DIASPORIC and TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES in SELECTED SHORT STORIES of GREEK AUSTRALIAN WRITERS 1901 – 2001

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This thesis is dedicated to my three wonderful children,

Filia, Gabriel and Yanni
… it is from those who have suffered the sentence of history - subjugation, domination, diaspora, displacement - that we learn our most enduring lessons.

Homi K. Bhabha, *Redrawing the Boundaries* (1992)

Oh! There is no spiritual refuge, no homeland for the man who lives in a foreign land…


The foreign land had sown on our backs enormous trees which took deep root into our minds.

We kept on breathing secretly, our dreams we enticed nostalgically, forever murmuring the sounds of orphanhood.

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This thesis examines the notions of Greek identity in Australia through the analysis of selected short stories written in the Greek language by Greek Australian writers. Moreover, it focuses on the evolution of Greek identity in the diaspora and specifically in Australia during the twentieth century, whilst taking into consideration the recent phenomenon of transnationalism. The short story has been considered in the present study as the most representative and suitable type of genre to examine the concept of identity. As such, it is through the short story that different themes are explored, revealing aspects of Greek community-life in Australia, with an emphasis on identity issues and dilemmas. Attention is drawn to the empowering presence of a wide range of symbols and indicators, revealing an identity which is rich and complex in socio-cultural, historical and linguistic characteristics, relating to the Greek immigrant experience in the diaspora. The thesis concludes that there has been a shift from the original rigid migrant identity of the early twentieth century to a more flexible, tolerant, adapted and globally oriented identity.
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Andrea Garivaldis, declare the following:

- That except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, the thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted from a thesis presented by the candidate for another degree or diploma in any university or other institution, except where reference is made in the text of the thesis;
- That no other person’s work previously published or written has been used without due reference in the text of the thesis;
- That the thesis has not been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

SIGNED: ________________________________              DATED: _______________

Andrea Garivaldis
PROLOGUE

There is no human being that has endured the consequences of migration without experiencing intense feelings of nostalgia and longing for their homeland. My journey in the diaspora began in 1975 after following my parents to Australia where they intended to stay for just a few years and then return to our beloved homeland, the beautiful island of Cyprus. However, the long standing occupation of our ancestral home since the Turkish invasion to Cyprus in 1974 has made it impossible for us to go back.

Like many other migrants I remained in Australia where I married, and have had three children. The uprooting from my country as well as my life in the new land with a growing family raised in me several questions about identity. I began searching for ways in which migrants can withstand the challenges of migration without becoming disconnected from their cultural heritage. This thesis has given me the opportunity to explore the dilemmas of identity, taking into account the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism since these have an affect in the way identity is constructed, challenged and evolved.

Finally, the journey of carrying out this research has made it possible to achieve some interesting outcomes concerning the identity of Greek Australians through their literary writings.

Melbourne, June 2010
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I would like to express sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Desmond Cahill from RMIT University, for his continuous support and guidance throughout this research project, especially at times of difficulty. His patience and encouragement, along with his expertise, have allowed me to explore the issues concerning the migrant presence in Australia from the perspective of the social sciences. Professor Cahill’s help in identifying and adopting some of the complex mechanisms for unveiling significant aspects of diasporic and transnational identity has been invaluable. In particular, he guided this research to acquire a broader conceptual framework into the notions and theories of identity and transnationalism.

I would also like to extend a special ‘thank you’ to Professor George Kanarakis from Charles Sturt University in NSW, whose inspirational support has enabled me to approach Greek literature with a more critical eye. Through extensive telephone conversations, often late in the evenings, we discussed and analysed every aspect of my drafts regarding the framework of the literary analysis of the selected short stories. His pioneer work in Greek Australian literature has been a stepping stone in this research in identifying and presenting some of the early works which could only be accessed in his publications. I am thankful to him for his interest and advice which he continued to give me even after the designated period of appointment as associate supervisor.

Special thanks go to my family, my husband Iakovos and my three children Filia, Gabriel and Yanni for their tolerance in having me spend many hours reading the literature and writing the thesis. Without their support this project would not have been completed.

In addition, I would like to express my gratefulness to my beloved mother, who, although has long ago passed away, instilled in me from a very young age a deep love for learning and the desire to strive for high academic achievement.

Finally, I would like to thank the RMIT Research Office staff for the opportunities they offered me in participating in research seminars and workshops over the past few years. I also thank the University of Crete where in June-July 2007 I was invited to deliver a paper on
‘Identity and Diasporic Literature’ at the International Conference on ‘Globalization and Greek Diaspora’. In June 2009 another paper based on the findings of this research study was presented at the 8th International Conference on Greek Research organised by Flinders University in South Australia.

Andrea Garivaldis
CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 From Sunset to a New Dawn

The sunset of the twentieth century found the Greek migrant community in Australia already settled with an active involvement in Australian society. Undoubtedly the Australian way of life has been influenced in many ways by the Greek culture brought to Australia, as have other cultures. Similarly, the Greek community has been influenced by the Australian way of life. As a result, the original Greek migrant identity has moved through stages of metamorphosis, so that today it can be referred to as the Greek Australian identity. This multifaceted identity proves what many sociologists and psychologists agree on: that there exists not one identity but many for each and every individual.

The Greek Australian community, with its corner stores, taverns, cafes, Greek Orthodox churches and Greek language schools, has maintained a strong Hellenic character that embodies the vibrant Greek migrant presence in Australia. However, the first generation Greek migrants are aging; as a result of deaths their numbers are diminishing year by year. At the same time, subsequent generations, although still maintaining a large part of their cultural heritage, are becoming more and more distant from their roots. The declining Greek language, being a second or even a foreign language for them, the absence of Greek-speaking parents or grandparents within the family environment, the overlooked Greek traditions and the frequent phenomenon of intermarriage are all defining factors of a new and rapidly evolving dimension of Greek identity. At the dawn of the twenty-first century these factors emphasize how important it is to examine and evaluate the past and consider the future of the Greek diaspora in Australia and worldwide generally. It is vital to identify the processes and degrees of adaptation, integration or assimilation of Greek migrants into mainstream society and the impact of these processes on Greek identity across the globe.

The concept of identity constitutes an essential issue to be researched through the study of ethnocultural behaviours. While during the twentieth century, social research on migration generally focused on the ways migrants adapted themselves to, or were excluded from, the place they emigrated to, a new perspective has been introduced recently. This approach “accent the attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, traditions and causes
outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved” (Vertovec 2001, p. 574).

Transnationalism and globalisation have had considerable impact on human societies and identities at varying levels. Notwithstanding the already existent forms of migrant connection to their homelands, the “current transnational approach underscores numerous ways in which, and the reasons why, today’s linkages are different from, or more intense than, earlier forms” (Vertovec 2001, p. 574; see also Foner 1997; Morawska 1999, Portes et al 1999). Thus, the new transnational trends create links across different parts of the world, establishing an intercultural network that embraces a whole range of community groups. As a result, these groups, including the Greek diasporic communities, are brought closer together.

However, the life and contribution of Greeks in the diaspora have always been, to a great extent, neglected by Greece. Only recently has Greece recognized its diasporic communities as a dynamic part of Hellenism that often influences national issues and the status of Greece internationally.

The current bibliography on Greek literature makes little or no reference to identity, with the exception of a few works. The unique literary contribution of Professor Kanarakis titled “Opseis tis Logotehnias ton Ellinon tis Afstralias kai Neas Zilandias”1 discusses Greek identity and how it appears in the literature of Greek background writers as well as Australian writers. George Veis, former Consul of Greece in Melbourne and a writer himself, in his introduction to this book, states that the diaspora supplies Greek literature with paradoxical texts which are continuously longing for recognition internally (in the diaspora) and externally (in Greece), explaining how the texts usually result from a desperate effort to return to a rather idealised sanctified place.

The scholarly work done so far on the relationship between identity and literature remains incomplete, thus inviting new researchers to dig into the wealth of literary treasures that lie waiting and fill the lacuna with new findings. Furthermore, the question of identity remains a foremost priority within our globalizing world as challenges are continuously proliferating technologically and sociologically.

---

It is vital that Greek diasporic literature is documented, studied and acknowledged for the following reasons: firstly, because the Greek language spoken and written by first generation migrants is gradually declining outside the geographical borders of Greece. Most of the literary works of the new generations are written in the dominant language, in the case of Australia, the English language; secondly, Greek diasporic literature may reveal issues of identity that can determine the future of the Greek diaspora; and thirdly, such studies can provide evidence of the social lives of Greeks living outside the Greek national borders that can be used in other areas of research.

1.2 Multicultural literature in Australia

Australia has influenced migrants in many ways, cultivating particular patterns in their behaviour and attitudes, entrenching in them questions about identity and belonging. Together with the nostalgia for home, migrants often reflect on their experiences, searching for answers that might bond together fragments of self. In shaping and reshaping within them a world of emotions formed through the inner struggle of survival in a foreign and often hostile environment, a large number of migrants find refuge in writing, a means of documenting their experiences. As a result, ‘multicultural’ or ‘diasporic’ literature’ is born. This literature can have many definitions according to its national contexts, and is represented by those who create it, the ‘migrant writers’ who are sometimes referred to as ‘ethnic writers’, or ‘minority group writers’ (Gunew 1994). Such definitions differentiate these groups from the mainstream writers of Anglo-Saxon background. However, notwithstanding the terminology the literature of migrant writers is characterized by origin, i.e. the culture or country that the writer identifies with.

A detailed study of migrant literature reveals an abundance of issues related to gender, class, ethnicity, religion, communication barriers and survival in the host-country. In addition, the needs and aspirations of individuals, the difficulties in adapting and surviving in a new environment, the consequences of dislocation, the grief of being detached from homeland and coming to terms with severed family ties, as well as other nostalgic recollections provide an incentive for expression through artistic creativity. The most convenient way to escape these dilemmas is through the forming of sub-groups within the wider community, where the migrants generally feel comfortable and secure, and where they can communicate in their own language. That writing becomes soothing, when the feelings of frustration or disappointment, and the longing for loved ones and places in the homeland are affirmed socially. Writing allows the release of the emotions of nostalgia, and has much to reveal.
1.3 Overview of Greek literature in Australia

Greek literature in Australia, with oral poetry appearing early in the twentieth century\(^2\), and the first written publication appearing in 1913\(^3\), provides unique examples of texts that can be used as substantial data to be studied. This literature is rich in literary content, and is associated with family life, local and global issues, community activities, and a wealth of migrant experiences and adventures. Greece is often the central point of reference, usually imagined as the way it was before the migrants departed. Quite often, however, Greece appears in the literature in its present state, illustrated by Greek migrants who were either impressed or disappointed after returning home. References to Greece such as these are made by the characters in the stories through their struggles to connect the present with memories of the past. As such, the writers express a surge of emotions reflecting identity in its ethnic, diasporic and transnational contexts.

Although the bulk of Greek Australian literature has been written in Greek, a constantly increasing number of literary texts written in the English language have appeared in recent years. This is due to the fact that the number of first-generation writers Greek in the diaspora is gradually declining, allowing new generation writers of the Greek diaspora in Australia to take precedence, and who are naturally more fluent in the host-country’s dominant language. The themes dealt by the second-generation writers include significant social elements pinpointing identity problems that are difficult for them to overcome, such as the dilemma of living between two worlds, and surviving in a modern society whilst still bound by the conservative attitudes of their parents.

The works of Greek language literature in Australia are produced by writers who came from different parts of Greece and other centres of the Greek diaspora such as Cyprus, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The Greek Cypriots in particular have been significant contributors to this literature: the very first Greek language publication was written by a Greek Cypriot,\(^4\) while many others followed. The hyphenated identities of the writers, i.e. Greek-Australian, Greek-Cypriot-Australian, provide examples of diversity, and in the contexts of transnationalism and


\(^4\) George Nicolaides (1913)
globalisation, are becoming all the more common. The plethora of linguistic elements in the selected short stories reflects the language and backgrounds of these Greek communities, which in turn gives an insight into their social life in Australia.

A ‘diachronic’ study of the literary productions of the writers of Greek origin reveals that this literature is characterized by time span, volume, variety of genre and quality (Kanarakis 2003a). It is a corpus which can be researched in studies focusing on ‘migrant writing’, ‘Greek literature’, ‘Greek diaspora’, ‘Greek identity’, ‘diasporic identity’ and other related areas. This thesis covers the Greek language literature produced in Australia over a period of 100 years, beginning early in the twentieth century.

1.4 Aim

1.4.1 Research questions and objectives

The main research question was formulated as follows:

How do first and second generation Greek-language writers in Australia perceive multifaceted notions of identity in their ethnic, diasporic and transnational contexts, and how are these expressed in their short stories?

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1) to examine the literary commentaries on the writings of Greek language writers in Australia from the perspective of identity;

2) to explore and analyse the multifaceted concept of expressed identity, based on a content analysis of selected short stories of Greek language writers in their ethnic, diasporic and transnational contexts;

3) to identify the factors impacting on the Greek identity in the process of its stability or fluidity.

1.5 Research methodology

The research methodology undertaken involves a content analysis of the multifaceted notions of identity in selected short-stories, written in the Greek language by first and second generation writers in Australia.
A devised model of *identity indicators* is used in the analysis which consists of the seven indicators: a) place; b) language; c) socio-cultural elements; d) core values; e) religiosity; f) family formation; and g) national symbols.

### 1.5.1 Rationale for the Research

The reasons for the present research study were based on the following:

1. *a century is a substantial period to be studied, and therefore allows for a sufficient number of examples of text for analysis*;
2. *short-stories written in the Greek language are a popular genre among the Greek migrant writers in Australia and the number of these texts is significant*;
3. *short-stories are ideal for analysis, and provide important information on aspects of life in Australia, or in Greece before and after the writers’ migration, their concerns, aspirations and psychological state. Throughout these texts the writers reveal their identity through the characters’ real life situations, representing genuine people within their family and social contexts. Therefore, the characters in the stories are often reflective of the writers’ biographical journey*.

Due to the plethora of literary works, the research is limited to the texts written in the Greek language by first and second generation writers. It is expected that the results will reveal types of identity expressed by these writers through the characters and themes of the stories. Several personal identities are expected to appear in particular, some represented by the parent, son, daughter, grandparent, husband, wife, worker, shop owner, and even the gambler. Diasporic and transnational identities might include the immigrant, the transmigrant, the community member (*symparikos*), the fellow Greek (*sympatriotis*), and the global citizen (*politis tou kosmou*). Identity in its broader meaning will be examined as a wide spectrum of characteristics, namely personal, ethnic, cultural, hyphenated, dual, collective, diasporic, transnational and global.

A major part of the research study deals with the concept of Greek *ethnic* identity, often referred to as ‘*Greekness*’, and its meaning for the Greeks in the Australian diaspora, as well as the way it is conceived by the significant ‘*others*’ (other members of Australian society). Furthermore, the research will examine how the identity of diasporic Greeks is perceived by Greeks in Greece.
One of the limitations of this study is the dearth of previous studies on the issue of Greek identity in the diaspora through literature, in which to support the current research. Professor Cahill’s studies on ethnic identity and migrant adaptation, although focusing on youth, provide an insight into the processes of migration and ethnic identification in Australia.

In regards to the Greek literature aspect of the thesis Professor Kanarakis’s pioneer studies (1985, 1991) on the literary presence of Greeks in Australia, and his subsequent work (2003a) on aspects of this literature with specific reference to the concept of identity, have certainly been a good starting point. Other valuable sources include the studies of Hugh Gilchrist on the history of Greek migration to Australia. Price’s publications on information concerning the demographic presence of the Greek population in Australia have particularly been useful in the assessment of certain aspects of the Greek community.

1.5.2 Method of data analysis

The method of analysis will consider:

a) methodology practices used by other researchers such as socio-linguistic, socio-cultural, thematic and interpretative approaches;

b) the findings and conclusions of past research on identity and Greek literature; and

c) the use of a devised model of ‘indicators’ of the identity of Greeks in Australia in diasporic and transnational contexts (discussed in Chapter Four).

The nature of the methodological approach adopted is:

a) diachronic;

b) thematic; and

c) comparative.

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The diachronic approach examines the concept of Greek identity and its evolution through the course of the twentieth century. This single period is divided into three historical periods, based on the pattern of Greek immigration to Australia. The classification of the writers into the three historical periods is based on the date in which the writers published their first literary work. These periods are detailed in Chapter Four.

The thematic approach identifies and analyses the themes that appear in the selected literary writings. The themes are expected to revolve around the family and social lives of the Greek migrants in Australia, the issues that relate to the nostalgia for, and memory of, the homeland and all aspects of Greece, including its natural, historical and social dimensions. Other themes are expected to involve the Greek values and national character that embody the lifestyles of Greeks in Australia, and in Greece.

The comparative approach compares the following across the three historical periods: a) Greek immigration and settlement in Australia; b) the writers, their backgrounds, and their approaches to identity through the characters; c) the characteristics of the selected short stories, including thematic, linguistic and socio-cultural elements.

The Greek identity is examined from three key perspectives: the ethnic; the cultural; and the religious. These are interwoven and considered to be important aspects of Greek life for most Greek people. The Greek-Australian identity will be studied in relation to the Greek identity and the diasporic Greek identity. The diasporic and transnational identity will be explored according to the way the characters perceive the different entities, situations and events, or from the perspective of “other”, i.e. when referring to aspects of the Australian environment and lifestyle in contrast to their Greek equivalents. Finally, qualitative research methods will be used extensively, as they involve description, interpretation, verification and evaluation.

1.5.3 The focus of the research

The focus of this research is the genre of the short-story written in the Greek language. The short story has been deemed the most appropriate tool for the study of identity for the reasons discussed further in Chapter Four.

Following a thorough study of the literary production of the Greeks in Australia it appears that the most preferred literary mode is poetry. It seems that poetry is the most convenient way to express feelings and experiences, although high quality poetry can be deceptively as laborious a task as that of writing prose. However, poems are often either very symbolic or
very shallow in terms of revealing true ideas or concepts that become lost amongst bursts of creativity and fluency of expression. In addition, the poetic production of Greek writers in Australia has been substantially studied and has gained critiques, whilst the short story has not received the same attention. The novel on the other hand offers a complexity of issues that make it difficult to select a suitable sample written in the Greek language. Besides being a technically demanding genre to deal with, the novel remains in the early stages of development among Greek writers in Australia. Conversely, the short-story has been well developed and accepted by the Greek community, offering a rich source of literature with a range of themes.

The literary texts used in this study have been chosen according to their suitability as literary data constituting a substantial source of analysis. The analysis of identity includes historical, geographical, sociological, anthropological, religious, philosophical, and cultural heritage themes, all of which explore ancestral roots. Ancestry in particular signifies a central field of literary foundation in the texts. In addition, the analysis incorporates linguistic references, either directly or indirectly, that provide unique insights into cultural phenomena that often cross borders (Habel 2006).

1.5.4 Selection and classification of the writers and their stories

The writers must be of first or second generation Greek origin and must have lived at some stage in Australia. They are classified into three historical periods (shown in Chapter 4), according to the date they first published a literary work.

The short stories are selected according to the following criteria:

- that they have been published;
- they are written in the Greek language;
- they have identifiable characteristics such as:
  - plot
  - setting
  - characters
  - themes

The writers and their works are presented in chronological order, thus, the writer is placed in the historical period in which they published their first literary work. This way the order in which each story is analysed and presented begins from the early literary presence of Greeks in Australia at the early 20th century and finishes in the early 21st century.
CHAPTER TWO

2. DIASPORA AND TRANSNATIONALISM

2.1 Introduction

Migration has been one of the central characteristics of Greeks during their 4000 years of existence. According to the Greek demographer Polyzos, there have been three main epochs of Greek migration: (1) the ‘agrarian’ emigration of antiquity; (2) the ‘commercial’ emigration of the Middle Ages; and (3) the ‘industrial’ emigration of the twentieth century (Polyzos 1947). As the focus of this thesis is the presence of Greeks in Australia, Greek migration to Australia will be considered later in this chapter.

This chapter explores the associated concepts of diaspora and transnationalism. The first section deals with the notion of diaspora, its structure and organisation and incorporating its sub-topics: the sense of belonging, home and place, exile or xenitia, and migrant literature. The second section explores the Greek diaspora covering its formation and structure in Australia, Greek migration to and settlement in Australia, and an overview of the literature produced in Australia by Greek migrant writers. The third section presents approaches and interpretations about transnationalism and transnational migration.

2.2 Diaspora

2.2.1 The Notion of Diaspora

The term ‘diaspora’ refers to the geographical dispersal of ethnic groups, which, though separated from the cultural centre, live as ethnic minorities within the boundaries of a culturally different society. These ethnic groups move between two reference groups and between two cultural systems and as a result they form their identity under quite specific circumstances (Hettlage, 1991; Damanakis, 2006). The word ‘diaspora’ is derived from its equivalent Greek word, which derives from the verb speiro (to sow) and the preposition dia (throughout). For the ancient Greeks, ‘diaspora’ implied migration or colonisation. For others such as the Jews, Armenians, Palestinians and Africans, however, it has a harsher interpretation, as it represents life in exile due to eviction from the homeland. Cohen (1997) refers to five kinds of diaspora: Victim (e.g. Jews, Armenians), Labour (Indian, Chinese),
Trade (Chinese, Lebanese), Imperial (British) and Cultural (Caribbean) diasporas. Diasporic communities which “settled outside their natal (or considered natal) territories, acknowledge that “the old country” - a notion often buried deep in language, religion, custom or folklore - always has some claim on their loyalty and emotion” (Cohen 1997. p.9).

The concept of diaspora, although old, has recently taken on new dimensions. The traditional connection of the term ‘diaspora’ to the migrant experience has, during the last two decades, become an area of more systematic and cross-disciplinary study. Whereas the concept of diaspora was initially concerned with relatively small populations in the Mediterranean area, today it applies to the whole world with almost every ethnocultural group having its own diaspora (Fishman 2005). In summary, the general approach to diaspora refers to voluntary or involuntary removal from the “ancestral” land.

A recent study (Lahneman 2005) suggests several interpretations and a tendency for diaspora to be used to mean different things. The sociological and anthropological approach to diaspora describes it as a set of communities that possess distinguishable characteristics regardless of whether these communities maintain any kind of relationship with their former homelands. However, the prevailing definition of diaspora refers to a group of individuals that conceives of its separateness based on a set of characteristics and a common ethnicity or nationality, and who live in a host country while maintaining ties with the home country. Thus, diaspora is always referred to in the context of the existence of a home country, a term that is identical with ‘homeland’, although the former is a broader term, denoting an entity that can span beyond state boundaries. The attachment to the homeland is usually cultural although some studies have identified that it can also be politically oriented with obvious or latent tendencies, such as, for example, the desire to repatriate whenever possible. Other forms of attachment entail a chain of transnational links with the home country such as the sending of remittances home, voting in the home country elections, funding civic projects, forming groups to lobby home or host governments, participating in transnational criminal activity, or even, in some cases, supporting transnational terrorism. Recent studies have revealed that the members of a diaspora are self-identified. “This means that events affecting [these members’] countries of origin can cause persons of a given ethnic descent living in another country to self-identify themselves as members of their home-country’s diaspora when they hadn’t formerly considered themselves as such”, causing them to become “politically active in support of some cause affecting their home country or homeland” or “stop supporting initiatives and causes affecting their home country” (Lahneman 2005, p. 11).
The same study also observed that diasporas can overlap, thus individuals can belong to more than one diaspora. The Greek-Cypriot diaspora, for example, can be said to be part of the Greek diaspora, thus, a kind of diaspora within a diaspora (also Clogg 1999, p. viii). Thus, diaspora has now acquired new connotations related to notions such as transnational migration, global cultural hybridity and deterritorialization (Alfonso et al 2004).

Furthermore, the term ‘diaspora’ applies to groups with different origins whose diversity needs to be acknowledged and appreciated. The example of this diversity includes: a) Migrants, who are individuals perceiving their situation as either permanent (Irish immigrants to America in the 19th century) or temporary (Turkish guest workers in Germany), which, however, can change into permanent diasporas. Migration, therefore, can be voluntary or involuntary; b) Refugees, who are a sub-category of migration but implying that the migration was involuntary and sudden and who presume that they will be able to return to their home country in a reasonably short period of time; c) Exiles, a category of refugees who must remain in the host country until some political resolution takes place in the home country; d) Ethnic groups, referring to persons who self-identify with other persons of the same ethnicity living outside their home country, but attach importance to their roots to some degree; e) Expatriates, who are persons of one country living in another, implying a voluntary exile with possible plans to return to the home country; f) Indigenous peoples, who, though not part of diasporas per se, exhibit many of the same characteristics as transnational communities, minority status in their states and distinctive cultural characteristics that resist assimilation, such as Aboriginal Australians. Regardless of the category to which a displaced person belongs, except for the indigenous people, the general term describing the individual is either “settler” or “migrant”.

Finally, in answering the question, ‘who is a settler and who is a migrant’, “historically and in popular discourse […] ‘settler’ has been used in relation to English speaking people newly arriving in Australia, whilst ‘migrant’ has been used for those of non-English speaking background” (Kalantzis 1992, p.199). Ethnic has also been another widely used term in Australia, especially during the mass migration periods of the 1950s and 1960s. The associated identities that exist within a particular society derive from the existence of the ‘other’. Establishing a ‘voice’ and a ‘presence’ constitutes a foremost necessity which leads to the formation of the ethnic communities that are characterized by language and custom.
2.2.2 Diasporic communities

Diasporas are usually studied through their associated diasporic, often referred to as migrant or ethnic communities. Diasporic communities are often represented through their groups or diasporic (ethnic) associations which are independent civic organizations or government sponsored (usually by the home government) and are based in either the home or the host country. These associations play important roles in diasporic politics and they often influence home or host country policies (Lahneman 2005, p. 12). The migrant-group associations are in their majority culturally oriented, but when the need arises, they unite and adopt a political role. The durability of diasporic communities partly depends on the nature of the host country’s settlement policies.

2.2.3 Migration

Migration can be described as the geographic movement of an individual or group (Kuper and Kuper 1985; Cigler and Cigler 1985). The issue of ‘migrant’ status usually concerns persons who may have migrated legally or illegally, or refugees who become permanent residents. Regardless of the type of migration or its causes, two different geographic areas and three societies are affected. The geographic areas are the out-migration (migration abroad) and the in-migration (internal migration), and the three societies are: the society of origin, the host society and the immigrant group itself (Velikonja 1989). The motivation to migrate stems from an ordered set of values that remain unsatisfied in the individual’s or group’s home country which the individual or group seeks to satisfy. People decide to migrate for various reasons such as: to avoid political or personal oppression at home; searching for better economic conditions; avoidance of religious and ethnic persecution; exploitation and alienation; or lack of freedom (Velikonja ibid).

It can be said that migration is a multifaceted social process (Richmond 1988; Salt 1989; Castles & Miller 1993). Papastergiadis (2000) argues that migration, in its endless motion, concerns and affects almost all aspects of contemporary society. He contend that “the modern world is in a state of flux and turbulence. It is a system in which the circulation of people, resources, and information follow multiple paths, [and] the energy and barriers that either cause or deflect the contemporary patterns of movement have both obvious and hidden locations” (Papastergiadis 2000, p.1). Papastergiadis also refers to the journey of humans in time as very dangerous and unpredictable with financial changes in one part of the world having repercussions in another, and he goes on to comment on a number of global economic, environmental and technological crises and hazards, which he calls ‘sources of fear’. These
factors force people to move, thus creating flows of international migration across the world. Considering that this phenomenon affects many countries including Australia, it is significant to note that Australia is among the top ten countries of the world with the largest numbers of international migrants.\footnote{According to United Nations’ document \textit{Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision}, Migration Policy Institute, there were 4,097,000 international migrants living in Australia in the year 2005, while the global figure of international migrants in the same year was 190,633,564.}

Migration may result from the desire to see other parts of the world, the thirst for exploration and adventure, adverse socio-economic conditions, and the consequences of war that have forced people to seek a better life outside the boundaries of their own country. Today, people are still migrating in search of better economic conditions, as a result of political or religious persecution or to escape various forms of exploitation, alienation or cultural deprivation experienced in their own country. In the context of a broadened scope of an international community, migration, together with occupational social mobility, has become a necessary feature of post-industrial societies (Richmond 1988; Stahl et al. 1993). The migratory process is followed by feelings of loss of loved persons back home, perhaps cultural shock and its derivatives of loneliness, unfamiliarity with the host environment, the new language and the different culture.

For others, migration is conceived as a ‘quintessential experience’ in the twentieth century (Bromley, 2000). Pandurang (2001) adds to this, stating that the number of people who moved in the last century was the largest ever in history. Migration, as well as return [or reverse] migration, is a process and praxis viewed as an expression of the cultural imaging of place, “where the migrants’ and returnees’ evolving lives produce reconstructions of the extended social world, both in the home and the host country. Migrants as decision-making individuals are recognized as socially embedded, active, intentional agents who influence as much as they are influenced by the context in which they are located.” (Christou 2006, p.3). According to Goldlust and Richmond’s typology of migration, migrants can be grouped in five categories: 1) the urban villager; 2) the pluralist; 3) the assimilated; 4) the transilient; and 5) the alienated or defeated (Goldlust and Richmond 1974). See Table 2.1 below.
Table 2.1 The Typology of Migration (Goldlust and Richmond 1974)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Migrants</th>
<th>Typical characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The urban villagers</td>
<td>Low educated, close knit social networks of kith and kin, rely on ethnic press and radio, committed to permanent residency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pluraristically integrated settlers</td>
<td>Mid to high educated, close to ethnic network, able to mix very well in mainstream society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Assimilating permanent settlers</td>
<td>They move away from their ethnic heritage, try to be close to mainstream society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Transilient</td>
<td>Very highly educated and short-term residents, eg. diplomats, businessmen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Allianated or defeated</td>
<td>Unhappy with their situation in Australia, they will not stay, eg. Have had industrial accidents, lost control over their lives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same study identified that the length of residence in the host country is critical in nature (Goldlust and Richmond 1974), thus, the longer the migrants stay in the host country, the more chances there are to either assimilate or adapt. The relationship of Greek migrants to Australia as a receiver of migrants is shown in Appendix 2.

Today, migration has gained a global character, so it is often referred to as ‘international migration’ or ‘transnational migration’. Many more people are travelling today as a result of the ascending global labour market, more affordable international transportation and sophisticated communication technologies. In this way, the odyssean dream of return for many migrants becomes a reality, even if just a short visit to the ancestral land. It is also possible for persons living in the home country to actualize visits to their loved ones residing in the diaspora. During these processes, concepts such as ‘home’, ‘place’ and ‘belonging’ become negotiated.

2.2.4 The concepts of ‘home’, ‘place’, and ‘belonging’

The concept of ‘home’ is central to the migrant experience. “Home” may be what was left behind at the moment of emigration, what is imagined to be in the host country on arrival, what is missed and longed during migration, or what is sought after returning to the homeland. The idea of “home” entails a deep attachment to a real or imagined place or society. However, the conception of ‘home’ differs from person to person, from group to group, and from context to context. Whilst it is fixed, it changes during the process and length of migration, and by the complexities of adjustment in the host country. In addition, home can be connected to where one physically is, or it can be an emotional attachment, ‘where one’s heart is’. Therefore, one needs to consider the reasons for migration in order to understand individuals’ perceptions or understanding of ‘home’.
As an example, for migrants who seek temporary employment abroad the physical notion of ‘home’ is where they work or live temporarily, while the emotional aspect of home is back in their home-country. However, for a permanent immigrant, ‘home’ has a more dynamic dimension and it can be the physical place where they reside, or the emotional attachment to the home-country left behind. The level of attachment to each depends on the degree of adaptation to the host society. On the other hand, for refugees who naturally have never let go of their homeland, the new environment might substantiate feelings of security and of being ‘at home’ even without any sentimental attachment. In this case there is a fluctuating emotional condition that tries to balance ‘home’ and ‘at home’, and the time it takes to eventually adjust depends again on the circumstances and conditions lived by the individual in the host-country (Massey and Jess 1996).

The terms home and place are interrelated. In trying to explain the concept of ‘sense of place’ geographers, anthropologists and sociologists, as well as other scientists, have argued about the social meaning of this term. The common assumption between all the different theories is that place has no inherent meaning, except those that humans give it (Massey and Jess 1996). The longing of humans to want to have a place where they feel they belong can be a natural human characteristic. While some argue that this desire has a territorial intuition (Massey and Jess 1996, p. 98), others claim that the need for a place is a survival strategy (Smith 1990, p.1).

‘Home’ and ‘place’ create a sense of belonging in an attempt to establish links with particular localities, even if this means crossing borders. With identity being a core issue, the experience of moving from one nation to another is a complex anthropological reality. Identity and place are bipolar ideas concerning migrants. Thus, the diasporic identity is formed and negotiated according to where individuals belong. One might question the extent to which the identity or sense of belonging of a person changes as the person crosses borders. Do individuals accept or refuse the political contexts which they are confronted with in a new nation-state once they cross borders? Or do they react, thus, experiencing a revolution of identities, all struggling to survive the changes? These and many other questions can act as enlightening pathways to resolving possible conflicts between identity and place.

It appears that ‘home’, ‘belonging’ and ‘place’ are concepts interlinked with the idea of ‘homeland’ as social and physical environment and the associated identities that derive as a result of strengthening or withering ties with it. The separation from the homeland as a result of migration has a range of implications and is referred to as the concept of exile, or, for the Greeks, xenitia.
The concept *xenitia* (ks-en-i-te-i-ah), being the closest interpretation of ‘exile’, is often identical in meaning to diaspora and this connotation has been foundational. It is a core concept in this study. The term *xenitia* has no direct English equivalent and it signifies “sojourning in foreign lands, with overtones of longing for the homeland” (Clogg 1999, p. 17). It is often referred to as the condition, described by the Greeks, of living outside the homeland (Bottomley 2002). It is also connected to the historical experience of Greek people residing in the diaspora of modern times, although “little has been written on the Greek diaspora as a whole” (Ibid, p.3). Dictionary definitions of the term generally refer to it as ‘a wandering abroad’, from the Greek verb *xenitevome*, meaning *to live away from home*. This, in turn, derives from the noun *xeni* denoting the *foreign land*. Hout (2003) approaches the issue of the existence of different identities in an immigrant’s life stating that “to live ‘elsewhere’ means to continually find yourself involved in a conversation in which different identities are recognized, exchanged and mixed, but do not vanish. Here, differences function not necessarily as barriers but rather as signals of complexity”. Furthermore, “to be a stranger in a strange land, to be lost […], is perhaps a condition typical of contemporary life” (Hout 2003, p. 212).

*Xenitia* as a concept provides a springboard for many migrant writers who often express themselves from the basis of personal experience. Studies reveal that a major part of diaspora literature is about the struggle for survival in a host, often hostile society, as well as the feelings of nostalgia for the homeland that result from the change of one’s environment and the consequent outcomes of isolation, loneliness and all other relevant issues. The concept has often included the connotation of punishment and is often referred to, in mainstream Greek literature and diasporic Greek literature, in poetic, melodramatic tones, as ‘*katarameni* [cursed]’, ‘*mavri* [black]’, or ‘*pikri* [bitter]’. All have pessimistic connotations. Interestingly, when migrants return home for a short time or permanently, they are treated as ‘strangers’. The connotations of ‘stranger’ and ‘strange land’ often appear as major themes in the literary writings of Greeks in Australia, especially in scenes where the characters return home after prolonged periods of absence finding that the homeland, paradoxically and sadly, appears as ‘xenitia’. Of significant interest are the Greek folk songs that refer to *xenitia*, expressing feelings of sorrow, sadness, and despair, which are the result of separation from loved persons.
The way certain aspects of ‘exile’ are portrayed depends on the writers themselves. The second-generation Greek writers in Australia, although writing mainly in the English language, are not directly dealing with the issues of exile or migration and therefore these terms are not central to their writing as in the case of the first generation. Conclusively, the way Greek identity is represented in Greek texts produced by second-generation writers varies considerably because of the way exile is expressed. Finally, there has been a shift from the term ‘exile’ (xenitia) to ‘migration’ [metanastefsi] and as result the term xenitemenos (exiled person) has also changed to metanastis (migrant) and more recently to transmigrant, the latest term referring to a person moving from one country to another without the intention of settling there permanently. These changes have had repercussions on the writers’ identities and consequently on the diasporic literature as well.

2.2.6 Diasporic Literature / Migrant Writing

Diasporic literature or migrant writing is the sum of literary writings by writers of a particular ethnic background who write in their native language although living outside the borders of their homeland. The art of writing can help individual migrant writers to express themselves about their diasporic experience, including the situations in which they lived during their migrant life in the host country. These feelings and concerns may reflect the people’s real world. This world is the social environment of the writer as seen through the eyes of the narrator or the characters appearing in literary texts. Literature enables issues of identity relating to people living in the diaspora to emerge through description of events and at moments of isolation, desperation, frustration, disappointment, happiness and satisfaction.

Migrant literary works reflect the writers’ perceptions on different concepts related to existence, belonging, cultural adaptation and assimilation. Bromley (2000) argues that narratives can be used as texts for analysis and are based on the migrants’ ‘effective experience of social marginality’ and form the ‘perspective of the edge’. The importance of these writings allow for ‘plurality, fluidity, and always emergent becoming’ (Pandurang 2001).

Diasporic literature is therefore a rich source of themes, life experiences and phenomena expressed by migrant writers while living in the diaspora, reflecting the writers’ world and that of others who live in the same diasporic communities.
The notion of ‘transnationalism’ refers to various kinds of global cross-border connections and is concerned with migrants and dispersed ethnic groups (Vertovec 2001). Thus, transnationalism, according to Ostergaard-Nielsen (2001), is a term that describes human activities and social institutions that extend beyond national boundaries and can have a role in facilitating cross-border communication. This occurs through the existence and use of new technologies that provide a link with the motherland as well as other parts of the diaspora. Technological media such as email communication, the internet and satellite television channels assist in improving the knowledge and understanding of issues and events taking place in both homeland and diaspora, and therefore bridge the two worlds. Thus, in a broader sense, transnationalism is the thickening of links between each part of the diaspora with the homeland and also with the other parts of it.

While some social theorists support the view that transnationalism undermines any concern with cultural roots, “immigrant groups often project themselves in relation to specific origins that do not undermine multi-locality or transnational connections” (Coulhan 1994, p.19). To complement this view, Vertovec (2004) states that transnationalism can be described as a lens that focuses on migrant activities, allowing social scientists to view how significant elements concerning migrant life are changing. “A look through the lens shows clearly that many migrants today intensively conduct activities and maintain substantial commitments that link them with significant others such as kin, co-villagers, political comrades, and fellow members of religious groups who dwell in nation-states other than those in which the migrants themselves reside” (Vertovec 2004, p. 971).

In regards to these links with fellow-country persons around the world, Lahneman’s (2005) research identified new forms of media and telecommunication technologies that have provided the transnational means to accelerate the mobilization of diasporas. These, coupled with convenient home country cultural access, remittance flows, and new technologies of travel and communication suggest that the dynamics of integration, identity construction and reconciliation, as well as the definition of concepts such as ‘domestic’, ‘foreign’ and ‘citizen’ are becoming ambivalent and questionable. Some diasporas have become significant actors in international affairs by exerting focused, powerful and organized influence on world issues and sometimes their networks are used to coordinate activities.
2.3.1 Transnational migration

Conversely to the early sociology of migration of the 1920s-1930s which generally tended to focus “upon the ways in which migrants adapt themselves to, or are socially excluded from, their place of immigration, modern research studies deal with new approaches to migration. This new approach which has came about nearly two decades ago (though Australian migrant research had investigated these issues even earlier) examines the “attachments migrants maintain to families, communities, traditions and causes outside the boundaries of the nation-state to which they have moved” (Vertovec 2005, p. 574). Notwithstanding the fact that migrant connection to homelands has been a long-standing one, the modern transnational approach emphasises numerous ways in which today’s linkages are different from, or more intense than, earlier forms (Vertovec 2005; Portes et al 1999).

The concept of transnationalism is studied by many contemporary social scientists in order to interpret issues of belonging, migration, return migration or simply sojourning. Panagakos (2003) explores the issues of transnational migration, ethnicity and citizenship through extensive research based on American and Canadian paradigms. She uses the notion of transnational migration as a strategy to identify ways of discovering new lifestyles and potential marriage partners for Greek Canadian women who travel to Greece (Panagakos 2003). She claims that the cycles of migration between the host country and Greece, a phenomenon which she labels ‘recycled odyssey’, are driven by the new trends such as global capital, cheap travel, telecommunications and the notion of belonging to an ‘imagined community’, factors that have different implications today than in the past (Panagakos 2004).

