CHAPTER SEVEN

A TYPOLOGY OF MIGRANT PLACES

The process of migration has resulted in particular ways of place-making. This chapter develops the findings of Section Two by integrating the range of places created by migrant communities into a typology. Migrant places tend to fall into two broad groups, those which are readily observable because of their difference and those which are concealed and are known only to specific migrant groups. Within these two broad categories are various types of places. Migrant places are rich in social heritage significance. As such they are an important aspect of the collective cultural heritage of Australia, particularly as Australia has been one of the major migrant receiving countries since the mid 20th century. Thus by bringing this myriad of places together as a typology, the national significance of such places can be assessed.

The typology and associated explanations add further dimensions to theories about migration, namely that the phenomenon of migrant place-making takes on tangible form in host countries. Explanations about why places created by migrants in the host country have value are informed both by in-depth discussions with migrants and workshops with representatives of migrant communities.

Reviewing Typologies

The use of formal typologies in cultural landscape studies can be contentious. Cultural geographers (Relph,1976;Tuan,1974) often express strong reservations about the way planners focus on systematic place classification. They argue that places do not fit into neat and exclusive categories; instead one can always find exceptions to any particular type. One can also find examples which fit into more than one category. Thus a typology of migrant places needs to accommodate the fact that places can have multiple meanings and that they exist as a richly textured network of interpenetrating places. Accordingly, the typology presented here has been determined phenomenologically where places tend to aggregate around themes rather than rigorously defined, hermetic categories.

Typologies are also contentious in heritage planning where there is a risk that they can be misused. There are numerous examples where heritage places have been lost due to

categorisation (Armstrong,1994c). Heritage categories lend themselves to conservation management practices where only the rarest or best example of particular categories are conserved. This acts against the complex planning involved in sustaining the intricacy of diverse precincts. Migrant places pose further heritage planning challenges in that they are dynamic representations of living heritage involving transposed and transformed culture.

Because this typology is intended to assist heritage planners, the Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) procedure of using criteria and thresholds of significance for listing places on the Register of the National Estate (Pearson & Sullivan,1995) is used as an organising framework. This enables a degree of compatibility in terms of process. The process is nevertheless a departure from the AHC procedures because new criteria to assist in judging the eligibility of places are proposed for migrant places. The criteria, summarised in Table 7.1 are based on phenomena considered to be the essence of the migrant experience and to have Australia-wide relevance. Places can conform to all, some or only one criterion.

TABLE 7.1.

New Heritage Criteria Suitable for Migrant Places

- Demonstrates the choice to migrate and live in Australia.

- Demonstrates an enterprising or pioneering attitude towards living in Australia.

- Demonstrates the experiential process of settling in a new country, making the unfamiliar, familiar.

- Demonstrates aspects of unselfconscious transported cultural practice from another country.

- Demonstrates aspects of transformed cultural practice as a result of living in Australia.

Places which reflect these criteria and thereby have meaning for migrant communities form the core of the typology. Such places can be saturated with sufficient meaning to reach a threshold of significance similar to AHC listed heritage places. Meanings associated with these types have been rigorously interpreted through a hermeneutic process requiring that interpretations about places be coherent, comprehensive and thorough. They should also be penetrating, contextual and appropriate while at the

same time having potential for further levels of interpretation. Table 7.2 demonstrates the hermeneutic principles which determine interpretations and hence the significance of place meanings. The background to these interpretative principles (Madison,1988) have been explained in Chapter Three.

TABLE 7.2.

Hermeneutic Principles to Determine Thresholds of Significance for Migrant Places.

Interpretative Principles	Application for Interpretation of Meanings and Values of Migrant Places
Coherence	Interpretation must be coherent and convincing for places which reflect migrant experiences.
Comprehensiveness	Interpretation must cover the experiences comprehensively rather than one-off examples.
Thoroughness	Interpretations must be thorough rather than stereotypic or superficial.
Contextual	Interpretations need to recognise the context of the country of origin and contextual issues in the host country.
Appropriate	Interpretations should be appropriate or fitting as an interpretation of the experience of migration rather than generalised experiences.
Penetrating	Interpretations should be penetrating and sensitive to different states of mind of the migrant such as loss, alienation, hope, safety, or adventure.
Potential	Interpretations should generate a reflective process which brings out the potential for further interpretations.

Thus the typology has been constructed around types of places which demonstrate relevant criteria for migrant places and have reached the threshold of significance in terms of the meanings they have for migrant communities. Meanings are derived from various culturally-specific attitudes as well as general phenomena related to migration including transported and transformed culture, different reasons for migration, and ways the experience of migration result in values and beliefs that are common to many migrants.

Transported and Transformed Culture as Phenomena influencing Migrant Places

Like many forms of heritage, migrant heritage is complex. It can be revealed by history, artefacts and place, however, it includes more, namely cultural practices, ways of life and cultural transformations. This form of heritage can be distinguished by its particular cross-cultural character which is evoked by the experience of leaving one culture with roots in certain socio-physical contexts in order to establish oneself in another culture within new physical and political environments. The process highlights a number of heritage issues. First, the memory of the culture of the country of origin is transported as it was at the time of migration. This memory is enacted in the new

country and sustained unmediated by changes occurring in the country of origin. As a result cultural practices become frozen in time - a *transported* heritage. The implications of this are not only important in terms of Australia's cultural heritage, but also because Australia becomes a repository for cultural heritage of countries of origin. In parallel with this phenomenon, some cultural practices are also *transformed* in the Australian context. The Australian way of life, altered seasons and issues of assimilation all impact on the transformation and modification of particular migrant cultures within Australia.

A further heritage issue is that in the late 20th century transported and transformed heritage are located within the context of globalisation of world values and homogenising of the character of places. When migrants came to Australia in the 1950s, it was culturally different to the countries of origin. Since the late 1970s and 1980s migrants arriving in Australia tend to find it similar in many ways to the countries they have left. All types of food are now available in supermarkets and the media representations of urban places are now similar in cities all over the world. This phenomenon has taken away the need for migrant groups to encode their culture in the new country other than through language, signage, and religious practices. The homogenising of contemporary world culture thus heightens the heritage significance of those migrant places created in the 1950s-60s when cultural differences were strong.

Reasons for Migration

Decisions to migrate to Australia are closely connected to conditions within the migrant's home country. In some countries such as China, Italy and Malta, there is a culture of seasonal migration where one leaves to earn money, always with the intention of returning. In these circumstances, migrants are usually men and the places they make in the host country embody the impermanence of the sojourner. Deep place values for these men are in their homeland where their families lead stable lives closely connected with the heritage of village culture and intense farming.

Other migrants are forced to leave their country because of wars and civil unrest. This was true for European refugees from World War II, and the Lebanese and Vietnamese from their respective wars. In these cases whole families travel, often in very distressing circumstances, with little expectation that they will return. Their journeys are less journeys towards Australia but rather departures from loved homelands. Places

they create reflect a process of grief and then gradual acceptance. More recently, a new form of migrant has emerged, economic migrants, who come to Australia in relatively affluent states. Table 7.3 summarises the different reasons for leaving one's country and ways this affects place-making.

TABLE 7.3.

Reasons for Migration.

