not feel St. Nicholas Church deserved landmark status because it lacked architectural quality, despite its important for the Greek community. In contrast, they felt St Brigids, the Catholic Church, deserved landmark status because of its elevated position on a hill (Plate 4.43). Clearly landmarks need to have a particular character or aesthetic to deserve the status of 'landmark'.

PLATE 4.43.

St Brigid’s Catholic Church, a landmark for the Greek community because of its elevated position. (A.P.1994).

Views and Landmarks for the Lebanese and Vietnamese

This Lebanese group had lived in apartments in Tripoli where they had elevated views of beaches and mountains. They were amused that Marrickville had a heritage of views and landmarks. Marrickville's views and landmarks had no significance to the group who represented the Vietnamese community.

Summary

The heritage study synthesis, represented as the Statement of Significance, suggests that the most distinctive aspect of the heritage is its **diversity**. I would argue that the statement of significance has not fully comprehended the nature of diversity in the area. The following tables 4.19 and 4.20 summarise the comparisons between the groups and the orthodox heritage study. It is clear that the MHS theme of 'process of change' is equally relevant to post-World War II waves of migrants as it is to earlier communities in Marrickville. From the results of the discussion groups, it is also evident that the attributed significance of many places listed by the MHS needs to be augmented with other layers of meaning. There are, however, a number of places which do not appear in the heritage study which are of high cultural heritage significance to the area. These are places which reflect the migrant experience; houses and gardens, shopping precincts, places of spiritual worship, sites of work, and places for recreation. Table 4.19 summarises the specific places which need to be added to the MHS as migrant heritage places.

TABLE 4.19.

Migrant Heritage Places in Marrickville.

Places	Heritage Significance
Lebanese residential precinct, 'The Warren'.	Example of 'creating an enclave'.
Shopping precinct along Marrickville and Illawarra Roads.	Example of migrant shopping precinct characterised by diversity of ethno-specific shops in low rental premises.
Majestic Theatre, The Hub.	Example of the role of the cinema for 1950s 1960s migrant groups.
Marrickville Swimming Pool, Steele Park.	Examples of recreation areas of specific significance for the Lebanese community.
Marrickville Town Hall.	Significant places for the Vietnamese

Marrickville Library, May Murray Centre.	community as sites to facilitate the change from refugee to sojourner.
Marrickville RSL Club.	Site of social significance for Vietnamese soldiers.

The theme 'process of change' (MHS,1986) also needs to accommodate three specific sub-themes related to the experience of migration. These are 'change as consolidation' for the Greeks, 'change as maturation' for the Lebanese and 'change from refugee to sojourner' for the Vietnamese. Table 4.20 compares three migrant heritage interpretations with the original Marrickville Heritage Study. Finally Figure 4.2 is presented here as the revised Statement of Significance for Marrickville indicating that Marrickville is a key location for migrant cultural heritage in Australia.

TABLE 20:

Summary of Heritage Places Compared to MHS

Marrickville Heritage Study	**Greek Heritage in Marrickville**	**Lebanese Heritage in Marrickville**	**Vietnamese Heritage in Marrickville**
Theme: Process of Change	***Theme: Experience of Migration*** *Change as Consolidation*	***Theme : Experience of Migration*** *Change as Maturation*	***Theme: Experience of Migration*** *Change from Refugee to Sojourner*
Residential Heritage Continuous evidence of changing residential character from early country estates in 1830s to building boom of 1880s, Federation cottages 1890-1910, 1930s flats, to 1940s bungalows.	Residential Heritage Continuous evidence of changes to houses since 1950s 'modernisation' to 1970s addition of Mediterranean elements to 1990s conservation of Australian character. Evidence of alterations to front and back gardens though the addition of citrus, fig and olive trees and grape arbours.	Residential Heritage 1970s Lebanese precinct of Federation houses modified by concrete and tiled front gardens, interior wall removal, extensions for family gathering to the back, and installation of bread ovens in back garden.	Residential Heritage 1980s, subtle evidence of Vietnamese presence in flats and houses by internal changes to accommodate shrines and changes in the plants in the gardens.
Retail Heritage Newtown shopping street as 1880s emporia. 1890s corner shops in worker housing areas. 1950s Greek milkbar with intact fittings.	Retail Heritage 1960s retail precinct for Greek community. Continued evidence of Greek food shops, bridal shops, travel agencies, café neros, and bakeries.	Retail Heritage Use of Mediterranean shopping precinct developed by the Greeks. Take over of 1890s corner shops by Lebanese small traders to service local community.	Retail Heritage Continued evidence of first Vietnamese shops – grocer, butcher, jeweller and bakery. Development of Illawarra Rd as Vietnamese shopping precinct.
Industrial Heritage 1890s industrial technology in remnant factory areas. Distinct industrial precinct of large factories with clusters of workers cottages.	Industrial Heritage Strong social significance for 1950s Greek who worked in the factories and lived nearby. Continued small industries now in Greek ownership.	Industrial Heritage Social significance for Lebanese who worked in factories in 1970s. Examples of Lebanese industrial development in heavy duty fabric factories in Tempe.	Industrial Heritage Industry closing by arrival of the Vietnamese. Some continued small industries in Vietnamese ownership.
Views and Landmarks Distant vistas and internal landmarks	View and Landmarks Added value to views – Mediterranean	Views and Landmarks Views not valued in comparison with	Views and Landmarks Of no significance to Vietnamese

such as Greek church and 1890s sewer vents	gaze over rooftops. Greek Church not valued as landmark, instead Majestic Theatre, St Brigits.	Lebanon.	community.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Municipality of Marrickville has retained tangible evidence of every stage of Sydney's suburban growth, from the days of the early, rural based economy and settlement of villages in the 1830s to the consolidation of the inner suburbs in the 1960s and 1970s and the ultimate collection of migrant heritage enclaves and multi- ethnic local shopping areas of the 1960s-1990s, reflecting the impact of the post World WarII migration program. .

The most distinctive aspect of the heritage of Marrickville is its ***diversity****; not only does it demonstrate all stages of suburban growth with its associated administrative, educational and commercial development, but it has also experienced and retained a diverse history of metropolitan development, including transport infrastructure, services and industry. A key factor in this diversity has been the complex profile of migrant groups who have co-existed in the Municipality, making minor changes to the existing built fabric which reflect their attempts to transpose aspects of their culture.*

The retention of such a diverse range of heritage items is largely due to the location of Marrickville in relation to the first settlements and the city centre. Marrickville experienced all stages of suburban growth, but was distant enough from the inner areas and associated competitive land values not to have had all evidence of its early history obliterated by successive waves of redevelopment. It has similarly retained many of the sites of significance for the early migrant groups and the dynamic interrelationship of different migrant groups in the main shopping streets.

The significance of the Municipality is not only embodied in the physical evidence of its history, its townscape character and in the historical documents (plans, photographs, family papers, council records etc.) associated with its development. It is also manifest in the oral histories and cultural production of a range of migrant groups.

FIGURE 4.2.

Revised Statement of Significance for Marrickville.

As suggested at the beginning of this chapter, it could be argued that the MHS Statement of Significance confirms that the 'national-space' of Australia does not include the values of marginal groups (Bhabha,1990; Hage,1998). I suggest, however, that the MHS is not an example of cultural exclusion, but rather an indication that current heritage assessment methods do not facilitate understanding about cultural pluralism. The MHS makes explicit reference to the immigrant groups present in the area, thus their existence is acknowledged but their cultural landscape remains outside the realm of heritage interpretations.

This chapter has shown how such unknown landscapes can be revealed and included in the heritage study process. In the process of doing this it became apparent that migrant

places are complex manifestations of transformed and transposed culture which required further study. The next chapter explores the phenomenon of migration hermeneutically in order to reveal deeper layers of understanding about how the experience of migration is reflected in ‘place’.