Christou (2006) also explores the phenomenon of ‘return migration’ to Greece examining the processes of settlement and identification of second-generation Greek-Americans. The pattern of ‘returning migrants’ is used in her research as a heuristic narrative to examine meanings of ‘home’ and ‘belonging’ which entail (re)location, (dis)placement, adjustment and alienation.

Finally, the role of transnationalism in family (re)connection is that it allows multiple interactions to occur between place of origin and place of destination. These interactions can be of a social, cultural, or political nature and can facilitate the process of settlement and adaptation while strengthening the bonds between individuals and community groups.
2.4 Greek Diaspora

2.4.1 Definition of Greek Diaspora

The term *Greek diaspora* refers to persons of Greek background living outside the geographical borders of Greece. In some cases these persons are referred to as *Greeks living abroad, Greeks of the diaspora, [apodimi Hellense, or omogeneis (homogenes)]*. Constandinides and Nickas (1998) state that the conditions that forced large numbers of Greeks to migrate to other, more prosperous countries have led to the creation of different stereotypes of the Greeks who left Greece and those who remained. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the reasons why a certain group of Greeks left Greece, where they came from – the city centres (*astika kentra*) or the rural areas (*eparhia*). In his book ‘*Episkopisi tis Ellinikis Diasporas*’, Hassiotis (1993) defines the Greek diaspora as the part of Hellenism, which, although uprooted from the place of ancestry for different reasons, and settled, even if for only a short stay, in countries and areas outside the national boundaries, continues to maintain its physical, cultural, and emotional bonds with the homeland as well as the country of their immediate background (Hasiotis 1993, p.19).

Greeks are pre-eminently a diaspora people (Clogg (1999)). Greek migration can be linked to ancient antiquity through stories such as that of Jason and the Argonauts, which, apart from their value as myths, reveal the urge of Ancient Greeks to seek a better-quality life in far away places (also Kanarakis 1995). From an historical perspective, it can be said that even Alexander the Great’s expedition to lands further than the Danube in the North, India in the East, and Egypt in the South which led to the establishment of Greek colonies is a fine example of Greek diasporic formation. The founding of numerous cities by the name Alexandria, even though some have had their name changed (such as Kandahar in Afghanistan), is also an indication of this early tendency of Greek diasporic movement.⁹

2.4.2 Historical and Migrant Greek Diaspora

The Modern Greek diaspora refers to the period after the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the present day. The Ottoman domination of Greece also played a role in the construction of the Greek identity and the foundation of the Modern Greek State in 1830 has been a milestone in Modern Greek history (Damanakis 2005). The idea of “Greater Hellenism” was then developed which included the part of Hellenism within the centre as well as that which was
on the periphery (Svoronos 1981). The Modern Greek diaspora consists of the *historical diaspora* and the *migrant diaspora*. The *historical diaspora* was the result of events that followed the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the foundation of the Greek state and after that until the end of World War II. It was concentrated mainly in commercial ports in Europe (Hassiotis 1993; Damanakis 2005). The *migrant diaspora* was formed between 1890 and the early 1970s as a result of population movements from Greece as well as from historical diaspora centres. It occurred for mainly economic reasons. During that movement, large flows of Greeks entered host countries such as Australia, Canada, the USA, and Germany, to a large extent, and Latin America and Africa, to a lesser extent. An examination of the historical events which took place in the historical diaspora, reveal that there is a temporal overlap between the historical and the migrant diaspora, mainly between 1890 and 1922 (the Asia Minor catastrophe). Based on Hasiotis’ (1993) ideas and Damanakis’ (2005) interpretations, the Modern Greek diaspora can be divided into three main periods as shown below (Table 2.2).

### Table 2.2 Modern Greek Diaspora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical period</th>
<th>Destination of Greek emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1453–1830</td>
<td>Historical diaspora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830 – 1945</td>
<td>Commercial centres and ports in western, central, eastern and south-eastern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal overlap</td>
<td>All the above as well as Russia, the Trans-Caucasus and the USA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890 – 1973</td>
<td>Migrant diaspora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>USA, Canada, Australia, Europe (Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, France)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today, the Greek Diaspora is spread over the five continents (See Appendix 1).

#### 2.4.3 A brief overview of the Modern Greek Diaspora

The formation of the modern Greek diaspora can be divided into *three* phases. The *first* phase begins with the Ottoman domination after the fall of Constantinople (1453) and ends towards the later part of the nineteenth century. During that time, there formed the Greek European diaspora, through an active group of intellectuals and merchants. They created the collective national consciousness among the Greek-speaking Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

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9 Greek army men were encouraged to settle and marry in the cities which were established by Alexander the Great as a way of spreading the Greek civilization and also creating colonies.
The diaspora played a major role in the development of the Greek national awakening and laid the foundations for the 1821 Revolution and the Modern Greek nation-state. During the period of the 1821 Greek revolution and the foundation of the Modern Greek State, the Greek communities of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon enjoyed an important economic blossoming, developing activities in the marine trade and assisting in the spread of Greek navigation. At the same time they developed banking activities. The most significant dissemination of the Greek presence and its concentration away from Greece began with the progressive decline of the above communities which continued through the twentieth century (Psomiades 1993).

The second phase begins with the establishment of the Greek nation-state in 1830 when a large part of the nation was left outside the boundaries of the ‘new’ Greece and as a result an ideology of irredentism was generated, the so-called *Megali Idea*. This idea was based on the desire to liberate those Greeks still under the Ottoman Turks but living in areas outside the Greek borders, and, secondly, to expand those borders (Psomiades 1992). However, this project, ironically, ended up with defeat in 1922 when Greece attempted to realize the *Megali Idea* by expanding into Asia Minor where a dynamic Greek diaspora was present. The result was the Great Catastrophe with the removal of 1.3 million Greek Christians from their ancestral homes in eastern Thrace and Anatolia as part of an agreed exchange of population. This shrinkage of the Greek diaspora in Asia Minor was followed by a further removal of Greeks from Constantinople and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos in the post World War II period and this continued right through the 1960s. Following the dismantling of certain traditional diasporic centres such as those in Egypt, Russia and Asia Minor, including the Pontians, as a result of economic dislocation and persecutions a large exodus of Greek émigrés (about half a million) took place to distant countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia. During this second phase (and for over a century), the Greek state “viewed the diaspora communities as simply Greeks living abroad, who would one day return home and whose task was to serve as an important arm in the nationalistic, irredentist struggle” (Psomiades 1993, pp. 142-3).

The third phase of the Greek diaspora formation covers the post-WW II period with another half a million Greeks emigrating to the same three countries. Australia at the time received over 230,000, a relatively large number considering the size of its population. The United States received about half a million and Canada 125,000. Also, in the 1960s a large exodus

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10 The Pontians lived for thousands of years the in the southern coast of the Black Sea - north-eastern part of modern-day Turkey - until the Pontic Greek genocide (1915-1918) and Greco-Turkish war (1919-1922) following by the subsequent exchange of population in 1923.
occurred from Cyprus with about 100,000 Greek-Cypriots emigrating to Great Britain. That was a huge number considering the small size of the population on the island at the time. Other destinations of Greek emigrants included West Europe, especially Germany which during 1960-1976 received some 630,000 Greek guest workers (Psomiades 1993, p. 144).

This third phase marks a period of significant change in both the diaspora and in Greece, and in the relationship between the diaspora and the Greek-state. Consequently, a fundamental shift of Greek-state attitudes took place toward the diaspora (Psomiades, ibid). Firstly, the changes meant that the diaspora’s role was no longer to unquestionably support the Greek state with its decisions in priorities and policies; secondly, the Greek state’s attitudes changed so that the diasporic communities were now regarded as entities with Greek consciousness in the countries which the Greek migrants decided to make their new homes, without the expectation that one day they would return home.

The diaspora-homeland relations cover a broad spectrum of areas such as: the Greek symbols that Greeks in the diaspora cherish and maintain and the degree of Greekness felt by Greek migrants as an “urge or right of memory” to establish and maintain connections to the past and their roots. This urge is assumed to fulfil the psychological need for security, identity and order to “counteract alienation in a rapidly changing technological society of bureaucratic constructs which is viewed as too large, too interpersonal, and without appropriate values” (Psomiades ibid). As long as there is a psychological need in which Greeks of the diaspora can find satisfaction in choosing to be ethnic, there will be an attachment to Greece and also to other Greek diasporic communities.

Although in general terms the Greek diaspora and the Greek State are interdependent, in recent years it has been evident that Greece needs the diaspora more than the diaspora needs the homeland (Psomiades 1992). This is based on the role that Greeks of the diaspora can play in supporting Greek foreign policy, in economic issues and in mobilizing world opinion on sensitive matters concerning Greece’s territorial security. However, Greece can benefit from the Greek diasporas when they are not ghettoized but instead when they are fully integrated and participating in the socio-politico-economic life of the country in which they find themselves.

Whilst the Greek diaspora encompasses Greek centres as close to Greece as Egypt, the phenomenon of Cyprus constitutes a unique case. Cyprus is known to have had a Greek character since ancient times and the population of the island identify in its majority with Greek ancestry. In an attempt to answer whether Cyprus constitutes part of the Greek diaspora
or part of the Greek centre (being in close proximity) one finds the task complicated. For one, Cyprus is an independent democracy with its own government. On the other hand, the majority of the population speaks the Greek language and has Greek Orthodoxy as their faith, while declaring their ancestry to be Greek. Historically, the ‘Greek-Cypriot’ national identity was reinforced during times of occupation and more recently by British colonization during which time they resisted to use the English language and thus they also resisted adopting a British identity. In the years that followed, the 1974 Turkish invasion and occupation of a large part of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot identity has once again been strengthened, indicating resistance to new regimes that threaten the sovereignty of the island, and indirectly the Greek part of their identity.

The shared cultural traditions and ethnicity are key defining elements that unite Greeks around the world and these are essential in the survival of diasporas. However, if the Greek identity ends up as a symbolic identity among the new generations, as predicted (Psomiades 2003, p. 140), would future generations uphold their ethnic character or be completely absorbed into mainstream societies and finally lose the distinctiveness of their Greekness? These and many more questions arise as Greek diasporas experience a transition from their solid first-generation composition to a mixture of generational and inter-marriage conditions.

### 2.4.4 Greek Diaspora and Language

One of the major factors in the survival of diasporas is the use of the language of the country of origin. In order to understand the role of language in the Greek diaspora it is important to consider that this diaspora is not a compact mass of people of the same ethnocultural background, but an entity which includes a ‘strong organized mass community or paroikia’ as well as a number of smaller regional communities, or a simple individualist Greek presence. The degree of Greek language maintenance in the diaspora differs from country to country and also from one part of the diasporic community to the other. Studies in several countries including Australia (Damanakis 2006) have shown that the presence of the Greek language diminishes as one moves from the big urban centres, where the ethnic communities are well organized, to the smaller country towns. The break up of a diasporic community into smaller units or diasporas is referred to as the ‘diaspora of the diaspora’. Therefore, the language needs of individuals, especially the new generations, vary from place to place.

In addition, the gradual and, to a degree, unavoidable distancing of the new generations from the Greek language and culture is also an indication of cultural degeneration (Damanakis
2006) or cultural shift. For this reason, the maintenance of the Greek language in the different levels of the Greek diaspora remains a crucial issue today. Subsequently, diasporic literature can play a major role in creating writers who will choose to document experiences and concerns in the Greek language and in this way contribute to keeping records of history in the diaspora.

2.4.5 Diasporic Greek Literature

Diasporic Greek literature is the literature written by Greek background writers living in the diaspora and it constitutes a fine example of the migrants’ documented lives. Apart from the conventional printed format in which the bulk of diasporic literature has appeared so far, it has recently been evident that a substantial amount of works appears in digital format on the internet. This literature, defined as ‘hyper-literature’ by some\(^\text{11}\) constitutes a reflection of and a source of the most recent developments of Greek identity, and yet another springboard for discovering and defining or re-defining this identity.

In order to understand diasporic literature one needs to understand the concept of culture which embodies the content of the literary works. The term ‘culture’ can be said to have two dimensions: a narrow meaning and a broader meaning (Damanakis and Mitrophanis 2004, p.11). In its broader dimension, culture refers to the sum of elements that humans need to adjust to their physical and cultural environment in order to meet their physical and emotional needs. The broad meaning of culture is taken into consideration when analysing the living cultures of Greeks of the diaspora as they are expressed and reflected in the multicultural societies of the writers’ host countries (Damanakis and Mitrophanis 2004). This approach allows Greek language literary texts that are produced in either print or digital versions to be considered as part of diasporic literature, regardless of place of origin, form, style, or content, and by any writer. This literary phenomenon entails many problems and raises several questions such as, for example, the basic question: what part of Greek language literature belongs to the literature of diaspora and why? This question cannot be answered using the term ‘culture’ as a determining tool, therefore a new set of criteria needs to be employed in order to set the boundaries and classify the Greek-language diasporic literature.

The following three criteria can be used to classify diasporic literature: 
a) the geographical criterion, thus the place where the literary text is written, leads to the conclusion that diasporic literature is that which is produced outside the boundaries of Greece; 
b) the language criterion defines the language in which the literary works are written; 
c) the ethnic criterion defines the ethnic identity of the writer who produces Greek language literary works.

Although the above three criteria answer the questions of classification of diasporic literature they do not apply to content. It is therefore necessary to employ a different method through the use of concepts. This can include the concept of diasporic identity and specifically the ethnocultural dimension of identity or else ‘Ellinikotita’, meaning Greekness. The term ‘diaspora’ is approached by historians (Hasiotis 1993, p.5) using a number of geographical dimensions (Greeks outside Greece) including materialist, cultural and emotional connections of Greeks living abroad with the metropolitan centre. This approach, however, is not appropriate in other disciplines, such as the social sciences and education where cultural diversity and identity information of the migrants are key areas of study. For this reason diaspora needs to be studied in conjunction with ethnicity and identity. Damanakis (2004) proposes the diaspora ‘tri-pole’, suggesting that a person of the diaspora moves between three different poles: the country of origin, the ethnic group (or paroikia), and the host country (see Figure 2.1).

**Figure 2.1 The diasporic ‘Tri-pole’**

The term ‘paroikia’ functions as a socio-cultural pole at which the cultures of the country of origin and the host culture interact with each other impacting on the ethnic group’s life. This interrelatedness framework can be a source for tensions as well as a source of cultural combinations and emergence of new inter-cultural elements. As a result, a person can draw
the content of their identity from the three areas mentioned above and the formation of this identity is influenced by the dynamic relationship between the three poles.

As a result, diasporic literature sources its themes from a variety of socio-cultural areas which act as defining criteria, some of which are shown below (Table 2.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Defining Criteria</th>
<th>Socio-Cultural areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Society of country of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Geographical elements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Linguistic elements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic characteristics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-cultural dynamics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The criteria presented in the above table, together with the new criteria devised and presented in Chapter Four, and the concept of identity, in particular the ethnocultural dimension (or Ellinikotita), provide a springboard in analysing and understanding Greek diasporic literature.

2.5 The Greek Diaspora in Australia

2.5.1 Greek Migration and Settlement in Australia

A significant number of Greeks of the Diaspora live in Australia. The latest Census of 2006 showed 365,147 persons of Greek heritage living in the continent. This figure is more than 10,000 persons less than the previous census of 2001 which recorded 375,712 persons (See Table 4). The 2006 census recorded 109,980 Greece-born people in Australia, a decrease of 5.6 per cent from the 2001 Census. With the added figure of 9,730 Cyprus-born who declared their ancestry to be Greek the total number of Greece and Cyprus born is 119,710 persons. The 2006 distribution by state and territory showed Victoria had the largest number with 54,320 Greece-born persons (a percentage of nearly 50 per cent of the Greek-born total), followed by New South Wales (35,050), South Australia (10,780) and Queensland (4,110) (See Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2 Geographic Distribution of Greeks in Australia (2006 Australian census)
A total of 365,147 persons (including second and subsequent generations) declared having Greek ancestry, either alone or in conjunction with another ethnicity. The Greek language is spoken at home by 252,222 Australian residents, a 4.125 per cent decrease from the 2001 census data. Greek is the main language spoken at home (85.8 per cent) and it is the fourth most commonly spoken language in Australia after English, Chinese and Italian.

Second-generation Greeks constitute the largest group of Greek ancestry persons, with one or both of their parents born in Greece. The 2006 Census total figure of 385,076 persons with Greek heritage included 235,140 persons with both parents born in Greece, and 49,936 persons with only one of their parents born in Greece.

At the 2006 census, the Eastern Orthodox religion was the major religious affiliation of the Greece-born persons in Australia with 83.8 per cent (100,460 persons), and Cyprus-born (13,060 persons). Based on the 2006 Census, the median age of the Greece-born population is 63.4 years. This is significant as it reveals an aging Greek population, compared with 46.8 for the total overseas-born and 37.1 years for the total Australian population. These figures indicate that the first-generation Greeks are presently at an advancing age, postulating a dramatic decline in numbers in the years to come.

2.5.2 The Early Greek Presence in Australia

The Greek presence in Australia dates back to 1829. Sources reveal that the early Greeks to have first arrived in Australia were seven young men from Hydra who arrived as convicts in Sydney in 1829 (Gilchrist 1992). They were convicted for piracy, although at the time, the war of independence was taking place in Greece and a large number of Greek men were
merely defending their country through their naval forces and against the Ottoman Empire. Andonis Manolis and Gkikas Boulgaris were the first two to arrive. Both of them lived “obscure lives in New South Wales and died without revisiting Greece” (Gilchrist, 1992, p. 38). Through the intervention of the newly formed Greek government, the seven Greek convicts were freed, five of them repatriated and two decided to stay in Australia. One of them, Andonis Manolis who died in 1880 and was buried near Camden, NSW, had the following characteristic verse written on his gravestone “In a strange land the stranger finds a grave far from his home beyond the rolling wave” (Gilchrist, 1992, p. 40). This illustrates the loneliness of the first immigrants who were regarded as ‘foreigners’ in a ‘foreign land’.

Not many Greeks attempted the long journey to the distant land of the South for the rest of the nineteenth century. The first significant stream of Greek migration began in the early 1850s, attracted by the discovery of gold. A mere 200 Greeks worked in the mines of New South Wales and Victoria in that period, while at the end of the century the number increased to nearly a thousand. These early Greece-born settlers were mostly single males who wandered enduring hardships in mining camps and working under strenuous conditions as porters on the wharves, as peddlers in big urban centres, and doing unskilled labour clearing farms. Many married local girls and decided to settle, while a few of them anglicised their names in order to be accepted by the wider community and thus they were assimilated. With the presence of migrants of non-British background the image of Australia began to change at the end of the nineteenth century from a ‘new frontier’ British colony to a diverse society, adopting the first noticeable sample of migrant groups. The appearance of small Greek enclaves “reflected the growing diversification of the continent’s economy and society” (Doumanis 1999, p. 59).

2.5.3 The Early 20th Century Greek Presence

The 1901 Australian census recorded 878 Greece-born people and the number almost doubled after only a decade to 1,798 persons (Gilchrist 1992), or according to other sources from 977 to 1,883 (Price 1975). The majority of these Greeks were owners or employees in shops and restaurants and some were cane cutters in Queensland. The “shop-keeping phenomenon” is, according to Gilchrist (1992), what can best describe the lives of most Greeks in Australia early in the twentieth century. With a few dozen Greeks owning shops at the turn of the century increasing to several hundred by the end of the second decade, and a large number of persons who served as shop assistants, waiters, fish-cleaners or cooks, this phenomenon does give a clear picture of the business-oriented early Greek presence in this continent. Most of the shop owners operated cafés and fish-shops and were found mainly along the beachfronts.
Between 1902 and 1914 the Greek arrivals increased to 4,775, while it is also important to mention that there were also about 2,000 departures, a movement that indicates the mobility of Greek migrants. Most of those pioneer Greek immigrants were island and coastal people who came from the Ionian and Aegean islands with fewer settlers from the mainland, parts of which were still under Ottoman rule. This significant influx of migrants from the Greek islands strengthens the fact that between 1890 and 1940, 42 per cent of the Greeks in Australia were from the islands of Kythera, Kastellorizo or Ithaca. The Kytherans concentrated mostly in New South Wales, the Kastellorizians in Western Australia and the Ithacans in Melbourne (Bottomley 1979, Doumanis 1999). A degree of prejudice, antipathy to foreigners, the lack of education and inadequacy of their English caused this first-generation of Greek immigrants to be excluded from professional and highly skilled occupations (Gilchrist 1992, pp. 190-191), while xenophobia also caused Greeks to form their own enclosed communities. On the other hand, the well-developed shop-keeping business generated a chain migration with many more fellow Greeks coming into the country to join relatives or other fellow-country persons.

Ethnic diversity was not approved by mainstream society in those early years despite the fact that Australia had already become a Federal independent state in 1901. The White Australia Policy, introduced at the time of Federation and dismantled in 1973, not only restricted non-white immigration to Australia but it also placed quotas on Italians and Greeks among others. It also was restrictive for these migrants depriving them of the right to speak their native language publicly and behave according to their traditional customs. Local attitudes included a “dislike of hearing southern Mediterranean languages, resentment of southern European [social]clubs and businesses, distrust of southern Europeans forming separate groups” (Price 1979, p. 213). The Italians were called names such as “dirty Dago pests” and the Greeks “wogs” and “dagoes” (White 1981, p. 141), words that have been echoing in the migrants’ ears for many years and which today appear in their documented histories and literature.

There was a substantial increase in immigration between the two World Wars, caused in part by the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor in 1922-23 and also the immigration quotas imposed by the United States in the early 1920s. During the inter-war period, the Greek population in Australia increased six-fold and the number of applications from Greeks to enter Australia was still well above the official quota of 1200 per annum.\(^\text{12}\) By the 1947

\(^{12}\) The quota was enforced during the period 1924 to 1930, and was applied to all Southern Europeans.
census, the number of Greece-born was 12,291. In the 1930s and 1940s there was a sense of consolidation and integration for the Greeks within Australian society.

2.5.4 Post World War II Greek Mass migration to Australia

After the Second World War, with the active encouragement of the Greek Government struggling with post-war reconstruction, large numbers of Greeks emigrated to Australia. This wave increased after 1952 when the Australian Government provided assisted passages to tens of thousands of Greeks. By 1961 the number of Greece-born people in Australia had reached 77,333. Greek migration continued to expand rapidly throughout the 1960s and at the time of the 1971 Census there were 160,200 Greece-born persons in Australia with about 47 per cent living in Melbourne. Civil war, unemployment, persecution, political instability, and economic insecurity were the main reasons for thousands of Greek people to emigrate. The Greek Cypriot refugees were the last groups of Greeks to arrive in Australia, following the 1974 Turkish invasion of their island.

2.5.5 Overview of the Greek Australian community

Since the late nineteenth century Greeks in Australia formed their own small communities which grew with time. The reasons that prompted the establishment of the communities were mainly the presence of popular xenophobia within the host society, as well as the desire of Greek migrants to preserve their culture and interact socially. It was also the necessity to provide a forum for successful businessmen where they could enjoy displaying social status, leadership qualities and wealth, and for some others to come in contact with prospective employers (Doumanis 1999, p. 61).

Greek community life began in the 1890s with the “Athenian Club” in Sydney being the first - included a café, restaurant, billiard room, tobacconist and barber shop (Gilchrist 1992, p. 218-19; Doumanis 1999). In Melbourne there also appeared a number of small koinotites which had a constitution, a presidency and a council. The largest communities established a church to conduct religious services such as baptismal and marriage ceremonies and funeral rites.

On 16 April 1899 the first Orthodox community was established, the Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney, which also acquired a church, the Holy Trinity [Agia Trias] Church, built by the community members with funds they collected among themselves. Just over a year later, on 6 December 1900, the Greek Orthodox Community of Melbourne was founded with the building of the Church of the Annunciation of the Virgin [Evangelismos] also with funds from the community. Religious needs in remote areas were usually met through other
Christian churches or by a priest sent there by the central Greek Orthodox Church. Over the years several communities were formed to suit the needs of the Greek migrants, some with a church adjacent to them and some without. In Western Australia the first Greek Orthodox community was established in 1923 and was based on the first koinotita, the Kastellorizan Brotherhood [Kastelloriaziaki Adelfotis]. Communities in other Australian states were also established in similar ways based on church community foundations and grew in numbers as Greek migrants continued to arrive and settle in the Antipodes (Gilchrist 1992, pp. 267-179).

Today, the Greek community of Australia (Elliniki Paroikia) is one of the most important and vibrant parts of the Modern Greek diaspora. This part of Hellenism is the third largest non-English speaking immigrant group (after the Italian and the Chinese) in one of the world’s most multicultural societies. The Greek term ‘paroikia’ denotes the wider community of Greek background persons and it was adopted at the early twentieth century in order to overcome the confusion which existed between a ‘Greek Community’ and a ‘Greek Orthodox Community’ (Tsounis 1992, p. 25).

Over the years, a range of associations, brotherhoods, societies and parishes were formed which supported and promoted the Greek language, culture and literature in all parts of Australia. Several have had decades of existence whilst others lasted only a few months or years. Moreover, throughout the history of the Greeks in Australia there have been over nine hundred formally constituted organizations, four hundred of which are still functioning.

2.5.6 The Greek Cypriots of Australia

The Greek Cypriot Community in Australia is regarded to be the second largest outside Cyprus after the United Kingdom. The 2006 Australian census recorded 18,380 Cyprus-born persons, 9,730 of whom declare their ancestry as Greek, 4,120 as Cypriot, and 3,290 as Turkish, while the remainder declared as ‘other’. The Cyprus-born are concentrated predominantly in Victoria and NSW. In regards to religious affiliation 13,060 persons reported to be Greek Orthodox Christian, thus it seems that most of these persons are of Greek heritage. Greek Cypriot migrants speak the Greek language as well as their own Greek Cypriot dialect.

The Greek Cypriot migration to Australia took place in three waves: a) during the nineteenth century gold rushes; b) between 1924 and 1964; and c) the period after the 1974 Turkish invasion of the island. The earliest known Greek Cypriot migrants first arrived in Australia in the 1850s, attracted by the gold rushes. They settled in the gold townships of Ballarat and
Daylesford in Victoria. By the 1890s Greek Cypriot shopkeepers had established businesses in Melbourne and Sydney. The Australian Census of 1933 recorded 502 Cyprus-born persons. Cypriots continued to migrate to Australia throughout the twentieth century for economic and political reasons, while Cyprus was a British colony. Cypriot settlers helped establish the first Greek community in Home Hill, Queensland by 1928. In 1929 they established the Cyprus Brotherhood Evagoras in Sydney and in 1932 the Brotherhood Zenon in Melbourne. These first Cypriot communities provided opportunities for all Cypriots to gather and socialize as well as support for other newly arrived fellow Cypriot immigrants. A second organization was formed in 1950, the conservative Cyprian Brotherhood Troodos by ideologically dissenting members of Zenon. Following the independence of Cyprus in 1960 the two brotherhoods in Melbourne merged into one, the Cyprian Community of Melbourne and Victoria which continues to be in existence until today. A large number of Cypriots arrived in Australia after the 1974 invasion of Cyprus by Turkey.

2.5.7 Greek Language in Australia
The Greek language is the third most spoken language other than English in Australia after Chinese (including Mandarin, Cantonese and other Chinese languages) and Italian. It has been the main language recorded to be spoken at home by the Greece-born persons in the 2006 Census, with 252,220 persons indicating that they use the Greek language at home. However, this is 11,497 persons less than the 2001 census figure in which the number of persons using the language was 263, 717, while in 1996 the figure was 269, 775. So, where the language drop by the number of persons was 6,057 between 1996 and 2001, the figure almost doubled between 2001 and 2006 to the total number of 11,497. These numbers reflect the dramatic drop of Greek language use in the last ten years. A significant drop was also evidenced (2.2 per cent) since the 1996 census in which 269,775 persons stated that they use Greek as their main language at home, with a very small number speaking English or other languages (See Table 2.5).

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13 Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2006
14 2006 Australian Census
Table 2.5 Table Greek language usage of 2006 Census compared with the 2001 Census
(Australian Bureau of Statistics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME</th>
<th>2006 Census</th>
<th>% of total persons</th>
<th>2001 Census</th>
<th>% of total persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English only spoken at home</td>
<td>15,591,333</td>
<td>79.6%</td>
<td>15,013,955</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>316,890</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>363,605</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>252,220</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>263,717</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>244,553</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>225,307</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>243,662</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>208,372</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>220,601</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>130,286</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most people counted in the 2006 Census spoke only English at home (79%). Small proportions of the population spoke other languages at home. The most common languages other than English spoken at home were Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic, and Mandarin.

Obviously, the usage of community languages is greater among first-generation persons. As for the second- and subsequent-generation Greek persons it is difficult to estimate the degree of usage of the Greek language; however, the statistics indicate a significant attrition which signifies the gradual decline of the Greek language in Australia as time goes by. The concern is that the usage of the Greek language is not the only issue, as other areas such as culture and tradition are also affected as a result, which in turn, reflect the degree of assimilation of Greek immigrants in the wider Australian society. Kalafatas (1992) expresses a similar concern, commenting on Hellenism in Western Australia, characterizing this deterioration as an erosion of Hellenism amongst the Greek immigrants and their descendants.

2.5.8 The Literature of Greek Origin Writers in Australia
Greek migrants arrived in Australia in search of a better life, enduring adverse and difficult conditions; however, despite the hardships they faced in those early years they managed to survive and progress not only within their own ethnic communities but also in the wider Australian society, contributing significantly towards the labour market and economic development of Australia. Some of the migrants tried to document their experiences in writing, referring to concepts such as loneliness, isolation, feelings of anxiety, desperation and nostalgia as prevailing themes. Their stories, in general, appeared in either journal writing or as short stories. Much of this writing has often taken the form of narratives which has gained attention from researchers who are involved in the field of Greek Australian literature. The migrant experience, dealing with the migrants’ struggle for survival in their new country and the preservation of values and beliefs, as well as their identity has been, in the last two decades, a central theme of study by scholars.
The literary texts included in this study belong to what is called “migrant literature”. However, most of this literature is ignored to a large extend by both the Greek State and the Australian mainstream. This indifference towards the value of Greek literature was greater in the early decades of Greek migration and it was only when some of the works were translated into English that they gained more attention and more recognition by the Australian literary world.

Greek Australian writing is a body of literature produced in the last 100 years by Greek background writers. The majority of the literary works produced by Greek origin writers in Australia are written in the Greek language. This literature addresses a Greek speaking audience such as the Greek community as well as the Greeks in Greece. Also, a significant number of works, mainly by second-generation Greek background writers, have been written in the English language, and are considered to be valuable and worthy in terms of exploring issues reflecting Greek identity in the new generations of Greek Australians. Some first generation Greek writers have also been translating their works into English in their effort to reach the English-speaking audience. As migrants feel more confident in accepting the new land and considering it theirs and their children’s home, they decide to translate their works (Kanarakis 2005). This tendency can be seen by some as a sign of assimilating into mainstream society, whilst the works that are continuing to be written in Greek reflect a resistance to assimilation and a mark of individualism. In prose writing, the first person narrative is usually used to explore the problem of identity formation in the complex Australian cultural topography in its diasporic or transnational aspect, and in relation to the issues concerning the ties with the homeland.

Greek literature in Australia was not known until 1976, when Professor Kanarakis began his research in this area. Ever since, the whole profile of the production of literature has changed significantly. The first publications on the literature of Greek immigrants in Australia, *I Logotehniki Parousia ton Ellinon stin Afstralia* [The Literary Presence of Greeks in Australia] (1985) and its English Translation *Greek Voices in Australia, A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama* by Kanarakis (1985, 1991²) constitute a milestone in the area. These books include 82 references to Greek background writers, 66 of whom write in the Greek language, 11 in English, and five in both languages. A brief examination proves that the Greek literary works referred to in these publications far outweigh the English ones. Following this publication, the literature of Greeks in Australia has not only gained status but it has attracted considerable attention from researchers in Greece, as well as other countries.
2.5.9 Historical Overview of the Greek Literature in Australia

The first samples of Greek literature emerged in the form of oral poetry in the early 1900s. This phenomenon is linked to the fact that many of the Greek poets came from areas of Greece where oral poetry had a long local tradition, such as Nikos Kallinikos and Nikos Paizis who both came from Ithaca. The language used in these poetic syntheses was naturally the Greek one. This tradition continued to appear in later years with poets Stathis Raftopoulos from Ithaca, Haralambos Azinos from Cyprus, Kostas Tsourdalakis from Crete and others. The value of this kind of literature is that it defines the chronological origin of the Greek literature in Australia, it extends the Greek oral poetic tradition in a place much different to Greece in terms of culture and history, and contributes to the corpus of the Greek literature as a whole (Kanarakis 1985, 1991², 2003a).

These first Greek literary achievements appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century and consisted of oral poetic compositions, improvised at social, family and community gatherings. The main reason behind this oral versification was, as mentioned above, because migrants at the time came from areas, such as the island of Ithaca, where the oral tradition was part of people’s life. Other literary genres appeared in the meantime, which dominated the initial oral poetry, and appeared mainly in the form of short stories, poems, autobiographies and travelogues. The first written samples of written literature were the short stories of the Cypriot George Nicolaides in 1913. They were written in Greek and were published in Afstralia, the first Greek newspaper that had circulated in Australia at about the same time, by Efstratios Venlis (1882-1942). The year 1913 was “a turning point for the literature of the Greeks” because it provides evidence of the first written literature to be published, and the first to be known as prose writing, and also evidence of the first Greek newspaper which constituted a means for publication of the early literary works (Kanarakis 2003b, p. 33).

The first poems to be known were those of Ithacan George Paizis in 1915, although they were not published until 1922 when they appeared in the Sydney newspaper To Ethniko Vima also known as Thiakos. The themes of the early literary works, whether oral poetry, prose, or poetry, evolved around the newly established lives of the migrants, the new environment, xenitia, the odyssean dream of return, community life in Australia, as well as nostalgia for the homeland.

Albeit the first kind of oral literature that emerged in Australia was poetry, the first to appear in writing was prose, more specifically the short story. The short stories provide a rich source of socio-historical information about the real issues concerning individuals and communities.
and this information can be used as data to analyse problems and concerns on a comparative basis. This type of prose writing is of great value to the literary achievement and life of Greeks in Australia and this value goes beyond their literary significance, as they contain important information about the social lives of Greek immigrants in Australia. They are, therefore, very important to the Greeks in Australia and to the whole of the Greek diaspora and Greece for the wealth of themes discussed or portrayed in the texts (Kanarakis 2003b).

After 1922, as the number of Greek migrants increased, the volume of the literary production expanded. The majority of the Greek migrants before arriving in Australia had suffered severe poverty, political persecution, as well as personal and community tragedies, such as the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922. As a result, the themes changed to a degree, incorporating issues such as the aftermath of those tragic events that drove them away from home. The second and third decades of the twentieth century saw an increased number of literary works, mainly prose pieces.

Kanarakis’s research unveiled significant events that describe the historical development of the Greek literary production in Australia. These events included, firstly, the publication of the first literary book which was the short story collection, *Istories tis Xenitias* in 1932 by Athenian Homer Rigas published in the Greek newspaper *To Ethiko Vima*; secondly, the consistent development of the Greek press, which itself encouraged an increased volume of literary works to be written and published; and, thirdly, the appearance of literary pieces written in both the Greek and the English languages by some writers such as Anargyros Fatseas of Kythera and Costas Malaxos-Alexander of Phoenikas, Asia Minor. Works of these early English language writers were published in the *Women’s Weekly* and *Woman’s Day* magazines in Sydney, and the *Black Swan* periodical and the *Pelican* newspaper respectively (Kanarakis 2005, p. 34).

During and after World War II, a range of themes became apparent in the literary productions of the Greek writers in Australia, as the war had an impact on people’s lives worldwide, including the Greek diaspora and that of Australia too. The writers expressed feelings and concerns about the homeland, the new land taking part in the war, the heroic performance of their compatriots in Greece and those Australian soldiers who died in Greece (Kanarakis 2005, p. 35).

In the post-war period, a range of literary genres appeared, including poems, short stories, travelogues, newspaper articles and translations of poetry, most of them dealing with the
consequences of war. The first poetry collection, *Eleftherias Apanthisma* by the Ithacan Stathis Raftopoulos was published in Melbourne in 1943. A few years later, in 1950, the first school-textbook *Didaktika Anagnosmata kai Diigimata* by Anargyros Fatseas was published in Sydney which included poems and prose writings for children with themes about Greece and Australia, as well as translations of well-known literature writers of Greece (Kanarakis 2005a). In this way the Greek migrant writers began to experiment with new forms of expression and new writing styles such as children’s literature. In the year 1954 the first novel titled *Daphne Miller* by Cypriot Costas Athanasiades was published in Melbourne (Kanarakis 2005, p. 36). The themes of the 1980s and 1990s appear to be more joyous and hopeful, compared with the previous ones that dealt with war and depression and ‘xenitia’. Writers began in this period to express feelings of appreciation and love for their new ‘adoptive mother country’ and for their fellow Australian citizens, as well as on general humanist and global issues.

Kanarakis (2005) identifies an expansion of the initial one-dimensional body of Greek literature in Australia to a more inclusive, multidimensional one, including works expressed in both Greek and English. The themes reflect a more mature approach to a wider number of subjects “not only on an Australian level but also on a far-ranging international one” (Kanarakis 2005, p.37). Thus, the Australian society and environment has influenced the literary activity of Greeks, resulting in a rich sample of literary genres and themes. Consequently, this literature is becoming more accepted and appreciated by Greece, Australia and many other parts of the Greek diaspora.

2.5.9 The Female Voice in the Literature of Greeks in Australia

Although the Greek literature in Australia was predominately written by male writers in the first half of the twentieth century, the female voice emerged dynamically in the later decades of the century, making the female voice very distinct (Georgoudakis 2002; Nickas 1992a, 1992b, 1994). Greek female writers in Australia emerged in the post-war era, during the Greek mass migration, with Vasso Kalamaras being the first and Dina Amanatides the second (both appeared in the 1950s). The absence of female writers in the early years was due to the fact that: firstly, there were scarcely any female migrants during that time, secondly because even if there were a few around, they did not have the same opportunities as the men in regards to publishing their works because they were restricted to the home and the family chores. Thirdly, women of the early twentieth century were generally not sufficiently educated (Nickas 1994, p. 8), however, the role of women during the Greek mass migration period was very significant to Greek family and community. This was not the case with the
men who were in direct contact with the outside social environment many of whom worked in the press media industry, partly or solely.

Today, Greek female writers seek to find solutions to social problems such as poverty and injustice around the world, the loss of loved persons, the struggle to raise children in a new and sometimes hostile society, as well as isolation, loneliness and homesickness and these themes are vividly portrayed in their writings. Issues such as war and natural disasters are also present in these works. Currently, the availability of publication venues in Australia and overseas, including literary magazines, newspapers, and anthologies, are encouraging factors for female as well as male writers to write and publish their works, thus documenting their migrant experience, contributing towards the multicultural literary production of Australia, while at the same time providing evidence of their presence for future Greek generations.

2.6 Conclusion

In summary, whilst migration and human movement precursors and processes are significant when studying diasporic phenomena, equally important are the activities and creations of the once settled diasporic communities. In this chapter we have explored the interrelatedness of issues of the migration of Greeks with Greek language maintenance, and the mediating contributions of transnationalism and structured organizations, or communities, in the diaspora. It has been demonstrated that with the dispersion of the Greek people, language has remained the single most stable link between different parts of the Greek diaspora, and Greece itself. The evolution of language outside the borders of the Greek nation has parallel implications on the global Greek identity, and is the vehicle by which this identity is expressed. The following chapters explore these two issues, identity and language, in detail, and provide real examples of the essence of Greek Australia.
CHAPTER THREE

3. IDENTITY AND THE NOTIONS OF IDENTITY

The question of identity is central to studies related to migrant communities and associated issues. Identity plays an important role in migrants’ adjusting or resisting processes in the host country, and of survival in a rapidly changing world. Contemporary theories support the idea of multiple identities, some of which are based on national, social, cultural, racial, class, familial, gender and sexual preference considerations. These identities in part are formed beyond the individual’s control, and, as interlinked, contribute to one’s overall personal identity. It is therefore only natural to articulate or defend one’s own identity, especially when personal beliefs and values are threatened.