Reasons for Leaving	Examples of groups	Influence on Place-making in Australia
The culture of migration.	Includes Chinese, Italian, Maltese.	Attachment to home country, Australia perceived as a temporary place.
War and exile.	Includes Lebanese, Vietnamese, WWII Europeans.	Loss of home country; starting again in Australia.
Poverty and hope.	Includes Greeks, Maltese.	Rejection of home country. High expectations of Australia.
Adventure.	Individuals of any nationality.	Period in Australia seen as temporary; lack of commitment.
Economic Security.	Hong Kong Chinese, white South Africans.	Pragmatic attitude to Australia. More autonomous than other groups.

The Experience of Migration – The Process

The third issue is the way the process of migration itself is a major influence on migrant places. Cultural values coupled with the pioneering spirit, the enterprising ethos and its associated hard work, as well as the humiliations derived from assimilation and integration policies are just a few of the experiences associated with migration.

Reflecting on these experiences involves understanding phenomena of leaving one's country, journeys and arrival, initial accommodation, carving out one's own life, such as where to live, how to continue culturally specific forms of worship, where to work, what to eat, where to play and finally what is involved in becoming Australian. All of these phenomena are associated with places. Key influences on kinds of places created were government policies towards migrants, explained in Chapter Two. During the period of Assimilationist policies, migrant places tend to be hidden to conceal their difference. This was gradually relaxed during the period of Integration, and finally difference was celebrated during the policy of Multiculturalism.

The Categories

Categories are any general or comprehensive division. Accordingly, to accommodate the dynamic nature of migrant places and complex phenomena associated with the experience of migration, the typology, shown in Table 7.4, has been developed as twelve broad categories of places representing a relatively consistent chronology of the process of migration. Categories reflect the experience of migration sequentially from arrival, through processes of settling in, until forms of integration have occurred within the mainstream society. Within each generic type are variations or sub-sets depending on the time of migration and countries of origin. Generic types and sub-sets are not definitive. Only selected examples are included and the range of types is suggestive rather than conclusive.

TABLE 7.4.

Typology of places reflecting the migration experience.

- Points of Arrival
- Places of Temporary Accommodation
- Places for Chance Encounters
- Permanent Accommodation
- Shopping Streets
- Sites of Work
- Sites of Spiritual Worship
- Places for Leisure
- Places to Sustain Cultural Heritage
- Places of Illness and Death
- Migrant Enclaves
- Hybrid Places

The following descriptions of types expand the classification by explaining generally why each type is significant as migrant place-making. This is followed by a concise summary which brings together generic types, subsets within these types and reasons for their significance.

Points of Arrival

The ways in which migrants make the journey to Australia are highly relevant to the nature of places they value in the host country. The pertinent criterion for this migrant place type is 'demonstrating the choice to migrate and live in Australia for an extended

period of time', indicated in Table 7.1. The criterion, generic place types, their levels of meaning and Australian policies about migration which influenced the migrants' first experience of Australia are brought together in Table 7.5. Plates 7.1 and 7.2 are examples of this category.

PLATE 7.1

Ship at Overseas Terminal, Circular Quay, Sydney, 1962. Photographer R.Armstrong.

PLATE 7.2

Woolloomooloo Wharf, place of arrival for many post WWII migrants (A.P.1994)

TABLE 7.5.

Type: Points of Arrival as Migrant Places.

Criterion	Sub-Sets	Meanings for Migrants	Australian policies
Demonstrating the choice to migrate and live in Australia.	Ports	Arrival after long journeys. Expectation of the new country. First encounter with the new land. Meeting unfamiliar people. Assimilation bureaucratic processes. Loss of treasured food and plants through customs.	Assimilation.
	Airports	Aerial views of new country. Meeting family members. 'Integration' or 'Multicultural' bureaucratic processes.	Integration to Multiculturalism.

The significance of places associated with this type is reflected in the degree of meaning 'points of arrival' have. Meanings are influenced by different states of mind, namely whether migrants have travelled in states of loss, fear of the unknown, hope for a future, relief to be in a safe place, in a state of adventure or a combination of these states. For European migrants arriving before the 1970s, the significance is also heightened by the

distance and time taken in travelling to Australia by ship, thus generating a stronger sense of separation from the home country.

PLATE 7.3.

Sydney Heads, place of arrival for 1950s-60s migrants arriving in Sydney. (A.P.1993).

First sightings of the Australian coast carry powerful meanings. The landmark of the Sydney Heads and Sydney Harbour are examples of a deeply meaningful migrant place of arrival, shown in Plate 7.3. In all large Australian port cities, wharves, such as Woolloomooloo Wharf, also have significance for migrants. Wharves are laden with meaning associated with alienation in a strange land, meeting members of families or not being met and the sense of abandonment. Added to which, many had to surrender valued food seen as 'supporting life' to unsympathetic customs officials. Chapters Five and Six contain evocative descriptions of the alienation experienced by some on arrival. Further influences on meanings associated with points of arrival were current government policies towards migrants and associated bureaucratic processes which determined where migrants would go and ways in which they were welcomed. Some writers (Riemer,1992) and photographers (Moore,1988:122,123) have captured the experience of arrival and this information together with oral histories, provide a resource base for interpreting the meanings of these places.

Migrants who came after 1970 arrived by plane. Most airports around the world are similar, but aerial views of cities in which they were arriving carried strong associations for different migrants. For many, it established their first awareness of Australian cities as characteristically low density suburbs, consisting of houses with red terra-cotta roofs, reflecting the Australian dream of a 'house on its ¼ acre block' (Stretton,1989), seen in Plate 7.4.

PLATE 7.4.

Aerial view of suburb near Sydney airport,

first experience for migrants after 1970s. (A.P.1993).

Places of Temporary Accommodation

Places of temporary accommodation include migrant centres and hostels, boarding houses and refuges run by non-government charitable organisations. The criterion for this category demonstrates first experiences in the process of settling in to a new country where after disembarking, most migrants were taken to some form of temporary accommodation for a period of time. Table 7.6 draws together the range of places, their meanings and relevant migration policies influencing migrants' experiences.

TABLE 7.6.

Type: Places of Temporary Accommodation

Criterion	Sub-Sets	Meanings for migrants	Australian policies
Demonstrates The experiential process of settling in to Australia	Migrant Centres.	Remote rural places in a strange landscape. Barracks and communal eating. Bureaucratic processes. National tensions and/or camaraderie. Pioneering spirit associated with helping to build a nation.	Assimilation
	Urban Hostels	Barrack-type accommodation in cities. Adjustment to new country. Forming networks with other migrants. Finding out where to live.	Assimilation to Multiculturalism
	Compassionate Hostels	Havens for young migrant women. Places of courtship.	Assimilation
	Boarding Houses	Predominantly male environment. Improvising and sharing. Both support and exploitation. Male camaraderie, female tension.	Assimilation to Integration

Migrant centres, known as 'camps', consisted of barrack-type accommodation with communal dining, meeting rooms for information briefings about Australia. One major migrant centre, Bonegilla Migrant Centre, established in 1947 in rural NSW, is recognised as an important aspect of Australian cultural heritage on the Register of the National Estate. Post-war tensions existed within various migrant groups but there was also a pioneering spirit associated with coming to help build a nation.

Along with migrant centres, all of which were in rural locations, *migrant hostels* within cities were other official places of temporary accommodation. In the 1950s, such places were often experienced as stigmatising because the Australian community did not readily accept the large influx of migrants. The significance of these places relates to this marginality, but there was also to a sense of camaraderie within the hostels including the establishment of migrant networks facilitating their transition into permanent accommodation. Catholic priests, giving pastoral care to new arrivals, were often instrumental in assisting this transition, particularly Italian migrants who relocated to areas near the priests such as Leichhardt in Sydney.