The evolution of identity upon emigration is not the only outcome faced by migrants who experience a constant shaping and reshaping of identity as they move through the various stages of adjustment. Some theorists support a one-dimensional model, stating that throughout this process, migrants oscillate between past and new identities, where the strength of one means the weakness of the other. Alternatively, a multidimensional approach suggests that migrants may uphold various identities at the one time, without any being compromised. Throughout this chapter, these models will be discussed, exploring identity, as they relate to migration, diaspora and transnational links.

This chapter is also concerned with Greek identity in Greece and the issues associated with it. In addition, it covers the differences in the identities of Greeks living in various parts of the globe, concentrating on Greeks living in Australia and the variations between the different generations that settled and developed in this part of the world.

3.1 Psychological and Sociological Approaches to Identity

3.1.1 The Formation of Identity

As mentioned previously, identity is marked out by difference and otherness. Thus, to be something means not to be something else, and “difference is underpinned by exclusion” (Woodward, 1999, p.9). Questions about identity are usually linked with the concept of culture, where ethnic, religious or nationalist movements claim a common culture or history. As such, disputes on differences in identity involve culture as a point of reference and a point
of comparison, and a basis for possible conflict. However, it is during crisis situations and disputes that “[t]he recovery from the past is a process of constructing identity” and adjusting to one’s environment (Woodward, 1999, p. 11).

The current debate about identity is due to significant changes taking place in our world, and both the global and local realms are implicated affecting individuals at a personal and social level (Woodward, 1999, p. 13). “Identity is not a badge which people carry around with them unchanged. It is much more like a set of claims they make according to the context in which they find themselves, be these cultural, political and so on” (McCrone 1999, p. 34).

3.1.2 Personal Identity

From a psychological perspective, identity reflects differences in characteristics such as gender, age, origin, religion, race, etc., as well as feelings, attitudes, values, and moral behaviour. It is through his or her sense of “ego” or “I” that an individual person develops during the life journey, and this concept is referred to as one’s personal identity. Personal identity is, therefore, about knowing the “self” and answers to the question of “who am I?”, questions that yield different answers for every individual.

3.1.3 Social Identity

People develop a number of social identities as a result of interaction within various social situations (Tajfel 1981), and often encompass ‘belongingness’. ‘Belonging’ implies the dynamics that bond individuals to a group of people and to a place through symbols and metaphors. When migrants return home to their place of origin, they may feel that they belong there, and as if they had never left in the first place. However, if the ‘place’ or its ‘locals’ are found altered, and this is commonly the case, an additional identity may be formed, that of the ‘returnee’. Nonetheless, by connecting with the past through memory, the original original identity of individuals can be maintained.

Finally, Damanakis (2005) claims that social identity is “a composite made up of constituent identities, eg. religious, national, cultural, local, political, professional and so on”. In addition, “constituent identities can be used as tools to analyze the process by which identity is formed by the individual, as well as the ways in which vehicles of Greek-language education in the diaspora intervene so as to create the ethnocultural identity or “Greekness” of each generation in the diaspora” (Damanakis 2005, p. 29).
3.1.4 Cultural Identity

As discussed earlier, the most common shaper of identity is culture. Gans (2003) states that one's cultural identity originates from *cultural nationalism*, also called *ethnocultural nationalism*, whereby members of groups share a common history and societal culture. As cultural nationalism applies to the adherence to cultural elements, there is incongruence between cultural nationalism and cultural identity, since cultural identity is based on differences between cultures, and can divide rather than unite members of a societal group or nation. However, depending on the perspective taken, the two concepts can either co-exist, or they can contribute to dissonance; an identity crisis in migrants struggling between adhering to the cultural nationalism of their host nation, and their own distinct bicultural identity. The determining factor of one concept overriding the other may be the culture or nation that one identifies with more strongly.

In addition to culture, national history is often the basis for claiming identity, as it may be perceived as unquestionable and unchangeable, and consists of national symbols and events that bond individuals of the same race or kinship. *Symbolic marking* (e.g. costume, flag, or national food) constitutes social differentiation, or the way members of a society decide who is included and who is excluded from the group. On the other hand, a sense of national citizenship in multicultural societies is achieved by cosmopolitanism, which offers individuals the sense of being citizens of the world, not just of one particular culture or national origin (Gans 2003).

3.1.5 Hyphenated Identity

The concept of identity in the current study, involving Greek and Australian identities, is largely conceptualised as hyphenated. Thus, Greek background persons who live in Australia are often referred to as ‘Greek-Australian’, or ‘Australian-Greek’. Referring to the Arab-American hyphenated identity, Sharobeem (2003) states that the term ‘hyphenated identity’ implies an ethnocultural dual identity, generating debates in regard to which side of the hyphen the person belongs to. From the moment immigrants arrive in their new/host country, they become aware of the dualist notion of their identity, and their emotional world struggles to balance between the two. Thus, Greek immigrants in Australia, for example, are termed as Greek-Australians, and Greek-Cypriots as Greek-Cypriot-Australians. In the case of the latter, the appearance of two hyphens presents an even more challenging discourse; however, the Greek-Cypriot element can be regarded as a single entity once the person is immersed in
Australian society. It is common that immigrants with hyphenated identities find themselves oscillating between two, or more, cultures.

3.1.6 Multiple Identities

Particular cultures change as a result of intercultural exchanges and influences, thus enabling new identities to be born that apply to the different groups of the community. Cultural media and popular culture are determining factors as to the shaping of identities. In culturally diverse societies such as Australian society the phenomenon of multiple identities is common. These identities may be grounded on family background, cultural heritage, birthplace, religious affiliation or social identification. As members of the host society they develop a sense of their Australian identity, collectively and individually.

A study by Smolicz et al (1998) revealed that a person can have a number of cultural identities and feel or express them either simultaneously or when there is a need. In many cases two or more identities are interwoven but expressed through different modes or behaviours such as speaking, singing or joking. For example, one may sometimes feel and identify with their Spanish culture while at other times they may choose to reinforce their French or ‘other’ identity (Smolicz et al., 1998). This signifies the complexity and multifaceted notion of cultural identity and its situational flexibility. Chambers (1994) also supports the existence of different identities, which when one lives away from the homeland are recognised, exchanged and mixed, while often negotiated.

Furthermore, these multiple identities are evidenced in the literary works of writers who decide to document their experiences in writing. Usually, the writers’ attempts to write derive from their search for the ‘self’, their own personal identity. Beginning from small fragmented pieces of writing, larger finalized texts that can provide evidence of the writers’ multifaceted world of knowledge are created, revealing a complex source of issues, including multiple identities.

3.1.7 Fragmented Identities

Identity in its complexity can be even more complex in individuals who have been affected by the partition of their home country. Contemporary history can provide several examples of nations that have been divided and, as a result, their populations have been forced to be uprooted and relocated in new lands, thus becoming refugees. Kudaisya (1997), in his analysis of the impact of the 1947 partition of the Indian subcontinent, on large numbers of people who became refugees consequently experienced the fragmentation of their sense of
identity. This was to become a long and painful process as the minority groups of East Pakistan which settled in the riverine and deltaic province of West Bengal, were several years later relocated by the government in colonized forest land. Similar problems have been faced by the Pomak minority in Greece, the members of which moved to the south of Northern Thrace, where their identity was contested, questioned and challenged (Tsimpiridou 2000; Demetriou 2002).

So, the question of identity can be a complicated issue, with rigid, stereotyped characteristics that may compromise one’s notions of individualism. In addition, cultural fragmentation can influence a person’s attitude as much as the question of identity (Khan 2001).

3.1.8 National Identity
A nation is said to be “a named human population sharing an historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members” (Smith 1991, p.14). The psychological bond that binds fellow nationals together is what is known to be ‘a sense of belonging’ (Connor 1998) or ‘a fellow feeling’ (Geertz 1963). These expressions highlight the close relationship between the individual and the nation, or the ‘collective self’, as it is otherwise known (Triantafyllidou 1998). Triantafyllidou (1998) states that “national identity is defined not only from within, i.e. the features that fellow-nationals share, but also from without, that is, through distinguishing and differentiating the nation from other nations or ethnic groups” (Triantafyllidou 1998, p.593). National identity implies differences between groups. This difference assumes the existence of ‘others’, who can be other nationals or individuals who do not belong to the same group. Those ‘others’ ultimately play a major role in shaping the identity of the nation. Thus, national identity is described as two-fold, consisting of a ‘member of the community’ but also of the ‘other’ (Triantafyllidou 1998).

3.1.9 Ethnicity
A useful measure of ethnicity is ancestry and it has been used in some Australian censuses. However, census data is not always valuable in measuring ethnicity in the long-term, but rather, it is information determined by political and sometimes administrative imperatives at various times (Jupp 1995). In recent Australian censuses ethnic and cultural diversity were at different times measured using a number of factors, such as birthplace, religion and language spoken at home. However, birthplace cannot be a valid measure for locating ethnicity, as a number of individuals who come from a particular ethnic background might have been born
outside the country of origin. In the case of Greeks in Australia, for example, many of them were born outside metropolitan Greece. Similarly, some of the writers studied in this research were born in countries such as Egypt, Turkey, or Cyprus; however, their ancestry is defined as Greek. This implies that there are different ways of being Greek. The “importance of ethnicity as an exploratory concept” derives from its “historical and social articulation that gives meaning, solidarity and a sense of belongingness to diaspora” (Christou, 2001, p.1). In examining ethnicity as such, we can say that it does not only depend on the personal perception of an individual, but also on the perception of ‘others’. Therefore, the degree of one’s ethnicity is impacted upon by others, and is often strengthened when this impact is negative.

The relationship between ethnicity, ethnic identity, ethnic identification and ethnic boundaries is shown in Figure 3.1 below, in which language, symbols, behaviours developed in the host-country, and the degree of adjustment are all shown to be interlinked.

Figure 3.1 - The Relationship between Ethnicity, Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Identification and Ethnic Boundaries

Ethnicity, however, “should not be equated with race or nationality” (Bottomley, 1979, p. 25). Although race and ethnicity have much in common, the distinctive difference with ethnicity is that the important criteria for ethnic membership are cultural, whilst for race these are putative physical characteristics. An ethnic group, according to Bottomley, “is distinguished of kind, a sense of honour and a particular conception of what is correct and proper. These give rise to
and are sustained by observable characteristics that serve as diacritical features of group membership” (1979, p. 26). In plural societies, the sense of honour is quite vulnerable. “Where ethnic groups remain in isolation, the superiority of their own customs can remain unchanged” (Bottomley ibid). When ethnicity is strong among the members of a community, there can be no change as to the maintenance of ethnic honour, even in difficult times. For example, “those ethnic groups who have a well developed sense of honour will continue to maintain their customs and transmit their beliefs to the next generation, whether or not they encounter discrimination. For this they need: a) a large enough number of fellow ethnics to sustain certain cultural institutions; b) continuing contact with the homeland so that the memory of the origins is kept alive (Bottomley ibid, p. 27).

3.1.10 Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity and ethnicity are two similar concepts. However, “while ethnic identity can change, adapt, and evolve after arrival [to a new country], ethnicity remains a permanent characteristic of the country of origin” (Constant et al 2006, p.2). As such, while ethnicity stays with the individual even after they leave the home country, ethnic identity evolves over the course of one’s life. Research findings show that rather than ethnicity, it is ethnic identity that defines the social and psychological behaviour of immigrants (Hazuda et al., 1988). Tajfel (1981) claims that people develop a number of social identities, including ethnic identity, as a result of interaction with various social situations within and outside the nuclear family. Furthermore, ethnic identity is “developed, displayed, manipulated, or ignored in accordance with the demands of a particular situation” (Royse in Ruble 1989, p. 401).

Identity can be viewed through two perspectives: process and content. Ethnic identity is “founded on the traditional culture of the ethnic group […] its values, behaviour patterns, language, religious system and social networks, but is linked into the surrounding milieu” (Cahill & Ewen, 1987, p. 19). The typology of ‘ethnic’ persons is described by variables such as language, class, education, religion and gender. Rosenthal and Hrynevich’s study on the ethnic identities of Greek-Australian and Italo-Australian adolescents revealed that the ethnic identity of both groups is comprised of “family and social relations, community, positive emotional involvement, religion, discrimination, physical characteristics, citizenship, food, sport or amusements, and customs” (Rosenthal and Hrynevich, 1984). Some of the major dimensions that were identified were language, religion, social activities, and the maintenance of cultural traditions, family life and physical characteristics. These elements can be said to be the content of ethnic identity (See Appendix 3).
3.1.11 The Manifestation of Ethnic Identity

While some researchers claim that the key elements of ethnic identity are one’s sense of belonging, commitment, or self-identification with the culture, values, and beliefs of a certain ethnic group (Masuda et al., 1970; Tzuriel & Klein, 1977), others suggest that social life alone is what defines ethnic identity (Masuda et al., 1970; Unger et al., 2002). The process of migration and settlement, as well as ‘remigration’ forcefully imposes the need to question, to re-evaluate perceptions of self-belonging. Furthermore, the succeeding generation is “unavoidably affected” (Alexakis 1998, p. 147).

The most frequently used cultural elements in defining ethnic identity are language, religion, food preferences, media, celebrated holidays and behaviour (Laroche et al. 2005, Unger et al., 2002), Phinney, 1992, 1996). These elements, with culture being the main one, have been used by researchers either individually or in combination to measure the ethnic identity of certain ethnic groups or ethnically diverse groups of immigrants (Kwan & Sodowsky 1997; Phinney 1990; 1992; Laroche et al. 2005). These elements are common across both groups, and unique for each group (Phinney 1990). Constant et al (2006) assume that “the uniqueness of each ethnic group is captured by the ethnicity of the individual” and regard “ethnic identity a measure of distance from their own ethnicity” which can differ among immigrants of the same ethnic group or compare immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds (p.4). The identifiable characteristics employed for measuring or comparing the ethnic identity of immigrants are: a) linguistic; b) visible cultural elements; c) ethnic self-identification; d) ethnic network; and e) migration history. (Constant et al 2006). It is possible for immigrants to feel commitment to two different societies. Thus, an immigrant may be dedicated both to the country of ancestry and the country of residence. The level of commitment to one may not be influenced by the level of commitment to the other but not necessarily in the bicultural person.

3.1.12 Stages of Ethnic Identity

Berry (1980) suggests four stages in an immigrant’s journey through ethnic identity: integration, assimilation, marginalization, and separation. He defines integration as a strategy of an immigrant who identifies with and is involved with both the culture of origin and the culture of the host country. It is a process that incorporates the maintenance of the culture of origin with the gaining of the culture and relationship of other ethnic groups.

On the other hand, assimilation equates to a person’s loss of the original ethnic identity and the adoption of a new one, identical to that of the dominant society (Constant et al., 2006), or
it refers to the situation where an immigrant’s sole identification is with the new culture (Berry, 1980). However, wherever assimilation does not take place or is delayed, it might be due to the denial of the dominant group to accept the ethnic groups, and not so much on the ethnic groups refusing to assimilate (Sanders 2002).

Marginalization indicates a strong detachment and weak dedication to either the host society or the culture of origin. Marginalization is usually a product of racial discrimination and prejudice experienced in the host country, not controlled by the immigrants themselves, and leading to inter-ethnic conflict and societal imbalance (Constant et al. 2006). On the other hand, Berry (1980) refers to marginalization as the immigrant’s lack of involvement, and finally rejection of both cultures.

Separation implies that the individual maintains an exclusive commitment to the culture of origin, even after many years of emigration, and showing very weak involvement with the dominant culture (Constant et al 2006). Separation and marginalization affect immigrants negatively, isolating them from mainstream society, even though they continue to enjoy the events and lifestyle offered within their own ethnic community or sub-community. Berry (1980) refers to separation as a choice made by the immigrant to identify solely with the home culture, which he refers to as the traditional culture.

An immigrant can undergo a range of journeys in the attempt to survive in the host society. He or she can move through the four states starting from the ‘separation’ stage and then move towards ‘integration’, then ‘assimilation’ and finally ‘marginalization’, or remaining at ‘separation’. Figure 3.2 below illustrates this journey clearly.

**Figure 3.5  An Immigrant’s Complex Journey through the States of Ethnic Identity**
3.1.13 Acculturation

Berry (1980) refers to all four states, assimilation, integration, marginalization and separation as stages of acculturation. Acculturation is the contact between two different cultures or ethnic groups, or the process of adjusting to a new culture. More precisely, a number of behavioural and psychological changes occur in an individual as a result of contact between people of different culture groups (Berry 1976, 1980, 2003). This process, despite the benefits that it can have on immigrants in their effort to survive in the host society, can also have a negative impact, such as the loss of one’s ancestral culture. The relationship between the states of identity of an immigrant is shown in Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6 Berry’s Four-fold Classification Model of Acculturation (Berry 1980)

The modes of acculturation signify the relationship with both or either of the cultures concerned with an immigrant’s life and are well illustrated in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7 States of Classification of Immigrants
The solid lines on the figure depict identification with a culture, and the broken lines depict detachment from the culture.

Cahill (2006) suggests six possible scenarios based on the findings of research on immigrant adaptation and inter-ethnic contact: a) *annihilation*, whereby the ethnic minority group suffers swamping and oppression by the dominant group until it stops to exist; b) *assimilation*, whereby the ethnic minority group is absorbed by the dominant group; c) *amalgamation*, whereby the ethnic minority group incorporates into the dominant group leading a hybrid culture founded on hyphenated ethnicities (i.e. Greek- Australian) and highly mixed ethnicities. This is what is known as ‘melting pot theory’; d) *accommodation*, whereby the ethnic group sustains changes within its social and language structures, similarly to the mainstream dominant group, whilst retaining its individuality and distinctiveness; e) *segregation*, whereby the ethnic group separates itself from other ethnic groups, sometimes dominating them; and f) *ethnic re-organisation*, whereby the ethnic group is re-organised in terms of its social structure, redefining its boundaries in response to demands by the dominant group. Cahill also refers to re-organization as *dissimilation*, based on Yinger’s term (Cahill 2006, p. 220).

In addition, Cahill (2006) highlights three ideal types of immigrant communities, following the Canadian Dredger’s paradigms: a) the tradition-directed community; b) the marginal community; and c) the broker or middle-person community. Based on these theories, it can be said that the Greek community of Australia, for example, has in most of its role been a tradition-directed community as well as a broker community, similarly to other ethnic groups such as the Dutch, which in the period of the 1950s and 1960s formed part of the foundations of multiculturalism which emerged in Australia in the 1970s.

### 3.1.14 Ethnic Identification and Ethnic Boundary Maintenance

Social psychologists differentiate ethnicity from ethnic identification. The term ‘ethnic identification’ implies symbols or diacritic characteristics that associate individuals with their ethnic background (Cahill 1987). It is the state of an individual which reflects the psychological way one feels and responds in term of ethnic inclination and the subjective sense of belonging to a particular cultural tradition. Ethnicity, as explained earlier, is a more abstract and objective concept which represents the ethnic background of a person.

Boundary maintenance, on the other hand, describes the limitations within which ethnicity is practised and maintained. Maintenance elements include first language maintenance, the
strength of commitment to community life, and the extent to which intramarriage takes place. The strictness in which these elements are maintained defines the boundaries that hold ethnic values, ideals and traditions. These boundaries are explored in the analysis of the literary writings of this thesis, where the question is whether the writers accept differences in the host society, or whether they experience conflicting ideas, which are rather a plea for maintaining the old ways of life.

3.2 Identity and ‘belonging’

The issue of ‘home and belonging’ is one that many people are concerned with. Probyn (1996) suggests the notion that belonging is negotiated and presented as imagined to be in a future world, rather that in the past, while Scheff (1994) states that “the urge to belong, and the intense emotions of shame and pride associated with it, may be the most powerful forces in the human world” (Scheff 1994, p. 277). When these forces are weakened or deflected, the emotional world of the individual becomes distracted and chaotic. Inter-ethnic conflict and cooperation are areas considered by Scheff (1994) who identifies two main causes of it: triggers and motors, the former causing single events at the macro level, while the latter consists of microsystems that continually cause conflict. All these theories support a perception about belonging associated with recycling ideas about the role of place in identity and its multifaceted aspects.

‘Belongingness’ has a dynamic influence, as its intensity and significance can vary for each individual.15 The concern with dwelling in the world also relates to the question of “what makes us who we are within a particular context”. Bell (1999) argues that “identity is the effect of performance and not vice versa”. Probyn (1996) supports that belonging is negotiated and presented as imagined to be in a future world, rather that in the past, while Scheff (1994) states that “the urge to belong, and the intense emotions of shame and pride associated with it, may be the most powerful forces in the human world” (Scheff 1994, p. 277).

Studies on the impact of return migration on individuals in terms of ‘belonging’ have shown that “migration and return migration are both viewed as expressions of the cultural imaging of place, where the migrants’ and returnees’ evolving lives produce constructions and reconstructions of the extended social world, both in the home and the host country”

(Christou, 2003, p. 123). This approach reveals “a sense of diaspora that says more about a sensibility towards cultural transformation than designating a place of arrival and rebirth”. In terms of diasporic sensibility, “the homeland is […] both absent and present” (Christou ibid), while “identities should be seen as a concern with ‘routes’ rather than ‘roots’, as maps for the future rather than trails from the past” (McCrone et al, 1998, p. 34). Overall, ‘home’ and ‘belonging’ remain as core concepts dealing with life in the diaspora and the chosen ‘real’ or ‘imagined’ sense of diasporic identity.

### 3.4 Diasporic identity

Diasporic identity is all about people living in the diaspora, their identity and their connection with their place of origin. Whilst some argue about the relationship between culture, people or identity to a specific place (Smadar and Swedenburg 1996), others claim that it is questions such as ‘where are you from?’ or ‘what brought you here?’ that link the contrasting terms ‘home/abroad’, ‘here/there’, and the concepts of ‘identity’ and ‘place’. ‘Place’ is, therefore, of utmost significance, and cannot be excluded from any terms or concepts that spring out of the term ‘diaspora’. On the contrary, personal identity, denoted in the question ‘who/what are you?’, refers to one’s personal world, involving the self, family, work, career and other related areas (Rath 2000).

The formation of a diasporic identity is a process that can develop over time, and it differs from person to person. Nevertheless, all diasporic identities are the result of the complexity of the diasporic experience. Considering the tight relationship between diaspora and identity, Christou (2003) argues that “to be in the diaspora does not mean to be in a place which has simply transplanted the original home onto foreign soil. Diasporic culture cannot be seen in organicist terms, as if it were a seed that could be transported, and planted elsewhere” (Christou 2003, p. 123. Furthermore, “identity, personal or national, isn’t merely something you have like a passport. It is also something you rediscover daily, like a strange country. Its core isn’t something like a mountain. It is something molten, like magma.” (McCrone 1999, p. 34). Moreover, in recent years, identity is negotiated within the contexts of ‘politics’, even though only a few studies focus on the way this is happening.

Finally, the concept of diasporic identity is intertwined with the concept of home and belonging. Living in the diaspora generates a plethora of feelings in individuals, however, these feelings, which in essence are formations of diasporic identity, can only be present in the context of living away from the ancestral land accompanied with feelings of uprootedness and nostalgia. Nevertheless, while this is applicable to the first-generations, it can also apply
to second and subsequent generations as they are conscious about their cultural background and in search of their roots. Therefore, identity is not only a product of cultural background but also a connector between the ‘physical and social environment’, the ‘home-country and the host-country’, the ‘other parts of the world and the place of residence’, the ‘other’ and the ‘us’. This theory leads to the concept of transnational identity discussed below.

3.5 Transnational identity

According to Vertovec (2001), transnationalism and identity are intertwined concepts. This is supported by the fact that many people’s transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity which is “often based upon a place of origin and the cultural linguistic traits associated with it” (Vertovec 2001, p. 573). Such networks are “marked by patterns of communication or exchange of resources and information along with participation in socio-cultural and political activities” (ibid). This leads to the understanding that the identities of many individuals and groups of people are negotiated within social worlds that span more than one place. Therefore, in addition to the function of such networks within certain social communities the negotiation of identity takes place beyond the boundaries of a nation (Vertovec ibid).

Fortier (1999) explores questions of what it means to be away from the place of origin highlighting that identity is widely understood as lived and imagined “in ways that break down the boundaries with specific geographical localities”. She also makes reference to the transnational public sphere as a new space for cultural, economic, technological and political exchange” with refugees, exiles and migrants being primarily affected. In addition, she states that ‘fixity’ and ‘rootedness’ are experiences that provide an insight into the world, while ‘movement’ and ‘travel’ are regarded as the reality of the experience of daily life in a contemporary world. Fortier (1999) also discusses ‘diasporic belonging’ which is created through repetition of embodied movements by immigrants, usually religious, enabling those involved to recall and reconnect with places elsewhere. Familiar distant places are then remembered through those movements, as for example communal activity in the church Mass, attaching the people performing them with rituals they were connected with in the past. Other researchers refer to this performativity as the ‘citational’ nature of identity (Bell 1999).

Finally, transnationalism can be interpreted as “a mode for resistance to, or […] as a pattern of incorporation into, shifts in global capitalism” (Vertovec 2005, p. 557), thus creating identities characterized by transferable attributes that can function in a global context.
3.6 GREEK IDENTITY

The section below is concerned with Greek identity, whether in Greece or across the world. It also deals with the influence of different institutions comprising Hellenism on such as Orthodoxy as a religion, language as a medium, culture as an expression of lifestyle and a reason for contact and celebration. In addition, it highlights the differences of the identities of Greeks living in various parts of the globe, concentrating on Greeks living in Australia and the variations between the different generations that settled and developed in this part of the world.

3.6.1 Greek Identity in Greece

A brief overview of Greek identity through history reveals that during classical antiquity the Greek identity was established through language, culture, science, technology and letters. Later, during the Alexander the Great era, the Greeks established the first real empire spreading Hellenism across three continents and leading the genesis of the Eastern Hellenic world. Following the decline of the Roman Empire Greeks were redefined as Byzantines in a Christian empire which mainly guarded and enforced the Orthodox religion. After the Ottoman Turkish occupation of Greece for nearly 400 years, from 1453 to the Greek Revolution of 1821, Greeks started to acquire a new identity, distinct from their ancient forefathers who lived a life of prosperity and abundance. As poverty and deprivation took its toll after the overthrow of Turkish rule, Greek people (in 1830) achieved their exclusive sovereign identity through the establishment of a Modern Greek state. To this, a great deal of support was offered by the European powers, while the utilitarian western tradition and institutional life also had an influence. The Greek communities scattered throughout Europe both contributed financially and supported actively the struggle for Greek independence of the Greeks on the mainland. It is important to note that the 2000 years that the Greeks were under foreign dominion did not eradicate their national character, language and culture.

Today, Greece is a country that is inhabited by the modern Greeks. Its borders are clearly defined and it is generally regarded as the outcome of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which delimited the borders of Greece and Turkey and led to the exchange of populations between the two countries. Some Greeks are still sentimentally attached to certain areas that were previously parts of Greece, but that are now lost or rather belong to neighbouring nations. These people, who had either become refugees or were expelled from their ancestral land, despite the latest political changes around the world, continue to consider those places as ‘imaginary homelands’.
3.6.1.1 The Role of Language on Greek Identity

The question of who are the ‘other Greeks’ is an area of interest to many scholars. These are the people living outside Greece but who have the same religion and beliefs with those of the Greek core. These communities of people are referred to as omogeneis, or hellenizontes, who are usually ellinofonoi (Greek speaking), or ellinofrones (having Hellenic ideals), but they may be speakers of other languages. All terms reflect part of the Peran Ellas or Megali Ellas (the extended Hellas, or that part of Hellenism that lives further than the defined borders (Kolliopoulos 2003). In other words, they were the Greeks that belonged to the historical paroikies (Greek communities dispersed around the world). This raises the question whether ‘the other Greeks’ or ‘Peran Ellas’ might today mean the global Greek diaspora existing on all five continents. Language in this case is not a criterion for defining identity.

It is well known that the ‘other Greeks’ contributed largely to the description of the characteristics of the Modern Greek identity. Many of these ‘other Greek’ supporters were later assimilated into the Modern Greek nation, accepting the fact that this nation constitutes a cultural community, similar to other European nations. Thus, the Modern Greek nation has many sub-groups of multiple language speakers, and has become culturally enriched by the absorption of these groups.

For many, the Greek language is no longer a sole criterion of the Greek ethnic identity. Other elements of identity are ancestry, culture, ethics and beliefs (Kolliopoulos, 2003). For the great historiographer Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, however, the newly constructed Greek nation consisted of “all the people who [spoke] the Greek language as their own language”16, an idea that emerged in the mid nineteenth century, and “[there was] no other safe guideline [as to the determination of who was Greek]... other than language”17. Paparrigoulos, through extensive research, inferred that the Byzantium era, a historical period which is skipped by some as if wanting to connect the present with the past with an invisible bridge, is the link between modern and ancient Greece, and implicates religion.

Language is a key characteristic that differentiates between individuals’ ethnicity and ethnic identity. Regardless, however, of how old a language is, with the current transnational and global trends the purity of the language is nonetheless altered depending on the degree of contact it has with other groups and languages. As a result, individuals discontinue using, to varying extents, some of their traditional linguistic terms, while unavoidably adopting new

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ones as a result of living in a diverse society. In Australia, Greek immigrants have experienced exactly this. The effect of Australian society on the language of the migrants is obvious, and as expected evident in their literary expressions.

Other factors influencing the language of Greek Australians are: inter-language borrowing, language loans, bilingualism, bi-culturalism, code-switching, and inter-marriage (Haugen 1950; Clyne 1967; Mackey 1967; Kanarakis 2005, p. 39). Code-switching between Greek and English in conversations is particularly common in the younger generations as they use both Greek and English while communicating with other Greek Australians. For the first-generation Greeks, the main causes of the adoption of English words and phrases, which are usually used concurrently with their Greek language, are mainly sociological, and occur as a result of living in a multicultural and largely Anglo-Saxon environment. Inter-marriage is common in the Greek community, meaning that not only the couple’s language (also the culture) is influenced, but to a greater extend that of the children’s. Thus, often trapped between two cultural worlds many second-generation persons are assimilated into the broader Australian society notwithstanding the challenges of maintaining their native language and culture. All these factors impact directly on identity, causing new identities to be formed. However, while these identities may not be clearly defined in Australia, they are certainly re-defined when visiting Greece. It is a fact that Greek Australians have developed a language which is very different, even to other Greeks in the diaspora.

Differences between the linguistic elements, pronunciation, or language tone of Greeks in Australia and other Greeks from the Greek diaspora are attributed to the diversity of the environment and societies. Moreover, a “Greeklish” style of language has been developed specifically in Australia, and is especially used among the second generation persons. As for the first generation, the nature of inter-language borrowing concerns isolated words or phrases which have become part of their everyday life, and are used in informal conversations with other Greeks. There are numerous examples, such as: ‘busia’ (bush), ‘caro’ (car), ‘yari’ (yard), ‘fenci’ (fence), ‘drink’ (replacing the Greek word altogether), ‘mate’ (consciously referring to friend, possibly in a ‘show off’ manner), and short phrases such as: “don’t worry”, “yes”, “no”, “thank you”, “for sure”, “it doesn’t matter”, “anyway”, “anyhow”, “are you sure?”, “you know”, “come on!”, “stop it!”, “oh my God!” “oh dear!” and many more. On occasions when Greek migrants visit their homeland, their diasporic background is recognized by the locals mainly through language. Furthermore, the linguistic characteristics of Greek migrants from Australia are different from those of the United States, Russia or elsewhere. It is evident that language is therefore paramount in identifying and (re)defining identity.
While many identify language as a chief marker of ethnic identity, others view it “in multidimensional terms arising out of interaction with family and other groups” (Harris 1980). Language is a key factor and the ultimate gate-keeping mechanism in matters relating to social mobility and disadvantage, and is not just another variable in assessing immigrant adaptation and survival. Nested in the concept of language and its relation to identity is the “tension between the belonging to and alienation from the host culture, the tension between the belonging to and the alienation from the ethnic group, the ambiguity of identification with the family and its strong influence on friendships, career choices and philosophy of life and […] the key element of personal relationships - the critical element in the search for identity” (Cahill and Ewen 1987, p. 20).

Fishman (1989) claims that ethnic identity and the maintenance of language are interlinked to the degree that the latter constitutes a defining characteristic as well as a means of expression of ethnic identity for an ethnic community. Ethnic community in the diaspora, according to Fishman (1989), is defined as a) a phenomenon with real or symbolic dimensions directly related with language; b) a historical phenomenon, in relation to c) the inherited paternity background; and d) in relation to a specific system of behaviour patrimony. A sociolinguistic view of this issue regards language maintenance and multilingualism as factors of a growing linguistic wealth considering that each language has a unique cultural and social dimension, while for many ethnic communities language is the core value of ethnic identity (Smolicz 1979) and it constitutes the basis for the migrants’ cultural identity and uniqueness (also, Tsokalidou 1994, p.246).

In recent years, the Greek community of Australia has had various forms of language support from Greece, with supplies of textbooks and teacher training in Greece.18 This facilitates the efforts of the first-generation Greeks in regards to maintaining and passing the Greek language and culture over to the next generations.

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18 Greek language teaching in Australia has been enhanced with books written especially for Greek background children in the diaspora, which take into consideration the language needs of these children These textbooks have been funded and published by the Greek Government and most recently partly funded by the European Union and published by the Workshop of Intercultural and Migrant Studies (E.DIA.M.ME) at the University of Crete, Rethymno.
3.6.1.2.1 The Role of Faith/Religion on Greek identity and Orthodoxy

Religion and Greek Identity

Cahill (2000) argues that despite the predictions of Nietzsche, H.G. Wells, Lenin and others that religion would die, religion has survived through the course of the turbulent conditions of the twentieth century, due to the strong interconnectivity between religion and culture. He supports the view that the benefits of religion are both personal and social, as religion “offers an antidote to cultural homogenization in an age of globalization where time and space have become compressed; it builds a sense of belonging and can help in constructing a multifaceted identity in a global world where the sense of ‘home’ has become more problematic. It provides an additional binding element to the links that bind together diasporic and transnational communities” (Cahill 2000, p.507).

Referring to the role of religion, Anderson states that “the great merit of traditional religious world-views has been their concern with man-in-the-cosmos, man as species being, and the contingency of life” (Anderson 1999, p.10). He emphasizes the mere survival of Buddhism, Christianity and Islam in their many different social formations to be an imaginative response to the “overwhelming burden of human suffering – disease, mutilation, grief, age, and death”, a religious attempt to explain the facts of life (ibid). However, the formation of religious communities reflects not only the need of the individuals to comfort themselves from the burdens of life, but to also feel they belong within a group where they identify with others who share the same beliefs and spiritual expectations. As a result of involvement in religious matters and associated rituals and traditions, a religious identity is born. In support to the above theories, it can be said that Greek identity in Australia is reinforced through faith, with Orthodoxy being the main religion of the Greek background persons (according to the 2006 Australian Census).

The relationship between Orthodoxy and Greek society is well shown in the four centuries of Turkish rule in Greece (1453-1821), during which Faith, if not necessarily Church, acted as the main custodian in the maintenance and continuity of the Greek national identity. In addition, the Greek language played a very important role as to the maintenance of the Greek consciousness during this period with the birth of Genos (Greek race) through the Greek Orthodox faith (Babiniotis (1998). Among the many views on nationalism, nation birth and ‘state’, one is that which claims that Orthodoxy has been around even before ‘nationalism’. According to these beliefs, the Orthodox Church has played a major role in the maintenance and development of the ethnic identity of the Southern European nations during the Ottoman
rule, as well as of the development of their ethnic ‘awakening’. Those in support of this view argue that Orthodoxy is identical to ‘nationality’, although, claiming, at the same time, that Orthodoxy preceded nationalism (Kitromilides 1999).

The general view is that Orthodoxy is an essential element of Hellenism and intertwined with the Greek identity. Furthermore, it is well known that the New Testament was written in the Greek language, thus providing additional evidence of the relationship between Hellenism and Christianity. Through consistent and conscientious behaviour related to the Greek Orthodox tradition, religious identity is formed. However, although the majority of Greek background people behave in an Orthodox Christian religious manner, some individuals are not Christian Orthodox. Finally, the Greek Orthodox religion might not be a sole or a core factor of Greek identity, but it can be a supplementary one, and should not be ignored (Paparrigopoulos 1970).

3.6.1.3 The crisis of Greek identity
Greek people’s identity is sustaining changes which are the result of the modern world. These changes are particularly felt by Greek migrants who either visit their homeland or make the big step of permanent return. Tsaousis (2001) argues that there is currently a Greek identity crisis and this is evident since Greece joined the European Union in 1981. During this time the Greeks have had to participate in the European community on equal footing with the other, already established, countries. This crisis springs not from specific experiences lived by the Greek people but from the heterogeneous forces and their impact on the way Greeks view the world and how it is organized and controlled (Tsaousis 2001, p. 20-23).

The Greek identity crisis is rooted in the period which followed the Greek War for Independence, in the transition stage of the Greek State from an occupied to a free nation. The crisis resulted from the change from a cultural to a political identity between 1821 and 1928, thus the ethnic identity, which was a merging process rather than a controversy. The Greek Orthodox identity that emerged during the Byzantine and Turkish periods was a cultural identity that defined the social organization of Hellenism within the boundaries of a united but ethnically political organization. It was an introverted identity, which functioned in isolation, with an ethnocentric capacity, setting boundaries and socially uniting geographical areas, but there was no Greek nation as such during that period. The new identity that emerged, the ethnic identity, is political in nature and it shapes Hellenism as an independent nation state which is now incorporated into an international system of self-contained political entities (Tsaousis 2001, p. 21). The new ethnic identity, which is extrovert, defines Hellenism as a
complete and independent national entity which is no longer a typical cultural element but part of an international system of political entities.

The merging process of the cultural and ethnic identities was not an obvious or sudden one, and is the most important element for defining Hellenism, *ellinikotita*. Thus, it is not Hellenism that defines the Greek identity but the Greek identity that defines Hellenism. *Ellinikotita* is a source of recognizing and setting the cultural characteristics as prototypes making it different from any other ethnic identity, thus, allowing it to survive through regular reproduction of these elements, according to factors such as place, time, circumstances and events (Tsaousis 2001, pp. 22-3).

The concepts of ‘ethnos’ and ‘state’ combined together in 1923 when Greece gained the last areas of its territory, with the consequence that while the Greek ‘state’ expanded the Greek ‘ethnos’ shrunk. This impacted on the human dynamic so that it shifted from the concept of ‘ethnos’ to *laos* (people). After 1974, the traumatic experiences of the people which were caused by the two World Wars as well as the civil war and the period of military rule in Greece had an adverse affect on people as a whole. As a result, Hellenism gained a new status and dimension in the international arena and today it also embraces the Greek diaspora. This allows for entities such as *apodimoi, omogeneis, migrants*, and *political refugees* to be acknowledged and regarded as part of Global Hellenism, all united by the same ethnic identity (Tsaousis 2001, p 25).

Identity is already known to be a result of ‘otherness’. The cultural characteristics that apply to the members of a social group are part of the overall cultural inheritance that is passed on to the group from generation to generation through social processes, not biological factors (Tsaousis 2001). Although most of these characteristics are different from place to place and from one period of time to another, some of them are common. These common characteristics can be considered as basic criteria for determining the extent of Greekness which defines the Greek identity (Kanarakis 2003a, p. 118). Each episode of change in the Greek identity is due to either or both factors (see Figure 3.5). However, what is important is not the reason for the change but the process, the circumstances and conditions under which the change occurs (Tasousis 2001, p. 17).
Each time there is a crisis, the identity is re-adjusted in response, rendering it an ever-changing element of human existence; a rolling pin that sometimes frees and sometimes suppresses feelings and questions of ‘self’ and ‘group’ orientation, always in the presence of ‘others’.

3.6.1.4 Diversity Within the Greek Identity

Since the birth of the Modern Greek State following the Greek revolution of 1821 to the early twentieth century the ideologies of the association of state and nation in Greece “underwent significant transformation” (Blington and Veremis 1990). The national state adopted western principles of government administration and the varied content of Greek nationalism and its ‘ideological antecedents’ became more complex than the state’s terms of reference, with religious and secular elements forming the basic structure of the concept of nationalism. A major part was played by the Church of Greece which after 1833 was declared independent from the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople and was brought under state control, thus becoming more associated with the nation. In this way the Church was involved in the nationalist movement and was used to spread nationalism. In the early nineteenth century, nationalism in Greece was embedded in the foundations in the Classical fifth-century era, and also in Alexandria as the cultural capital of Hellenism. In this way the glorious heritage of the past formed the substance of Neoclassicism. As a result the autochthonous Greeks (those born within the geographical 1830 boundaries of Greece) clung to the glorious past refusing to acknowledge those Greek-speaking Christians, heterochthonous, who were born outside the borders of the Greek state (Blington and Veremis 1990).