Hostels were also instrumental in another type of migrant place in that they brought about significant change to adjoining suburbs. In Northern Sydney, Bradfield Park, Kuringai, was a destination for many British migrants, a number of whom subsequently moved into houses near the hostel and created neighbourhood facilities reflecting their cultural needs. Because these migrants were mainly British, their presence is barely discernible to the mainstream community but is evocative and meaningful for migrants who live there. This is in strong contrast to the migrant hostels in Villawood and East Hills, South-West Sydney, which housed Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s and 1980s. These migrants similarly moved into adjoining suburbs, but in re-creating their culture they have made a migrant enclave, the suburb of Cabramatta, which is visibly different to the mainstream community.

Refuges or havens as places of temporary accommodation are less well known. The former Salvation Army Hostel in South Dowling St, Darlinghurst, Sydney shown in Plate 7.5, unknown to the mainstream community, was a refuge for the few Greek 'brides' who were abandoned after arriving on 'bride ships'. This place, now luxury apartments, is rich in human stories associated with Greek migration in the 1950s.

PLATE 7.5.

Former Salvation Army Hostel, Surry Hills. – a place of

temporary accommodation for Greek 'brides'. (A.P.1994).

In contrast to official forms of temporary accommodation, there was also an informal network of support for first arrivals, the *boarding houses.* Where migrants were not given government supported accommodation, such as the Maltese, they responded by developing a network of boarding houses. Unlike hostels, boarding houses were not obvious to the mainstream community because they often consisted of rented rooms

within existing residences, shown in Plate 7.6. Their significance is associated with exploitation as well as camaraderie, including multiple lettings of rooms, often with rosters for the use of beds. The conditions in many places of temporary accommodation were not pleasant and migrants sought relief from the crowded conditions in public parks and city streets where they often saw other migrants.

PLATE 7.6.

Place of temporary accommodation –

Maltese boarding house Darlinghurst. (A.P.1996).

Places for Chance Encounters

These are places which symbolised the possibility of meeting people from the same country of origin. Their significance lay in the sense of isolation generated by being so distant from the country of origin, and the alienation experienced when only English is spoken. As a result, meeting places developed where men in particular could make contact with people of their own country. Criteria for this type of place include demonstrating experiential processes of settling-in and enterprising attitudes towards living in Australia. Table 7.7 summarises the interrelationship between criteria, places, their meanings and Australian policies which influenced this experience.

TABLE 7.7.

Type: Places for Chance Encounters

Criteria	Selected Sub-Types	Meanings for migrants	Australian policies
Demonstrating the experiential process of settling in to a new country.	Places to discuss European news – Jewish gathering places.	Promenading in the European manner, discussing issues of the homelands.	Assimilation to Multiculturalism
	Places to join networks, Lebanese meeting places.	Meeting men to find work and accommodation.	Assimilation to Integration
Demonstrating enterprising attitudes	Places to confirm cultural belonging, Chinese meeting places.	Eating together.	White Australia policy to Multiculturalism

In Sydney, the Bondi Beach steps in the 1950s, shown in Plates 7.7 and 7.8, were important for Jewish men as a place where they could meet other European men. It was here, while promenading along the beach front, that they could discuss in their own language issues in Europe which concerned them. The Curator of the Jewish Museum in Sydney, Alan Jacobs, explained that the steps represented '*the experience of sticking together, a sense of companionship'* (Armstrong,1993:8).

PLATE 7.7

Place for chance encounters, Bondi Beach steps – a meeting place for Jewish men in 1950s. (A.P.1995).

PLATE 7.8

Jewish men continue to meet on Bondi Beach promenade. (A.P.1995).

Similarly Redfern Park became a meeting place for Arabic-speaking men. This was considered the place where one went in the hope of meeting Lebanese men who could

explain where to get work and which boarding houses provided accommodation for Arabic-speaking people. In the same way, Chinatowns have traditionally provided meeting places for men from Asia.

Permanent Accommodation

Migrant responses to establishing permanent accommodation revealed both a pioneering and enterprising spirit as they tried to adjust to the Australian context and adapt their cultural needs. Migrant places of permanent accommodation, shown in Table 7.8, demonstrate the experience of settling into a new country and the unselfconscious manifestations of transported culture.

TABLE 7.8.

Type: Permanent Accommodation.

Criteria	Selected Sub-Types	Meanings	Australian policies
Demonstrating the experiential process of settling in a new country.	Inner city terraces.	Shared housing, crowding. Altered houses and back gardens. Concealed difference.	Assimilation
	Inner suburban Federation cottages.	Accommodation for extended families by opening interiors.	Integration to Multiculturalism
Demonstrating unselfconscious transported cultural practice.	Suburban/ rural edge market-gardens and houses.	Small farms as family enterprises. Isolation and self-sufficiency.	Assimilation to Integration.

Unlike many British migrants who were given assisted housing, most non-British migrants endeavoured to purchase their own homes as soon as possible. This often involved house-sharing where people pooled their resources and paid off loans for their accommodation rather than pay rent. Language difficulties often resulted in people seeking houses near places of employment. In Sydney and Melbourne, these were cheap inner-city terraces near factories, considered to be 'slums' in the 1950s. In order to accommodate as many people as possible, front verandahs of terraces were enclosed and additional accommodation was created at the back. In the 1970s, Middle East migrants, accustomed to living in large open apartments, avoided the restricted terraces. Instead they moved into single storey cottages in inner suburbs, whose interiors they opened up in an attempt to accommodate extended families.

All migrants created gardens to grow familiar food. Initially, distinguishing elements in these gardens were confined to the back of inner-city houses. Front gardens were left to look 'Australian' in order to avoid discrimination by the mainstream community. Other migrants moved to areas where cheap land suitable for intensive cultivation provided them with the opportunity to create market-gardens or small farms. Plate 7.9 shows a typical house in remnants of its market garden.

PLATE 7.9.

Remnant of large Croatian market garden in Blacktown, Sydney. (A.P.1996).

PLATE 7.10

Greek alterations to house in Marrickville. (A.P.1993).

In most migrant groups, people from the same original country tended to live near each other. As they became more settled, they began to alter their houses in ways which evoked the countries from which they had come. Greek houses were painted blue and white, Italian and Greek houses were adorned with columns and arches, shown in Plate 7.10. Lebanese front entries were tiled with highly glazed dark tiles. Small windows were removed and replaced with aluminium-framed sliding windows to make the Victorian-era terraces look more modern and to open dark interiors to more light.

Shopping Streets

As a result of establishing migrant home ownership, enclaves of people from particular countries emerged. Shopping streets, originally developed to service Australian residents, were often the first indication of this change. Over time a range of migrant shopping streets evolved. These are summarised in Table 7.9.

TABLE 7.9.

Type: Migrant Shopping Streets.