The Hellenist world of the past, as an ideal, inspired the Greeks living in different areas of the Greek diaspora by creating in them a pride for their cultural heritage (Dimaras 1977). However, these heterochthonous Greeks, although small in number, constituted a most vital
element in politics and the Greek Revolution. At the same time, several minority groups posed a new obstacle to Greek irredentism. By the mid-nineteenth century these minorities whose presence previously and during the Turkish occupation was not felt, made themselves obvious through nationalist movements; for example the Slavic and Turkish minorities. The result was a series of incidents which caused Greek nationalism to undergo a serious identity crisis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; and hence the emergence of a number of minority identities, most of which have not been recognized (with the exception of the Islamic minority of Western Thrace). The Greek state, faced with formidable external obstacles and financial problems, created the single-minded official dedication to irredentism of the Ottoman period, and thus it overlooked internal priorities (Blinghton and Veremis 1990). The agreement that was reached at the Lausanne Treaty in 1923 was that national identity was to be defined on religious grounds in order that there was a distinction between the peasants who would migrate to Turkey from Greece in the exchange. However this religious division created problems for the Ottoman Greeks who were the result of the Ottoman occupation and were excluded. After World War I though, domestic grievances subsided and the Ottoman Greeks were eventually forced by circumstances to turn to the national centre (Blinghton and Veremis 1990).

3.6.1.5 Identity and Ethnic Minorities in Greece

As Greece was trying to establish itself as a nation throughout the nineteenth century, the narrow minded ideology of the post World War I period led to a conservative form of identity, excluding anything and anyone foreign up until the late twentieth century. The progression of this notion has had an adverse affect on all minorities in the Greek geographical region, such as the Slavs, the Turks, the Pomaks, the Jews and the Romas, and, recently, the Albanians. The Greek State was not ready to accept them and in fact these minorities were suppressed in order to force them to leave the country. However, the perception of minority does not allow for equality for all of its members in the social environment. For example, there are still internal differences as to the Muslim minority, in regards to their origin, culture and place. The socio-economic inequality between Turks, Pomaks and Romas, ensures that Turks lead the social hierarchy among the minority populations of Greece, concerning mainly Thrace, the northern area of Greece (Tsimpiridou 2000, p. 106).

A recent identity crisis in the Muslim minority has been experienced by the Pomak populations who, due to socio-economic changes and financial problems, are forced to leave
their villages and move to Southern areas such as the outskirts of the town of Komitini. In their search for a social status and adaptation to new perceptions of their existence as individuals, they tend to approach the dominant minority (the Turks of Greece) by declaring their ethnic identity as ‘Turkish’. Interestingly, the presence of a large Muslim population in Thrace has given the ironic impression to Greeks in other parts of Greece that someone who is from this part of Greece is presumably Muslim. The implications of this minority experience leads to a strengthening of the identity of those involved, creating in them feelings of ‘not belonging’, ‘resistance’, and ‘urge to belong and be accepted’, thus having to decide and declare that they are ‘Pomaks’ or ‘Turks of Pomakian origin’ (Tsimpiridou ibid, p. 112). On the other hand, the introduction of the first multiculturalism policy in Thrace in the early 1990s, promoting cultural diversity by organizing cultural events and also integrating with other groups apart from the Muslim groups, was not well accepted by the elite members of the Turkish minority group. This intervention caused conflict between the Turks and the different non-Muslim minority groups (Armenians, Pomaks, Romas (Romani), Pontians), indicating a desire of dominance by the Turks over the other Muslims. As a result, a new form of “multiculturalism” was adopted by the Greek government which was more inclusive of ‘socially isolated’ groups apart from ‘Muslim’ groups. This ‘socially isolated’ group, other than the Pomaks and Romas, includes the ‘Russian-Pontian-Greeks’ of the area (Tsimpiridou ibid, p. 110-112).

References on aspects of ethnic identity regarding ethnic minorities in Greece are also found in Demetriou’s (2004) study on the importance of ethnicity of a Muslim minority made up of Romas, Pomaks and people of Turkish origin in the urban Greek Rhodoppe. Her research deals with issues related to the sense of identity and the extent to which this minority group is affected within the larger region of Thrace in Northern Greece. Demetriou explores different views on deference and “ways in which power is reconfigured as state policies change…and as the fervor with which the goal of a homogeneous culture is pursued intensifies or lessens” (Demetriou 2004, p. 100).

Other studies focus on the attitude of Greece towards other minorities such as the Romas, revealing that the acknowledgement of this group was until recently non-existent. The fear of the ‘other’ developed symbolic or imaginary systems for the safeguarding of the total social collectivity (Divani 2000, p. 405). The Romas were always distant, or completely absent from the Greek social environment, similarly to the Pomaks. The perception that these people, although Greek citizens, are not part of the social tapestry of Greece and the passive attitude of the Romas themselves, not wanting to be involved in the social life of mainstream society
left this matter go unnoticed for a long time. Regarded as persons not needing the essentials of life such as housing, education, medical care and government representation, the Romas have remained ‘invisible’ since the establishment of the Modern Greek State (Divani 2000, p. 406). Only recently, and as a result of the development of programs initiated by the European Union, has the problem of the Roma minority become an issue (Tsimpiridou 2000, p. 106).

Having always lived as nomads, the majority of Romas arrived in Greece from Asia Minor after the exchange of population in 1923 and from Romania in 1956. With the majority unemployed and homeless, the Romas were further marginalized after the arrival of Albanian economic refugees in Greece which created antagonism in terms of employment. These problems of marginalization have had repercussions in Greek society with Romas gathering even more negative stereotypes in order to establish their presence, while the rest of society continues to believe in the myths that Romas do not need housing, education or a place of belonging. This problematic situation will not be resolved while the regional city-council governments are against the state government’s initiatives and policies for the protection of this minority, and while also the Romas themselves are not ready to fight for their rights (Divani ibid, pp. 412-414).

Up until the last two decades of the twentieth century there had been no research studies on the minorities in Greece, highlighting the ignorance about the presence of minorities other than the Muslim (Millas 2000, pp. 21-22). This attitude might be explained by some as ‘extreme ethnism’, ‘racism’, ‘xenophobia’, ‘ethnocentrism’ or ‘national insecurity’ (Millas ibid, p.23). However, the question is not ‘what type of attitude’ but ‘why a particular type of attitude’ is displayed. Millas (2000) maintains that this issue can be better understood by examining similar phenomena in other countries worldwide. Ethnic, linguistic and religious groups as ‘minorities’ are a modern phenomenon that emerged and co-exists with the nation-state. The “problem” is related to the concept of ‘nation’ which was founded as a state around the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries in many regions including the Balkans. Until the moment a nation is established as a state it is only conceived and defined as a collectivity of citizens with “a common language, religion, historical past, traditions, and so on”. Given these facts, minorities are perceived as ‘foreign’ and often as ‘hostile entities’ within the nation (Millas ibid, p. 23-24) and this phenomenon is “one of the paradoxes of ethnicism” (Anderson 1993, p. 5). Generally, members of nations believe that they themselves constitute archaic collective groups with common characteristics, while nations are regarded as a modern phenomenon. In Greece, this perception is so strong that it is never questioned.
The concept ‘minority group’ mentioned above, in the Greek context, emerged as a result of a series of struggles of the Greeks against an imagined ‘other’. Beginning from the War of Independence in 1821 and the birth of the Greek nation-state, this ‘other’ was not easily accepted. Later on, events such as the Macedonian Struggle at the beginning of the twentieth century and the Greek Civil War in the 1940s brought to attention national conflicts which involved not only neighboring countries but also the already existent minority groups within Greece. This historical evolution of Greek identity constructed the ideas of ‘we’ and the ‘others’ who differ linguistically, religiously and ideologically, resulting, thus, in the minorities appearing as problematic. The subsequent issues which arise are related to ethnic conflicts and ethnic insecurity and dominance (Millas ibid, pp. 24-25). The naming of the minority groups is an act of uncertainty. As an example, Millas (2005) mentions one recognized minority in Greece which has does not have a name by which it can be accepted. This group is referred to as: Muslims [Moamethanoi], Ottomans, Turks, Greek Muslims, Turkish speaking Greeks, Muslims of Greek citizenship, Turkish-born and many more variations. Recently, the situation has been gradually changing for the better and some research conferences are dealing with the issues concerning the minorities in Greece. The Research Centre of Minority Groups in Greece, established in 1996, plays a constructive role in this area. In addition, the government stance and strategies have changed significantly towards the minorities of Western Thrace.

The general understanding of the minorities issue seems to remain unsolved, unapproachable and distant for the majority of the Greek population. The minority members have insufficient opportunities to speak up for themselves, while the large majority ignores them when they do so. Millas (2005) explains this problem to be not a sole ‘minority problem’ but a ‘problem of a large majority’ which has not been updated with the presented and the new social needs (Millas ibid, p. 26). Finally, the issue concerning the minorities will be dealt with more effectively when concepts such as citizenship, ethnicity, autochthonism, religion, origin, ethnic identity, ethnic consciousness, intercultural relations and, most importantly ‘nation’ adopt more updated definitions and functioning (Millas 2005).

3.6.1.6 Identity and Immigration flows in Greece

The issue of minorities is not the only one impacting on Greek identity. The immigrant flows increasing in recent years are changing the character of Greece from an exporter to a receiver of immigrants and a permanent immigrant destination (Kassimis and Kassimis 2004).
Many of the people who have entered Greece in the last thirty years are Greeks of the diaspora. In December 2001, it was estimated that there were 135,000 Australian citizen residents in Greece. Also, in the period 2000-2007, over 2,500 Greek Australians returned to Greece. These are believed to be mostly returned Greek emigrants with Australian citizenship and their Greek Australian children. Greek background persons from other parts of the world have also been returning to Greece. Sources indicate that over 150,000 immigrants of Greek origin have been reported to have entered Greece in the last thirty years (mainly from the former Soviet Union). These figures indicate the increasing numbers of persons of Greek origin returning to Greece.

In addition, Greece has in the last couple of decades accepted, apart from Greek migrant returnees, more than a million deprived immigrants, most from its neighboring countries with all the affects on the local economy, culture, language and so on. Contemporary Greece is therefore very different in demographic terms to what it was more than 30 to 40 years ago. Also, since Greece joined the European Union, other migrants, wealthier this time, from the European countries have flocked to the islands purchasing property there. Hence, when a person migrates back to Greece he or she finds a vastly different environment not only as a landscape, but also in culture, in attitudes and needs. It can be deduced then that the Greek identity has gone through a transformation that reflects an influence from outside forces.

### 3.6.1.7 Identity and Return migration

The phenomenon of return migration (or repatriation) is a fascinating subject to research on numerous identity issues. Irrespective of the length of time living in diaspora, migrants who make the decision to return to the homeland experience the process of identity reconstruction. Many see it as a fulfilment of their dream to be back and spend the final years of their lives in their ancestral homeland, while many others consider because in this way their children will not have to grow up in a ‘foreign’ land. And while for some, this dream has worked out successfully, for some others it has been a disaster, causing families to go back to their previous host country and start a new life all over again. The reasons of any possible disappointment and return to the host country are numerous difficulties experienced by the returnees in settling in the ‘transformed’ homeland, economic problems and sometimes

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19 Australian Government Statistics 2007  
20 Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs  
difficulties for the children to adjust in schools and in a vastly different lifestyle and environment to what they were used to.

As exemplified in stories of return migration to the ancestral homeland, Christou (2003) approaches the concepts of ‘self’ and ‘nation’ discovering a series of changes in the returnees’ identity, especially for those who are second- or third- generation. The process of return migration is well interconnected with processes of identification perceived by the ‘returnees’ themselves as the dynamic context where the cultural self intersects with the ethnic self in both private and public national constructions. The ‘cultural self’ is what can otherwise be called ‘cultural identity’, and the ‘ethnic self’ denotes the ‘ethnic identity’. Return migration is “an essential component of global socio-cultural processes and a significant phase of the migration phenomenon that no longer can be underestimated by the social sciences [and] the empirical study of such phenomena […] contribute to the understanding of new ways in which nationalisms are interrelated to identifications, how they are produced, reproduced, reinforced and challenged” (Christou 2003, p.1).

3.6.2 Greek Identity in the Diaspora (and Australia)

As the environment plays an important role in the formation of human identity, it can be said that diasporic identity is constructed based on the country or region a particular diaspora finds itself in. The identity of immigrants consists of elements of identity that are with them once they migrate to another country with added new ones acquired during the process of acculturation in the host country.

In the assessment of identity in the diaspora a number of variants are considered. Thus, the place or region of origin in Greece or elsewhere; the conditions lived there before emigration from the country; the language spoken there; the family background; the degree of previous education in the country of origin; the number of languages they speak on arrival; and the degree of attachment to cultural ties with the place of origin. In the process of the immigrants’ adaptation to the new environment the following constituents influence the process of the acquisition of new aspects of identity which are added onto the ones previously held by individuals: the age at which immigrants arrive in the new country; the place (urban, rural, country towns) in which they first arrive; the initial experience in the host country; the number of languages they speak on arrival; and the degree of attachment to cultural ties with the place of origin. In the process of the immigrants’ adaptation to the new environment the following constituents influence the process of the acquisition of new aspects of identity which are added onto the ones previously held by individuals: the age at which immigrants arrive in the new country; the place (urban, rural, country towns) in which they first arrive; the initial experience in the host country; the number of languages they speak on arrival; and the degree of attachment to cultural ties with the place of origin.
environment in which they lived or worked; the level of their English language; the ease with which they adapted to the new society; and the level of adaptation in this society.

Furthermore, identity differs significantly between first-, second-, third- and subsequent-generation Greeks in the diaspora. The Greek identity of the first generation Greeks by and large has preserved those elements which were brought over so much so as to sometimes be closer to older traditions passed down by generations than those traditions adhered to by the Greeks of mainland Greece. First-generation Greeks, in memory of life as it was in their places of origin, have insisted on keeping these traditions which included language, folkloric songs and dances, festivals etc. In contrast to the first generations, Cahill and Ewen (1987) in their study on second-generation ethnic youth found that two major themes emerged as characteristics of youth identity; ‘pride in ethnic heritage’ and ‘living in two worlds’. Greek youths indicated that their ethnic identity was felt strongly when it was challenged or abused. The theme of ‘living in two worlds’ was interestingly described by some participants of the study as the ‘front door’, where one world begins and another ends. For these young adolescents, “the outside world and its attitudes and values was not to be allowed to infringe in the parents’ worlds”, or rather the indoor world (Cahill and Ewen 1987, p. 23). This is an excellent example of the dichotomy of identity, where one identity is adopted in the traditional context, i.e. living by the culture of the Greek heritage, and another (identity) in the external, Australian context. All these features that constitute the Greek-Australian identity are found in written form within the literary writings of the diasporic Greeks.

Greek identity in the Australian context has gained little attention from researchers, basically because it has never been an issue. It is only recently that the future of the Greek presence, including language, culture and identity have been questioned, and therefore some Greek scholars are beginning to consider these areas in their field. Bellou (1993) reveals interesting aspects of Greek identity among first and second generation Greeks in Australia and some of these views are included below.

In regard to the maintenance of the Greek identity in the diaspora, Psomiades (1987) places great importance on the preservation of ethnic boundaries, difficult though this may be. However, although ethnic boundaries contain the core of ethnicity, which itself is regarded as an enduring centre of social action, no ethnic group can be safe in strengthening its boundaries by relying upon the general support of the members of the community. Thus, regardless of the pluralist nature of contemporary society, assimilation is still a big threat for diasporic communities. The dangers include “upward mobility, inter-marriage, the decline in
the use of the Greek language and of Greek immigration, the inevitable conflicts within the community, generational concerns and needs and many others” (Psomiades 2003, p. 139). These and many more factors are causing Hellenism to suffer an immense contraction in the last decades with the process of assimilation accelerating constantly. However, as long as the psychological need of Greeks of the diaspora is present and individuals find satisfaction in choosing their ethnic identity and maintaining it as Greek, “there will be an attachment for Greece and for all the Greek diasporas” (Psomiades ibid).

3.6.2.1 Greek diasporic Identity

Greek migrants, in their journeys to xenitia (exile) have carried with them, along with their personal belongings, a wealth of qualities and values which distinguishes them from other people in the countries where they migrated to. In addition, they, themselves, as individuals are characterized by their unique national characteristics which form part of their national and cultural identity, many of which have become intensified or have withered, depending on where the migrants disembarked and started their new lives. These characteristics are part of their everyday simple life and include the social attitudes, food, dress, grooming, language, and dialects of their native place.

Nevertheless, a number of other identity characteristics related to the implications of xenitia and its derivatives paroikia, and omogeneia on Greeks living in the diaspora are used in many contexts, including the literary writings produced by Greek Australian writers, some of these being: xenos, xenitemenos, apodemos, symparoikos, omogenis.

Psomiades (1993) refers to the markers of the Greek cultural identity as being the same all around the world. These include “folk dancing, music, food, the [Greek people’s] profound sense of historical continuity and survival, attachment to the Orthodox Church, and pride in the achievements of [Greek] ancestors” (Psomiades 1993, p. 140). For the first generation and for recent arrivals in Australia (although the numbers in this category are minute) there is naturally “an attachment to modern Greece”, while for succeeding generations “the attachment tends to be to the history and cultures of a geographical region or to one’s roots and less concerned with the exploits of the Greek state or government” (Psomiades, ibid). The unifying force of the Hellenic diaspora, according to Psomiades (1993), is not so much a place but the imagined transcendental territory of Greekness which groups and individuals may appropriate to suit their own needs and interest” (Psomiades 1993, ibid). Thus, Greece, while continuing to be the dominant interpretation of Hellenism, remains an object of strong sentimental ties among diaspora Greeks (Jusdanis 1991).
3.6.2.2  Identity in the literature of the Greeks in Australia

In recent years significant work has been done in world literature, especially in that literature which is written by migrant writers, or ‘ethnic writing’ as referred to by many. Fictional and non-fictional texts written by migrants can act as a valuable source for analysis in search of a range of cultural and social elements concerning individuals of ethnic backgrounds. In his study on Italian Canadian writers, Tuzi (1997) explores the dilemmas of identity formation through the discourse on ethnicity in a culturally complex topography. The author demonstrates that gender and cultural identity is a product of conflicting factors that exist in mainstream society and in a given ethnic group. The migrant experience was found to be represented in the literary productions of the writers studied expressed in a ‘unique cultural perspective’ that may apply to diaspora literature in general.

In whatever area they worked and wherever they settled, most of the Greek immigrants in Australia have made through their achievements, a significant contribution to society, in areas including the arts, the political, the economic, the scientific, the intellectual, as well as the literary. Their love for literature enabled their emotional world to find expression and, thus, reflect their concerns, attributions, thoughts and ideas of the world around them. This love is a “genuine cultural and intellectual element of the Greek identity” (Kanarakis 2005, p.32). An overview of this literature reflects “a different character and tone than the literature of mainland Greece which exhibits an identity of its own” (Ibid).

Considering the “idiosyncratic characteristics” of the literature of the Greeks in Australia, historically being present for about a century, with a range of genres, themes and styles, it can now be said that this literature constitutes a corpus of its own, and therefore has its own identity. It is a corpus that can be studied, analysed, and it can attract research attention (Kanarakis 2005, p. 37). The determinative criterion is the language in which the literature is written. The literary text is the link of communication between the writer and the reader; the ‘communication channel’ (Halliday, 1978). It appears that “a body of literature can achieve its purpose only when the messages infused by the writer into the text are received and comprehended by the readers through this communication link” (Kanarakis 2005, p. 38).

The term Greek-Australian can be confusing for many, as it might be given two different identities, thus, the Greek-language literature and the English-language literature. The identity of this literature is defined by the language in which it is written. The English-language literature written by Greek Australians can be regarded as part of Australian literature whilst the Greek-language literature can be regarded as part of both the Australian and the Greek
literature. The whole of this literature, regardless of language, can be termed as Australian literature created by Greek background writers who live in Australia. The main difference between these two groups of literature is the readership, which in the case of the English-language is mainly English speaking whilst in the case of the Greek-language literature it is mainly Greek speaking. The literary production of the Greeks in Australia, although “a corpus which can be evaluated for its own merit”, is not an independent literary body in itself because of the two languages in which it finds expression and the two linguistically different readerships it addresses (Kanarakis, 2005, p. 31). Therefore, it appears that language seems to be the determinative factor of the national identity of this literature.

The one hundred year old history of the literature of the Greeks in Australia is a substantial period of time for the literature that is written in the Greek language to prove itself as an important part of Greek literature (also Kanarakis 2003a; 2005). However, Greece has maintained a stance of indifference and unfamiliarity towards this literature. Generally, migrant literature often faces rejection from both the motherland and the country in which the writers live, thus Australia. Whilst in the diaspora, unless the literary works are written in the official language of the country of residence, or at least translated into it, they are not valued as significant due to the language barrier.

3.6.2.3 The image of Greek identity in Australian mainstream literature

In studying the Greek-Australian identity, it is important to consider how Hellenism and Greekness is perceived by the wider Australian society. Kanarakis (1999) suggests that “the literature is eminently predisposed to such assessment [s], for it is on the ideas, mentalities and trends in contemporary writing that the future arises”, stating that the change in the composition of immigrants in Australia at the end of the twentieth century has led to a more settled and tolerant community, which has consequently become more cosmopolitan in its very nature. This has also been enabled by the increased number of writers of non-English backgrounds (Kanarakis 1999, p.215).

The maturing of the Australian people as a nation allows for the ethnic image of the immigrants to be featured in a wide range of resources such as book publications, magazines, art works, social places and social events, i.e. festivals, and book and art exhibitions, all adding to the multicultural tapestry of Australia. The importance of studying the way Hellenism is conveyed in Australian literature is that the social attitudes that influence the literary writers today are to a large extent different to that of the last century. In a study such as this it is worthwhile to examine literary writings of various kinds such as fiction, poetry,
drama, travel accounts, biographies, food writing and also children’s literature (Kanarakis
1999). Narratives are an ideal way to explore issues such as the identity of individuals, especially those living away from their ancestral home. They are interlinked with the migrant experience that encompasses deep, complicated and meaningful situational issues that can provide a rich source of information for research studies.

Kanarakis’ study of Australian literature after 1980 of exclusively non-Greek writers shows that this literature appears to include more Greek characters than in the past. These characters include personalities of all kinds from all socio-economic levels, sometimes heroes and sometimes villains. There is a balanced representation of gender, age, and social backgrounds representing the major part of the Greek community. The same study also reveals that Greeks and Greek culture are featured mainly in prose fiction works, and not so much in drama or poetry. In children’s books, the Greek characters are for practical and moral reasons featured as good people, with yiayia (the grandmother) playing a major role.

Australian literary works of the 1980s and earlier works reveal a different social attitude towards men and women compared to present times. For example, the early male characters, namely the father and husbands, were portrayed to be intolerant, bad-tempered and authoritarian. The female characters appeared as compliant, uneducated and ignorant. A chauvinistic attitude of young males towards women was identified in some works (Kanarakis 1999). These attributes gradually changed over the years, as migrants became more accustomed to the Australian way of life. General aspects of identity in the pre-1980 period deal with the nostalgia for the motherland and the longing of migrants to return home and be buried there eventually. This attitude, however, becomes less intense in the later years, as it also appears in the Greek-language literature, showing that the Greek immigrants, in their majority, accept the fact that their life from now on is to be spent in Australia but they can occasionally visit their homeland for short periods (Kanarakis, 1999).

Kanarakis’s research reveals that the Greek characters are regarded by the Australian characters as people who did not come to Australia to settle, and, thus, not appreciating this country, who maintain a stance of superiority and are over-sensitive to ethnic matters. On the other hand, the Greek characters view Australians as shallow, unfriendly, narrow-minded and racist. However, the negative stereotyped ideas of the 1980s period that the Greeks and the Australians held toward each other have diminished largely in more recent years.
In terms of personal characteristics, the Greek mentality of the 1980s and 1990s is well depicted through the characters who, in their majority, maintain strong family bonds and honour. A strong sense of parental responsibility is transmitted through the literary texts, as well as ambition for their children. Marriages take place as a form of duty and usually the newly-wed are both of Greek descent. It would be interesting to investigate the current state of marriages within the Greek community as most of the marriages today are between a Greek and someone from another ethnic group. Katsaros’ short story “The First and Second (Generations)”, analysed in Chapter Five, presents a good example. Parents appear responsible and caring for their children but at the same time rigid and authoritarian in their views and ideas. Within the family, according to the findings of Kanarakis, the father is presented as a ‘hard-working disciplinarian’, often with rigid views about what is acceptable or right and what is unacceptable for their children and wives. They wish their children to become married to someone Greek and object strongly to mixed marriages.

Mothers are also depicted as hard-working with a strong responsibility towards their household and children. They have high ambitions for their sons and daughters; they want them to study hard, to find a good job and to have a happy marriage with the aspiration of providing grandchildren. They are depicted as more religious than the fathers, the conciliators of the family, and the ones that try to calm their husbands in their temperamental moments, while attempting to also encourage the children to show obedience to the father. Children in a similar way are depicted as having strong family bonds, the boys growing up with a conscious responsibility to the family and particularly through the children’s literature they appear to have good manners and be generally well behaved.

Yiayia (the grandmother) plays a major role in the image of the Greek family. She is a character of inspiration, courage and support to everyone, especially the grandchildren. She is religious and ensures that the religious traditions are kept within the family. Although representing strength, she feels displaced, lonely, isolated and homesick. All the things that she was able to do well in her home country seem to be far from her current capacity and reality. On a general note, the care of their elderly is important for Greek persons, although this commitment is becoming less and less intense as life becomes more demanding on the individuals, and as a result the majority of elderly parents are now placed in geriatric centres.

Family celebrations hold an important part of individuals’ day-to-day living, including baptisms of babies, engagements, weddings, birthdays, name days that are often considered more important than birthdays, and even funerals of beloved persons. In terms of social
characteristics, the Greeks are depicted in Australian literature as expressing hospitality, friendship, liveliness, enthusiasm and a vibrant way of celebrating family occasions. (Kanarakis 1999). Political discussions and gambling are part of the everyday life of Greek men.

The literary works reveal that throughout the post-war period in Australia the inter-ethnic attitudes encountered were rather negative, and displayed prejudice, discrimination, and racism. However, towards the end of the twentieth century these behaviours became less strong between Australians and members of the ethnic groups as well as between the ethnic groups themselves. For example, the feelings of resentment in regards to inter-marriage somehow changed, giving way to acceptance and appreciation towards people from other cultural backgrounds.

The stereotyped ideas mentioned above can be a sign of cultural difference awareness, which are sometimes approved, and yet at other times cause misunderstandings. The transplanting of Greek immigrants to a new land, where not only the language was different, but also the lifestyle, the food, dress and social attitudes, lead to feelings of dislocation and alienation. This social dislocation is a result of cultural difference which is intensified by the lack of “a language on all levels of communication” (Kanarakis 1999, p.225).

It is concluded that the general image portrayed in this literature, as seen above, evolves around the lives and characters of first generation Greeks who arrived in Australia in the 1950s and early 1960s. This image relates to adult Greek people who were to a great extent uneducated with traditional ideas and mentalities, resulting, to a degree, in an incomplete picture, because the Greek immigrants of the late 1960s and 1970s were better educated and originated not just from the villages but also from urban Greece (Kanarakis 1999, p.229).

### 3.6.2.4 Language and identity in Australia

Language is one of the main characteristics distinguishing individuals according to ethnicity and ethnic identity and it can be said that it can act as a marker of identity. However, regardless of how old a language is, with the current transnational and global trends the purity of the language is altered depending on the degree of contact with other groups and languages. As a result, individuals discontinue using some of their native linguistic terms, while unavoidably adopting new ones as a result of continuous contact with people from diverse language and cultural backgrounds. In Australia, Greek immigrants have developed a type of language as a result of living in this country for some time. The effect of Australian
society on the language of immigrants is such that they have incorporated into their everyday speech a range of new vocabulary items and Australian words and expressions.

Kefallinos (2004) describes language as a living organism, linking its history to the emergence of human civilisation and maintaining that language shapes human consciousness. Plato was one of the first people in western civilisation to make reference to the close relationship between language and the mind, while Emerson refers to language as “a city to the building of which every human being brought a stone” (Kefallinos ibid). The role of the Greek language, similarly to the Latin language, as a contributing factor in the nurturing of the English language, is significant. In addition, the fact that more than 60 per cent of all English words have Greek or Latin roots, with figures rising to over 90 per cent in the sciences and technology (Green 2007) proves that the Greek language has influenced English considerably.

Greeks in Australia “have one of the highest rates of language retention when compared to other ethnic groups” (Kefallinos ibid), and while in many other ways they are integrated into Australian society, in terms of language they are still resisting. The main reasons why this happens is that the most profound texts in the world such as the great books of Greek philosophy and the New Testament are written in the Greek language (Kefallinos ibid). This idiosyncratic characteristic has an influence on the ethnic identity of people of Greek descent, making it a strong and robust identity which can survive in multi-ethnic societies. For this reason, the Greek language is a living language in Australia and it is spoken within the family environment of Greek background persons as well as in social gatherings and community events. Religious practices in most Greek Orthodox churches also take place in the Ancient Greek language, conversely to some other parts of the world where the liturgy is conducted in language of the host-country.

Finally, in this era of globalisation and transnational movement, the Greek language continues to play a role in the functioning of commerce, technological applications and new economies via the use of new vocabulary and terminology with Greek roots. This phenomenon may act as a facilitator in the maintenance of the Greek language, which statistically appears to decline year by year (as seen in Table 7 of Chapter 1).

3.7 Greek-Australian Identity

As a result of living in Australia, the Greek immigrants’ identity adopts a new set of characteristics which are reflected through various attitudes and behaviours. With time, the
original Greek identity (or Greek-Cypriot identity for the Greek Cypriots), brought with each individual to Australia, changes and becomes a hyphenated identity. This process takes place unconsciously and involuntary and it results in a new form of identity consisting of a mixture of elements that describe the person concerned. This is known as the Greek-Australian identity or Greek-Cypriot-Australian identity for the Greek-Cypriots. This double-hyphenated identity is obviously more complex and differs from person to person. Naturally, the first-generation Greek background persons hold different values and beliefs, compared to the second-generation persons, most of whom have adopted an Australian lifestyle and Australian values. For example, the members of an organization of first-generation elderly Greeks have different perceptions and understandings of the social environment outside their boundaries. On the other hand, a youth club of second generation Greek youths would adopt a different view of their Australian identity. Some argue that they are just Greek or just Australian, or more of one identity than the other. Many consider themselves hybrids, adopting in their life aspects of both cultures. Some claim to be whatever the situation demands at any particular point in time, either Greek or Australian, a situational identity. Others do not have a straight answer and feel that the process of discourse about identity is ongoing and multilayered. Others argue that their ethnicity, within the context of Australian society, is that of ‘difference’ to the prevailing Anglo image of what it is to be Australian (Alexakis 1998, p.147). This is only natural, and the specific characteristics are discussed in the following section.

The combination of characteristics that sum up the complete structure of Greek identity in Australia is the hyphenated notion of Greek-Australian identity. Castan claims that this hyphenated or dual identity suits Greek origin Australians as it enables them to feel Australians or Greeks according to the circumstances. He suggests that this term gives Greek-Australians a “sense of their own distinctiveness as a group, different from other Australians and from other Greeks” based on the pluralist and multicultural character of Australia. (Castan 1988, p.6).

3.7.1 First-generation Greek Australians
An evaluation of the first-generation Greeks’ attachment to the homeland is conducted and expressed through a number of cultural elements: a) the knowledge and use of the Greek language at home and in their communication with other Greeks; b) the frequent contact with family members or friends in Greece or Cyprus; c) listening to Greek music or the Greek radio, and watching the Greek satellite programs through the Greek channels on television.
wherever possible; d) being attached to the Greek Orthodox religion; e) adhering to Greek cuisine and cooking within their home; e) preferring to dine-out at Greek restaurants or taverns, or other Mediterranean-style places, rather than elsewhere; f) the adherence by many elderly Greeks to the tradition of wearing mainly black colour clothes, especially the elderly women, yiayiades, as a sign of respect to their deceased loved persons. The Greek national costume is still present at Greek public events and functions, such as the Greek National Day parade and the Greek Antipodes festival, which takes place in Melbourne every year, where a number of dancing groups, representing different parts of Greece, perform for the general Australian public.

In regards to their social life, the first generation Greeks like to entertain themselves by: a) visiting other Greek friends or Greek venues; b) attending functions such as panigyria, festivals, dances, home gatherings, name-day celebrations, religious functions such as baptisms, weddings or special church commemorative events. Special days such as Christmas and Easter are an important part of their life; c) spending time with their family, children and grandchildren; d) attending a variety of Greek organizations, communities, associations, brotherhoods and clubs; e) visiting the ancestral homeland (Greece or Cyprus), some of them on a regular basis and spending significant time there. These visits are usually connected to feelings of belonging and emotional relief.

First generation Greeks in Australia enjoy mixing with other Greeks, preferably of the same region, town or village where they come from in Greece. Their attitudes to non-Greeks vary. Most of them are very friendly with their fellow Australians regardless of their descent. However, it has been observed that migrants feel that they have more things in common with other migrants. For example, Greeks identify more with other Southern Europeans such as the Italians. A large number of mixed marriages among the Greek community members involve a person of Greek background and a person with a European background, for example, Italian or Maltese.

In regards to language, a typical first-generation Greek Australian speaks Greek and English, Greek being the more dominant. Competency in the English language depends on variants such as: the age of the person on their arrival to Australia; whether the person has had any education in Australia; whether the person has attended English classes upon arrival or at some later stage of their residence in the country; whether the nationality of their partner or spouse is Greek or non-Greek; whether they use the English language at home; and whether their workplace is Greek or mainly English speaking.
Identity for the first-generation Greeks is based on the cultural and social life practices as well as their narratives and these centre on the “Greek-Australian environment and its various organisations and institutions and their feelings of exclusion from an Anglophone culture” (Bellou 1993, p. 226). Thus, their identity and difference are largely positioned, constructed and produced within these parameters. For identity is known to be formed based on difference and distinctiveness when compared to ‘others’. Using the tool of narratives, Bellou states that first-generation Greeks maintain that their Greekness and Greek identity is in danger of disappearing and many practices can be justified through that fear. They fear that with the passing of the first generation, the weakening of organizations and the high degree of mixed marriages the Greek community (paroikia) will die. Thus, “the imagined community that shares their linguistic, cultural and religious heritage and a sense of historical continuity and certain cultural practices will no longer exist” (Bellou 1993, p. 231). However, the belief that if the second and third generations become involved in the community and its organizations Hellenism in Australia will last longer. The concept of ‘paroikia’ for the first generation is the sharing of their ellinikotita (Greekness or Greek identity) by participating in ‘Greek’ things and the ability to use practices such as church attendance, going to Greek dances and gatherings, family oriented activities and friendship networking. Language and culture are above all other priorities regarding the identity of this generation (Bellou 1993, ibid).

3.7.2 Second-generation Greek Australians

The second-generation Greek background persons constitute the largest group within the Greek community of Australia. These individuals are today well integrated into Australian society, and they maintain the Greek traditions to a lesser degree than the first-generation persons. Where the above elements of self-identification are present, they are far less intense in the second generation, or they are not existent at all. The language factor is the most crucial and this is evidenced in the limited use of the Greek language at home and when socializing. The second-generation Greek persons prefer to communicate in English as it is more convenient to them and closer to their general cultural orientation, the Australian. In regards to their social life, they enjoy the friendship of people who are Greek, but not solely. They like dining out at Greek restaurants and joining in Greek dancing. Most of them enjoy visiting Greece or Cyprus and other European countries as tourists.

In general, second-generation Greeks have achieved significant commercial, professional and intellectual prominence with active involvement in the arts, theatre, cinema, literature, politics, commerce, and industry, contributing to Australia’s success as a nation. As
evidenced in the lives of these second-generation Greeks, the family values and traditions that the Greek parents passed on their children are still strongly held among most of them and it shows that the hard work of the parents, working overtime and long hours in diverse and difficult laborious positions in their early years in Australia, has had both beneficial and detrimental results.

In regards to language maintenance, first generation parents assumed in their early years of migration firm discipline on their children forbidding them from speaking English at home and thus encouraging them, perhaps forcing them at times, to practise their Greek language. This, again, has had various degrees of success; however, the Greek language proficiency of the majority of the second-generation children is enough to communicate basic needs. Most use both Greek and English in their every day communication with other Greeks. In regards to their Greek language they are more fluent in the oral form of the language with limited opportunities to use their skills in the written form. In their conversations with first-generation Greeks the second-generation uses mostly the Greek language, however, when in their conversation with third-generation persons, Greek language use is almost non-existent. In general terms, the children and grandchildren of the Greek migrants in Australia are presumed to speak fluent English and some degree of Greek. The competency in the Greek language depends on the range of variants including: whether both or only one of their parents is Greek; whether they have any grandparents living with them or near them or at least seeing them on a frequent basis; whether they have attended Greek school or Greek classes and how long they have attended; whether they have attended any educational trips to Greece during their school years; whether the Greek customs and traditions are kept within their family; their cultural awareness which depends on all of the above; whether the Greek language is spoken at home; and lastly, whether they have spent any time in Greece (or Cyprus). Whilst the majority of second generation children speak some Greek, the third generation children, being metaphorically further away from the Greek culture, speak less Greek or none at all, with few exceptions.

In the majority, the new-generations of Greek Australians have not lost interest in the country they and their parents left behind. “They became embodied in the social, political and religious turmoil of Greece with passion and determination that equaled or even exceeded that of their compatriots of the metropolis” (Alexakis and Janiszewski 1998, pp 57-58). A few second-generation Greeks decide to do their military duty in Greece in order to be able to enjoy longer stays in Greece in the future, without forfeiting their visa. Many of them, like their parents, define their identity in terms of the geographical region where their parents
came from, as Kritiki (from the island of Crete), Samiotes (from the island of Samos), Macedonian (from the Macedonian region in northern Greece), Pelloponisi (from the peninsula of Peloponnisos) for instance. In other cases, they identify as Mikrasiates (from Asia Minor), Constantinopolites (from Constantinople), or Egyptiotes (Egyptian), even though these places are not part of the Greek state, or no longer inhabited by Greeks.

For the second generation the practices that constitute Greek identity are different to those of the first generation. For them, “identity is a number of things but above everything else is the maintenance of the Greek language, culture and religion, continuing contact with Greek-Australian environment as well as the close family ties” (Bellou 1993, p. 233). Other values are: respect for parents (sevasmos as an idea) and family members helping and supporting each other at difficult times. “Family practices become the ones that provide the collective identification of the second generation and makes them part of the wider Greek-Australian network” (Bellou ibid). In addition, pride in their Greek background is a common feeling, although this happens in their later years as they mature as individuals.

Bellou’s research (1993) showed that both the first generation and the second generation agree that in their relationships as parents and children within the family, communication is problematic with the conflict arising between them attributed to the “different values and life experiences”. Language problems are also major problems in their communication, especially when the children will not or cannot speak Greek and the parents cannot speak English. The lack of English language skills and the strong sense of Greekness for many first-generation Greeks make them a liability and a shame for their children” a phenomenon that was more common in the early years of settlement in Australia (Bellou 1993, p. 234). Greece for the first generation is the lived experience whilst for the second and third generations is an abstract idea. Bellou (1993) states that the identity of the Greek diaspora is not closely bound to a nation state, thus the identity is more abstract and it is expressed in “everyday practices and discursive non centered narratives” (Bellou ibid). Finally, the Greek identity of first and second generation Greeks in Australia is an identity that contains both Australian (in its historical, cultural and linguistic contexts) and Greek culture (Bellou 1993), as well as the adherence to a Greek way of life while, at the same time, incorporating aspects of Australian attitudes and behaviours.