Criteria	Selected Types	Meanings
Demonstrating the experiential process of settling in a new country.	Chinese shopping precincts.	Traditional ways of shopping, such as internal arcaded bazaars. Shops for familiar eating, restaurants and food shops. Shops to sustain cultural life, such as Chinese healing centres and herb shops, jewellery shops.
Unselfconscious transported cultural practice.	Mediterranean shopping streets.	Finding familiar food, including delicatessens, butcheries, fruit shops. Shops to sustain cultural life, such as bridal and furniture shops, restaurants and coffee shops. Shops to provide a way home such as travel agents. Rooms for community service for scribes and advisers.
Transformed cultural practice as a result of living in Australia	Middle East shopping streets.	Shops to sustain traditional eating, such as spice shops, restaurants, rooms for traditional healing, such as herbalists, clairvoyants.
	Vietnamese shopping precincts	Traditional ways of shopping, such as arcades, back lanes. Shops for familiar eating, such as noodle bars, bakeries. Shops to sustain cultural life such as jewellers for gold exchange, bridal salons.
Demonstrating Hybridity and layers of culture between migrant groups.	Shopping streets of multiple cultures	Blended cultural practices such as Greeks buying Vietnamese breads, Lebanese buying Indian spices.

Chinese shopping streets were the earliest of this type. They were traditionally located in Chinatowns adjoining central market areas of major Australian cities. First established in the 19th century, they served the needs of the Chinese community providing Chinese stores as well as cheap restaurants. Shops providing traditional medicine also sold cooking implements and other household goods. Chinese gambling clubs for men and women were behind inconspicuous doors fronting streets. In the 1970s, shopping streets underwent urban improvements, initiated by non-Chinese urban designers. Streets were redesigned to reflect Chinese cultural elements because restaurants were popular destinations for the wider Australian community. During the 1990s, a large influx of Hong Kong Chinese resulted in Chinese-initiated redevelopments taking the form of large multistorey internal arcaded streets. Associated with the increasing affluence, large opulent restaurants have become well-established features of Chinese shopping streets.

In areas where migrants from Europe lived, delicatessens and coffee shops started to appear soon after WWII. Mediterranean shopping streets were characterised by fruit shops and delicatessens. As people settled, travel agents and shops for traditional Greek and Italian bridal wear were established. During this period, men's coffee clubs developed above shops as well as rooms for solicitors and scribes.

By the late 1960s, Middle Eastern migrants established spice shops and Lebanese pastry shops in the same shopping streets. Similarly, by the late 1970s, Vietnamese shops such as distinctive bread shops, butcheries and jewellery shops for trading in gold started to appear beside the Greek and Lebanese shops.

It is the diversity of migrant cultures which characterise the inner suburban shopping streets where European-like coffee shops, Lebanese 'take-aways' or Vietnamese noodle bars are common. A number of the 1950s coffee shops and delicatessens established by the Austro-Hungarian diaspora still exist, Plates 7.10 and 7.11. In some inner city enclaves such as King Street, Newtown, Sydney, Australian shops co-exist beside both Asian and European restaurants. Where migrant shopping streets represent early stages of settling in, they are characterised by family enterprises in low rent premises.

PLATE 7.11.

Mixed migrant shops in Marrickville Road, Marrickville. (A.P.1994).

PLATE 7.12.

Cyrils Delicatessen, established for the Austro-Hungarian diaspora in 1950s, Haymarket, Sydney. (A.P.1994).

Shopping streets also contain other essential places such as rooms for solicitors acting as scribes for official documents, healers and clairvoyants and above street-level gambling clubs for men. In some cases, certain people provide key services to the local community in rooms behind shops such as the room behind a delicatessen in

Marrickville which was the place for counselling services for the Greek community and later the Vietnamese community. Sophia Catharios, the Greek representative on SBS Radio explained,

> *… It is owned by a Greek woman who manages the financial affairs of an entire community … she had a lot of guts and dynamism and managed to be called 'Mother of the Greek Community – the counsellor, the interpreter, the financial adviser, everything, and now she has the same role for the Vietnamese community* [in Marrickville]. *She receives people in the back of the delicatessen. Politicians have been made there.* (Armstrong,1993b:22.)

The character of shopping streets depends on the era in which the different migrant groups settled. Migrant streets formed during the period of Assimilation and Integration resulted in an unusual blend of cultural practices because of the diversity of migrant groups using the streets. Apart from selecting aspects of Australian foods and merchandise, migrants also selected food from other unfamiliar cultures. Greeks enjoyed the Vietnamese bread, and the Lebanese experimented with nearby Indian spices. Migrant streets emerging during the period of Multicultural policies, particularly those of the Lebanese and Vietnamese communities, are strong and overt cultural expressions. More recently, changes in shopping streets are occurring as a result of gentrification activities of second generation migrants. This is particularly true of the Italian community in Sydney, Melbourne and Fremantle where gentrified Italian streets have become tourist destinations.

Sites of Work

These are places of high significance in terms of the experience of migration to Australia. Many professionally qualified migrants arriving in the 1950s-60s found that they had to work as manual labourers in large industrial projects because Australian authorities did not recognise overseas qualifications. Migrant neighbourhoods tended to develop near industrial areas. In Sydney and Melbourne this occurred in inner-city areas such as Marrickville, Newtown and Carlton. Industrial cities such as Wollongong and Newcastle also became migrant centres. Table 7.10 shows the range of sites of work, meanings associated with them and the criteria they address as migrant places.

TABLE 7.10.

Type: Migrant Places as Sites of Work.

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrating an enterprising and pioneering spirit.	Large non-urban enterprises.	Frontierism, pioneering and enterprising, contributing to Australia. Many nationalities, more migrants than Anglo-Australians. Earning good money. Predominantly male.
Demonstrating the experiential process of settling in a new country.	Urban industry and infrastructure.	Humiliation, lack of recognition of education and skills, camaraderie, Shift work, good money, men and women.
	Small factories.	Local places, drawing on culturally specific skills, predominantly women.
Demonstrating Unselfconscious transported cultural practice.	Market gardens, farms, vineyards. Central market places.	Tradition of family enterprises, Located on edge of cities, culturally specific. Tradition of fresh produce markets. Meeting place for many cultures.
Demonstrating Transformed cultural practice.	Culturally specific migrant enterprises.	Adjusting to Australia, transformed cultural practice. Drawing on culturally specific skills.

Large non-urban enterprises, exemplified by Snowy River and Murrumbidgee Irrigation Schemes, were sites set up to attract migrant workers. Migrants established their culture in new settlements such as Adaminaby or in existing rural towns such as Cooma and Griffith. These were places rich in frontierism as well as a sense of contributing to the development of Australia.

In the cities, particularly in the 1950s – 60s, large factories and urban infrastructure such as railways and wharves were predominant sites of work. Such places are redolent in stories of hardship, humiliation and comradeship. These include 'the glass factory', AGI, South Dowling St, Sydney, the site of Vicars textile mill in Marrickville, and the steel mills in Port Kembla. Similar examples exist in all states and territories in Australia.

There were also small factories often associated with the clothing industry, which employed women skilled as seamstresses. These were commonly located in back lanes in the inner city such as Paramount Shirts in Surry Hills. Likewise there were cottage industries which serviced specific food needs for migrant groups, such as the Maltese 'pastizzi' factory in the basement of a terrace house in Woolloomooloo.