3.8 Greek Transnational Identity

Over the years, Greek identity, like other identities, has been shifting as a result of social and technological changes. Media and ethnology have been contesting the structure of Greek
ethnic communities in the diaspora in ways that new dimensions are added to the traditional ethnic identity. New technologies, for example, allow Greek migrants to move beyond their physical community and interface, via satellite television, computer, the internet, and periodicals extending the Greek identity to a global scale. The use of these technologies creates new dimensions to Greek diasporic identity, strengthening the ties with the homeland as well as other diasporic communities, thus resisting traditional assimilation paradigms (Panagakos 2003b). These high-tech forms of media and increased application of new technologies among migrants of first and second generation, according to Panagakos (2003b), suggest new outlets of expressing ethnicity among individuals who already have some Greek ethnic consciousness, while adding new dimensions to the concept of ethnic identity. The emergence of these new forms of media and the establishment of transnational networks in daily living indicate a development of social and cultural capital within diasporic communities with ultimate implications on diasporic identities.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explored various conceptualizations of identity through psychological, sociological, diasporic and transnational perspectives. Specifically, individuals maintain a personal identity that forms the essence of their individuality, and is limited only to their self. On the other hand, individuals also develop social or collective identities, characterized by their membership to certain sub-groups based on commonalities in culture, ethnicity, and national heritage. That is, an “us” and “them” attitude is created, a natural human inclination according to social psychology, that determines who is similar to us, and who is different. This grouping procedure is inevitable in any society, let alone in multicultural nations that are home to a vast breadth of ethnicities, cultures, and backgrounds. Australia is a prime example of a multicultural nation attempting to promote harmony and affiliation among its citizens, and as will be seen in the analyses to follow, manages to strengthen the hyphen that links Greek-Australian, Italian-Australian, or other hyphenated identities and personalities together. At the same time, each component of these dual identities is able to survive in their own right, and is what contributes to the diversity of Australia.

Times change and the conditions that were relevant in the early twentieth century are very different to the conditions of the present. Criteria measuring ethnicity and identity in the past no longer apply to the future. Although identities such as Greek-Australian have developed steadily over time, they are continuing to develop at faster rates due to the weakening of original cultures that are amalgamated into the multicultural society that they exist. Identity
issues are therefore of utmost importance, and the luxury of time is no longer available. For this reason, the present research is attempting to evaluate issues of identity through the literary expression of Greek language writers, to uncover, whilst there is still disciplinary interest, the elements that bond these migrants to all of the identities that they experience on a daily basis.
CHAPTER FOUR

4. THE SHORT STORIES, THE WRITERS AND THEIR BACKGROUNDS: THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This chapter is concerned with the analysis of the selected short stories. Firstly, the methodology of this analysis will be outlined, including a detailed description of the model of ‘identity indicators’ developed for this study. This model will be used throughout the analysis of identity as revealed through the texts. A description of the selected short stories and their writers is also outlined, followed by an overview of the genre of the short story as a tool for identity analysis and a historical perspective of the Greek short story.

4.1 Method of Analysis

The subject of the analysis consists of selected Greek language short stories written by first and second generation Greek origin writers in Australia. A comprehensive analysis of the aspects of identity in these texts will be undertaken by adopting the following multidimensional perspectives: a) diachronic, b) thematic, c) comparative.

The early stage of the analysis process will examine the historical periods to which the writers belong. The criterion set for the classification of the writers is the date on which they first published a literary work. In addition, the philological elements of the literary texts, for example language, structure, plot, setting, characters, and, more importantly, the themes that are related to Greek identity will be explored.

Identity is analyzed from an historical perspective. For example, the geographical origin of each writer has much to say about their identity, and subsequently the identity of the characters in the stories. In addition, the writers’ personal experiences and life events, relating to historical events and circumstances, are also significant in understanding the influence of the past on the expression of identity. A large component of the writers’ biographies is often revealed directly or indirectly through the short stories’ plots and settings. In the cases where the writers have lived through adverse events, such as the two World Wars, the Greek Civil War, or expulsion and expatriation from historical diaspora centres, there is strong evidence of these events in the texts. Events such as the Asia Minor catastrophe and the consequent expulsion of Greek population in 1922, the eviction of Greeks from Egypt in 1952 and the
tragedy of Cyprus that followed the Turkish invasion in 1974 are mentioned in some of the selected short stories.

Some significant outcomes of the analysis arise from the comparison of text characteristics written by persons originating from areas outside Greece’s geographical boundaries such as Egypt or Asia Minor, in contrast to others who come from the Greek mainland. These outcomes lend support to the theory that while ethnicity and cultural identity remain the same across persons of the same ethnic origin, a new set of identity characteristics appears to have developed over the years as a result of intercultural and transnational networking.

In addition to the demographic background of the stories, identity is studied through the actions of the characters that often represent the writers themselves or other significant persons in the writers’ environment. Although the personalities depicted in the storylines may all reside in the same geographical location sharing common characteristics, they are all shown to have their own distinctive identities that evolve around their personal lives.

4.2 The ‘Identity indicators’ Model

A model consisting of seven identity indicators was developed specifically for the purposes of this study, in which the ‘indicators’ acting as factors of identity formation are identified. The indicators have been predetermined based on the results of an analysis of the concept of Greek identity in Greece, Australia and the rest of the Greek diaspora. The use of ‘identity indicators’ appearing in the following model assists in uncovering a wealth of elements that define diasporic and transnational aspects of Greek identity in Australia. These elements are revealed directly or indirectly. In addition, the comparison of the ways through which identity is revealed in the three historical periods of Greek immigrant presence in Australia shows the evolution of Greek identity in the diaspora. Each indicator reflects a degree of ‘Greekness’ as discussed below and as is also shown in Table 1.

4.2.1 ‘Place’ identity indicator

‘Place’ deals with the content of the geographical location or region, the landscape, and the social-cultural life of “Greece - Cyprus”, or “Diaspora – Australia”. Where “Diaspora or Australia” are the focus of this indicator, it is always intended to be a contrast with the homeland. Thus, any reference in the short stories to physical or social aspects of diaspora or Australia is used to emphasize the attachment to and nostalgia of the characters with their place of ancestry. This general indicator consists of two sub-indicators: ‘Greece’, ‘Cyprus’, and ‘Diaspora-Australia’. Using these guides it is possible to identify and analyze elements
that represent places, real or imagined, to which the writers refer. Greece is portrayed as a multidimensional concept composed by the natural and social environment, its long history and civilization, and the ancient Greek mythology. Cyprus is portrayed in a similar pattern, with the additional linkage to Greek ancestry. So, whilst homeland for some of the writers is represented by the region or the landscape, for others it is the social element that surfaces, i.e. the people and their lifestyle. The ‘place’ indicator is two-fold: ‘Greece - Cyprus’ and ‘Diaspora – Australia’ as set out below.

4.2.1.1 ‘Greece’ or ‘Cyprus’ as the native place of identity formation

As a physical environment (topos) Greece (or Cyprus) is referred to with words, terms or descriptions that reflect the Greek natural landscape, for example: Greek seas (pelagos), islands (nisia), mountains (vouna), rivers (potamia) and lakes (limnes), as well as archaeological sites, cities and villages, monasteries (monastiria) and churches (ekklisies), coffee shops - cafés (kafeneia), cemeteries (kimitirio), dwellings (spitia), traditional courtyards of village houses, various native plants, flowers and herbs, such as thyme, basil, jasmine and honeysuckle, fields with red poppies and chamomile, olive trees, vines, pines, cypress, various animals (sheep flocks, goats and donkeys, the ever singing cicadas, birds, such as the seagull, the swallow, and the sparrow) all interconnected with the landscape. These and many more are elements and symbols associated with the Greek landscape.

As a social environment, Greece (or Cyprus) is reflected through people portrayed in characters such as the shepherd (tsopanos, voskos), the seaman (kapetanios, varkaris), grandmother (yiayia), grandfather (pappous), people in the neighbourhood (yeitones), the village or city community, and the residents of Greece (or Cyprus) in general. The lifestyle and entertainment of the characters is also part of this dimension and it is common to come across images that portray Greek men enjoying their coffee, ouzo, or retsina (zivania, in Cyprus), or playing a game of backgammon at the kafeneio of the village or town, whilst the Greek women might be occupied with preparing meals for the family, or gossiping in the neighbourhood.

4.2.1.2 ‘Diaspora and Australia’ as place of identity formation

Australia is reflected in the same ‘place’ indicator as Greece, and provides the foundation for a diasporic identity that is contradictory to that of Greeks of the national centre. It is also evident that this identity has roots with other parts of the diaspora, as some writers have lived in countries other than Greece before coming to Australia through which their foreign ways of
living and thinking are evident. This is expressed in their writing, which, based on the expressed sojourning experience, remains to reflect Greek identity or Greekness in its ecumenical dimension.

In the short stories, Australia is illustrated through its natural and social environment, however only as the “other”, that is to say, in contrast to Greece. Socially, characters of Greek background who behave Australian-like arouse feelings of nostalgia and reminiscence. The natural Australian environment or landscape presents an abundance of diasporic elements, both real and imagined. These include the vast land with its deserts, the endless plains, the sugarcane plantations, the native wildlife and other various endemic species of animals and plants, and the oceans that surround this continent in contrast to the Greek seas. These objects or symbols, such as the kangaroo or eucalyptus, are references which immigrants use to compare with elements in the Greece that they miss. The Greek Orthodox churches, the Greek schools, Greek nursing homes, Greek cultural associations, and the old style kafeneio, are additional aspects of the environment reflecting Greek identity in the diaspora. The Greek houses in the Greek-populated suburbs with their courtyards that display plants, herbs and other trees, such as olive trees, lemon trees, fig trees, rosemary, mint, basil and oregano that remind the owners of their ancestral land. These things are transformed into symbols that embody the soul and the spirit of Greek migrants creating in them a transnational connection with their far-away homeland.

The social aspect of Australia appears through its people, usually the nature of Anglo-Saxon background persons, contrasted with the nature of Greeks in Greece. For instance, story-scenes where a Greek migrant character displays frustration or disappointment in non-Greek individuals of Australian society denote an inherent questioning of the reasons why people behave in certain ways which are different to others. When the characters represent or refer to mainstream society they do that in order to compare with the society they miss, thus, the Greek society. This is usually reflected in the writings which describe the characters’ early years of migration, the adaptation stage.

4.2.2 ‘Language’ identity indicator

The second indicator, and possibly the less complex, examines the linguistic elements of the literary texts, that is, the Greek language with its dialectic and regional features, the use of katharevousa or demotic style, the use of monotonic or polytonic system, as well as proverbs and idioms. The language of the texts reflects aspects of historical periods that relate to the
conditions signifying the arrival of the writer of the text to Australia as well as their place of origin.

Language is a central cultural value and as such it is more effective when combined with other values such as religion and family (Clyne 2005, p.64). In the case of the Greek ethnic identity, language, religion, history awareness and family bonds seem to be interrelated. Although the Greek language used in the Orthodox Mass is different to the one used at home, it contains elements of authenticity absorbed by the listeners, and projects the historical continuity of the language of the New Testament and antiquity (Clyne 2005, p. 64). Consistent with this claim, a study on third generation Greeks has shown that the participants did not feel comfortable praying in a language other than the Greek, although, according to the same study, the ethnic identity of third generation individuals can survive without the Greek language (Katsikis 1997). Similarly, an earlier study (Katsikis 1993) on second generation persons of Greek background showed that the use of the Greek language demonstrates respect and honour towards one’s parents, and is therefore preferred. Generally, studies have revealed that among the second and third generation the community language is more symbolic than communicative (Smolicz 1981, Katsikis 1997, Clyne and Kipp 1999).

On the other hand, where the mother language is not spoken at home sufficiently, it is the traditional extended family that plays an important role in the maintenance of language (Smolicz et al. 2001). As such, second generation Greeks today rely on the presence of grandparents in order to be exposed to the language, and furthermore, send their children to attend Greek classes. With the passing of years, the Greek language is becoming a language for the older (by age) generations, while for the newer generations it acts as a vehicle through which they exercise their communication with the first (also Clyne 2005, p. 63).

Preservers of the Greek language in the diaspora tend to be cultural, regional, religious, and sporting communities, associations and clubs, as well as welfare services and the mass media. There are daily broadcasted programs on radio and television, and a large number of Greek schools that operate outside regular school hours that uphold and pass on the language. However, despite the decline of the use of the Greek language in Australia, the general interest in the Greek heritage is still vibrant and is continuing to grow through visits to Greece and the use of telecommunications, mainly the internet. Transnationalism, therefore, acts as a facilitator in bringing the Greek diasporic communities in frequent and direct contact with Greece.
4.2.3 ‘Socio-cultural elements’ identity indicator

The third indicator is “socio-cultural behaviours”. It identifies references to Greek cultural events, described to be taking place in either Australia or Greece. With an abundance of cultural elements associated with the daily lives of Greeks in Greece as well as the Greek immigrants in the diaspora, the short stories present a rich sample of socio-cultural elements. Elements of physical appearance and dress code of the Greeks in Greece, but also in the diaspora and Australia are also observed. The dark complexion, the dark hair, the traditional clothing of old men and women, and the national costumes can be sole or supplementary characteristics that define ‘Greekness’ in its cultural dimension and consequently Greek identity.

In terms of cultural character, Greece has certainly adopted characteristics from East and West. Being at the crossroads of three continents, Europe to the north, Asia to the east and Africa to the south, it constitutes the meeting point of many civilizations and cultures, rich in historical, social and customary characteristics. Consequently, due to the diversity of the Greek landscape, the locals of each geographical region of the country developed distinctive cultural elements often finding expression in gastronomic, celebratory or everyday life activities such as weddings, festivities and feasts. As a result, different kinds of cultural life are found in each of the parts of Greece. This idiosyncratic nature of identity, which is well linked with traditions and customs, together with the natural character of the land, gives Greek national life a complex and diverse character, all of which is indirectly implanted into the people’s psychological world. This can be carried to whichever land individuals may decide to live. In an approach to understand Greek migrant life, literature can act as a mechanism of uncovering much of that world that enlightens and enriches any research in the field.

4.2.4 ‘Core values’ identity indicator

Values and patterns of behaviour are additional cultural characteristics of Greek lifestyle. These are expressed through actions and behaviours that are relevant to persons of Greek origin, e.g. the multifaceted Greek pride, the deep respect and devotion to parents, the strong love of the homeland through symbolisms and the passion for ideals such as freedom. Upon their arrival to Australia, Greek migrants brought with them these and other new ideas, ways of living, and particular values. The concept of philotimo, for example, is a core concept of Greek cultural ideology and history, and influences people’s ways of behaving within different social circumstances. The concept implies both individual and family pride, self-
esteem, honour, faithfulness, altruism, individuality, progress, prosperity, freedom of choice, democracy, fairness and much more. Generosity and philoxenia are also attributed to the concept of philotimo. Philoxenia refers to hospitality, thus to befriend a xenos (foreigner), or to provide help and/or accommodation to a stranger. As mentioned earlier, the Greek language is also an important cultural entity for Greeks specially the first generation and this is, perhaps, why they regard it as a way of living.

According to Smolicz (1981), every ethnic community holds a set of cultural values that are fundamental to the group’s continued social existence as unique and distinguishable. When members reject these values they may be excluded from their group (Smolicz 1981, pp 64-65). This may be a reason for which the writers of the short stories express so strongly their attachment to the Greek culture.

4.2.5 ‘Religiosity’ identity indicator

The fourth indicator, "religiosity", is referring directly to the Greek Orthodox faith (being the main religion in Greece), whether it is present in the Greek or in the Australian environment. References to ecclesiastical and religious objects and concepts denote aspects of Greek-Orthodoxy and constitute important aspects of Greek identity. For example, the mention of particular saints, churches, monasteries, holy icons, priests, vestments, the sign of the cross, the special icon corner in the house (eikonostasi), the vigil candle (kantili), the incense and incense boat (thymiama), the holy mysteries (mystyria), the feasts of the church (giortes ton Agion) are a few indicators of religiosity.

4.2.6 ‘Family formation’ identity indicator

‘Family formation” is the fifth indicator, referring to expressions of the strong bonds and close relationships between the members of the Greek family. Examples include: the physical and spiritual presence of mother, the powerful presence of father, grandmother and grandfather as integral members of the Greek family, the strong relationship between daughter and mother (very evident in the short stories), the support of the son in the marriage and endowment of sisters and many others. The presence of strong family bonds is clearly evident in most of the short stories, more frequently in the works of the first half of the twentieth century when a large number of Greek persons migrated to Australia and other countries in order to work and financially assist their families back home. In many cases, men migrated alone to work, earn money and help buy dowries for unmarried sisters back in the homeland. Therefore, in addition to having to find a job for the purpose of survival, many of
these migrants had to cope with the worry of putting money aside to provide for the needs of their beloved family members.

While the relationship of a migrant with family members back in the homeland is strong, many family members are by now dead, leading to the conclusion that most first-generation migrants have now nobody waiting for them in the homeland. It is evident today that many first generation immigrants decide to repatriate but the dilemma lies in the fact that the children of these immigrants are living in the diaspora. Often observed is the phenomenon of children who decide to live in Greece whilst their parents cannot follow them, because they have access to better health services and other comforts in Australia. For this reason, the now aged first-generation migrants, who initially wanted to return to their homeland, are not able to return, mainly because they do not want to be separated from their children who are settled in Australia, which is their native land.

4.2.7 ‘National symbols’ identity indicator

Finally, the seventh indicator, "national symbols", refers to symbols through which Greece is nationally portrayed and represented. These symbols are: the Greek flag and banners, the cross, the olive branch being a symbol of peace linked with the olive tree of Athena, and the colours of blue and white being the colours of the flag and a depiction of the landscape – blue symbolising the sea and white being the colour of purity but also the colour of the houses in the sea-girdled islands.
### Table 4.1 Model of Identity Indicators

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<th>IDENTITY INDICATORS</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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| **1. Place**<br>a) Greece / Cyprus - natural environment - social environment - Greek history & mythology | The geographic location represented in Greece or Cyprus or, sometimes, diaspora-Australia. These special places are portrayed in both physical and social dimensions:  
- The physical dimension of the environment is portrayed through descriptions and terminology.  
- The social dimension is reflected in the inhabitants of Greece or Cyprus and their social life.  
- Historical and mythological references include elements of Greek history, mythology and ancient Greek civilization. Other elements relating to the centres of the Greek diaspora, more precisely Australia, appear through physical and social contexts and always in contrast with Greece or Cyprus. The Greek community is a core aspect of this indicator. |
| b) Diaspora / Australia - natural environment - social environment - the Greek community | |
| **2. Language** | Linguistic elements and special characteristics of the Greek language, dialectic and proverbial elements, the diacritics orthography, katharevousa and simple demotic language. |
| **3. Socio-cultural elements** | Socio-cultural elements as they emerge through family and community life, behaviour, traditions, customs, cultural events, festivities, feasts, the Greek cuisine, dance, music, and songs. |
| **4. Core values** | Attitudes that depict Greek pride (*yperiphania*), respect for the elderly (*sevasmos*), devotion to the homeland (*philopatria*), sacrifice of *mother* for her children, ideals such as freedom (*eleftheria*) and democracy (*democratia*). Also, concepts such as: *philotimo*, implying individual and family pride, self-esteem, honour, faithfulness, altruism, individuality, progress, prosperity, freedom of choice, and fairness; and *philoxenia*, denoting generosity and hospitality. |
| **5. Religiosity** | Elements that express the Greek Orthodox tradition through representative religious artefacts, localities, ways of religious expression and sacraments. |
| **6. Family formation** | Elements that reflect the special Greek family bonds, e.g. the dominating figures of father and mother, the sacrifice of mother, the role of grandmother, the care of children for their elderly parents. |
| **7. National symbols** | Elements that portray Greece as a nation, such as the Greek flag, the national anthem, the national colours, the olive tree, the cross, patriotic songs, and other symbols of the homeland. |

#### 4.3 The diasporic identity of Greeks in Australia

The diasporic identity revealed through the analysis of the selected short stories written by the Greeks of Australia, appears to sway between two poles: Greece and Australia. Furthermore, Greece can be conceived as the resultant of two opposing concepts: the Hellenic reality and the ideological image of Greece as the Greek immigrant would have liked it to be. Usually
this picture illustrates the ‘beautified homeland’. Australia can also be conceived in two different ways: the Australian migratory experience as a reality, and the country where the Greek immigrant or his children want to believe that they can settle suitably, satisfied and happy (See Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 The Greek-Australian Diasporic Identity

Throughout the analysis of the short stories it is possible to draw conclusions as to whether the writers demonstrate the validity of the bi-directional notion of diasporic identity displayed above. As such, the characters of the stories approve, accept or reject situations and conditions in their local Australian environment, or the Greek environment. The question is: Do the characters accurately reflect the writers in that they also agree with, approve of or disapprove of these situations, conditions or changes? Or perhaps, the stories are a mixture of conflicting and revolutionary ideas that indicate an effort to maintain the old way of life, regardless of the host society? Is Greek-language literature a struggle about the maintenance of the writers’ ethnic and cultural identity? Or is it an attempt to accept the complexity and multidimensionality of diasporic identity, and subsequently to adjust to the current conditions of transnationalism and globalism? This thesis attempts to provide answers to these questions, and others, in the analysis part of the short stories.

4.4 The short stories and their literary context

The short-stories examined in this thesis are published works from the period 1901-2001; they are written in the Greek language by first and second generation Greek background writers and relate to the concepts of diasporic and transnational Greek identity in Australia. They address a Greek readership from among the Greek community of Australia, other Greeks in the diaspora, and from Greece itself. Certain works have been occasionally published in Greek newspapers in Australia, some in Greek periodicals and anthologies, whilst others
constitute part of collections of short stories published in book form by the writers themselves.

Nine short stories have been selected, which display trends of the times in which the writers lived or are living. The themes of the stories also reflect the historical and socio-cultural issues, whether they be of Greek or Australian society or both, at the time when they were written or published. These issues relate to either Greek or Australian society or both. The identity indicators discussed earlier act as catalytic mechanisms throughout the analysis, and are vital search tools. They constitute a functional model of identifying aspects of identity that apply to a large population of immigrants across the world, and take into consideration trends of globalization. Bibliographical information about the short stories included in the thesis can be found in Appendix 8.

4.5 The writers

The writers who write in Greek in Australia are usually first generation migrants who came to Australia from Greece, Cyprus, Egypt, Asia Minor, Pontos, or Constantinople. These writers are often educated to university level but a large majority have lower levels of education. This however, does not act as a repressing factor to writing. Contrarily, the emotions of these individuals which derive from their migrant experience, as well as their bitterness for their deprivation in not achieving higher education in their homeland before arriving in Australia, act as driving forces for their writing. The reasons why they write is to express feelings of nostalgia about the homeland and loved persons left behind, loneliness and isolation in the host country, or even gratitude about the comforts they find in their new country, sometimes enjoyment of social or family life and other times philosophizing about the world. Occasionally they write about world issues and problems shared by the larger society they live in.

The short story writers included in this research have lived or are living in Australia. They have published at least one short-story, even though some of them have also written other forms of literature such as poetry, novels, travelogues or theatrical scripts. The classification of the writers in each period is based on the year in which they first published a literary work, not the year of publication of the selected short story. Table 4.2 below contains a list of the selected short stories, the place and date of publication of the stories, and the year in which the corresponding writers published their very first literary piece. Biographical notes about the writers included in the thesis can be found in Appendix 9.
### Table 4.2 The Selected Short Stories and the Writers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMATION ABOUT THE SELECTED SHORT-STORIES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 4.2  The Selected Short Stories and the Writers</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INFORMATION ABOUT THE SELECTED SHORT-STORIES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Name of writer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. George Nicolaides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. James (Dimitris) Galanis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Andonis Fatseas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Period 1952 – 1977</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Nikos Piperis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Period 1978 – 2001</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Types of literary texts produced by the writers

Greek writers in Australia write in a variety of styles and produce a variety of texts. The most preferred type of writing has always been poetry. However, significant short-story collections

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23 The short stories of Georgantopoulos and Galanis were accessed in Kanarakis, G. (1985 and 1991²). Nicolaides’ short story was accessed in Kanarakis (2003b).
have also been written, as well as theatrical plays, biographies and narratives. The novel, being a more complex genre, has been the least popular among the writers.

**Themes**

The central themes of the writers’ literature are mainly taken from personal experiences and involvement with people and events concerning the immediate environment of the writers. They revolve around family, Greece, Australia or Cyprus, homesickness, xeniteia (the concept of sojourning), or the diasporic community in which they live.

### 4.6 The historical period of Greek Australian literature

The historical period examined in this study covers the years 1901 to 2001. This period is significant for the history of the Greek presence in Australia, and relevant to the purposes of this study for two main reasons: firstly, it was during the twentieth century that Greek immigration reached its peak (especially during the 1950s and 1960s); and secondly, the present literary production in the Greek language by Greek Australian writers is a phenomenon that is not expected to be repeated in the future. Not only has the first generation Greek population reached its twilight but also the Greek identity is gradually weakening with the emergence of new generations.

The literature is examined in three periods according to the Greek migratory stages in the twentieth century in Australia (See Table 4.3).

The three periods are:

- **First period**: The Early Greek Migrant Presence in Australia - Transplanted Identities (1901 - 1951);
- **Second period**: The Greek Mass Immigration in Australia - Migrant Identities (1952 – 1977);
- **Third period**: From Twilight to New Dawn - Shifting Identities (1978 – 2001).
### Table 4.3 Historical Periods of the Literary Presence of Greeks in Australia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Period:</strong> The early Greek Migrant Presence in Australia (1901-1951)</td>
<td>This period signals the appearance of literature of Greeks in Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century, initially in the form of oral poetry, and later in written form, with the first sample of published written literature by Cypriot George Nicolaides in 1913&lt;sup&gt;24&lt;/sup&gt;. This period is characterized by World War I, the catastrophe of Asia Minor, World War II and the German Occupation, as well as the Civil War in Greece.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Second Period:</strong> The Greek Mass Immigration in Australia (1952-1977)</td>
<td>Greek literature in Australia during this period followed the mass Greek immigration since the agreement between Greece and Australia in 1952 assisting the passage of Greek immigrants. The Greek mass migration continued until the early 1970s, with the Greek Cypriot refugees being the last to arrive. The period ends in 1978 when the Greek Australian community reached a turning point, with no more migrants arriving from Greece, new generations of Greek Australians being born and the Greek community beginning to settle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Period:</strong> From Twilight to New Dawn (1978-2001)</td>
<td>In this period Greek communities in Australia flourished through a plethora of socio-cultural and literary activities supported by the newly introduced Multicultural policy, including a prolific production of literary publications. The year 1978 marks the date when Australian multiculturalism was officially introduced in the country&lt;sup&gt;25&lt;/sup&gt;. It is also observed that a significant number of Greek first-generation writers began to translate and publish their works in English in an effort to penetrate the Australian literature, while the second-generation writers, except for a few, do not write in the Greek language at all. At this stage, the Greek community in Australia is settled and the first generation Greek migrants’ main concern now is the maintenance of the Greek identity by the new generations and the future of Hellenism in this country which they have made their home. This recent period marks the end of the twentieth century and the start of the twenty-first century, and third millennium.</td>
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### 4.6.1 First Period: The Early Greek Migrant Presence in Australia – Transplanted Identities (1901-1952)

During the beginning of the twentieth century only a few Greek immigrants arrived in Australia. These small numbers slowly began to grow and were concentrated in the large cities, where they formed communities. The Community of Sydney in 1899 and the Greek Community of Melbourne and Victoria in 1900 were among the first. It is through these that the Greek immigrants, most of whom were unmarried men, gathered and socialised, and created the ‘coffee-house’ behaviours that grew more and more popular. These gatherings, as


<sup>25</sup> The first ‘official’ definition of multiculturalism in Australia can be dated from the Galbally Report of 1978.
well as being social in nature, developed a community spirit and consciousness that later led
to literary forms of expression (Kanarakis 1985; 1991²).

The literature of this period is characterized by significant historical events such as the two
world wars, the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, the Great Depression and The Greek Civil
War. In particular, the years 1945-1949 are characterized by the aftermath of World War II.

Literary expression was minimal during this period. Only one short-story writer has been
identified in this earliest period. It is George Nicolaides who was the pioneer, the first Greek
ever to write and publish a literary piece in the Greek language in Australia (in July 1913).

4.6.2 Second Period: Greek Mass Immigration to Australia – Migrant Identities
(1952-1977)
In 1952 a new immigration policy was signed between the Australian and Greek
governments, allowing passage to people who chose to migrate to Australia. Following this,
Greek migrants continued to arrive until the early 1970s. This period is particularly important
because it is the period when the largest migration of Greeks to Australia occurred. It is also
important because a period is included where in Greece a military government (1967-1974)
caused frictions among its citizens who in order to escape persecution fled the country. At the
same time Cyprus was invaded by Turkey in the north and a large number of Greek Cypriots
also left for Australia, as they were displaced from their ancestral homes. This was the last
group of Greeks to arrive in Australia.

During this mass migration period a number of first generation migrant writers appeared to
have begun publishing their literature, mainly in poetry and a few in short story, including
some females. These were the first female writers in Greek language literature in Australia
starting with Vasso Kalamaras in Western Australia and Dina Amanatides in Victoria in the
1970s.

4.6.3 Third Period: From Twilight to New Dawn – Shifting Identities (1978-2001)
This period marks the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first. It is
a time of transition from the multicultural context introduced in the late seventies to a more
global society which begins to develop as a result of global trends in communication,
transport, technology and other areas.

The key year 1978 is important in the history of Australia as a multicultural nation, as the
concept multiculturalism was ‘officially’ introduced through the Galbally Report.
Multiculturalism, however, had been introduced gradually since the mid 1960s when the new immigration policies did not suggest the necessary loss of original languages and cultures during their settlement, but instead, they acknowledged the migrants’ principal values as useful tools for a full participation in the wider Australian society. This way, the term ‘integration’, which referred to those policies which considered migrants’ diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, replaced ‘assimilation’ which drew its rationale from the ‘White Australia Policy’ which was in force between 1901 (the year of the founding of the Australian Federation) to the mid 1960s.

With the ‘White Australia Policy’ British migrants were preferred while others were accepted on the grounds that they should forget their languages and cultures and be quickly assimilated into the host society so that they would not be distinguishable from the rest of the population. The policy excluded any non-European migration. However, the changes in human behaviours and attitudes after the Second World War had an impact on Australia’s involvement in world affairs and its responsibilities as a member of the international community. So, in 1973 the ‘White Australia Policy was fully dismantled by the government and new policies were introduced. These policies acknowledged that many migrants, particularly those whose first language was not English experienced hardships with their settlement to Australia and were in need of direct assistance. They also recognized the importance of the various ethnic groups and their organizations and their role in facilitating the adaptation and settlement process of migrants. As a result, in the early 1970s substantial funding on migrant assistance and welfare was granted in response to these needs.

'Multiculturalism' as a term was unofficially introduced by 1973, with ethnic groups establishing state and national associations to promote the survival of their languages and preserve their cultural heritages within mainstream society.26

In 1973 a paper entitled A Multicultural Society for the Future was released by Mr Al Grassby, Labor Minister for Immigration. A few years later, in 1977, the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council which was appointed to advise the then Fraser Liberal Coalition Government on this issue recommended a public policy on multiculturalism referring to Australia as a Multicultural Society. Finally, with the recommendations of the Galbally Report of 1978 the Fraser Government implemented the first official multicultural policies. Thus, the Galbally

26 Multiculturalism was pursued as a social policy by Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki through the Social Issues Committee of the immigration Advisory Council during the Whitlam Labor Government.
report became the basis for government policies for migrant services including English language tuition, translation services, ethnic schools, multicultural education in public schools, Migrant Resource Centres, ethnic radio, television and the establishment of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) in 1980 (Langfield, 1996). AIMA aimed at raising awareness about cultural diversity and promoting social coherence, understanding and tolerance. These processes influenced migrants in many of their activities including their literary production.

During this period that followed 1978, the Greek communities in Australia thrived in socio-cultural activities, including a massive output of literary publications. In addition, it has been a time when both Greek and English language writers have come closer to mainstream literature by translating and publishing their work in an effort to be embraced by the Australian literary society. A few Greek writers also attempted to write in English.

In the 1990s, while other types of literature including poetry and drama were well practised among the Greek writers, the short story became more and more popular, with significant short story collections being published some of which are considered in this thesis, such as *O Krateauos Nostos* by Mousoura-Tsoukala (2000), *Algidones* by Katsaros (2001), and *Edo ki Ekei* by Piperis (2002). A number of stories were also published in literary magazines and anthologies in Australia, Greece and Cyprus.

4.7 The genre of short story as a tool for analyzing identity

Contrary to the poem, the novel or other types of literary genres, the short-story provides a literal snap-shot of real life situations and imagined events. The short story does not contain the symbolism that often exists in poems which is subject to a variety of interpretations, nor the extensive length of language in the novel that is less selective of the content. In addition, the short story is more than a narrative because it has structure and plot which allow for its content to be thematically organized and presented as a fictional piece of literature, although based on real events. "In the short story great importance is placed upon the relation of society and human beings, that is to say how social realities, and mainly economic factors, influence

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decisively human sentiments and behaviour” (Aligizaki et al. 2001, 134). The short-story offers a rich source of literature that can be studied diachronically and thematically. Furthermore, and specifically to this thesis, the Greek short story is the first written Greek language literary genre published in Australia (1913), and in the very first Greek newspaper that circulated in Australia (also in 1913). The short story is a concise and easy to read source of information because of its three important features: deduction, compression, and climax. Moreover, it offers a range of issues that relate to human identity that can be deciphered through its main characteristics: theme; plot; setting, structure and characters. There have been sufficient Greek short stories in the literary production of Greeks in Australia which include unique examples of diasporic and transnational Greek identity. It has, therefore, been decided that using this genre as a mechanism of identity exploration is the most appropriate choice.

4.7.1 The theory and definition of the short story

The definition of the “short story” as a literary genre has been problematic ever since its appearance until recently. The difficulty is mainly due to its close relationship with the novel and other prose writings. Its protean character is also another reason causing it to appear in a range of forms according to the place and time it is written. According to Littre (1863) there is no difference between the short story and the novel. They both consist of narrations that are fictitious or are considered to be fictitious or semi-true (Valetas 1983, p. 9). However, the short story is a more concise representation of real or almost-real events, and therefore it is more persuasive. In reference to the Greek story, the writer Papadiamantis dealt more than anyone else with the real facts of life in his short story writing. Linguist Babiniotis (2002) defines the short story as a “prose piece of writing relatively small in size, which presents a complete narration of a happening or adventure that takes place”. There are various types of short stories, for example: a) imaginative; b) realistic; c) satirical; or d) action (Babiniotis 2002, p.505). Other types include: a) ethnographic short story, describing ethnographic events

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29 The first Greek newspaper in Australia was *Afstralia*, which was circulated for the first time on June 6th, 1913 in Melbourne by Efstratios Venlis. As a coincidence, Nicolaides arrived in Melbourne as a migrant the previous day.

30 Papadiamantsis (1851-1911) was a prominent Greek writer, known for his exceptional short story writing. Some of his novels are also very notable. Born on the island of Skiathos and pursuing studies in Athens, he was influenced by the country life of his island as well as the urban life in the poor neighbourhoods of Athens. His stories were written in ‘Katharevousa’, the ‘purist, archaic based’ language of his time and represent a significant step in the history of the Greek short story.
originating in images of folkloric, cultural and historical aspects of country people’s life; b) the psychoanalytical, analyzing psychological conditions of people; and c) the social, which concerns people’s social problems (Krassanakis 2006).

Prominent Greek writer and literary critic of the early twentieth century, Grigoris Xenopoulos, adds that the short story is an architecturally designed piece of writing, with a beginning, a middle and an end, referring to an event or a person, omitting to present all the scenes involved, inviting in this way the reader to complete the story and reach conclusions as to the messages and the moral values implied by the writer (Valetas 1983, pp. 20-1). On the other hand, Valetas (1983) refers to two main types of Greek short stories: the realistic and the imaginative. Other sub-categories include the romantic, the symbolic etc. As part of the realistic is the naturalistic short story which describes and portrays aspects of society. The theme determines the character of a short story into categories such as: ‘marine – thalassino’, ‘pastoral – poimeniko’, ‘rural – agrotiko’, ‘urban – astiko’, ‘social – koinoniko’, ‘psychoanalytical – psychoanalytiko’, ‘historical – historico’, ‘love-story – erotiko’, ‘patriotic – patriotiko’, ‘satirical – satyriko’, ‘working class – ergatiko’, and ‘action –astynomiko’ (Valetas 1983, p. 27-8).

Generally, the short story reflects people’s thinking in all its dimensions. It appears that the writers of the Greek short story were predominately male from the early days, that is, from the late nineteenth century, as is also the case with the English short story. It is a phenomenon that can be explained as a result of the social conditions in the early years during which men were positioned in more prosperous social positions as a result of becoming educated, whilst women were deprived of education. Although the characters in those early stories appear to belong to both genders, the narratives are written from the male point of view. Valetas (1983) refers to Neroulos’ study of Modern Greek Literature, stating that the fact that there have been no short stories or novels written until 1826 reflects Greek society’s stage of development, where cultural traditions had not yet enabled women to be active members of society (Valetas 1983, p. 78). Later on, Zampelios31 suggested that ‘woman’ is one of the main factors in the development of literature. Greek women before the Greek War of Independence and even after had remained uneducated and were restricted to the house. Therefore the appearance of the short story is in parallel with the development of urban society.

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Length is one of the main characteristics of the short story, ranging from 500 to 5000 words. Although there is no set length, an average short story is made up of approximately 2000 to 3000 words. The novel on the other hand is a compilation of interrelated small stories. A short story of three pages can never be called a novel, or a novella which is something between a short story and a novel. Also, the theme of the novella is more original and therefore, there are slight differences to the short story.

The term “short story” was established by the English and Americans in recent times, defining it as a brief story of mostly fiction. The term “story” arrived as a replacement to the term “tale” used by the English journalist Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400) in his book “Canterbury Tales” (1478). Much later American short story writer Washington Irving published his collection of short stories titled: “Tales of Traveler”. The tale is another genre with similar characteristics as the short story; however, the difference is that a tale’s narration concerns characters that are animals or plants, personified with human feelings and voice. Valetas compares the term ‘tale’ with the Ancient Greek terms ‘logos’ (word) and ‘apologos’ (product of word) which corresponded with what we call ‘narrative’ today. Hence, the old colloquial term ‘tale’ gave way to the term ‘story’ in the same way that the colloquial term ‘story’, used by the original demoticists (since the Righas era), gave way to the term ‘short story’. However, this term had been used by Aristotle in his “Poetics” in which he talks about “δηηγεκαηηθή θαη ελ κέηξσ κηκεηηθή” [diigimatiki ke en metro mimitiki], thus, ‘short story and rhythmically performing poetry’ even though there was no known work created that can be defined as a short story then (Valetas 1983, pp. 7-8). It can therefore be concluded that the short story is more closely linked to reality, where its themes evolve around human existence and the society in which the characters live.

4.8 Overview of the History of the Greek Short Story

Valetas (1983) defines the Greek short story as a literary genre that was developed in order to expresses the desires and sufferings of the Greek people and their social problems, involving the Greek nature and tradition, the land and the sea, the rural and pastoral life in all its beauties and in literary phases (Valetas 1983, p. 7).

After the long war of independence from the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century, and Greece’s emergence as a nation-state in 1832, the Greek language and identity went through turbulence during which the simple folkloric tradition, including the people itself, became suppressed (Valetas 1983). It was then that Katharevousa, a language of the elite, was introduced and became the official language of the Greek nation. However, this language did
not represent the general people of the country, as it was not the spoken language used in everyday life. This movement of language was condemned by the pioneer Greek short story writers, Vizyinos, Papadiamantis and Karkavitsas who tried to stay within the boundaries of the Greek reality and its folkloric tradition. In particular, Papadiamantis and Karkavitsas were able, through ethnography and description of characters and events, to address in their short stories a wide range of human issues concerning the Greek public, especially the people of rural areas, that remained ignored until that time. They strongly supported Psycharis’ introduction of the demotic language in 1888, which was also the year of appearance of the Greek short story.

Thus, the Greek short story was established as a form of literature within a decade (1883 - 1895) in which many other authors were inspired and became involved, including prominent Greek veteran writers such as Roides, Polylas and Kampouroglou. The contribution of all these writers enabled the Greek short story to surpass its simple ethnographic character and become a valued and unique literary genre of European standard. The corpus of Greek short stories can be studied in three periods: a) the Pre-War-for-Independence period; b) the War-for-Independence period; and c) the post-War-for-Independence period.

4.8.1 The Pre-War for Independence Period

According to Valetas the Greek short stories of the Pre-Independence war period were never developed, despite the fact that the genre appealed to the Greeks of the urban areas. Righas Ferreos, also known as Righas Velenstinlis Thessalos, is considered to be the innovator of the modern Greek short story with his collection “School of the Delicate Lovers”32 being the first collection of Greek short stories. It consisted of six short stories, and was published in Vienna in 1790. Righas’s short stories were not original as the ideas were borrowed from the famous short story writer, Retif de la Brettone (1734-1806), and translated from the French and enriched in content, then adapted to the Greek reality at the time, with the characters’ names being unchanged. With this book Righas introduced the genre of short story to the Greek people in order to educate the young, according to the title, about the life of beautiful women of Paris, but in a rather ethical and entertaining way. This first book of short stories was well accepted by the Greek people as it introduced European ideas that were easily modified and adjusted into the Greek way of life. They were also written in simple language and according to the mentality of Greek society of the time (Valetas 1983, pp. 54-55).

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32 Σχολείον των ντελικάτων εραστών, ήτι Βιβλίον ηθικόν, περιέχει τα περίεργα συνβεβηκότα των ερωτεύρων γυναικών του Παρισίου, ακριβῶς κατά τον παρόντα αιώνα. Εκ τής γαλλικής διαλέκτου νυν πρώτον
Righas’ collection of short stories led the way to the first publication written by a Greek who remained anonymous, with only his initials ‘I. K.’ appearing on the publication. This collection of three short stories was titled: “Eros result”, ethical-love story with cultural song, composed using our simplest of dialects in order to entertain the young men, devoted to the noble ruler Mr Stephanos Ianovikis, Vienna of Austria 1792. The writer is presumably Ioannis Karatzas, a Greek Cypriot writer who happened to be Righas’s fellow collaborator and who died together with him in Belgrade (Valetas 1983, p. 56). The three short stories in this collection were titled “Istoria proti [First story]”, “Istoria defteri [Second story]”, “Istoria triti [Third story]” respectively and had love stories as their theme. The use of the word ‘story’ indicates the historical origin of the newer term ‘short story’. The three stories of the collection “Erotos apotelesma” introduce the genre into Greek prose, thus, making it the most recent form of written Greek literature. Adamandios Korais, founder of the Greek novel, supported Righas’ work and continued along the same lines, publishing tales and other stories in a literary style. Karatzas wrote works of fiction in a period when the laureates’ doctrines were tending to suppress them (Valetas 1983, p.59).

The first Greek story with the characteristics of the modern definition appeared in 1807 in Kerkyra (Corfu) in a collection of folk reading passages collected, translated and published in the common Greek language by Ioannis Kaskambas which consisted of a collection of prose writings, mainly narratives the themes of which were about love, women, marriage, old age, friendships and a happy life, a variety of areas with women and love being the main themes. The general ethos of this collection follows Righas’ collection “Skholeion ton Ndelikaton Eraston (School of the Delicate Lovers)” and Karatzas’ “Erotos apotelesma (Result of Love)” (Valetas 2002, p.63).

4.8.2 The War-for Independence Period

Korais in his preface to Iliodoros, Aesop and Ieroklis, became the first theoretical analyst of Greek prose and thus provided a strong argument to the obscurant conservatives as stated earlier. Women, as portrayed by S. Zampelios (Pandora Ζ’ 1857, 157), constitute a vital part of the development of literature, before, during and after the Greek revolution, despite the fact that until then they were uneducated and restricted. “The Lady of Zakynthos” by Solomos, which was composed during the “Agona” [Struggle], seven years after the “Alithina

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33 “Ερωτός αποτέλεσμα”, ήτοι ιστορία ηθικο-ερωτική με πολιτικά τραγούδια, συντεθείσα μεν εις την απλήν ημών διάλεκτον προς προθυμίας και εγκλεισάν τεν ειγενίνων νέων, αφιερωθείσα δε τω ειγενεστάτω άρχοντι μαγιόριον κυρίον Στεφάνων Ιανουάρικη, Εν Βιέννη της Αυστρίας 1792.
diigimata” [True Short Stories] of Psalidas, belongs as a type to the history of the Greek short story (Valetas 1983, p.73). Apparently, during the War for Independence period, little literary writing was generated.

4.8.3 The Post-War-for Independence Period

In 1836, immediately after Greece’s struggle only to find itself in ruins, a circle of short story writers by the name of “Iridas” began publishing their works. Six literary journals also appear (Ios, Elliniki Plastix, Proodos, Theatis) and within a year the “Apothiki” of Smyrna, whilst these were preceded by Soutsoi. Writers making their way were Konstantinos Pop, his brother Georgios Pop, Alexandros Ragavis, Ioannis Deligiannis, Dimitrios Pantazis and others. With the initiative of Konstantinos Pop the ‘Iris’ journal is produced which, according to Valetas (1983), constituted the ‘likno tou neoellinikou diigimatos’ [the cradle of the modern Greek short story]. A most prominent writer was Ioannis Deligiannis, later a politician and diplomat who also published his first collection of short stories in 1846. The year 1847 was proclaimed the Year of Prose Writing and Year of the Modern Greek Short Story in Greece with the publication of the literary magazine “Efterpi”, followed by numerous prose works such as “Simple Language” by Tertsetis which included a number of poems and prose pieces and the very first short story written in the Demotic language titled “Punishment and Repentance [Σηκσξία θαη κεηάλνηα]”. Romance assists the short story at this period with the Soutsoi. Korais in the post war period asserted that without literature there can be no education, nor can there be a culture [True education can only be achieved through the collaboration of philosophy and philology together…] (Valetas 1983, p. 61). Valetas (1993) lists thirty-three short story writers being the most profound, who contributed significant short stories to Greek literature, including twenty-two males and one female, namely: Rangavis, Polylas, Vlachos, Roidis, Lykoudis, Eftaliotis, Psycharis, Vizyinos, Anninos Ch., Papadiamantis, Moraitinis, Kampouroglou Gr., Roukis, Damvergis, Kourtidis, Palamas, Drosinis, Kondylakis, Vellianitis, Nirvanas, Christovasilis, Spiliotopoulos, Mitsakis, Karkavitsas, Vokos, Xenopoulos, Krystallis, Asteris, Hatzopoulos, Vlahogiannis, Passayiannis K., Episkopoulos, and Papadopoulos Alexandra (the first Greek female prose writer). Many of the short story writers of the diaspora have been influenced by these Greek writers and have adopted some of their characteristics and styles of writing.

4.9 From localized short story to diasporic short story

Most Greek migrants who left Greece for Australia did so out of the need for an improved living environment. Upon their arrival in the new country they did not forget their country of
origin, and in fact they purport to ‘have taken their country with them in their hearts’. Some of them even built their own version of Greece in their minds and in their homes, an image which reflects their own self-opted place of belonging. This detachment from the core of the original society has had an analogous affect on their writings which reflect each individual’s perception of ‘their Greece’ in the diaspora.

The short stories which were written in the early period are also comparable between the two environments and since literature has been written mostly in the Greek language by first generation writers, it is only natural to have a parallel and an influence from the Greek short story writings written on mainland Greece. Thus it can be said that Greek language short story writing in Australia is a continuation of the equivalent type of literature written in Greece. This has also been reinforced by their visits to Greece and the contact with family members which remained constant throughout the life of the first generation migrants.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the methodology of analysis of the short stories using a set of ‘identity indicators’. Seven indicators have been devised and presented, which identify and analyse aspects of Greek identity in its diasporic and transnational dimension. It has given an overview of the sample of selected short stories and their Greek literary context, as well as their historical background. Three historical periods of Greek literature in Australia have been set and described covering a total period of 100 years, and finally it dealt with the theory, definition and overview of the history of the Greek short story and its evolution.
CHAPTER FIVE

5. LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SELECTED SHORT STORIES

This chapter presents the analysis of the selected short stories. Nine writers were selected according to the criteria set out in Chapter 4. The themes, as they will be revealed, are related to the migrant experience and the various stages of adaptation to the host society. They often deal with the problems of alienation and the difficulties faced by Greek migrants in settling in and beginning a new life in Australia. These themes reveal a wide spectrum of issues, such as family relationships, employment conditions, social relationships, community life, and the dilemmas of identity. A strong prevailing theme is homesickness and the consequent nostalgia which occurs as a result of the long distance from the place of origin. The consequences of ‘xenitia [exile]’ play a major role in the wellbeing of the migrants who struggle to survive between the two worlds, the homeland left behind and the reality of living abroad. The results of this condition generate feelings of nostalgia, as mentioned above, guilt, remorse, fear, isolation, and psychological encapsulation problems, as well as determination, perseverance and economic success, for some. The analysis of the themes reveals issues that are representative not only of the Greek diaspora but also of other migrant communities, irrespective of their ethnic background.

The attitudes of the characters reflect the acceptance or non-acceptance by the migrants of the changes that occur concerning both the country of origin and the country of residence. A range of issues concerning first-generation Greek migrants are revealed in the stories: the problem of aging; the fear of dying far from the homeland; adaptation and acculturation problems, communication difficulties; misunderstanding and conflict between parents and children; the placement of the elderly in nursing homes where they are often forgotten by their children and neglected by society; and various physical and mental health problems that the individual writers present through their protagonists, directly and indirectly. In addition, the lack of proficiency of the English language remains a major thread in the stories.

Upon arrival in this country the majority of first-generation migrants saw, as their foremost priority, the need to find employment and earn sufficient money to buy a house, while at the same time raising a family. Therefore, they did not have the opportunity to attend language classes and learn English at an early stage. Today, many of these migrants are old, ill, and
forgotten, not able to make their Odyssean dream of return become a reality. Those who make the brave move of return are faced with the problems of nostalgia for Australia where their children and grandchildren are now living, while trying to come to terms with the changes that have taken place in the homeland during their absence. Those who decide to return permanently to the homeland are not many. However, a number of aged Greek migrants attempt to at least go and see their place of birth and meet any of their loved ones who might still be alive, although grown old. This can also be seen as an act of respect, a pilgrimage and tribute to those who once lived there, but who are now dead. Sometimes it is related to claims of inheritance over some land or a house that their parents left for them. Sadly, very often, when the migrants do not return early enough, some or all of the land that legally is theirs has already been taken over by other relatives or compatriots, and as a result a number of problems arise. Occasionally, the visiting migrants find distant family members or old acquaintances whom they are happy to see again; however, the most common scenario is that these migrants feel estranged and distant from the home society. Moreover, a significant number of Greek elderly migrants, as long as their health is in good condition, visit Greece regularly where they usually spend the Greek summer during Australia’s winter.

The issues in the stories regarding second-generation Greek persons vary. They range from problems of communication between the young Greek-Australians and their parents, the degree to which the younger generations adhere to Greek customs and traditions, the use and maintenance of the Greek language and culture, the dilemmas of dual identity, mixed marriage situations and the generation gap.

Throughout the analysis of diasporic and transnational identities in the selected short stories the following questions are considered:

1) **How do Greek writers perceive and present the various societal circumstances and situations through the characters in the stories?**

2) **How are the characters’ identities compromised within the surrounding environment and every-day life, and how do the problems of adaptation impact on the survival and well-being of their personal and collective identity?**

3) **In what ways has the concept of ‘xenitia’ [exile] changed in recent years compared to the early and mid-twentieth century period, and the Greek mass migration years, and how is this reflected in the behaviour and attitudes of the characters in the short stories?**
4) How is the diasporic identity of Greek migrants enhanced by transnationalism as the migrants’ lives are fortified by living here-and-there? Also, how do dual orientations influence transnational family life, and continue to affect subsequent post-migration generation identities?

5) Is the diasporic identity of the returning Greek migrants well received by the locals in Greece, or are there issues of non-acceptance?

6) Do the characters accept or reject the changes taking place in their country of origin?

7) Do the characters feel both settled and content in the environment of the host-country or do they have any resentment as to their migration to Australia?

8) Are there any indications as to the reasons for their migration?

9) Do they feel betrayed by their homeland?

10) How strong are the feelings of return?

11) To what extend does Greek Orthodoxy influence the Greek identity of first-generation versus second-generation Greek Australians?

12) In regards to the language used in the short stories, how does the role of the Greek language help decipher meaning, and would the themes be presented differently if they were written in English?

These and many more questions are raised and to some degree answered in the process of the analysis that follows.

5.1 Analysis framework

The manifestation of identity is explored through the usage of the ‘identity indicators’ model which has been discussed in Chapter 4. In the analysis, a number of key characteristics are considered for each short story, including: a) the setting (when and where the story takes place); b) the plot; c) the characters (the persons depicted in the story through the characters and possible interpretations of their identities d) the style (examining whether this is strict, humorous, depressive or happy); e) the themes (and sub-themes) that are present in each story. Conclusively, any messages that are conveyed through the story-lines are important findings as they can be used to understand the intentions of the writers in the historical period in which they lived.

The analysis approach is (a) Structural (b) Socio-linguistic and (c) Thematic. The structural approach examines whether the structure of each story reflects any characteristics of the corresponding historical period, lifestyle, migration patterns, educational level of the writers,
or degree of Greek identity present in the content of the story. For example, the short stories which were written in the early twentieth century were generally short in length, such as George Nicolaides’ stories, whilst those of the late part of the century or the beginning of the twenty-first century are longer. Another characteristic of most of the early stories is the concluding paragraph which finishes with a philosophical statement, reflecting the writer’s intention or message to the reader. This can be viewed as a distinctive feature of the Greek short story as it was developed in Greece in the late nineteenth century, and later adopted and taken by the individual migrant writers in their new lands.

The *socio-linguistic* approach examines the social trends in Australia, Greece, Cyprus or other parts of the Greek diaspora which influenced the writers or the portrayed characters, and it also examines the language used by the individual writers, detecting dialectic, regional and other linguistic characteristics. A given fact in regard to the language used in the selected short stories is that the mere use of the Greek language denotes a strong aspect of Greek identity. A significant characteristic of the works that were written before 1983 is the use of the diacritics orthography, and in some cases, especially the early twentieth century ones, the use of *katharevousa*, as opposed to the *demotic* language which appeared in the later works.

The *thematic* approach examines the themes presented in the short stories based on the questions listed above. Some of the themes are: i) Social (revealing aspects of the social life of migrants); ii) Familial (related to family bonds and celebrations); iii) Religious; iv) Cultural (relating to customs and traditions); v) Occupational (informing about the migrants’ employment); vi) Patriotic (expressing devotion to the homeland); vii) Heroic (eulogizing heroes and heroic historical events); viii) Anti-military. This approach is the most commonly used as the *themes* form the main points of interest regarding the short stories because they provide rich data for analysis. A detailed description of the main themes and sub-themes appearing in the texts provide insights into identity. The *social* theme appears to be the most powerful expression of Greek identity due to its multidimensional character, broadness and multifacetedness. There are three points of reference: Greece or Cyprus; the Greek community of Australia; and Australia, which provide a plethora of contexts in which aspects of the social life of Greek migrants take place (also Kanarakis 2003b, p. 128).

The first point of reference, *Greece*, is unquestionably the central point of reference and it is present in texts with themes related to *xenitia* (exile). Greece is described as it is remembered

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34 In 1983, the demotic Greek language was officially declared and adopted as the official language in Greece. Katharevousa has since remained only in some of the government documents.
by the writers, in good and bad times, in situations where the migrants lived happily together with their loved ones, but also at times of misery, poverty, deprivation, occupation or war. Life in the homeland is brought forward from the pre-emigration past through waves of memory, and the writers encounter moments that usually hurt, yet they provide relief. The strong feelings of nostalgia maintain a climate of devotion and love for the homeland which, although it once betrayed them causing them to leave for far-away lands, still claims a large part of their identity. Greece often appears as the idealized homeland, a mythical, wonderful land which in fact is far from the reality, but which constitutes a secret, imagined space where the dreams of return find a temporary refuge. Furthermore, it is sometimes implied in the texts that first-generation Greek migrants want their children to maintain the Greek language and traditions, and most importantly develop a love for their ancestral land; however, this is usually done by praising all Greek things as an expression of ethnicity. The voice of second-generation persons in regards to their stance and feelings about Greece is scarcely found in the short stories; however, when this happens, it is usually expressed with positive attitudes and this is so in order to show respect for the parents and ancestors.

The second point of reference, the **Greek community of Australia**, appears to be a social sphere where Greek values, traditions and customs are maintained and regarded highly. Although part of the wider Australian society, the community is an entity itself where the Greek presence is well preserved by the first-generation Greeks and their children and in which Greek lifestyle is still well maintained.

The third point of reference, **Australia**, is present in a wide range of themes. Although this does not necessarily reflect any signs of Greek identity, it is the way it is used in parallel with anything Greek that the characters are reminded of. It is the social and physical environment where first-generation migrants live while at the same time they compare the local life and environment with what they have left behind in their home-country before their emigration. For the second-generation persons this ‘difference’, or ‘way of seeing things’, is inherited from their parents although many of them have not had any first-hand experience life in Greece. However, in more recent years, many second- and third-generation Greek background persons have visited Greece and have developed a passion for their ancestors’ land and historical past. A significant number of short stories describe the anguish of the new generation persons who are faced with the dilemmas of having to live in two worlds, two cultures, two countries and who often come in conflict with their parents on issues such as marriage or social freedom (Kanarakis 2003b, p. 128) and also the way they decide to bring up their own children. This problem creates secondary issues such as the maintenance and use
of the Greek language, observing the Greek traditions, and following the Greek Orthodox faith.

The *religious* themes present in the short stories usually refer to marriage issues, the strong desire of parents to see their children married, and the denial of inter-marriage among their children. However, the issue of disapproval of inter-marriage is becoming less and less dominant, as many of the first-generation parents are now beginning to accept the fact that the chances of their children becoming married to someone from their own cultural background are lessening with the years. The rate of mixed marriages is presently high and is continuing to increase with the passing of time and as the new generations become more assimilated into mainstream society. Baptism of children and grandchildren in an Orthodox church is also important for Greek families. The short story of Galanis is an example of the desire of early Greek families to have their children baptized by a ‘proper’ Greek Orthodox priest, not just any priest, and in this way pass the Orthodox identity onto the next generations. Observing religious traditions associated with the Greek Orthodox Church is also shown to be very important for Greek families, especially the first-generation.

The themes related to *customs and traditions* detect cultural characteristics present in traditions brought by the migrants from their region of origin in Greece or Cyprus. Thus, the way traditions are maintained and celebrated may vary significantly between regional groups. Themes on family entertainment, community celebrations, and religious feasts project lifestyles that are embodied with rich cultural and religious elements, associated with life in the various geographical areas of Greece or other parts of the diaspora. These themes are intertwined with life within the Australian multicultural society and its influence on the different cultural groups, thus generating a unique and complex type of Greek identity.

The sample of stories reflects the evolution of Greek identity in Australia in one century’s period (i.e. the twentieth century) and each of the texts is characterized by the unique style of the writer. These texts are important data for research in the socio-linguistic area of the Greek presence in Australia and diaspora in general. The thematic, structural and socio-linguistic approaches can broaden the possibilities for an inclusive evaluation of society in the specified period in relation to the Greek diaspora in Australia.

Finally, the analysis of the short stories will be presented in the order of the publication date of each short story in the corresponding historical period.
5.2 First period—The Early Greek Migrant Presence in Australia: 1901 – 1951 - Transplanted Identities

5.2.1 The Letter to Mother

5.2.1.2 About the short story

Nicolaides’ short story ‘To Gramma tis Manas [The Letter to Mother]’ is very small in size (only about a page) and written in the first person. It is one of seven short stories hand-written by Nicolaides in Australia and later compiled in a book titled “Diigimata [Short Stories]” by G.G.N. [George Nicolaides] which was given by the author himself to his dear friend Letho Vidalis on 5th November, 1923 in Adelaide. His remaining short stories are also limited in length (Kanarakis 2003b) and his themes are psycho-social in character, describing aspects of social life in Australia, the early migrants’ problems with gambling, the nostalgia for the homeland and the longing for loved persons left behind. “Written when Nicolaides was a young man, the stories display the influence of Romanticism with its inherent mood of sentimental melancholy and its tendency to place the individual at the epicentre of all life and experience”. Although the original language used by Nicolaides in his writing was mainly katharevousa, in this particular story he uses demotic Greek with some elements of katharevousa. The extracts included in this analysis are presented in the monotonic orthography, as borrowed from the source, although the initial story was written in the polytonic system. The style of writing, and the language itself, display an abundance of emotions felt by the main character, making this story a delicate piece of literature.

5.2.1.3 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting

The story is set in Australia, although there are no indications as to any specific region. External evidence, however, informs us that Nicolaides disembarked in Melbourne, a lone Cypriot, on the 5th June, 1913 and lived there until the following year. The fact that the short story was published on the 30th July 1913, less than a month after his arrival, shows it is based on the very early migrant experiences of the writer.

35 Nicolaides’ short story ‘To Gramma tis Manas [The Letter to Mother]’ was initially published in the first Greek language newspaper of Australia “Afstralia”(No.5, 4th July, 1913) and later in “Yiorgos Nicolaides, Mia Kypriaki Selida ston Afstralioti Ellinismo” [George Nicolaides, a Cypriot Page in Australian Hellenism], (Kanarakis 2003b, pp. 196), in both the Greek and English languages.

36 Kanarakis, 2003b, p. 69.
The events take place on an early morning in the main character’s room where he is futilely trying to write a letter to his mother, but then becoming distressed by thoughts about going out to the coffee shop to meet his friends and play cards with them instead. The next scene takes us to the beach where he is staring at some fishermen in their boat, as memories flood into his mind about his homeland and his elderly mother, the moment when she was waving farewell to him in tears as he leaves for xena [xenitia, the foreign land]. In the third scene the main character is back in his room, this time determined to write the letter, but, defeated by his passion for gambling, he gives up again and goes out to find his friends.

It seems that the narrator’s house is only walking distance from the port because internal evidence shows that he walked there. This fact suggests the early migrants initially dwelled in nearby areas to the ports where they disembarked. In Melbourne, for example, such areas were around Port Melbourne, Albert Park and many other inner-suburbs. It usually required those migrants a few months to settle and become acquainted to the new environment and then move to the outer suburbs of the big cities or towns.

**Characters**

The main character, who is also the narrator, appears to be a single young man with no family in the new country. His closest people are his friends. This man is at the very early stage of his familiarization with the Australian way of life. It seems that he has no job or any other preoccupations and this could be a reason for his addiction to gambling.

However, external evidence informs us that soon after his arrival to Australia, Nicolaides was offered a job by an old acquaintance from Egypt to work at his café.37 There he worked with another old friend, also from Egypt. Therefore, if this short story is based on the writer’s biography, it can be said that the friends referred to in the story are the friends Nicolaides found in Australia. There is little evidence about the personality of the main character; however, he is described to be observing the male dress-code of the time. Thus, wearing a hat and gloves and carrying a walking cane reflects the distinct way that men dressed in the early decades of the twentieth century, and therefore provides an opportunity for the reader to glimpse the socio-cultural life of the community.

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37 Nicolaides worked at Iakovos Sigalas’ Anglo-American Café, and the following year he moved to Adelaide where Sigalas had also moved and established a similar business, the Anglo-American Candy Factory. In April 1914 he launched his own Greek-language newspaper *Oceanis*, thus he became the founder of the Greek press in South Australia, and at the same time the owner, editor and publisher of the second Greek-language newspaper in Australia (Kanarakis, 2003b, pp. 62-77).
Other characters mentioned are the friends in Australia described as frequent clients of the local coffee-shop and his mother who is back in his homeland, but these persons are all silent, distant and not involved. The writer gives no information about the main character’s friends; however, there appears to be a strong attachment of the main character to his mother waiting in the homeland to receive his letter. Mother is projected as the sensitive woman, devastated to see her child leaving for the foreign land and who finds great pleasure in receiving and reading his letters.

**Themes**

The central theme in this story is the effect of gambling on the lives of early immigrants in Australia, including the Greeks, who saw outlets such as this as an escape from states of loneliness, isolation, unemployment and other unpleasant situations, all of which were the results of their uprooting from their ancestral home. As a consequence, involvement in card-games and other similar addictions such as drinking caused individuals to become more withdrawn from family and society, moreover, becoming financially disadvantaged and socially isolated.

The underlying themes in the story emanate from ‘xenitia’. The strong feelings of nostalgia for anything left behind in the homeland and the desire of the main character, through the narrator, to communicate with his mother are well illustrated in the story lines.

**5.2.1.4 Summary of the plot**

The narration begins with the protagonist, being the narrator, saying that he woke up very early in the morning in order to write a letter to his mother since he had not written to her for six months. However, an unexplained temptation caused him to interrupt the writing and instead go to the coffee-house, *to kafeneio*. There he was expecting to see his friends as usual, and after playing a game of cards, take them for a walk, assuring himself that when he returned to his lodgings at midday he would write the letter. At this stage the reader learns about the contemporary dress code, with the narrator explaining that after “taking his walking cane and putting on his gloves” he headed for the coffee-house, and later on, again, “he took his hat and ran out to find them”. However, he soon changes his mind and chooses to walk towards the beach. This action is taken in order to avoid his friends, not because he does not like them but because, as he recalls, when he met them the previous day, he gambled and therefore had no time left to write the letter he had planned to write to his mother.
Arriving at the seaside the narrator stares at some fishermen in their boat but nothing around him seems to impress him as a storm of memories preoccupies his mind. He remembers his homeland, *patrida*, his ‘poor’ ancestral home and his ‘elderly’ mother. Unconsciously, he parallels his disturbed emotional state with a sea storm “*a storm of thoughts started to agitate my mind*”\(^{38}\). In this paragraph the reader sympathizes with the narrator who visualizes his mother crying as she waved farewell to him on the day of their separation, then the letters he used to receive from her, and how much she is now eagerly waiting for his letters knowing how much joy she feels while reading them. The thought of his mother sending him letters which he never replied to makes him feel guilty. In remorse he murmurs “*and I? [...] I haven’t written to her for six months! Oh my mother, my sweet mother!*”\(^{39}\).

With these thoughts he sighs deeply and starts to weep, then quickly runs back to his house, into his room, to complete the letter. However, after having put only a few lines on paper he is distressed again by remembering his friends and decides to go out to meet them, assuring himself that he will definitely finish the letter in the evening. However, he realizes he is being defeated by the ‘black power of the card game’, thus being controlled by the habit of gambling and bitterly acknowledging his irreversible passion for it. As a result, he never completes the letter.

### 5.2.1.5 Analysis of the notions of identity

The diasporic notion of the narrator’s identity is embodied with strong feelings of nostalgia and homesickness. His addiction, however, to gambling becomes a hurdle to accomplishing the task of writing the letter, while he struggles to stay away from the coffee-house. Here, the migrant is mentally tormented by thoughts about his present situation, memories from the past, and the struggle to stay away from the temptation of card gambling. This describes some of the social conditions of early migrant life in Australia, where many migrants suffered depression or other types of physical and mental disturbance and sought refuge in gambling, alcohol or other demoralizing acts. All of these characterize the social environment in the host country.

The main ‘identity indicator’ appearing in this story is ‘*geographic location - diaspora – Australia*’ in contrast with the homeland. This is represented in the physical environment and unwinds at the seashore which the narrator possibly contrasts with some similar beach in his homeland.

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38 Μην φωντούνα συλλογισμών άρχισε να γοργοταράξει το μυαλό μου
39 …και ‘γις ...έχω να της γράψω έξη μήνες! Α, μάνα μου! γλυκιά μου μάνα!
home country. Here, the sea acts as a symbol, a connector of the two countries, flashbacking images from the past and devastatingly linking them with the present reality at which the narrator is removed from his home environment and placed somewhere very far and socially isolated. The ‘family bonds’ indicator strongly evolves around the figure of the Greek mother, a quite strong personality in a Greek and Greek-Cypriot family. While all mothers in the world could be represented in the figure of the narrator’s mother, it is realized in this story that ‘mother’ is also a symbol of the homeland and in the case of Nicolaides, this is the island of Cyprus.

Another identity indicator is language. The story, written in the Demotic language [the popular form of the Greek language] with some elements from Katharevousa [the ‘purified’ form of the Greek language]⁴¹, constitutes a very unique type of text. This denotes the period during which this form of language was still in use, both in Greece and wherever else Greeks lived. The current Modern Greek language, demotiki, was not officially introduced in its written form during Nicolaides’ time, although it was widely used by many people.⁴² Moreover, the language found in the literary works of many writers in the early twentieth century was a mixture of demotic and katharevousa. The following words from Nicolaides’ story highlight the literary beauty of the text: “because, I myself, I remembered, my elderly mother, and then I cried”⁴³. Also, a very soft touch of the Cypriot dialect is evident within the lines, such as, for example, the words: “Not because I disliked my friends, but because yesterday I promised myself I would write a letter, and the damn card game did not leave me any free time”⁴⁴.

Diasporic notions of identity can be found in the text through a number of lexical terms associated with ‘xenitia’. Namely, expressions of nostalgia for the homeland and longing for family members, the ‘cruel’ separation of family, the agony to communicate with family, “I woke up in the morning and I really felt like writing a letter to my mother” and “I wept and

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⁴⁰ Nicolaides’ birthplace is Cyprus. The reference to the fishermen in a boat could be a symbolic representation of his island.

⁴¹ Katharevousa, literally meaning ‘the pure one’, is an older form of the Greek language that provides a link between Ancient Greek and Modern-Greek. It was introduced in the early nineteenth century by the classical scholar Adamantios Korais and was used until 1976, when Demotikí [Modern Greek] became the official language in Greece and Cyprus. Katharevousa stressed a more ancient vocabulary together with a simplified form of the archaic grammar.

⁴² The early demotic language was introduced by Psycharlis in the late nineteenth century, and was well accepted by the public, although this generated a strong reaction from other scholars.

⁴³ διότι, εις τον εαυτόν μου, ενθυμήθηκα, τη γηραιά μόνα, ήτες, ἐκλογά.

⁴⁴ Όσο πως τους σημάθηκα (τους φίλους), αλλά διότι χθες υποσχέθηκα εις τον εαυτόν μου να γράψω γράμμα και η επικατάρατος πρόφρο δεν μ’ άφηκε καιρό
ran to my room determined to write a letter to her”. The reader discovers that eventually, the letter is never written.

A powerful symbol is the figure of ‘mother’, denoting not only one’s biological mother but also *patrida* [the homeland], which, although literally meaning ‘fatherland’, is paradoxically the ‘feminine’ Greek noun for homeland or motherland. Another symbolism is the act of ‘gambling’, denoting an aspect of the cruelty of ‘xenitia’, or the uprooting from the ancestral home “The evil and black power of gambling has defeated me once again. And it will always beat me”45. This statement, which constitutes the conclusion of the story, signifies the oxymoron phenomenon to which the migrant loses the battle of staying in touch with the his family (and homeland), and as a consequence he becomes one of many ‘marginalized’ migrants who are both rejected by and at the same time assimilated into the host society.46

The transnational aspect of identity is evident in the pursuing of letter exchange between migrants and family members in their home-country, albeit, no real reconnection is actualized. Also, the writer’s sentimental attachment to his mother and birthplace reflects a rich diasporic identity embodied with transnational tones.

5.2.1.6 Concluding statements

‘The Letter to Mother’ is a terse but powerful short story. Its significance lies in the fact that it was written in the early 1910s when only a few Greek migrants were arriving in Australia. Moreover, Nicolaides’ literary works constitute a real contribution not only to Greek literature of the diaspora but also to Greek-Cypriot literature, because he was one of the first Cypriots to arrive in Australia, and the first Greek-Cypriot writer to emerge in this part of the world.

The story contains important messages: a) the desire of the early migrants to stay in touch with the their homeland through writing letters; b) the figure of ‘mother’ is central to the Greek family and mother also symbolizes the ‘homeland’; c) many early migrants had fallen into the trap of gambling in their effort to, firstly, escape the reality of the consequences of migration, including loneliness, unemployment, lack of family, and lack of own housing; and

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45 Η στρέξαλα και μαύρη δύναμη της πρέφας μ’ ενίκησε άλλη μια φορά. Και θα με νικά για πάντα.
The concept of ‘black’ raised in the story substitutes images of negativity. In Greek culture, similarly to other European cultures, black has mainly negative connotations, and there are many idiomatic expressions in which black stands as a synonym for negative aspects. The black colour in Greek religious and cultural life black symbolizes ‘death’ in contrast to Eastern cultures. There are numerous examples where ‘black’ is used as an adjective to describe moments of despair, sadness, and regret. The term often means ‘cursed’ in some expressions such as ‘mavri xenitia [black xenitia/exile]’, ‘mavri ora [black hour]’, ‘mavri hronia [black year]’ and so on, always with the connotative sense of curse, meaning bad.

46 Despite the pessimistic statements of the main character in this story which could be a reflection of the writer’s own ideas, Nicolaides had an adventurous but successful life in Australia, notwithstanding the turbulences of the early stages of his migration.
secondly, to become rich, even in this way, seeing this as a quick solution to financial problems.

A range of diasporic identities are present in the story. The ‘identity indicators’ used to discover them revolve around the life of a young migrant man who arrived in Australia to begin a new life, but who was unable to decide about the future. Nicolaides’ main character is also faced with the ambiguity of transnationalism as he can make no decision as to whether he should stay in this country or take the journey of return. Nothing seems to be holding him in Australia, however, as in the case of many other migrants, his main reason for coming here was to make money and become ‘rich’. Therefore, he could not really return without fulfilling this purpose.

The distance from home is bridged through ‘imagery’ and ‘self-talk’, thus the writer oscillates between host-land and homeland through memory and imagination. Nicolaides’ short stories, therefore, inform us about the social context that surrounded migrants in Australia in the early twentieth century, providing an insight into a range of problems and conditions. Such a leap into the past, for example, shows that interaction between migrants and family living back in the homeland was almost non-existent in the early periods. This absence of convenient communication exaggerates the distance between the two worlds, and consequently the degree of homesickness and nostalgia for the homeland is also augmented.

Finally, for Nicolaides Greek identity is reflected in a three-fold context: ‘patrida’ [homeland], ‘spiti’ [home], and ‘mana’ [mother]. Subsequent identities that emerge in the text include: the ‘transnational migrant’, the ‘lonely young male migrant’, the ‘gambler’ who is a victim of society, the ‘son’ who migrates for a better future, and the ‘mother’ who becomes a symbol for return.

5.2.2 Mystiki Thysia [Secret Sacrifice]

5.2.2.1 About the short story

The short-story ‘Mystiki Thysia [Secret Sacrifice]’ by Anargyros (Andrea) Fatseas is written in the third person and describes an aspect of migrant life in Australia in the first half of the

Anargyros (Andrew) Fatseas’ short story “Mystiki Thysia [Secret Sacrifice]” was first published in the newspaper “Krikos” (Year 8, No. 79-80, 1957, pp. 115-17) and later in “I Logotechniki Parousia ton Ellinon stin Australia [The Literary Presence of the Greeks in Australia] (Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 127-31 ) in Greek, and in “Greek Voices in Australia, A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama” (Kanarakis 1991², pp. 94-7) in English.
twentieth century. It unveils a Greek family’s expectations and ideologies in their struggle to succeed in setting up good foundations for their children and ensure a prosperous future for them, while surviving in a country in which the customary life is different to the traditional one they grew up in. The story was published in 1957 but it could have been written either in the 1940s or the early to mid-1950s. The possibility for it being published in the 1930s when the writer, according to his biography, worked in cafes and milk-bars in small country towns is low, because the film exhibition industry at the time had faced a downturn for about a decade.

5.2.2.2 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting

‘Secret sacrifice’ is set in a Sydney milk-bar owned and run by a Greek family. The events in the story are taking place within this shop located next to a ‘picture theatre’. The first scene introduces the reader to the shop’s busiest time in a day’s work, around nine o’clock in the evening, the time of the cinema interval when a crowd of people rush out of the cinema to buy themselves a refreshing drink. It is a hot, humid, summer night in February during Sydney’s summer.

Characters

The characters of this story are the members of the Greek family who own the milk-bar, thus, Mr Korzias, the father, Mrs Penelope, the mother, Tasia, the daughter and Alekos, the son. There are also two Australian girls who work in the shop but who do not have an active role. The parents and the daughter spend about twelve hours in the shop everyday, while the son prefers to have his own job in an office, not wanting to work in the milk-bar.

Tasia is the main character and the person the title refers to. She is described to be “twenty-five, and had the characteristics of her mother – thick black hair, slightly pale face, brown eyes, white skin, a round face, with a fairly full body and medium height. Her air of melancholy was in contrast to the Australian girls who almost always looked cheerful and laughing”. ‘Secret sacrifice’ is this girl’s sacrifice of youth by helping her parents in the family business without being able to enjoy herself like most other girls of her age. This sacrifice also entails not being able to meet any young man with the prospect of marrying or even going out with him. She is twenty-five years old, an age at which most young women were married in those days. However, by being restricted in her parents’ milk-bar for most of the time her chances for a happy future are dim. Tasia is a good example of a second-generation Greek girl trapped in her parents’ conservative way of upbringing. It is evident in
the storylines that she has grown up according to the strict rules of her parents: “Tasia ... was an obedient girl. She had been working in her father’s shop since she was fourteen... Her parents had brought her up in obedient submission to all the Greek social code”.

Contrary to Tasia, Alekos rarely helps his family in the shop: “From the time when he had turned eighteen and got a job at the government office, he hardly ever gave them a hand in the shop. Most nights he did not get home before midnight.” His mother hopes that she will be able to see him finding a Greek girl who would save him from destruction.

The parents are two middle-aged first generation migrants striving to achieve economic success; however, they expect help from their children. Although their son is not interested in the shop, they still rely on his help at peak times and hope that one day he would take over the business. They have no problems with Tasia, who, although being loved by her parents, does not have the psychological support she needs. She withdraws to herself, feeling lonely and uncertain of her future.

Themes
Some very significant themes are underlined in the short story such as: a) the social inequality between women and men. This is explicit in the way a girl and a boy are brought up in a Greek family with the girl being restricted in the family-business, while the boy has more freedom and is able to socialize outside the home environment; b) the culture clash which is evident in the context of unmarried Greek females who live under the control of their parents, compared with Australian girls who as part of the host society are more carefree; c) the issue of the generation gap is intensely shown between the first-generation parents and their second-generation children. This is depicted in the way that the children are brought up in the Greek family, with parents believing that they have to have full control over their children, even though living in a society different in terms of cultural values and traditions than the one they lived in before emigration; d) the impact of the Greek parents’ conservative ideas on the children’s social life and psychological well-being and their belief that they should choose their son and daughter’s prospective spouse, although this issue is more strictly applied to the case of the girl.

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48 Ἡ Τασία... ἦταν ὑπάκουον κορίτσι. Ἀπό δικατεσσάρῳ χρόνῳ δούλευε στὸ μαγαζί τοῦ πατέρα της... Τὴν εἶχαν ἀναστήσει οἱ γονεῖς της μὲ πειθαρχημένη ὑποταγή σ’ ὅλους τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ κοινωνικοῦ κώδικα.
49 Ἀπ’ ὅταν ἔγινε δικαστικός χρόνος κι’ ἐπισκευάζει δούλειά στὸ κυβερνητικὸ γραφείο, ποτὲ σχολιὸν δὲν τούς ἐδώκε χέρι στὸ μαγαζί. Τὰ περισσότερα βράδυα δὲ γύρις σαύτι πρὶν τὰ μεσάνυχτα.
5.2.2.3 Summary of the plot

This story is about a Greek family working in their own business, a milk-bar, located next to a ‘picture theatre’. Internal evidence shows that this family initially lived in a small town where they were the only Greeks. When the family’s son, Alekos, came of age to attend high school, his father, Mr Kotzias, sold everything they owned in the village and so they all moved to Sydney where they hoped that there would be more opportunities for the son’s education and future. However, contrary to his parents’ expectations, when Alekos finished high school, he did not want to pursue further studies. Neither was he interested in having a share in his father’s business or helping in the running of the milk-bar. He preferred to have a job in a government office and live his own life. However, the daughter, Tasia, has been working in the family business since the age of fourteen and she spends about twelve hours every day in the shop, like her parents, including weekends and holidays. The work is hard and the job requires one to be on their feet all day. The success of the business rests on the selling of soft drinks and the ‘well-known’ milk-shake that is their specialty. At around nine o’clock when there is an interval at the cinema, people rush out of the theatre to buy a refreshing drink. This is the peak hour and a very pressured time for the shop owners and the two Australian girls who work there, selling as many soft drinks and milk-shakes as possible.