Other sites of work involved all members of the family such as market-gardens, farms and vineyards. Chinese market-gardens were well-established migrant places, plate 7.13 shows a Chinese market-garden established in the 1890s. These gardens, which still exist, provisioned most of the east of Australia during the second half of the19th century. Other market-gardens, established by Europeans on the edges of large Australian cities in the1950s-60s, carried strong significance as migrant places but are now lost under recent speculative housing subdivisions. Both Chinese and European market-gardens are examples of the translocation of Old World intensive agriculture and as such are important heritage places for migrants. Agricultural practices have resulted in other migrant sites of work such as the banana farms established by the Sikhs in Coffs Harbour and the Chinese in North Queensland, as well as the vineyards established by the Germans in South Australia.

PLATE 7. 13.

Chinese market garden established in 1890s on sandy soil at Rockdale,

near Sydney Airport. (A.P.1993).

Main produce markets are associated with farms and market-gardens. Such places are rich in migrant culture. In Sydney, Paddy's Market was steeped in migrant significance, from early Chinese produce markets to Mediterranean migrant market stalls of the 1950s. Even in its relocated site of Flemington, it retains significance for all migrant groups, including the most recent migrants from Africa. There is living heritage significance in produce markets. Their importance is as much embedded in buying produce in a market environment as it is in selling the produce different migrants have grown. Melbourne, unlike Sydney, still sustains the produce market within the fabric of its inner city. Sydney, however, has an intriguing migrant post-modern simulacrum in

the form of a re-invented, 'boutique' Paddy's Market created by a Chinese developer on the former market site.

Some sites of work carry culturally-specific heritage for certain migrant groups. The Lebanese heavy-duty clothing factories are connected to the culture of silk manufacture and trading in Lebanon. Connections are made via a circuitous route of numerous adaptations resulting from different experiences in Australia. This is another form of transformed heritage. The great 19th century sandstone buildings in Sydney are sites of work for skilled Italian stone-masons who have grown old maintaining the stone in significant buildings including replacing gargoyles and statuary. Italian tile-manufacturing in Australia has created migrant places that reveal blends of cultures, for example, the gilded, Australian-Italian-made mosaic tiles decorating interiors of Greek Orthodox Churches. The range of migrant sites of work described here is not conclusive. There may be further examples of ingenious culturally-specific enterprises, the knowledge of which is yet to be shared with the mainstream community.

Sites of Spiritual Worship

Sites of spiritual worship have high significance for migrant groups. They include both culturally-specific places and mainstream places which are shared with migrant communities. Given that so many forms of spiritual worship have seasonal origins, it is interesting that they appear to be an unmediated translocation despite the seasonal reversals in moving from the Northern Hemisphere. Sites of worship embrace both hidden and obvious places associated with the settling in process and the gradual willingness of the Australian community to accept difference. These are summarised in Table 7.11.

TABLE 7.11.

Type: Sites of Worship

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrate experiential process of settling in a new country.	Existing Churches	Primacy of the faith, sharing succour with other cultural groups, pastoral care.
Demonstrate unselfconscious transported cultural practice.	Halls or former churches.	Hidden places, concealing difference, sense of community, spiritual succour.
	New Churches and temples	Consolidation, exhibiting difference, political divisions, spiritual succour.
	Shrines in homes and gardens.	Individual worship, faith-specific. Private rituals.
Demonstrate transformed cultural practices Demonstrate hybridity and layers of cultures.	Processional places	Group rituals, living heritage, marking seasons.
	Layered sites	Changing congregations. Italian mosaics in Greek Churches.

Many migrant groups were able to worship in existing churches in Australia. Major Catholic cathedrals in the centre of large Australian cities were and continue to be important to Italian, Maltese, South American and Philippine migrants. Other migrant groups found existing faiths in Australia inappropriate for their forms of worship. Initially they used halls or deconsecrated churches to establish temporary places of worship. Later, as migrant groups became established, they built their own churches, temples and mosques.

Observing spiritual practice often goes beyond visiting churches and temples. In many Vietnamese homes there are Buddhist shrines. In a number of Greek and Italian gardens there are shrines to saints. Jewish houses in the eastern suburbs of Sydney have special women's baths or 'michvahs' built into the fabric of houses. Muslim Lebanese have areas in the back garden in which they spread out their prayer rugs to pray to Mecca.

Spiritual worship also involves living heritage in the form of processions for Saints' Days, services for the Blessing of Italian fishing fleets, shown in plate 7.14, Moon Festival processions, shown in plate 7.15, and Chinese New Year Dragon dancing. These activities animate familiar Australian shopping streets or market places at different times of the year, making ephemeral migrant places.

PLATE 7.14

Blessing the Italian fishing fleet, Sydney

Fish Markets. (A.P.1993).

PLATE 7.15.

Dragon in street procession for

Vietnamese Moon Festival, Marrickville.

(A.P.1995).

Places of spiritual worship have also become places of political division within migrant groups. This has particularly been the case with older Greek Churches in Sydney. Although most sites of worship appear to be direct translations of similar places in countries of origin, there are some examples of transformations such as the Afghan Mosque in Broken Hill, built by the camel traders. Although conforming in its orientation towards Mecca, the Mosque is built in corrugated iron instead of stone.

The layering of values in some sites of spiritual worship is another aspect of this type of migrant place. Where migrant groups used existing churches in Australia, subtle changes often occurred, such as a particular former Methodist church which became a Greek church. The layering of values is described by Sophia Catharios, SBS Reporter.

> *The first service the Greeks held in this church, they invited Billy McMahon* [a former Prime Minister], *because he used to go to the Church when it was Methodist. It was significant to him. It did not alter that fact now the Church was Greek. This Church also involves the Italian community, because it was constructed by Mollucco Bros. It is very interesting what happens to places. What is Greek now, may not be in 60 years, but we must recognise the passing of the Greeks and in so doing, we recognise the multifaceted fabric of our society. (*Catharios in Armstrong,1993b:25).

Places for Leisure

Places for leisure reflect adaptations to the physical environment of Australia , in the process, translocating many leisure activities of former countries. They also indicate the influence of different policies about migration. They range from early hidden places to

recently built clubs as flamboyant expressions of cultural difference. Table 7.12 summarises the range of places making up this type and their associated meanings.

TABLE 7.12.

Type: Migrant Places for Leisure.

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrate the experiential process of settling in a new country.	Hidden places	Translocated social practices such as male clubs. Domestic back gardens.
	Inconspicuous places.	Culturally different, men and women enjoying leisure. Family events, nostalgic.
Demonstrate Unselfconscious transported cultural practice.	Ephemeral places.	Culture of extended family recreation in natural or parkland settings.
	Highly visible places.	New places to sustain culture and celebrate difference. Opulent and impressive, imagined representations of culture.
Demonstrate Transformed cultural practice.	Layered places.	Adapting existing places for culturally specific groups, shared leisure places.

Early places for leisure, often reflecting direct unmediated translocation such as Greek coffee clubs for men, tended to be hidden. As heritage places they are most vulnerable to being lost. Greek café neros have all but disappeared above the shops in Marrickville. Maltese men's clubs have gone but the buildings remain. Such hidden places reveal gender differences in leisure activities for many migrant groups. Lost leisure places include Greek theatres, first performed as a 'hidden theatre' in the Minerva Restaurant in the Greek area of central Sydney, and later in the Elizabethan Theatre in Newtown, both now demolished. Chinese clubs used by women and men remain, such as the headquarters of the Australian Chinese Cultural Association in a lane in Surry Hills, Sydney which resounds with the noise of elderly Chinese playing mah-jong. The building that once housed knitting-groups for young Greek, Italian and Lebanese migrant mothers, still exists, but is no longer used in this way. Instead the Italian mothers are now retired grandmothers and frequent bingo clubs run by local Catholic Churches, whereas elderly Greek and Lebanese grandmothers tend to spend their leisure activities within their extended family homes. Significant hidden places of leisure were the back gardens of European migrants.