This particular night, a very hot and tropical one, Mr Kotzias, instead of being happy about the large numbers of clientele queuing outside his shop, is feeling very upset fearing that those customers with no hope of being served on time would turn around and go to the other milk-bar across the road: “About one hundred people had to be served in eight minutes, because that was how long the interval lasted, and they had to be back in their seats before the lights went out and the screening of the second part of the program began”50. This is the only scene described by the writer outside the boundaries of the milk-bar. The real cause for the father’s anger is the fact that Alekos has not turned up to give them a hand during this busy interval time as he had promised. However, his wife, Mrs Penelope, is finding an excuse for the boy in order to ease down the husband’s anger. Tasia is there, serving the customers, together with the two Australian girls, pondering about her fate for being a girl. Even knowing that her parents put money in the bank every week for her does not relieve or compensate any of her emotional deprivation. Immersed into a stream of thoughts she wonders: “Oh, why couldn’t I be a boy too? […] As soon as Alekos was nineteen, he became free and untamed like a bird. I’m in a cage … and for how much longer? My turn will come,
they say. It’ll come for sure, it’ll come. Damn and blast the day I was born a Greek girl in a foreign country”51. Tasia’s unhappiness becomes more intense as she notices that one of the Australian girls, soon after finishing her job, meets up with her boyfriend who is waiting outside the shop. Instead, Tasia has nowhere to go or no-one waiting for her so she goes to her room located in the house above the shop. “Exhausted by the day’s work she sat on the edge of her bed and gazing in the mirror opposite her with indifference. She didn’t care how she looked.”52. Finally, the story finishes with a pessimistic statement as Tasia weeps hopelessly, a kind of mourning for her lost dreams: “Sensitivity had gradually begun to desert her and instead of [looking forward], she now looked into her future with fatalistic apathy”53. These last few lines tie well with the title and highlight the lonely young girl’s symbolic sacrifice.

5.2.2.4 Analysis of the notions of identity
The traditional ideas and attitudes of the parents towards their children are found throughout the text. The son is shown to be more rebellious, more independent and less considerate of his parents. From the parents’ point of view he is expected to marry a “kind Greek girl”54 and to take over the family business. Alekos’ mother is especially worried that in case he marries “καμιά απ’ αυτές τις Αυστραλίδες τις ’άλαδωτες’ [one of those Australian girls, ‘non-Orthodox’]” he could be ruined. It is obvious that the parents are stricter with their daughter, while they find it difficult to discipline their son, who chooses to do whatever he wants with his life. Compared to her brother, Tasia is passive, obedient and unable to express an opinion. She is waiting for her time to come when she will marry someone, who, according to her parents’ expectations, would be “Greek, preferably from [her] parents’ village, with a lot of money and a big business […] one of those the papers call ‘distinguished compatriots’”,55 even though she might not like him, because the parents would be the ones to choose him. The statement “Oh, why couldn’t I have been a boy too?”56 indicates that she is not treated equally and that she does not have the same rights as her brother. Despite the fact that her

50 Ἐκατό περίπου ἄτομο ἔρρηκε νά σεμβριστοῦνε σ’ ὁχτώ λεπτά, γιατί τόσο βαστοῦσε τὸ διάλειμμα, καί νά γνωρίσουν στὶς θέσεις τοὺς πρὸν σβόσουν τὰ φότα κι’ αρχίσει ἡ προβολὴ τοῦ δευτέρου μέρους τοῦ προγράμματος.
51 Ἀχ! γιατί νά μὴν εἴμαι κι’ ἐγὼ ἁγόρι; […] Ο’ Ἀλέκος μόλις δεκαεννὼν χρόνῳ κι’ ἐγίνε κιόλας λεότερο κι’ ἀπιστο ποιλί. Ἐγὼ στὸ κλούβι … κι’ ὡς πότε; Θάρηθ, λένε, κατάρατη ἡ ὀρα κι’ ἡ στιγμὴ ποὺ γεννήθηκα Ἐλλήνιδα στὴν ἔξοδοι …
52 Κάθηκε κατακυμαμένη στὴν άκρη του κρεβατού της και κιντάχτηκε μ’ αδιάφορια στὸν καθρέφτη ἀπενότατη της. Δὲν τὴν ἔμελλε ὅπως κι’ ἀν φαινόταν.
53 Ἡ εὐαυτόθησια ἁργίει σαμά-σιγά νά τὴν ἐγκαταλείπῃ κι’ ἀντὶ ν’ ἄνυσμονή, προσατένξε τόρα τὸ μέλλον της μὲ μοφολατρική ἀπάθεια.
54 καλύωσιμή Ἐλληνοσύνετη
55 Ἐλληνας, καὶ κατὰ πρότυπο συγχωριανός, μὲ πολλὲς λίρες καὶ πολλὲς μπύρινες. Πρέπει νάλαι ἀπ’ αὐτούς ποὺ ονομάζουνε οἱ ἐφημεριδες “Εγκριτοὺς ὁμόγενες.
56 ἄχ, γιατί νά μὴν εἴμαι κι’ ἐγὼ ἁγόρι;
parents love her, and acknowledge her contribution, they seem to favour the son more. This reflects an attitude that is common in Greek families in Greece and also the diaspora. For sons are assumed to be the ‘heirs’ of the family and the ones to carry the family name and pass it to the next generation. Sons have traditionally been provided with more opportunities for education, while girls were usually in the past withdrawn from school, either in their twelfth or fourteenth year. Therefore, girls were deprived of education in Greece, similarly to many other parts of the world.

A range of ‘identity indicators’ demonstrate that this story is very rich in diasporic identities. Such indicators are: ‘Greece’, ‘diaspora - Australia’, ‘socio-cultural elements’, ‘family bonds’, and ‘language’. The traditional ideas that relate to the Greek family are recognized through the ‘socio-cultural elements’ indicator. This reveals the tradition for parents to choose the future husband of their daughters, their belief that girls should marry someone from their parents’ place of origin, someone that could be rich enough to provide a good life for them, regardless of whether he is too old, or not liked by the girl. The sons, as the successors of their family, are more independent, although expected to marry a Greek girl, one that would appeal to the parents. A detailed exploration through the storylines reveals that the family holds strongly the Greek values, traditions and customs. Considering the writer’s origin, the small island of Kythera, it is gathered that much of the customary life in Australia, described by the writer, would be well tied with the lifestyle and traditions of the small community back in Kythera. The parents, especially the father, see it as his responsibility to find a husband for his daughter, and this should be a person from their own place of origin and a wealthy man. Tasia’s opinion does not count. She is never asked. Some fine examples of the traditional ‘Greek family’ context in Australia are: a) the father’s wish for his daughter to marry someone from his own village; b) both parents’ attitudes towards raising the children according to their cultural heritage, expecting them to follow the traditions; c) the parents’ overprotection of the daughter, and the unintentional provision of more privileges for the son. This is shown as a strong contrast to Australian society. The presence of two Australian girls working in the family’s shop allows for a comparison to be made between the migrants and the locals, with the focus on the owner’s daughter. Thus, the reader is able to follow closely Tasia’s emotional struggle to tolerate the traditional ideas of her parents, while watching the Australian girls being more carefree, relaxed, and happy and enjoying life to the full. She feels trapped in the traditional family environment “Her parents had brought her up in
obedient submission to all the laws of the Greek social codes”.

The conventional idea of Greek parents finding a suitable spouse for their sons and daughters is evident. The mother seems to be more attached to the son while the father shows more interest and love to the daughter. He is determined not to let her “fall into rough and useless hands”. Instead, he “would choose a bridegroom for her”.

The indicator of family bonds shows the close relationship between the members of the Greek family and the caring for each other, albeit sometimes extreme. This bond is to be preserved in the host-country as much as possible and the parents feel they must ensure that this is happening. However, sometimes, as happens in this story, this bond can be detrimental. For example, the overprotection and unconditional love of the parents creates an emotional imprisonment and pain for the unmarried girl who feels that she cannot escape her destiny.

Tasia’s anguish is not eased by her family’s care. “Could her parents know of her present torment at twenty-five? Or did they assume that the money they deposited at the bank in her name comfort her and compensated for her emotional deprivation?” It is evident in this story that there is friction in the family, thus, the first-generation parents coming in conflict with their children. It appears that the second-generation persons do not want to always live their life following the same lines as their parents did begin on their behalf. This concerns both of the Kotzias’ children. For example, Alekos does not want to work in his parents’ business, nor take over it. He tells his parents “I’ve told you a hundred times. I don’t like milk-bars. I don’t like the long hours you work. I was born to live as a man, not as a slave.” It is obvious that the first-generation parents do not mind working as ‘slaves’ in order to ensure a good life for their children, while the second-generation rejects this idea. The difference is that boys have the right to object and rebel, while girls remain passive by accepting to obey the rules set by the parents, although with deep insight they, too, feel the same. Tasia becomes depressed, and in a way oppressed; however, she does not complain, or voice her opinion.

There is a strong love of both parents for their children. Mrs Penelope is worried Alekos might decide to leave home permanently, should he get too upset with his father: “As a

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57 Σήμερα ἔχει άναπτύσσει οἱ γονεῖς τῆς καὶ πειθαρχημένη ὑποταγή σ’ ὅλους τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Ἐλληνικοῦ κοινωνικοῦ κώδικα.
58 Mrs Kotzias is patient with her son’s unacceptable behaviour but at the same time she protects him and does not want him to get into arguments with his father. She fears that if he becomes too upset with his father he would leave home. Then she would be worrying about him even more in case he took the wrong path in life or married a non-Greek girl which meant he could be ruined.
59 Άρα τέρμενεν οἱ γονεῖς τῆς τὴν τυραννία τῆς τόρα στὰ εἰκοσάετέ της χρόνια; Ἡ μήπως καὶ νόμιζαν πῶς τὰ λεφτά ποῦ τῆς ἔβαλαν κάθε ἐβομάδα στὴν Τράπεζα τὴν ἀνακουφίζαε καὶ ἀποξημούναν τὶς αἰσθηματικὲς τῆς στερήσεις!
mother she had a different feeling for her son [...] she knew that now that Alekos was
nineteen it would take nothing for him to leave home for good... And better that she should
have him near her, with all his shortcomings than to lose him altogether.”

The indicator geographic location-diaspora- Australia is clearly shown in the expression

“Like a swarm of bees, the crowd used to run to refresh their dry and thirsty mouth with the
soft-drinks, and the chilled and whipped milk of the Greek milk-bar”

This is also historic evidence of both the involvement of Greek migrants in small-businesses such as milk-bars, and also aspects of the life-style in the early decades of the twentieth century.

With the aid of the language indicator a few English words used in a Greeklish way are found
in the text, such as ‘πίζες’ [pichers - pictures], ‘όπποζισιο’ [opposition],
‘ίντερβο[1,2,3]’ [interval], ‘μιλκ-μπάρ’ [milk-bar], ‘μπιζι’ [busy]. They are part of language
borrowing between the two languages. They also reflect the flexibility of the Greek language
used during the stages of adaptation and also the dualist notion of identity. The writer,
intentionally, uses these words, taking the tools of the linguist to highlight the reality of life in
Australia for ordinary Greek people. He explains, early in the text, that ‘πίζες’ [pictures] is the
word used by the Greeks when referring to ‘cinema’, then leaves the rest for the reader to
explore. The phenomenon of using anglicized words is still happening today, with many of
the first generation Greek persons (usually of lower education attainment) using similar
vocabulary in their everyday language. The language communication between the first
generation migrants and the local Australians is represented in the story with the simple
phrase: “You go now, June. Come back tomorrow nine o’clock”. This reflects part of the
Greek identity in which the persons involved use the basic vocabulary to communicate their
needs in broken English. This is naturally a phenomenon where migrants with low
educational background who arrived in Australia during their adulthood usually sought
employment soon after their arrival in the country, and therefore they did not have the
opportunity to attend English classes to learn the language properly. As a result, they
acquired their basic linguistic and communication skills through daily life situations and
where it was necessary they used ‘survival or pidginized English’. The use of some Greek
’sayings’ in the text reflects part of the cultural identity of the characters. Mr Kotzias, for

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60 Σάς τόπα έκατό φορές δε μ’ άρέσουνε τά μιλκ μπάρς. Δέ μ’ άρέσουνε οι πολυφρες πού δουλεύετε. Έγώ γεννήθηκα να ζήσω σαν δημόσιος, όχι χαμάλης.
61 Σά μπήρα ... ἐχε ἄλλο πόνο γιὰ τὸ παρά τῆς [...] Ἡξερε πῶς τῶρα πούταν ὁ Ἁλέκος δεκαετία χρονία, δέν τῶς γιὰ τάτα τὼν νὰ ἐξερεσίζε ἄλεια ἀπὸ τὸ σπέτ ... Καὶ κάλλιο νὰ τάχη κοντὰ τῆς ἐστό καὶ μέ τὰ ἐλαπτομάτα τοῦ, παρά νά τὸ γάση ἐλάτεια.
62 Μελίσση ο κόσμος έτρεξε να δροσιστε ὁ ἤξορο καὶ διψαμένο στόμα τοῦ με τὰ αεριούχα ποτά καὶ το παγωμένο καὶ κτισπηδί γάλα τοῦ Ἑλληνικὸ μιλκ-μπάρ.
example, in trying to express his disappointment as a parent, about his son’s attitude of indifference towards the family business says ironically: “Have children if you want to succeed”\textsuperscript{63}, and “Have sons in Australia”\textsuperscript{64}, the first statement meaning that ‘having children can be a hurdle to one’s success’ and the second one, referring especially to boys, ‘having sons in Australia can be detrimental’.

A significant linguistic characteristic of this text is the use of diacritics which at the time when the short story was published were an integral part of the Greek language. These, adopted from ancient Greek and later katharevousa, reflected a historical period of the Greek language and demonstrate an aspect of Greek identity which was also present in the diaspora. The diacritics orthography appearing in the text is used in the demotic form of the Greek language.

5.2.2.5 Concluding statements

The story as a whole is a historical representation of society in the early to mid-twentieth century in Australia, based on the writer’s experiences presenting a range of attitudes and behaviours that reflect a rich sample of diasporic identities. According to this short story, the Greek family of the diaspora in the early decades of the twentieth century was tight and enclosed within its boundaries, resulting in conditions that were often oppressive for the children, especially the girls. This can be said to be a natural behaviour of parents who wanted to protect their children in fear of losing them in a society which they were not familiar with. This phenomenon exists even today, with most of the first-generation and also many of the second-generation parents wanting their children to find wives and husbands of Greek background in order to maintain their culture and language. It is difficult to say how the early Greek migrants were foreseeing the future of the Greek community in Australia. However, it is evident in this text that the notion of a fixed Greek identity existed in the attitudes of first-generation Greek migrants who found it hard to adjust in the host country.

At the beginning of the twentieth-first century the Greek family is more tolerant to extraneous elements entering Greek culture and family life with a large number of mixed marriages taking place today. However, Tasia’s claim that she regrets the moment that she was born a Greek girl in ‘xenitia’ makes one wonder whether this was the writer’s assessment or prediction of the fortune of future Greek daughters of the diaspora. Tasia is a symbol of the young second-generation-female diasporic identity, which, despite its negative connotation in

\textsuperscript{63} Κάνε, λέει, παιδιά νά προκόψει.

\textsuperscript{64} Νάχεις λέει, γυναίκες στήν Αυστραλία!
the story, can become, although not easily, a positive symbol for female youth breaking away from the conservative family traditions in an effort to adjust to the host society into which they were born.

5.2.3 O Xenos [The stranger]

5.2.3.1 About the short story

The short story ‘O Xenos [The stranger]’ by Theodoros (Theo) Georgantopoulos is written in the third person, with the writer being the narrator. Several clues in the text show it is probably based on Georgantopoulos’ personal experience, considering that he was born in the Achaia province of Peloponnesus which he left at the age of fifteen. The village which the returning migrant visits is that of the writer. The narrator also mentions that the main character had left his country as a young boy and returns to Greece fifty years later at a mature age. Considering all these and the fact that the writer emigrated to Australia in 1923 and the short story was published in 1976, it can be surmised that the short story was written in 1973 or around that time.

5.2.3.2 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting

The story is set in Greece in the 1960s before the jumbo jet airplanes were introduced to carry migrants. Initially the narrator refers to the port where the ‘stranger’ disembarks upon his arrival in the homeland, then to the city of Athens, and finally the ‘stranger’s’ village. The port is presumably Piraeus, although there is no direct reference to its name, and the ‘big city’ is Athens. Through the narration of the story the reader is able to follow a guided journey which begins in Athens and ends at the birthplace of the main character, a small, deserted village in Peloponnesus. Most of the setting involves this village through a detailed and devastating exploration of the past.

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66 Most ships taking Greek migrants to their chosen new lands left from the Port of Piraeus.
Characters
The main character is a male migrant, possibly in his mid-sixties, returning to Greece after fifty years of living in Australia. There are no other characters directly involved besides the taxi driver with whom the ‘stranger’ exchanges only a few words. A range of identities appear in the story exclusively through the main character whose name remains unknown throughout the narration. This is a male Greek, who appears to be single, and who, in Australia, worked as a sugarcane cutter, a restaurant hand, a cook, a waiter and a restaurant owner. All of these descriptions accurately reflect authentic job positions held by Greek migrants in the early twentieth century. Such migrants were mainly single men who changed several jobs until, finally, some of them managed to establish their own business, which usually was in the food industry.

Themes
This short story deals with the problems that a Greek migrant encounters on his return to Greece. The main theme is the impact of time on migrants due to a long absence from the homeland and the estrangement caused on them by the local society once they return there. One of the sub-themes is the sorrow of returning migrants on finding that their loved ones have all died during their absence, and the guilt they feel for not having made their return trip earlier in their lives.

5.2.3.3 Summary of the plot
After fifty years of hard work in the foreign land of Australia, a migrant man, referred to as ‘stranger’, decides to return to his home country as he realizes that he is becoming too old: “He struggled hard for fifty years. In the blazing sun. In the bad humid weather […]. And one morning, when he saw in the mirror his likeness with the traces of unforgiving time gracelessly printed on his weather-beaten face, words of bitter complaint sprang to his lips: ‘I’ve had enough’.” The adverse weather conditions during which the ‘stranger’ had to work very hard during his migrant life show the impact of the climate on one’s psychological wellbeing. He recalls the days when he worked in dangerous and difficult jobs and feels that he has had enough in this country (Australia).

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67 The age of the main character is estimated using the fact that the main character states in the story that he was a young pre-adolescent boy when he left his village and fifty years had passed before he made his return home.
68 Πενήντα χρόνια δουλεία σκληρά. Στό λυπάρα. Στις υγρές κακοκαιρίες. Δοκίμια και δοκιμάστηκε ἀσταμάτητα… Κι ἐνα πρωινό, ποῦ εἶδε στὸν καθρέφτη τὸ ὄμοιόμα τοῦ μὲ τὰ ἁχύρα τοῦ ἀνελέγητου χρόνου ἄχρα ἀποτυπωμένα στὸ δαρμένο πρόσωπό του, μὲ παράπονο πικρὸ ἔξχειλον τὰ λόγια: -Βαρέθηκα πιά!
The first signs of guilt and resentment are outlined early in the story as the ‘stranger’ begins the journey of return with “a vague worry which he did not manage to ‘tame’ or ‘justify’ and set off for his homeland and village where he was born. A second surge of resentment appears when he disembarks from the ship in Piraeus. At this stage he remembers the day when as a young boy he left “to conquer and gain the whole world without any clear idea of how or why – only the ardent desire to be rich”.

Almost immediately after his return to Greece, the man feels the initial joy of return which is quickly replaced by deep disappointment. He is overwhelmed by disillusionment as he finds that everything including the people, the city buildings, even the language used by the locals, appears to be strange and distant. The ‘stranger’ stares at the buildings, the city square, the Palace in Athens, all with the same astonishment as when he first saw similar landmarks in the foreign land the very first time. He realizes that what he is seeing is not different to what he found in his journeys to other lands. He realizes that he has moved from the ‘foreign’ (foreign land) to the ‘foreign’ (the unapproachable homeland). What he experiences is not what he was hoping for “he imagined Greece differently; he had wanted it to be different”69. He is no longer impressed by things that in the past meant so much to him, for example “Lycabettus with the little white church on its conical peak” or the “symmetrical peaks of Hymettus” or even “the Acropolis… a sight so moving to the world”.

Unable to explain this confusion, the man takes a taxi and heads off for his village in Peloponnesus. On the way, familiar places appear before his eyes, revealing a strong connection with the landscape. As they pass Dafni, the wonderful Byzantine church next to it, the colourful sea of Salamina, the impressive Megara, and entering the Korinthian Canal, the narrator recalls names from mythology and history. As they reach the village he is astonished by the taxi-driver’s words “Stranger, welcome home”70 which create in him thoughts as to why he is treated like a ‘stranger’ by a stranger, knowing that he is an actual native in this village: “‘Stranger’. How odd that small word sounded. And the ‘stranger’ now welcomed the ‘stranger’ to his own home”71.

The few men sitting at the kafeneio in the village square look at him apathetically, and rather than talking to them he goes wandering in the lanes, glancing at every house that seems to have remained the same all these years. The memories unwind lively and swiftly, reminding him of the people who lived there once. He is taken by a thunder of illusions, such as the old

69 ἀλλιωτικά τῇ φαντάστηκε, ἀλλιώτις τὴν ἥβεξε τὴν Ἐλλάδα.
70 Ξέλε, καλὸς ἤρθες στὸν τόπο σου.
lady that he imagines sitting on the doorstep of one of the familiar houses as she always used to do, accompanied by her ten year old grand-daughter, whom he used to play tricks with. He wonders what would have happened to that girl; has she been lucky enough to love or be loved by a handsome young man, or had she remained unmarried as he did?

He then comes across the Byzantine church of the village and he visualizes one of the ancient icons and the teacher taking the children to the Sunday liturgy, and there, among the other children, he fantasizes that he himself is also walking as a little boy. At this point the ‘religiosity’ identity indicator reveals a strong part of the identity of the man who, although having been away from the homeland for so long, still holds these religious memories deep in his soul. The Byzantine church, the icons, the Sunday liturgy are all intense features of the Greek Orthodox faith which awaken a sacred part of the man’s identity. These elements seem to be meaningful only here in the migrant’s birthplace.

Bewildered, he somehow does not feel alone in this difficult time; he imagines he has the support of others who live in ‘xenitia’ and although far, in distant foreign lands, are suffering the same uprooting. “He is no longer alone. He imagined he had the comradeship of others who had been uprooted – even at such distance.”72 The story reaches its climax when the man finds himself standing in front of his old house which challenges him to push the door and walk inside, but he dares not, fearing that “The native (he) would be the stranger, and the stranger (others living there) would be regarded as the native.”73 He then notices the missing mulberry tree that once offered to him and the little birds its juicy fruit. He imagines that it must have been burnt by the strangers who took over the house, and he feels the flames burning his heart, not being able to shed any tears, all dried up by the turmoil burning inside him. At the same time, feelings of remorse arise inside him as he questions himself whether he has fulfilled his duty towards his loved ones.

Disappointed by what he has experienced so far and with a broken heart he leaves the house and heads off for the cemetery, which is surrounded by the lofty cypresses which resembled “black-clad lamenting women”. Here, through the personification of the cypresses, the ‘culture’ identity indicator is used by making reference to the tradition of women wearing black clothes on the death of a person and lamenting through ritual expressions and performances. There, in this cemetery, the ‘stranger’s’ parents lay buried. He soon finds the two wooden crosses with the faded inscriptions of their names. As he caresses the engraved

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71 Ξέλε. Τί παράξενα ἀντήχεσα τούτη ἡ λεξοῦλα. Καὶ ὁ ‘ξένος’ τόσα καλοπόρυξε τῶν ‘ξένων’ στόν τόπο του.
72 Δὲν ἦταν πιὰ μόνος. Φαντάστηκε νὰ τῶν συντροφεῖσθον κι ἄλλοι ξερίζομένοι – ἰς ἦταν τόσο μακριά.
letters he tries to murmur something but “the rustle of the cypresses answered his unspoken thought and his unexpressed speech”\textsuperscript{74}. Even here he feels as a stranger “A stranger even in this hospitable place which offers rest to those beloved individuals who exist no more and have left only their passing as an inheritance."\textsuperscript{75} With a swift gesture he then pulls two branches from one of the cypresses and placing them over the two graves he hurries away as if to avoid someone who was created by his imagination. Heading towards the village again, he wanders aimlessly feeling that he is mocked by all the familiar spots for his degradation: “- they- seemed to be staring at him in mockery for his sorry stance. As a stranger, but also as a deserter, who had tried to pay off his debt too late”\textsuperscript{76}. Finally, he approaches a café and, shattered, he sits at one of the tables in the hope that someone will recognize him, but all is in vain. The carefree men enjoying the company of each other seem content with their everyday life and pay no attention to him. This, again, is evidence of the estrangement felt by many migrants who return to the homeland after many years of living in foreign lands.

As the man wanders around his birthplace, he feels he is haunted by the past through a chain of memories unwinding in front of him at every step. He continues to feel that he does not belong there. In addition, he has feelings of guilt because in all the fifty years that he lived in the foreign land he did not return home on time to see his loved ones before they passed away. He finally leaves the village expressing his deep disappointment express itself through the words: “Ah, there is no spiritual refuge, no homeland for the man who lives in the foreign land”\textsuperscript{77}.

5.2.3.4 Analysis of the notions of identity

A number of identity indicators are employed to explore the notions of identity in this story such as: the ‘geographical location – Greece’ indicator which examines Greece as physical and social environment; also, Diaspora-Australia as social environment and physical environment through contrast with Greece; family bonds (the urge of the main character to visit the graves of his parents); culture – traditions (the reference about the lamenting women); and religiosity (the reference to churches, icons, Sunday liturgy, and the crosses in the cemetery). The language ‘identity indicator’ is also of importance to the linguistic character of the story. The main feature of this language is the use of the ‘polytonic

\textsuperscript{73} Τά 'ξένα' θ' ἀντάμοινα τά 'ξένα'. 'Ο ντόπιος θάται ξένος καί ο ξένος ντόπιος.
\textsuperscript{74} τό ἱδρόμην τῶν κοπαρισσεὶν ἀπάντησε στὴν ἀμφιλητή σκέψει καὶ στὴν ἀναρθη ἰμίλι τοῦ.
\textsuperscript{75} Ξένος καὶ στὴ φιλόξενη τοιτή γῆ ποῦ ἀναπαύονται ἀγαπημένα πρόσωπα, ποῦ δὲν ὑπάρχουν πιά, κί ἀφείραν γιὰ κληρονομιά τό πέρασμοι τους μόνο.
\textsuperscript{76} τοῦ φάνηκε πῶς τῶν κυττάρων κληροκλητικά γιὰ τὸ κατάντημα του. Σὰν ξένο, μά καὶ σὰν ἀπαρνητῆ ποῦ προσπάθησε νὰ ξοφλήσει τὸ χρύς του παράκαιρα.
orthography’ system, thus, the use of diacritics.\textsuperscript{78} This characteristic indicates that this short story was written before 1982.\textsuperscript{79}

The name ‘Xenos’ [Stranger] is purposefully given to this character by the author in order to emphasize the estrangement of the man from his place of origin, while at the same time emphasizing that he was already a ‘xenos’ in the foreign land where he lived for most of his life. “\textit{He could not explain how he had unexpectedly found himself leaving the foreign land for another. Had he left one behind, or had he found one here in the place where he was born?}”\textsuperscript{80}. In this context, the term ‘xenos’ has a dual dimension. The anonymity is used to give the returnee an ecumenical dimension applicable to any migrant person, regardless of place of origin or ethnic background. The fact that the return journey takes place by ship indicates the historical period during which the events took place.

The issue of growing old is raised at the beginning of the story as the ‘stranger’ examines himself in the mirror discovering that his youthfulness has passed. He realizes that instead of the “ruddy, downy face of the boy who set out from his village to make a materialistic conquest of the world he confronted the scrawling appearance of a man tired out by the tough and endless quest for fortune”. This describes the struggle of migrants to establish a new life in the host country, while always dreaming to return home to see their parents before they die. Unfortunately, for many, this dream has never been fulfilled.

In this story, \textit{Greece} is vividly portrayed through its physical and social environment. Images such as those of the busy city life, the deserted village, the half-destroyed and un-repaired buildings, old village-houses, native trees (cypresses), Orthodox churches, the village cemetery, native birds (swallows) and insects (wasps, hornets) depict historical and contemporary aspects of Greece as homeland, seen through the eyes of a migrant. In its social

\textsuperscript{77} Άξις προσηρεία ησησηκό καταφύγιο καὶ πατρίδα γιὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπο τῆς ξενητείας...

\textsuperscript{78} The diacritics are small marks used above, below or on the left of some letters of the Greek alphabet for the purpose of change of the phonetic value of the letter to which it is added. They are used in the polytonic orthography and represent aspects of Ancient Greek pronunciation, which was the standard orthography of the Greek language from the Hellenistic period until 1982.

\textsuperscript{79} In 1982 the Greek Parliament adopted the monotonic orthography, which uses only one accent for the purpose of adjusting the tone of the pronunciation of words. The polytonic is still used by individuals who wish to maintain the language tradition, as well as Greek Orthodox Church officials who use this system in official documents.

\textsuperscript{80} Δὲ μποροῦσα νὰ ἐξηγήσω στὸ συλλογισμὸ τοῦ πῶς ἔτσι ἀναπάντησα βρέθηκε στὰ ξένα. Τά ἀφησε τάχα πίσω του ὅ τι βρέθηκε ἑδῶ στὸν τόπο ποὺ γεννήθηκε;
element, Greece appears through the projection of the taxi driver (the only human with whom the ‘stranger’ exchanges but a few words), the city people in Athens and the village men at the café who remain silent throughout. Images from the past reveal an old lady imagined to be sitting in the yard of one of the houses in the village, the little girl whom the ‘stranger’ used to play tricks with, the school teacher and the children walking to church on Sundays, among whom the ‘stranger’ imagines seeing himself as a little boy. The man’s identity is thus experiencing a struggle to be free from the past to conciliate with the present.

The presence of Greece as ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ homeland is very strong. This is highlighted through the ‘geographic location’ indicator. Firstly, the physical environment is portrayed in the ‘soil’ that like a magnet pulled the ‘stranger’ to return from ‘xenitia’. The dimension of homeland in its soil discovers a powerful tool in developing feelings of ‘belonging’. However, almost immediately as the ‘stranger’ stares at the city he feels shocked at the realization that his nostalgic feelings are no longer there. As he looks at the surroundings he notices on some of the buildings the signs of war “Some of the buildings still bore the scars of the recent war. They all looked strange and tasteless”. Considering that the writer left Greece in the pre-Second-World-War years, the signs of war on the buildings does not imply memories of war. This is rather an indirect statement of the historical past that the writer is familiar with.

The physical environment of Greece appears interlinked with the social environment, thus, the people who ignore the migrant returning home. As he longs for a gesture, a warm handshake, a friendly look or an acquaintance, he realizes that none of these is there. His confusion is exaggerated when even the language buzzing around him sounds unfamiliar. His heart is broken, filled with melancholy and puzzlement despite his initial enthusiasm for return. These images show that often the homeland for a returnee is not what it is imagined to be, or as it was before migration, but has actually sustained many changes. As such, those who never left the home country have nothing in common with this man. In addition, it is evident that during the man’s absence from Greece, there had been significant changes in the structure of Greek society due to immigrant inflows and urbanization, of which the ‘stranger’ is not aware of. Consequently, the local people’s identities have changed as the result of these changes and their attitudes have also been influenced. This huge social change comes as a shock to the returning migrant. The absence of anyone to welcome him and the locals’ apathy creates questions of ‘non-belongingness’ to the ‘stranger’, as shown in the example: “There was not a
friendly hand stretched out to welcome him. Not an eye, not a familiar face. [...] Everything seemed inhospitable and strange. [...] Around him people were heading off to some destination like buzzing insects, shouting, laughing, crying. Like untroubled ghosts. Hurriedly as though someone were chasing them”.

Diaspora and Australia, although portrayed at a minimal level, are successfully presented through the simile: “People, cars, buses were all running like panicked kangaroos”. When arriving at his village he wanders alone through the lanes looking at the deserted houses and thinking of the other migrants who had left their homes and are now living in foreign lands. He identifies himself with them and ‘imaginatively’ feels their suppor..

The notions of diasporic identity developed in the main character reflect a range of characteristics, mainly the strong nostalgia for the homeland and the urge to return to make the reconciliation with what was left behind. However, once there, the returnee feels that he is ignored by Greek society. He struggles to come to terms with reality, while at the same time he feels that he is not accepted by the local society. The physical environment, including the houses, the trees, the village lanes and neighborhoods and generally the landscape, also appears unfriendly. The writer attempts to express this alienation by engaging the main character in seeking sympathy, while at the same time feeling guilty in not having, perhaps, fulfilled his duty towards the loved persons whom he left behind and who are now dead. This trip which was meant to be a pilgrimage ends in failure as the migrant finds that he is confronted by strangers and feels a stranger himself. In this aspect, ‘xenitia’ takes a dual role for the ‘strangeness’, and is now both the foreign land and the homeland. Thus, the diasporic identity is consolidated through the journey to the homeland and explored within the context of the ‘homeland’ while it acquires a transnational tone.

The transnational mode of imaginatively living here-and-there is continuously present in the story and the transfer of orientation is accomplished through the main character’s memory. This shift is bi-polar, thus, at the time when still in Australia, before the man left for his homeland, he was thinking of his homeland. Similarly, when he is finally in Greece realising that his initial dream is not fulfilling, he thinks of Australia and all the other migrants who have had the same fate as he did, living in far-away lands.

81 Μεξηθά ἀπὸ τά κτίρια φέρναν αὐκόμα τά τραϊμάτα τοῦ πολέμου ποῦ πέρασε. Ξένα κι’ ἀκαλαίηθητα φαντάζον ὄλα...
82 Κανένα χέρι φιλικό δεν ἄλλονε να τόν καλωσορίσει. Κανένα μάτι, καμμια γνώριμη φυσιογνωμία. [...] Άφιδέξην καὶ ξένα φανόνταν ὄλα. [...] Γύρω τού τοί ἄνθρωποι σάν βοιηά ἄντομα τραβοῦσαν γιά κάποιο προορισμό. Φωνατά, μὲ γέλια, μὲ κλαμάτα σάν ανενόχλητα φαντάζομενα. Βιαστικά, λέες καὶ τούς κατεδίκωκαν.
83 Ἀνθρώποι, αὐτοκίνητα, λεωφορεία τρέχαν ἄδικατα. Κ’ ὄλα τρέχαν σάν κακουργό ἀδαφισμένα.
During the postwar years the technological advancement was still slow and therefore the distance between host lands and homeland remained difficult to overcome for migrants. Thus, there was almost no contact with the family. The current technology in telecommunications, networks and satellite radio broadcasting and television were not developed and therefore migrants often became alienated and severed from their native land. However, transnationalism was intense in the emotional and imaginative connection of the migrants with their homeland. The text presents improvements in the quality of transportation, as the ship bringing the main character home is a luxury liner compared to the dreadful one in which he left his country initially.

This is a powerful story with a strong presence of the landscape throughout the narration. The concept of ‘homeland’ for Georgantopoulos is his village. This is shown in the way the main character throughout his search of patrida [homeland]. While the big picture of homeland for the main character (before his return) was ‘Greece and his village’, when he finally returns he feels that the environment he finds himself in (firstly the port and then the centre of Athens) is not what he expected. His orientation of ‘homeland’ then changes to the direction of his village. He wants to leave the city as soon as he can to be in his village, hoping that what he is looking for is ‘there’. Therefore, the concept of homeland is now narrowed to the boundaries of his village, a realization which proves to be as ‘tragic’ as the first one. “He had left the foreign country for his native land, his village and he felt no inclination to prolong his stay in this strange and tedious environment”.

5.2.3.5 Concluding statements

In conclusion, this short story is rich in diasporic and transnational identities, depicting a time in Greek migrant history when the migrants’ urge for return was an action of accomplishing a promise to themselves. Not many migrants have been able to make this long, difficult trip
back home. Nonetheless, the harsh conditions lived in the foreign land, the struggle for survival in difficult jobs, the effect of the climate on the migrants’ physical and emotional state, the strong nostalgia for the homeland, the wish of the migrants to see their parents while still alive, the feelings of alienation, guilt and remorse and many other problems continue to be prevailing issues, and form topics of discussion in this poignant story.

Considering the facts presented in the story, it is evident that the early Greek migrants, as with other continental Europeans, were males, who emigrated in order to explore the possibilities of beginning a new life in a new country.\textsuperscript{85} It also appears that many of those men remained single, as in the case of the character in the story.

The third person narration creates an unrestricted space and time framework which allows the reader to see further than what is simply described and to interpret more broadly the events taking place. Georganopoulos uses his own migrant experiences to present a general view of the problems faced by the early migrants in this continent which is so far away from Greece. The vehicle on which the writer transfers his experiences is his own self. Under the mask of the one single character, albeit no name is revealed, the writer covers the faces of many thousands of migrants who have had the same fate as the ‘stranger’. This technique gives human existence an ecumenical dimension, enabling the reader to discover some of the issues regarding Greek migrants who are scattered all over the world and also all other migrants, irrespectively of race, ethnicity, class, or gender. The anonymity of the main character is what makes this story a powerful tool in uncovering several aspects of diasporic identities.

5.2.4 Ta Vaftisia [The Baptism]

5.2.4.1 About the short story\textsuperscript{86}

Internal and external evidence show that the short story Ta Vaftisia [The Baptism] by Dimitris (James) Galanis was written between 1946 and 1953 when the writer lived in Newcastle,\textsuperscript{87} New South Wales, where, together with his brothers, he managed a business selling imported Greek products. His business supplied stores in the towns of country New South Wales, as

\textsuperscript{84} Ξεθίλεζε από την ξενητειά γιά την πατρίδά του, τό χωρίο του και δεν είχε διάθεση να παρατείνει τη διαμονή του μέσα σε τούτο το 'ξένο' και πληροκτό περιβάλλον.
\textsuperscript{85} Most of these migrants brought wives from the homeland, the so-called ‘nyfes’ [brides].
\textsuperscript{86} Galanis’ short story “Ta Vaftisia [The Baptism]” was initially published in “Oikogenia” (Year 3, No. 27, 1953, p.43) and later in “I Logotechniki Parousia ton Ellinon stin Australia [The Literary Presence of the Greeks in Australia]” (Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 191-93) in Greek and in “Greek Voices in Australia, A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama” (Kanarakis 1987, pp. 137-39) in English.
evidenced on the plot of the story. In view of the fact that Galanis lived in Macksville, a small town in the northern coast of New South Wales, between 1924 and 1935, it is evident that the writer had had extensive experience of life in Australian country regions. The small town referred to in the story to where the narrator travelled is one of the towns that the writer had business links with.

This short story constitutes an important aspect of the analysis as it is the only one written by a second-generation writer. The fact that the writer lived in the first half of the twentieth century indicates that second-generation Greek persons were influenced by their first-generation parents to the extent that their identity was almost the same in strength and character. Thus, there is a strong dose of culture and traditional way of life passed onto the second generation.

5.2.4.2 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting
The setting of the story is the countryside in New South Wales on the east coast of Australia. The narrator arrives by train to a small country-town three hundred miles away from his place of residence to receive an order of goods from a Greek couple living there and running a store. It seems that there are only a few Greeks living in this town and therefore there is not a permanent priest to take care of their religious needs, although, as mentioned in the text, there is an Orthodox church. This church presumably serves the whole region with a Greek priest visiting occasionally as the need arises, who takes care of wedding ceremonies, baptisms, funerals and the like. The story begins with a scene where the narrator catches a taxi, together with a priest who is going to the same destination and they arrive at Mr George’s shop where the events are taking place. As mentioned above, the story was possibly written in the late 1940s or during the 1950s.

Characters
The characters depicted in the story include the narrator who is a male Greek migrant, who is a businessman, travelling to different areas to take orders of goods from Greek families living in rural Australian towns. The narrator is referred to as ‘Jimmy’ in the story, a version of the writer’s first name ‘James’, which derives from ‘Dimitris’. Internal evidence shows that

87 Newcastle is 162 Km North of Sydney.
Jimmy is a single man. Although his age is not revealed, he is assumed to be in his mid-thirties.

The other characters in the order in which they are presented are: the priest Papa-Andonis [Father Anthony] who is from Sydney, Kyr-Giorgis [Mr George] and Kera-Froso [Mrs Froso], Giorgis’ wife. Papa-Andonis is a good looking priest, well-dressed, freshly shaved and well groomed. According to the narrator, he is the new priest from Sydney. What surprises Kera-Froso about this priest is that his appearance resembles more that of a Catholic priest than a Greek Orthodox one. The missing beard and cassock make an impression on Kera-Froso who does not believe he is a genuine Greek Orthodox priest but rather a Catholic priest. Kyr-Giorgis and Kera-Froso are married and manage a shop, most likely a general store, in the small town where the story takes place. The couple have five children, the youngest one remaining to be baptized. Also present in the story is another couple, Yanni and his Australian wife, who came to the party following Giorgis and Froso’s baby’s baptism which took place in the evening; however, these two characters are not actively involved.