Inconspicuous places of leisure were local cinemas temporarily transformed for different migrant communities. In the 1950s, Greek films were run in the various art deco cinemas in Redfern, Newtown and Marrickville in Sydney. Lebanese films were run in the ANZAC Hall in the city. Chinese films continue to be shown in Sydney's Chinatown. Less hidden are the Lebanese nightclubs, readily recognised in the streets of Surry Hills and Redfern, Sydney although some are inconspicuously above shops in places like Bankstown. These are sites of translocated heritage which are undergoing natural evolutionary change with the introduction of Western music, much as in Lebanon. Similarly Spanish and Russian dancing clubs persist in central Sydney.

Other places are ephemeral in that migrant use animates existing Australian places during the time they are being used for migrant leisure. Ephemeral migrant leisure places include places where culturally-specific celebrations occur. These also include places for picnics as ephemeral migrant places. In Sydney, in the 1950s-60s, Italian families predominantly picnicked at Balmoral Beach. The Maltese were some of the many European groups who picnicked at Clifton Gardens, often arriving by ferry. The Maltese also walked in the Sydney Botanic Gardens and picnicked at La Perouse arriving in the back of trucks, perched on lettuce boxes. The Lebanese in Sydney went in convoys of cars to Audley in Royal National Park and later to local parks such as Parramatta Park, Carss Park, Blakehurst and Steele Park, Marrickville.

Highly visible places of leisure are the second wave of migrant clubs. The first migrant clubs were a new form of place created in host countries in response to the experience of migration. Many were built in association with soccer teams made up of migrants of particular countries. Subsequently, in Sydney, imposing buildings such as the Italian Apia Club, the Jewish Hakoah Club, the different Greek clubs (Plate 7.16), were constructed. More recently, clubs built as exaggerated monuments to cultural difference, such as the Assyrian Club, shown in Plate 7.17, have emerged in Western Sydney. Similar clubs exist in other major Australian cities. Less monumental, but sustaining a strong presence are the Folkloric Centres, such as the migrant centre in Marrickville consisting of former army huts, occupied by a range of migrant groups.

PLATE 7.16

'The Great Greek Club', late 1960s club,

Livingstone Road, Marrickville.

(A.P.1994).

PLATE 7.17

Recently built Assyrian Club in South

Western Sydney. (A.P.1995).

Finally there are the leisure places which were used by many migrant groups as well as the mainstream community. This was particularly true of large dance halls such as the Trocadero and Paddington Town Hall in Sydney. In many migrant groups, dances would included the whole community from babies to grandmothers. Other places were highly sophisticated such as the Italian nightclub in Sydney known as Romano's and the Italian restaurants in Melbourne such as Pelligrini's and Florentino's. Another multi-use place was the swimming pool in Marrickville which had particular significance for adolescent Lebanese boys. The range of leisure places described here represents those revealed through the research. Further research with different migrant groups would reveal other culturally-specific places.

Places to Sustain Cultural Heritage

Migrant places established to sustain cultural heritage are evident in the early stages in the migration experience and in the later consolidation phase. Table 7.13 shows the range of places pertinent to this type.

TABLE 7.13.

Type: Places to Sustain Cultural Heritage.

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrating the Experiential process of settling in a new country.	Newspaper offices	Culturally specific, providing networks and communication.
	Local libraries	Providing connections to country of origin, repository of local history, meeting places to discuss cultural rituals.
	Neighbourhood Centres	Local government meeting places for culturally specific activities.
Demonstrating self-conscious transported cultural practice.	Folkloric centres.	Custodians of lost cultural practices of original countries. Practicing cultural rituals and performance, celebrating difference, acknowledging other migrant cultures.
	Saturday Schools.	Keeping culture alive in Australian born children of migrants.

Places where newspapers in languages other than English are produced are highly significant for the Vietnamese community. The first newspaper, *The Bell of Saigon*, was produced in the mid 1970s, after which numerous newspapers and journals emerged. There are similar places which produce newspapers for Italian, Greek, Lebanese and Chinese communities. Such places play key roles in sustaining community links, but are located in inconspicuous places such as rooms above shops.

Local libraries in culturally diverse communities also play an important role in providing newspapers from a range of countries as well as books, tapes and videos in a range of languages. Marrickville Library, Sydney is seen as a highly valued migrant place, acting as a repository of local migrant histories.

Local neighbourhood centres run by Local Government Community Services often become places to sustain cultural heritage, particularly now that the post-WWII migrants are aging. Newtown Neighbourhood Centre has been a meeting place for migrants from former Yugoslavia for the last thirty years. The May Murray Centre in Marrickville continues to be a place where different migrant groups meet to discuss programs to sustain their cultural heritage. St Peters Neighbourhood Centre continues to be a meeting place for the Portuguese-speaking community from Portugal and the

more recent migrants from Brazil. As Sue McHattie, a community arts worker for Marrickville Council pointed out

> *… very few members of that community* [former Yugoslav] *live in Newtown any longer. They all live in places that are at least half an hour away and they travel to the neighbourhood centre to meet at least once a week … If you look at a Municipality like Marrickville which has had a series of community groups through it, some have decided to stay and maintain their sense of place; others have left but still have that collective 'eye' on the place. A sense of custodianship remains.* (Armstrong,1993b:35)

Australian places are also custodial for migrants where Australia has become the repository for cultural practices no longer evident in the original country. There are many areas in Australia which carry the 1950s heritage of a range of countries. This is most evident in the language, values and ways of sustaining cultural rituals. They reflect a heritage of their original culture which has become frozen in time. This culture is sustained through various rituals held in shared places such as processions through city streets but it is also sustained in folkloric centres such as the large folkloric centre in Addison Road, Marrickville.

Other places which sustain migrant culture are the Saturday Schools run by different migrant groups for their children, so that they can learn the language of their parents and other aspects of their cultural heritage. These Saturday Schools are often located in different migrant clubs or migrant centres shown in Plate 7.18.

PLATE 7.18.

Place to sustain migrant culture – Islamic centre,

Carrington Road, Marrickville. (A.P.1994).

Places of Sadness and Death

Migrant groups have particularly poignant associations with large older hospitals. Because migrants formed enclaves in inner suburbs, they were taken to large central hospitals when they were ill. This was often very distressing because migrants were unable to speak the necessary English to explain their symptoms, added to which strict visiting hours and rigid hospital schedules meant that family members could not always be with them. Many large inner hospitals in Sydney have gone. This includes Crown Street Women's Hospital where numerous migrant women had their babies, Sydney Hospital where migrants living in the inner-city were taken and Lewisham Hospital which is of high significance for the Greek and Lebanese community.

Cemeteries are also important migrant places. Different migrant groups have different rituals associated with death, but some cemeteries have a strong migrant presence such as the rows of imposing Italian mausolea at Bunnerong Cemetery in Sydney, shown in Plate7.19. The Chinese section of Rookwood Cemetery in Sydney is marked by a pagoda, built and maintained by the Chinese community. Table 7.14 summarises these places and their significance.

PLATE 7.19.

Bunnerong Cemetery adjoining Chinese market garden

on sand hills at La Perouse, Sydney. (A.P.1995).

TABLE 7.14.

Places of Sadness and Death.

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrating the experiential process of settling in to a new country.	Hospitals.	Places of distress due to language difficulties. Places of sadness due to illness but also joy due to childbirth.
Demonstrating the choice to live in Australia for an extended period of time.	Cemeteries	Places of sadness, Places for culturally specific rituals.

Migrant Enclaves

Because migrant places reflect ways people have tried to settle in Australia and make the unfamiliar become familiar as they go about their everyday lives, they are commonly aggregated into enclaves. Such enclaves include houses, shops, places of worship, places of recreation, schools, and hospitals. In the 1950s -60s, the Post Offices in these enclaves were also significant. They were places where migrant men stood in queues to post back money they earned to their families in the home country. For migrants who arrived as children, local schools are often remembered as places of persecution. Table 7.15 summarises the three types of enclaves associated with Australian cities.

TABLE 7.15.

Type: Migrant Enclaves.

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrate the experiential process of settling in to a new country.	Inner urban/ suburban enclaves.	Dense local places, close to sites of work, close to the city. Interpenetrating complex of houses, shops, places of worship reflecting different cultural groups. Shared facilities such as schools, hospitals, leisure places.
Demonstrate Unselfconscious translocated cultural practices.	Rural/urban edge	Collection of small farms and market gardens managed by specific cultural groups. Local churches, shops, and hall.
Demonstrate Hybridity of cultures.	Hostel generated enclaves.	Generated by location of hostels, for example Cabramatta, originally Anglo-Australian, then Eastern European, now Vietnamese. Rapidly growing collection of small businesses.

Inner urban/suburban enclaves include places developed near inner-city markets such as Chinatowns and the more recent post-WWII enclaves developed near large industries,

wharves and railways. Chinatowns have a long history in Australia. These are now so integrated into the centre of large Australian cities that they are beginning to form parallel central business districts. As an enclave, Chinatowns include people from Mainland China with a history in Australia of one hundred and fifty years as well as the more recent economic migrants from Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore since the 1980s. Thus in Chinatowns, there is a complex layering of groups, both in time and in space, the original enclave is often located some blocks away from the rapidly evolving Asian shopping Malls and business centres.

Other enclaves developed at the rural/urban edge where fertile soils enabled migrants to continue their culture of small farms and market gardens. The third type of enclave developed as a result of migrant hostels. Enclaves such as the British migrant dominated Bradfield Park, and Vietnamese dominated Cabramatta were areas adjoining migrant hostels in Sydney.

Enclaves also had meaning for migrants who did not live there. The following quote by a 1950s migrant from Bagdad described how different migrants were drawn to enclaves which resonated with their former culture.

> *…I remember Mum, as we were growing older … all she wanted to do was to go to Redfern – and it wasn't because my Mum felt that Redfern people were really part of us. But it was the smell of the place. In those days, in the early 1960s, Redfern was a place where my Mum felt comfortable walking around there … It has a mould of cultures that made people feel 'this is part of me in here. It is part of me and I am feeling comfortable.'*
> (E.A. in Armstrong,1993b:18).

Migrant enclaves in Australia are places where migrants have chosen to live rather than marginalised places created by the mainstream community such as the ghettos in North America. In Australian cities, enclaves are layered with different migrant groups occupying the same area at a similar time or replacing certain groups over time. They are characteristically heterogeneous, consisting of members of different migrant groups together with mainstream Australians.

Hybrid Places.

Hybrid migrant places are a particularly significant form of Australian cultural heritage because they reveal the complex blends of culture which occur between different migrant groups and the Australian way of life. These places highlight the shallowness of

ethnic stereotyping. Cultural pluralism is a deeper phenomenon, where mutually-altering processes of interactive exchange generate complex hybridity rather than a stereotypic display of difference. Table 7.16 summarises the criteria and meanings associated with places of this complexity.

TABLE 7.16.

Type: Hybrid Places.

Criteria	Sub-sets	Meanings
Demonstrates the experiential process of settling in to a new country.	Cross-cultural blending between migrant groups.	Unusual proximity to cultures not formerly encountered. Overlays of different cultures in unplanned ways.
Demonstrates unselfconscious translocated cultural practices.	Blending between mainstream Australian and migrant groups.	Cultural osmosis over time. Influence of wars & refugees.
Demonstrates transformed cultural practices.	Trying to be Australian.	Empathy with inner city working class Australians by some migrant groups.
Demonstrates hybridity of cultures.	Unselfconscious incorporation of migrant cultures into mainstream Australia.	Cultural osmosis over time.
	Fulfilment of migrant aspirations.	Newly created imagined places, representations of the original country.

Places which reflect cross-cultural blending between different migrant cultures often result where groups, who have no former history of contact, inadvertently occupy a similar area of Australian cities such as the blending of Lebanese and Indian cultures in Sydney. Similarly, Chinese and Italian cultures have made unusual connections where the Chinese Centre, Australian Chinese Cultural Association, occupies the site of the former Italian community centre. The Chinese have chosen to keep the opulent Italianate interiors but the formal central reception space is now filled with heavily used mah-jong tables.

Another form of hybrid place involves the connection between an iconic Australian place, the Returned Servicemen's Club or RSL and the Vietnamese community. A number of ex-service men and women fought in the Vietnamese War and have close affiliations with the Vietnamese refugees in Australia. Marrickville RSL Club, shown in Plate 7.20, is an example of this form of hybrid place where various functions are

held for the Vietnamese community. Plate 7.21 shows the fulfilment of the 1950s-60s' migrant aspirations, an imagined representation of an opulent home in the country of origin, realised in Australia.
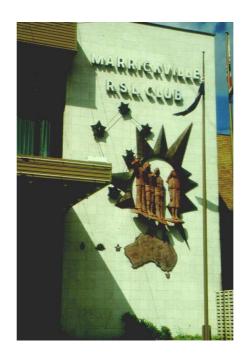

PLATE 7.20.	PLATE 7.21.
Hybrid migrant place, Marrickville R.S.L., a meeting place for Vietnamese refugees and Australian ex-service personnel. (A.P.1994).	Recently constructed Greek migrant's house in Marrickville. (A.P.1995).

Trying to be Australian has generated another group of hybrid migrant places. Some Lebanese community groups have shown strong empathy with a perceived sense of Australian 'egalitarianism' and lack of pretension. Places which reflect this are commonly shared inner-city suburbs where the hybridity is evident in the persistent presence of working-class Australians, although the subtlety of this relationship is being altered by gentrification. For others, this form of hybridity has occurred gradually, a form of cultural osmosis, simply by living in Australia for a long time, so evocatively expressed by Melba, in Chapter Four, when describing her sense of being Greek-Australian and her wish to restore her house to its former Australian character.

There are certain migrants who tried to become Australian by actively denying their culture in order to forget their country of origin. This tended to occur with people who

were escaping persecution and did not want to be subjected to another form of persecution in Australia, namely the discrimination practices associated with the policy of Assimilation. The phenomenon is explained by a migrant who came from the Middle East in the 1950s.

> [Denial of cultural heritage] *catches up with you, no matter how much you deny it. I denied myself anything to do with my background for ten to twelve years. Then I went back to Europe … it was incredible – people spoke other languages and they identified with stuff I had learned as a kid – it was amazing – this great big civilisation and I denied it in Australia and I had to forget it. But I felt so comfortable in Europe that when I came back, I started digging into my background and expressing my individuality and my culture.* (E.A. in Armstrong,1993b:24).

It is interesting that despite the overt need by the mainstream community to deny difference in Australian heritage, some hybrid places reflect an Australian unselfconscious incorporation of the migrant presence. Pervasive examples of this are the Greek cafes in most Australian country towns, of which the Paragon Café in Katoomba is considered the 'high culture' form. In a similar vein, the ubiquitous Chinese restaurants in Australian occur in country towns. Neither the Greek cafes nor the Chinese restaurants bear any resemblance to coffee houses in Greece or local eateries in Asian villages.

Generic Typology Summary

This chapter has drawn together all the material from the discussion groups held with Greek, Lebanese, Vietnamese, Italian, and Maltese groups as well as individual interviews with Croatians, Latvians, French and Chinese migrants. Material from workshops with representative leaders of migrant communities, leading academics in migrant studies and heritage planners has also been used. The overall typology, summarised as Table 7.17, shows how migrant place-making is an important contribution to the urban cultural landscape of Australian cities.

TABLE 7.17

Generic Typology and Sub-sets of Migrant Places in Australia

Main Types	Sub Sets	Significance
Points of Arrival.	Shipping Ports. Airports.	Decision to live in Australia for an extended period of time.
Places of Temporary	Migrant Centres/Camps.	Early stage of settling in to the

Accommodation.	Urban Migrant Hostels. Boarding Houses. Compassionate Hostels.	new country.
Accidental Meeting Places.	Places to Discuss European News. Places to Join Networks. Places to Confirm Cultural Belonging.	Early stages of settling in.
Permanent Accommodation.	Inner-city Terraces. Precincts of Federation Cottages. Outer Urban/rural Market Gardens.	Settling in and making unfamiliar familiar.
Shopping Streets.	Mediterranean/European Shopping Streets. Chinese Shopping Precincts. Vietnamese Shopping Precincts. Multiple Cultural Shopping Streets.	Settling in and making unfamiliar familiar.
Sites of Work.	Large Non-urban Enterprises. Urban Industry and Infrastructure. Small Factories. Market Gardens, Farms, Vineyards. Central Market Places. Culturally Specific Migrant Enterprises.	Enterprising spirit and hard work.
Sites of Spiritual Worship.	Halls or Former Churches. Existing Churches. New Churches and Temples. Shrines in Homes and Gardens. Processional Places. Layered Sites.	Translocated cultural practices in the new country.
Places for Leisure	Hidden Places – men's clubs. Inconspicuous Places- nightclubs & cinemas. Ephemeral Places – picnic places. Highly Visible Places – new clubs. Layered Places.	Translocated and transformed cultural practices as settling in process.
Places to Sustain Cultural Heritage	Newspaper Offices. Saturday Schools. Local Libraries. Folkloric Centres. Neighbourhood Centres.	Consolidation of migration process.
Places of Sadness or Death	Hospitals. Cemeteries.	Consolidation of migration process.
Migrant Enclaves	Inner Urban/suburban Enclaves. Rural/urban Edge Enclaves. Hostel Generated Enclaves.	Consolidation of migration process.
Hybrid Places	Cross-cultural Inter-migrant Places. Cross-cultural Australian-migrant Places. Becoming Australian Places. Becoming Cosmopolitan -Naturalised Places.	Integration between host country and migrants and migrants with migrants.

Non-Generic Migrant Places

In the introduction to this chapter, I suggest that migrant places fall into two broad categories, those that are readily observable and those places that are hidden. I put forward the proposition that these places are derived from the experience of migration and everyday living as one strives to make an unfamiliar culture more familiar. This research , however, suggests that there is a third group of places. These are the unusual places that have emerged through the unique combination of a particular migrant group, their reason for migration and their specific responses to Australia in socio-cultural and environmental terms.

The research suggests that the guided discussion procedure designed for this thesis not only reveals the culturally-specific ways migrants have settled in Australia, it also has potential to reveal unusual places of high significance. These are non-generic places. Generic places became evident in guided discussions as types of places which consistently occur during the process of migrating and settling in Australia, regardless of the country of origin or the time of migration. Non-generic places are, however, specific to each cultural group. Non-generic places can only be determined by using guided discussions where mutual migrant specific problem-solving occurs iteratively. The case studies show how Greeks, Lebanese, Vietnamese and Maltese all have culturally-specific places of high significance. For the Lebanese, non-generic places emerged from deep searching for cultural connections embedded in the phenomenological hermeneutic process, shown in Chapter Five. Through this process, links between ancient silk trading traditions and heavy-duty clothing manufacture in Australia were revealed. In Chapter Six, the Maltese indicated culturally-specific places that related to their 'larrikin' life style in tightly-knit communities both in inner city and outer farming areas.

Other non-generic places became evident when I used the guided discussion process with other migrant groups, often using different coordinators. These included an Italian group in Coburg, Melbourne using a member of the community as the coordinator and a multinational group who had worked on the Snowy Mountain Scheme, led by a local Anglo-Australian historian.

The unusual non-generic place for the Italian group was a suburban house in Melbourne where the Italian labour movement, FILEF, was said to be born. The application of the

process with the Snowy Mountain scheme group revealed that it was the pioneering spirit of a multinational group who became a '*distemic community of strangers*' (Greenbie,1981) which was seen as most significant. This was exemplified by an avenue of international flags erected in the 1950s in a local park in the nearby town of Cooma, NSW.

Thus the guided discussions show that there are characteristic places associated with the experience of migration which are generic to all migrants and non-generic places which have deep significance for culturally-specific migrant groups.

Summary

The data gathered in this research has resulted in a vast amount of raw text. In Section Two, three case studies showed three different ways of analysing discursive texts, each of which confirmed that the experience of migration has resulted in places that can be a complex blend of specific cultures, reasons for migration and different eras of migration policies. The case studies also showed how migrant groups can work towards an understanding of what their heritage places are in Australia.

A second way of working with the data was to look for commonalities between migrant groups. This resulted in generic themes about the experience of migration and places reflecting this experience. Accordingly, this chapter has been presented as a set of tables and explanations which make up a system of classification for migrant places. Each of the place types is laden with meanings and values which are culturally-specific. These meanings have been derived from an analysis of transcripts from numerous in-depth discussion groups from a range of migrant groups. The interpretation of such meanings has been derived from a hermeneutically rigorous process so that the meanings are not gratuitous or subjective whims, but are judgements based on reciprocal confirmations of successive experiences where the final interpretation is seen to be the most appropriate.

Despite some reservations, classifications have value in that they allow disconnected phenomena to be integrated into an organising framework. This framework also enables new information to be added and comparisons to be made which confirm similarities or bring out differences. In this way, the classification is a rudimentary form of theory making.

The classification used in this chapter has been organised around a broad chronology reflecting the generic process migrants go through as they settle into a new country. Places which reflect this chronological experience are thus generic types. There are also broader phenomena which inform these types, some of which apply to all types and others which are only pertinent to specific types. I have called these phenomena, criteria; namely the criteria which demonstrate the way the migrant experience influences places.

Finally, there are a group of places which reveal the unusual richness associated with Australian migrant place-making. These are the non-generic, culturally and time-specific migrant places.