Themes
The main theme of the story highlights the religious attitudes and needs of the Greek migrants who lived in country Australia in the early twentieth century. More specifically, it refers to the adherence of first-generation Greeks to the Greek Orthodox tradition and the desire of parents to have their children baptized in the Orthodox way and thus adopt the Orthodox identity. However, religious ceremonies were rare for those who lived in remote country areas.

The baptism adds special significance to the broader concept of Greek identity as it constitutes an integral part of a person’s socio-cultural, religious and personal identity. Therefore, its impact on a Greek person’s identity of a person is multilayered. For any Greek family it is during the baptism that a child is given a name, the most important feature of one’s identity. To the early Greek migrants, religiosity was strongly attached to Greek Orthodox ideals and beliefs brought with them from their place of ancestry. Therefore, having their young children baptized in the traditional Greek Orthodox way was essential for the family, especially the mother, as shown in the story. The baptism should be conducted by a legitimate priest of their own faith, not just any priest. This person should have a long beard, wear a long cassock, and generally look like the priests in Greece. This story portrays the first-generation Greek parents’ strong attachment to the Greek Orthodox religious rituals and
the importance of attainment of this aspect of Greek identity by their Australian-born children.

Other themes underlayered in the story are: a) the survival of early Greek migrants in remote country areas, away from the big cities, and the connection and support between each other through business and family life; b) the custom of Greek hospitality (philoxenia), expressed in an indirect way in the last section of the story where the narrator/merchant and the priest both spend the night at Giorgis and Frosō’s house after the late night during which they celebrated the event of the baby’s baptism.

**5.2.4.3 Summary of the plot:**

The story begins with the scene where the narrator, taking the role of Jimmy, arrives at the small country town, three hundred miles away from his home town. As he gets out from the train station, feeling cold from the night ride and desperately thirsty for a coffee, he catches a taxi to Mr George’s shop, while at the same time finding out that a priest is also coming in the taxi and going to the same place. As the priest is the first person Jimmy sees in the early morning, he remembers his father’s superstitious words “*when you start the day and the first person you happen to see is a priest, go back home*”\(^\text{89}\), meaning that ‘seeing a priest when you start your day in the morning means bad luck’. Jimmy is impressed by the immaculate coiffure of the priest, Father Anthony, who is the new priest from Sydney. After exchanging the typical greeting, Jimmy finds out that the priest is there for the baptism of Mrs Froso’s youngest child.

Mr George was cleaning the floor of the shop when they arrived there, and he seemed to have forgotten his child’s baptism. This shows that no big plans had been made for the baptism. When the priest is introduced to Kera-Frosō, she does not seem to believe he is a real priest and she objects having her child baptized by him. His shaved beard and the absence of cassock are signs to her that Papa-Andonis is a Catholic priest and does not approve for her child to be ‘mucked up’ by being baptized by a non-Orthodox priest. This behaviour is putting her husband in a very difficult position and he tries to convince her that ‘the priest was ordained by a proper bishop’ and that her worries are pointless. Jimmy, in order to help with the situation, invents a trick. He suggests that he and the priest will go and prepare the church beforehand with large amounts of incense. Then kera-Frosō will be taken there to have a look before the baptism takes place so that she will have peace of mind that everything is how she

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\(^{89}\) ὅταν ἄρχῃς τὴν ἡμέρα σου καὶ τὸν πρῶτο ἄνθρωπο ποῦ τύχῃ νά δεῖς εἶναι παπᾶς, γύρινα πίσω στὸ σπίτι.

'Ἀλλοιῶς μαρίθη μέρα θάχης
wants it to be. Seeing the priest dressed in his golden canonicals and smelling the strong incense Kera-Froso would be persuaded. Everything goes as expected, the priest chants, Jimmy helps with the chanting, and the baby’s name coincidently is to be Anthony, the same as the priest.

A family celebration followed in the couple’s home which was situated on top of their shop with all enjoying drinking and dancing the Greek way. Among them was another fellow countryman and his Australian wife who live in the next town. Kera-Froso had been content and she had some drinks and danced until the party stopped at four in the morning. Jimmy and the priest spent the rest of the night at kera-Froso’s house and the next day they left together again, as they watched kyr-Giorgis and kera-Froso waving farewell to them and looking happy. Jimmy and papa-Andonis leave in a taxi, and with a sense of irony they agree that in the following year ‘there would be another baptism in the little town’.

5.2.4.4 Analysis of the notions of identity

There are various expressions of Greek identity in the text. The ‘Greek Diaspora’ identity indicator is centered on the Greek community of Australia, especially the migrants living in country areas. Internal evidence shows that the Greek families who were scattered in small country towns knew each other and had close relationships. This is highlighted in the writer’s technique stating in the text that Yiannis and his Australian wife came from the neighboring town. The occasions where those migrant families met were usually religious ceremonies such as baptisms, weddings and funerals. Yannis and his wife, in this story, were present at the evening party after the baptism at Mr George’s home situated on top of his shop. The common ancestry and ethnic background, as well as the Greek Orthodox religion seem to be essential aspects of identity connecting the early migrants in the diaspora many of whom felt isolated in a mainly Anglo-Saxon dominant society.

The ‘geographic location’ identity indicator is directed to Greece as landscape, in conjunction with the concept of Greek Orthodoxy. This happens through the mentioning of “Mertidiotissa”, a term referring to the Virgin Mary and a popular ‘icon’ and also to a church on the island of Kythera, the writer’s birthplace.

The ‘socio-cultural’ identity indicator discovers several expressions that reflect Greek culture. This indicator substantiates that proverbs and superstition are part of Greek people’s everyday life, expressing folkloric characteristics and cultural attitudes. The statement ‘when you see a priest the first thing in the morning is bad luck’ is one of the many sayings used by the older
generations. These sayings do not appeal to the generations of today. As the years go by and as the world is ‘modernized’, they are used to a lesser extent. In the last part of the story where the celebration takes place, various cultural expressions are highlighted, such as the one “We put the kalamatiano on the gramophone and got stuck into it”\textsuperscript{90}. Traditional dancing appears to be an important part of the Greek migrants’ life in the diaspora, reflecting a strong aspect of diasporic Greek identity. Various other statements and greetings also reflect important notions of identity, such as the following: “Let me lead the dance and you hold the handkerchief”\textsuperscript{91}, “Down with poverty!”\textsuperscript{92}, “Wishing you health!”\textsuperscript{93}, “Wishing you many years of life”\textsuperscript{94}, “To your marriage”\textsuperscript{95}, “And to your children’s”\textsuperscript{96}, “All the best to you!”\textsuperscript{97}, “Cheerio, Jimmy, and may we meet again at a baptism”\textsuperscript{98}.

The ‘language’ indicator shows that the language used in this story is the simple demotic Greek language with the use of diacritics. Certain dialect characteristics reflect the writer’s background from the island of Kythera, where he spent his elementary school years. Bilingualism is shown only in the short expression “all right”, used by Jimmy to reinforce the success of his plan which aimed at convincing Kera-Froso about the legitimacy of the baptism. In the steps to reassure her that the baptism was to take place according to the Greek Orthodox faith he states: “I’m sure that when she sees the priest dressed in his gold vestments and smells the incense she’ll say all right”\textsuperscript{99}. Jimmy’s words “και είμαι βέβαιος ... είμαι σίγουρος [I am certain]” are a reassurance that kera-Froso would give her consent for the baptism to go ahead.

The ‘values and ideals’ indicator confirms in this story the enjoying of a good life is very important. The idea that poverty is not an obstacle when people want to celebrate and have fun is shown clearly in the text. This is part of Greek identity, a characteristic brought along with the migrants from the homeland. Greek hospitality \textit{philoxenia} is also reflected, thus the family provided a place to the narrator and the priest to sleep, since they were so far from their homes.

\textsuperscript{90} Εβάλαμε τον καλαμάτιανό στο γραμμόφωνο και νά καί δός του.
\textsuperscript{91} Λας με να μπο απροστά και μου παίρνεις το μαντήλι
\textsuperscript{92} Ὁξω φτάχεια...
\textsuperscript{93} Γεια νάχεις
\textsuperscript{94} Χρόνια πολλά να ζήσεις.
\textsuperscript{95} Και στο γάμο σου
\textsuperscript{96} Και στον παντόδων σου.
\textsuperscript{97} Γεια σου.
\textsuperscript{98} Γεια σου. Τζήμη και πάλι σε βαφτίσπια ν’ αντιμέτωπος
\textsuperscript{99} κ’ είμαι βέβαιος όταν δεί τόν παπά ντυμένο με τά χρυσά του ράσα και μυριστεί το λιβάνι, είμαι σίγουρος όταν πεί άλα ράττ
The ‘religiosity’ identity indicator is central to this short story as it explores significant aspects of migrant life and attitudes that denote features of the Greek Orthodox religion. This indicator is profoundly applicable in the context of the story with several examples from the text declaring Greek Orthodox religiousness. Mrs Froso appears reluctant when Jimmy introduces her to Father Anthony as she does not believe that this priest is real: “Come on Jimmy, stop kidding.... This isn’t a priest; he looks like a Catholic priest”. This indicates the perception that some Greeks had about priests. For kera-Froso any priest who was not Orthodox was not a proper priest. She wants to confirm by asking: “Are you the priest then? ... Well where’s your beard then?” Her amazement is soon exaggerated: “A priest without a beard or cassock baptizing my child! Blessed Mary, what have we come to?” and calling her husband “A priest without a beard or cassock baptizing our child, husband, you are out of your mind. Mertidiotissa, what have we come to”. With these words Kera-Froso is blaming Kyr-Giorgos for organizing to bring this particular priest for the baptism. Mertidiotissa is one of the many names that Greek Orthodox Christians use to refer to the Virgin Mary, Panayia. The name chosen to be used by an individual is usually related to the patron saint of the person’s home town. It is attached to one of the churches or monasteries of the geographical location in Greece where they come from. In the context of this story, ‘Mertidiotissa’ is a familiar version of the name of the Virgin Mary to the writer. External evidence reveals that ‘Mertidiotissa’ is the name given by the islanders of Kythera to the Virgin Mary when an icon was found in 1160 in the area of Myrtidia in Kythera, where the writer (Galanis) comes from. This evidence is a strong characteristic of the writer’s identity expressed through the words of one of the characters, specifically Kera-Froso. Mr George reassures his wife: “But he is a priest. A bishop ordained him...” and as she insists that the priest is Catholic he becomes angry. At this stage, the traditional sense of the male

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100 Εἰςι μορφὰ Τήμη, μή κοροϊδσθής... Αὐτὸς δὲν εἶναι παπᾶς, αὐτὸς μοιάζει φραγκόκαστας.
101 Εἶσαι μορφὰ, ὁ παπᾶς; ... Καὶ ποῦ εἶναι τὰ γένεια σου μορφὰ;
102 Παπᾶς χωρίς γένεια καὶ ράσα νὰ βαφτίσει το παιδί μας! Παναγιά μου τί πάθαμε! Παπᾶς χωρίς γένεια καὶ ράσα νὰ βαφτίσει το παιδί μας! Παναγιά μου τί πάθαμε!
103 Παπᾶς χωρίς γένεια καὶ ράσα νὰ βαφτίσει το παιδί μας ἄντρα μου δὲν τόχεις καλά! Μετριδωτίσσα μου, τί πάθαμε!
104 It is also a fact that during the early Greek presence in Australia, before any Orthodox priests had arrived from Greece, the religious needs of Greek migrants were initially met in the Anglican Church. In some cases even after an Orthodox priest was available, in the absence of Greek Orthodox churches religious services were held in Anglican churches (Gilchrist 1992).

106 Παπᾶς εἶναι κι’ αὐτὸς. Δεσπότης τῶν χειροτόνησε....

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dominance is expressed through Mr George: “You are looking for a beating this morning, woman!”

The ‘religious’ elements denoting the Greek Orthodox tradition are the priest’s ‘golden vestments’, the ‘incense’, the ‘chanting’ and the ‘naming of the child’. The whole issue of misunderstanding is resolved after the baptism has taken place with kera-Frso eventually declaring: “Jimmy, how on earth was I to know that the priests here shave their beards and don’t wear cassocks?” The repeated statement “With reverence he bent to kiss the priest’s hand...” and also “The next day she kissed the priest’s hand and received his blessing” reflects the tradition of Greek Orthodox Christians to show respect to a priest by kissing his hand (and also the hand of elderly persons, usually that of grandparents).

The ‘family bonds’ identity indicator is directed to Mr George’s family of seven, who, despite the vastness of the Australian countryside, remain close to each other. The relationship between the family members finds expression in family gatherings and entertainment. The strong relationship between husband and wife is the prevailing bond that supports the whole family.

5.2.4.5 Concluding statements

The primary notion of Greekness in the story is the religious hypostasis of diasporic identity. This is reflected in the Greek Orthodox faith that forms part of the overall migrant presence in the Australian Greek diaspora. This story considers that the early Greek migrants in Australia found it hard to adjust in the host country, given that their background was much different to the one they were faced with in their new countries. The characters portray the migrants of the 1940s and 1950s in the context of religiosity. The notion of dress code for the priests as they were remembered in the homeland and the priests in Australia is one of many characteristics that can be disputed in the context of Greek Orthodox life ‘here’ and ‘there’. Religiosity seems to constitute an aspect of the Greek migrant world that strengthens the characters’ Greek identity, ensuring feelings of belonging and psychological security in a country that is very far from the homeland, and most importantly in small country towns where Greek identity is challenged even more.

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107 Βρέ γυναίκα, ξύλο βλέπω γυρνείς προή-προή.
108 Μισέ Τζιμ, πού νά έχει μή εβλασφείς πώς οι παπάδες όδω κόβουνε τά γένεια τους και δέν φορούνε ράσα.
109 Μ’ επιλάθεια έσκουσε και φίλησε τό χέρι τόυ παπά...
110 Την άλλη μέρα φίλησε το χέρι του παπά και πήρε την ευλογία του.
The uniqueness of the story lays in the fact that the Greek identity is presented through the eyes of a second-generation writer who presents the dilemmas of religion in the ‘diaspora’ of the diaspora. The duality of migrant identity is presented through the contrast of religious events as Galanis witnesses them through his role as a salesman. This highlights the fact that in the vast continent of Australia numerous aspects of diasporic identity can be found involving the Greek presence.

5.2.5 O Tilemachos [Telemachus]

5.2.5.1 About the short story

Andonis Fatseas’ short story ‘O Tilemachos [Telemachus]’ is written in the third person and it is about the early experiences of a male Greek migrant in Australia. Three main aspects of migrant life are described: a) the dilemma of identity with which migrants were faced when they had to involuntarily change their name in order to be accepted within the host society; b) the view of the single migrant men regarding marriage to women brought from their homeland in the early decades of the twentieth century; c) the importance of visiting the native land to the migrant in its ‘physical environment’ dimension. The text is written in the simple demotic language, including the use of diacritics.

5.2.5.2 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting

The setting of the story is Australia. Considering that the writer lived for most for his time in Brisbane, except for a year in Sydney, the story was probably written in Brisbane. The main character, Tilemachus, was met by the narrator at the Club where he often used to go and sit by himself quietly at one of the tables.

Characters

The main character is Telemachus Gavrielides, a sixty-year old Greek male migrant, described to be white-haired, short and frail. The writer gives a thoughtful account of this man’s background, stating that he had come from Athens and that he is descended from parents who had come from Constantinople. He migrated to Australia before the First World War when he was about twenty years of age and he had no other relatives here. He appears to be an unmarried man who misses his homeland intensely. He usually never talks to anyone

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111 Andonis Fatseas’ short story “O Tilemachos [Tilemachus]” was published initially in the newspaper “Krikos” (Year 8, No. 79-80, 1957, pp. 115-17); and later in “I Logotechniki Parousia ton Ellinon stin Afstralia [The Literary Presence of the Greeks in Australia]” (Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 205-7) in Greek and in “Greek Voices in Australia, A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama” (Kanarakis 1991², pp. 150-52) in English.
except when others initiate a conversation, and when he speaks, he is laconic and sometimes ‘obscure’. He can be found sitting at one of the tables at the Club where other migrants gather. The narrator informs the reader that although Telemachus never wanted to change his name after arriving in Australia, he had to accept the shortened Anglicized version, Ted Evril, which others devised without his consent and gave to him. The issue of his name change was very frustrating for him and he refused to adopt it until he eventually had no choice.

Another character is the narrator himself who takes the role of another compatriot who belongs to the local Greek community, and who finds out about Telemachus’ life from other fellow Greeks. That is how the information about him is collected. Other characters portrayed in the story include a young woman who works with Telemachus, and plays the role of the native Australian resident who tries to pronounce the name Telemachus, some other workmates and other Greek fellow-countrymen who hang out at the Club.

Themes
The main theme is the problem that many early Greek migrants had experienced in Australia in relation to changing their names in order to avoid embarrassment and to easily assimilate into the host society. Most Greek names were regarded as too long and difficult by the locals to be pronounced, and those who decided to maintain their name were humiliated, had to repeat its spelling many times over until they eventually gave up and decided to adopt either an equivalent one in English or a shorter version of their original name. Naming is an example of the expression of racism that existed in Australian society for much of the migration period in the twentieth century.

Other sub-themes emerging from the story are: a) the loneliness that migrants felt when they came to the new land, especially those who arrived as single men. Loneliness and isolation are consequences of migration and are still issues in many societies today; b) bringing a woman over from the home country and marrying her is opposed by the main character who believes that men should go back and marry them there, in the homeland; c) the strong love for one’s country of origin and the subsequent nostalgia for patrida [the homeland], implying that the essence of patrida is its landscape, not its people.

112 This is related to the fact that most of the early migrants who came to Australia in the early twentieth century were unmarried men who sought a new life with the prospect of becoming rich, then many of these men brought women form their country of origin in order to marry them.
5.2.5.3 Summary of the plot:

Telemachus, a Greek migrant who came to Australia when he was twenty, is the main character of the story. When the narrator (being the writer) met him at the Greek Club (sti leshi) a little after his arrival in Australia, Telemachus was already about sixty years old, white-haired and thin but “dressed in clean clothes”. The reader learns that Telemachus came to Australia before World War I. The narrator also informs the reader that Telemachus came from Athens, that his parents were Polites, thus originating from Constantinople. Telemachus was very sorry when his parents died because he was not there to ‘close their eyes’. The fact that he didn’t have any other relatives in the new country made his life more difficult.

The change of name is the main issue in the short story. Telemachus refused to accept any other name despite the strong insistence by his fellow-countrymen and his boss that “Telemachus doesn’t mean a thing in Australia. And it’s difficult to pronounce... Ted is easier for Australians. Just try to get anyone to pronounce Telemachus.”\textsuperscript{113} This made Telemachus resist even more and become more frustrated “Not Ted, mate. Telemachus! That’s the name they gave me in church, and that’s what everybody calls me. Why should I change it?”\textsuperscript{114} So, in order to test that his name was indeed hard to pronounce, Telemachus asked one of the girls he worked with to say it “Telemachus, pleez. Telemachus. Te-le-ma-chus”\textsuperscript{115}. To his embarrassment, the girl had trouble pronouncing it, and as she was trying to say the last syllable, her false teeth flew out of her mouth. This caused everyone else watching to burst into laughter. Telemachus was angry and remained silent until the shop where he was working closed for the day. Later, when he was in his room (which, as it appears in the text, was adjacent to or at the back of the shop) he “thought over all the gains and losses he encountered in the foreign land”. “Today they change your name, he thought, tomorrow they’ll get you to forget your language, the next day perhaps they’ll beg you to forget everything sacred and holy. Your homeland, perhaps, your family, yourself.”\textsuperscript{116}. Being young and inexperienced, he felt very depressed with these thoughts and cried silently in despair and desolation.

During the night, Telemachus struggled to make up his mind about his name change, and by the morning he had decided to accept it. With one condition: that he would give up nothing
else “Not his religion, not his homeland, not his family. All those things he would keep inside himself solid, uncontaminated and sacred just as he had brought them with him when he left Greece.”117 So, as he went into the shop the next morning he announced to the girl with the false teeth, loudly so that he could be heard by everyone, “My name is Evril!”118. This was his first defeat and he was all determined not to let anything else be taken from him. The simile used to highlight that Telemachus looked like an army officer illustrates well the determination of the main character towards maintaining his personal beliefs. [He looked like a general who learns that a platoon of his army has been taken prisoner by the enemy and now puts all his efforts into saving the remaining units.”119. The ‘remaining units’ can be all the other features of his identity.

The short story is subdivided into a second part in which the writer presents some other aspects of Telemachus’ character and identity. He was a man who had his own ideas about life and usually those ideas were opposed to the opinion of the majority. As for the subject of marriage he believed that most times it didn’t work. The writer explains that this attitude might be the reason why Telemachus never got married. An example is also used to reinforce the idea that one should go to their homeland to marry, rather than bringing a wife from there to marry in Australia. A well-known Greek proverb is appropriately used here to support the main character’s beliefs about marriage: “One should wear a shoe from their own native land even if it is patched up,”120, meaning “ Should one decide to get married one should marry someone from one’s own native land, despite any imperfections”. This was the example given when Telemachus was asked by a middle-aged person to say if it would be a good idea to bring to Australia a girl he knew from his childhood, to be his wife. However, the response was that this should not even be considered and that if someone wanted to obtain a wife from their native land this should only happen in the native land. “[Yes, but to wear the shoe in your native land. Not to bring it so many miles away. You’ll see it won’t fit you. It’ll be either too narrow, or too broad, never your size.”121. This example constitutes evidence of the ‘brides’ phenomenon of the early-to mass migration years of the twentieth century, with male

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117 Ναι, θα άλλαξε το όνομά του, μά... ώς έκει και μή παρέκει. Τίποτα άλλο. Ούτε θρησκεία, ούτε Πατρίδα, ούτε δίκους του.
118 Μάγι νέημη τη 'Εβρηλή.
119 "Εμισθέα σαν τόν στρατηγό που μυμανθεί πός μία δημοσία τόδ στρατόπεδο το πλάσηκε αιχμάλωτη ἀπ’ τόν ἔχθρο καὶ βάξει τόσα τά δυνάμεις τό νά σώση τίς ύπολοιπος μονάδες.
120 Παπούτσι από τόν τόπο σου κι ας ειν’ καὶ μπαλομένα.
121 Ναι, άλλα τό παπούτσι νά τό φορέσεις στόν τόπο σου. Ὀχι νά τό φέρεις τόσα μύλινα μακρύα. Θά δής τότε πός δέν σου κάνει. Γιά στενό θα είναι, γιά φαρδύ. Ποτέ στά μέτρα σου.
Greek migrants bringing wives from Greece who were either acquaintances or relatives of friends, or girls they themselves knew from their youth.\textsuperscript{122}

The writer concludes the ‘biographical’ account of the hero by referring to the accomplishment of his dream to visit Greece before he died. This was at the end of the Second World War and he spent about six months there. On coming back to Australia, he was seen at the Club again sitting at the small table again, all by himself. Asked how he found things in the homeland, his answer demonstrated a definitely positive reaction. \textit{“Better than here.”}\textsuperscript{123}. And on how he found his fellow-countrymen, his answer was \textit{“The same and worse.”}\textsuperscript{124}. When asked whether he would like to go back, he said that he definitely wanted to. \textit{“Of course I’ll go back. Does anyone ever forget their mother? We all live here like orphans. Our mother is over there. Come on. Pack your backs and go for a little while to see the light. I wish I could manage to go back again, and soon.”}\textsuperscript{125}. With the personification of Greece as ‘mother’, the writer achieves a powerful representation of the homeland as the mother of all the migrants. Those who, for different reasons, emigrated for a better future in far away destinations always look back with sorrow and nostalgia for what they have left behind and what they cannot enjoy in their new land. Sadly, Telemachus died in the foreign land, without fulfilling his last wish to return home. This fate has been common for many other migrants and transmigrants, worldwide, where ‘xenitia’ inevitably replaced ‘home’.

5.2.5.4 Analysis of the notions of identity

This short story is rich in diasporic and transnational identities. Namely, the ‘change of name’ appears to be a strong factor in fragmenting identities. In this context, the original identity which was brought to Australia by the migrant person is challenged by the fact that it is subjected to change as a result of pressure from the ‘others’. Even though the new identity that is constructed following the change is conceptualized only with the presence of the ‘other’, the impact on the concerned individual can be detrimental, unless it is the person’s choice. There are numerous examples of migrants who have had their names changed. However, it seems that this phenomenon has different repercussions today than the way it was happening in the early years of Greek migration. In the past, the name modification or

\textsuperscript{122} The prospective wives, or ‘nyfes’ [brides], were usually invited to Australia by the prospective groom whom they exchanged photographs with. The girls who decided to come to Australia in this way were usually from poor families who could not support them and who had not much luck in finding a husband in Greece.

\textsuperscript{123} Καλλίτερα ἀπ’ ἔδω.
\textsuperscript{124} Ἴδονς καὶ χειρότερους.
‘transformation’ was required by the others to suit their needs or to create feelings of belonging. Today, it usually happens voluntarily. The reasons why many Greek persons in Australia have their names anglicized are mainly to suit their own needs, for pleasure, or to feel that they are part of the wider Australian culture.

The ‘identity indicator’ model applies a number of indicators to discover the different notions of identity. Firstly, the ‘environment – Greece’ indicator locates the concept of *patrida* ‘homeland’ several times. The word *patrida* [πατρίδα] is written with a capital letter to magnify the significance it has for the main character. The character’s name *Telemachus* itself is an aspect of personal identity connected with Greek mythology.  

The words ‘Αθήνα – Athens’, ‘Πολίτες – Constantinople background persons declare locality, thus place of origin. Words relating to ‘patrida’ such as ‘patriotes’ [fellow-countrymen] and comparisons of Greece with Australia denote an intentional move of the writer to emphasize the hero’s identity and sentimental attachment to his place of origin, clearly stating that ‘patrida’ for him is the ‘place’, the ‘soil’, the ‘sky’, the ‘air’, not the people. “I didn’t go for the people. I went for the place, for the soil, for the sky, for the air, for Greece. Like the consumptive who goes to the sanatorium for six months to strengthen his lungs and comes back again to the city”  

The main character holds highly the Greek values he brought with him to Australia, thus, *πατρίδα* [homeland], *θρησκεία* [religion], and *οικογένεια* [family]. These are the most ‘sacred’ parts of his identity.

The transnational notion of identity is also very intense in the short story as the main character is constantly attached to the concept of ‘home’ and ‘belonging’, moreover, Greece is preserved as a ‘landscape; and as an ‘ideal’. Furthermore, Telemachus’s visit to his place of ancestry at a time when Greece was struggling to overcome the ravage of war is portrayed as a pilgrimage to ‘patrida’, which is presented as a symbol, incorporating religion and family values.

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125 Και βέβαια θα ξαναπάω. Ξεχνά κανείς τή μάνα του; Ὄλοι ἐδώ ζούμε σάν ὅρφανοί. ‘Η μάνα μας εἶναι ἐκεί κάτω. Άντε μαζευτεί τα και πηγαίνετε γά λίγο νά δήτε τό φῶς. Ἄμποτε ν’ ἀξιωθῶ νά ξαναπάω, καί γρήγορα μάλλιστα.

126 In Greek mythology Telemachus was Odysseus’ son, left behind in Ithaca with his mother Penelope while his father went away to the Trojan War. When eventually Odysseus returned to his homeland after a twenty years’ ordeal on the seas, Telemachus was already a grown-up handsome man.

127 Μά δέλ πήγα γιά τόν κόσμο ψώ. Ἐπήγα γιά τόν τόπο, γιά τό χώμα, γιά τόν οὐρανό, γιά τόν άβρα, γιά τήν Ἑλλάδα. Σαν το φωματικό που πηγαίνει γιά έξη μήνες στό σανατόριο γιά νά δυναμώσει τα πλεμόνα του καί να το γυρίσει πάλι στήν πόλη.
Concluding statements

The name ‘Telemachus’ can be said to have a symbolic significance in this short story, denoting the strong determination to maintain a significant part of an individual’s personal identity. This may relate to Greek mythology, in particular to Odysseus’ son, Telemachus, who patiently waited in Ithaca for twenty years until the moment he saw his father returning. The long struggle to maintain the reputation of his father’s kingdom during his absence, while remaining focused on his goal is a fine example. So, it can be said that similarly to Odysseus’ son, who preserved the purity and authenticity of his family’s heritage and honour of his name, the hero of this short story is trying to honour his name and background, thus his personal and cultural identity. Fearing that by changing his name he can be further manipulated and forced to change other parts of his identity, he declares early that he would not give away anything else. The strong determination that he would maintain ‘religion’, ‘home country’ and ‘family’ as pure as when they were when he took them along with him from Greece reflects a strong religious, ethnic and ancestral identity of the first-generation Greek migrant.

The issue of name changing in the past and today is very relevant to identity. It denotes not only a form of accommodation but also a surge of feelings of belongingness. Thus, the adoption of anglicized names by many Greek background persons today is either something that the individual’s parents decide upon or a personal choice of the persons themselves. The phenomenon does not necessarily imply that there is a problem of identity in maintaining the name given to them at baptism, but a desire to identify as part of the local modern society. For example, it is common today for second- and third-generation parents to give their children traditional Greek names at their baptism, usually the names of grandparents, with an additional Australian, or even international, name which also appears on the child’s birth certificate.
5.3 Second period - The Greek Mass Immigration in Australia: 1952 - 1977: Migrant Identities

5.3.1 O Sotiris o Kadenas [Sotiris Kadenas]

5.3.1.1 About the short story
Rakis’ short story “O Sotiris o Kadenas [Sotiris Kadenas]” is written in the simple demotic Greek language including some characteristics of the Cypriot dialect, and displays the polytonic orthography. It is written in the third person; therefore the writer is the narrator. The writer’s Cypriot background indicates that some of the facts mentioned in the story are based on personal experience. One of these facts is that Rakis migrated to Australia in July 1975, a year after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, and the main character is stated to have arrived in January 1975. The significance of the story is based on the duality of Greek-Cypriot identity, expressed within the context of the ‘other’ (Australia).

5.3.1.2 Setting, characters, themes

Setting
The setting is the inner suburb of Newtown in Sydney, Australia, where the events are taking place. Sotiris Kadenas is ‘trapped’ with his wife Savvou in his brother’s apartment in a block of flats, after coming over as refugees. A few flashbacks transfer the setting back to August 1974 in Cyprus when Sotiris and his wife involuntarily left their village as a result of the Turkish invasion of the island. Another flashback presents the couple arriving at the Sydney airport of ‘Mascot’ where they unite with Sotiris’ brother and his wife. This happens in January, denoting that it is during Australia’s summer, conversely to the European winter where the couple left from. Finally, another flashback unveils life in Sotiris’ village, Marathovouno in Cyprus, where before August 1974 he owned a kafene (café). Sotiris recollects the days when he was running his ‘kafene’ which he inherited from his father. There, in this café, he enjoyed life in full, taking care of his fellow-countrymen after the bus brought them back to the village from the day’s work in the city, and before even going home they stopped at Sotiris’ ‘kafene’ for refreshments. That’s when Sotiris was really happy, when

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128 Rakis’ short story “O Sotiris o Kadenas [Sotiris Kadenas]” was published initially in Greek in the periodical “Antipodes” (Year 4, No. 8, 1978, pp.11-12) and later in “I Logotechniki Parousia ton Ellinon stin Afstralia [The Literary Presence of the Greeks in Australia] (Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 488-91) in Greek and in “Greek Voices in Australia, A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama” (Kanarakis 1991², pp. 369-71) in English.
he worked in his café, the "BEAUTIFUL HELLAS CAFE". In this context, another flashback describes the moment when Sotiris’ father announced to him, a year before he died, that one day he would leave him the café, giving him his paternal advice on how he would best deal with the clients and run it successfully.

Characters
The characters of the story in the order in which they appear are Sotiris Kadenas, his wife Savvou, his brother Pavlis (Paul) and Pavlis’ wife, Helen. The focus is on Sotiris, the main character, and this is also shown in the title. Sotiris is a sixty-two year old man from the village of Marathovouno in Cyprus who migrated to Australia with his wife in January 1975 a few months after becoming refugees in Cyprus in August 1974. As he himself used to say he became “a refugee twice in the same year”. In his village, Marathovouno, he enjoyed running his café and looking after his local clientele. Savvou, Sotiri’s wife, is presumably of similar age. She appears to be a quiet, rather withdrawn woman, and an obedient and supportive wife. Pavlis is Sotiris’ younger brother who migrated to Sydney twenty-five years before, thus in the mid-1950s, at the age of twenty; so he is now forty-five years old. Both he and his wife Helen work in a factory for very long hours. Helen, as stated in the short story, has never met Sotiris and Savvou in the past. Her involvement in the plot is minimal.

Themes
The main theme is a refugee couple’s emigration to Australia soon after their uprooting from their ancestral village after they were forced to leave everything behind in August 1974. There are also some important sub-themes underlined in the story. The event of the invasion of the island of Cyprus in 1974 is mentioned at the beginning of the story and it seems to hold a major role in the life of the main character who feels that with his immigration he has become a refugee “twice in one year”. Another sub-theme is the employment of immigrants in factories, entailing long hours of hard work, and this involves Sotiris’ brother and sister-in-law. The language barrier and age maturity in finding employment for elderly newly arrived immigrants is another issue, as gathered from the main character. The lack of English is also a problem in communicating with other people in society, as shown in Sotiris’ behaviour, discomfort and reluctance to answer the phone. The issue of isolation of newly arrived immigrants within the boundaries of a block of flats in a big city, in contrast to the carefree life they used to enjoy in their village back in the homeland is also raised. Life in a small village on the island of Cyprus is portrayed as it takes place around the kafene (café), a

129 ΚΑΦΕΝΕΙΟΝ Η ΩΡΑΙΑ ΕΛΛΑΣ
popular outlet for men in Cyprus and Greece, especially in the earlier years. The change in lifestyle for newly arrived immigrants in Australia and the fear of losing their identity in a society in which the main language is different from their own, and where nobody knows them, is a central theme.

5.3.1.3 Summary of the plot:

Sotiris, a sixty-two year old man, and his wife Savvou arrive in Sydney after Sotiris’ brother, Pavli, sent them an invitation to come to Australia as migrants. So, the couple find themselves in Paul’s apartment in Newtown in Sydney, but they experience difficulties in moving around by themselves or communicating with others. This is so because they don’t speak any English and everything is new to them. Sotiris is feeling very uncomfortable in the small flat, similarly to Savvou who is at the time serving him a cup of coffee. He keeps repeating to himself that being a migrant is just as bad as being a refugee: “Immigrant or refugee, what’s the difference?” When the phone rings one day Sotiris answers it but he prefers to speak in Greek to the English speaking lady who is on the other end of the phone and he hangs up. His response to his wife who is curious to know who it was is “It was some woman who didn’t know Greek”. Sotiris’ attitude in regards to the language the unknown woman spoke on the phone indicates that Sotiris’ world is centered in his Greek identity, reflected in the language he speaks. His believes that his inability to understand the local language is due to “others” who speak a language other than his, not because his is different to theirs. So, he is determined to stand strong on this matter, thus, defending his language and therefore protecting his Greek identity.

Pavlis and his wife Helen work in a factory. They leave very early in the morning and come home late in the evening. Pavlis, who is now known as ‘Paul Kaida’, has been living in Sydney where he migrated twenty-five years ago at the age of twenty. Following the Turkish invasion in Cyprus in August 1974 Pavlis felt sorry for his brother and his sister-in-law and invited them to come to Australia because he “thought it was terrible that his brother and sister-in-law should be living in a tent in Cyprus”. Sotiris and Savvou were welcomed by Pavlis and Helen at the Mascot airport in Sydney in January the following year. They were dressed in winter clothes as they had come from a place where it was winter season, apparently not aware of the difference in seasons in Australia.
The first few days were pleasant for Sotiris and Savvou as they toured around the city attractions with Paul and Helen who had taken a week off work, and they also visited relatives. Initially Sotiris was cheerful and talkative in these gatherings, and he drank beer and always talked about his village in Cyprus. But once the first days were gone and Paul and Helen went back to work, Sotiris and Savvou were forgotten by everyone and spent most of their time in Paul’s tiny flat. “The carnival is over, Savvou,” Sotiris said to his wife. Day by day he becomes depressed as he realizes that there is nothing for him to do in this place; he feels he is suffocating in the block of flats. He keeps thinking of his village and wants to leave. His wife’s comforting words and his brother’s reassurance that he will help him find a job do not help. He is worried that he is not going to get a job because of his lack of English and the fact that he is old. “[I can’t help it brother. I’m suffocating up here in the flats. I don’t know anyone and no one knows me. There might at least be some café I could go to.”

Pavlis then reassures him that he will find him a job at the factory; however, Sotiris is still worried: “That’s all very well, brother, but will they take me? I’m getting old. And damn it, I can’t understand a word of English.” Savvou has faith in God in these difficult moments: “Don’t pine, Sotiris … God will find us something.”

For all his life Sotiris lived in his village and was used to a different lifestyle. He often thinks of his village and his kafene, the “BEAUTIFUL HELLAS CAFÉ”, which was situated at the entrance to the village. He remembers how in past times, especially in the evenings during the month of January, he used to enjoy it so much looking after his fellow village-men in his café. There, he knew all the villagers, and the way each preferred their coffee, and whether they liked to have it followed by a cognac, wine or zivania. His wife also helped by growing and preparing vegetables to be used in the café as an accompaniment with the meze. Sotiris had taken over this café from his father and he worked in it for forty years; until that August when he and his wife had to leave their village and everything else behind. The sign with the faded name of his café “BEAUTIFUL HELLAS CAFÉ” is still imprinted in his mind.

One day, Sotiris announces to his brother that he can’t stay in Australia: “Paul, brother, I can’t stand it. I’m suffocating. Australia’s beautiful. But like or not, it’s not for me. I’m used to a different way of life. What work can I do now that I’m old? In the village I had the café.”

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134 Σέιεησ ζαββνχ ηα παλαΐξθα.
135 Γελ κπνξψ αδέξθη. Πλίγνκαη εδψ πάλσ ζηελ πολικατσςκία. Γελ ξέξρω κανένα, δεν με ξέξρει κανένας. Νάχε θουλόξεητο κανένα καρέλε να πήγαηνα.
136 Καλά είλαη αδέξθη. Αλλά με παίρννους; Είμαι και μεγάλος. Κι ανάθεμα τα δεν σκαμπάζω κι εγγιέδξκα γρι.
137 Μη μαραξόξεης Σοτήρη … ο Θεος κάτη θα βρει και για μας.
138 A Cypriot “aperitif” (raki).
139 Appetizers, snacks.
You know, I wasn’t earning much. But I was living! There, everyone knew me. Here, no one will know me. Who would be interested in Sotiris Kadenas from Marathovouno?”  His brother tries in vain to reverse his decision but Sotiris is determined to go: “Pavli, brother, I can’t stand it. I’m suffocating. I’m going back to the village”. This last statement reflects the mentality of the refugee whose utmost desire is to return to the ancestral home. The story finishes abruptly creating feelings of sympathy to the reader.

5.3.1.4 Analysis of the notions of identity

A number of identity indicators are employed in the analysis of this short story: Geographic location is a major indicator of identity which in this case is Cyprus in its physical and as social dimensions and also Australia – Diaspora; also applicable are language; culture; family bonds; and values and ideals.

Cyprus as a geographic location is central to the content of the short story. Reference to it is made from the very first line, with the narrator informing of the place of origin of the main character: “Sotiris Kadenas from Marathovouno in Cyprus found himself, as he himself used to say, to be a refugee twice in the same year.” By knowing that Sotiris is a refugee, the reader is able to associate this person with his place of origin. Thus, Sotiris’ personal and ethnic identity are moulded together, as also shown when he answers the telephone at his brother’s apartment “I don’t speak English, young lady, I’m Sotiris Kadenas from Cyprus. Do you know Greek?” In these words Sotiris states his full name, his birthplace, and the language he speaks which is the Greek language. Therefore, he is Sotiris Kadenas, bearing a Christian name, and he is a Greek-Cypriot. In this extract the language indicator is also relevant, as the native language of Sotiris is declared to be Greek. This statement also highlights the duality of identity of the main character (Cypriot and Greek).

The geographic location ‘indicator’ “Greece and Cyprus” also involves Marathovouno, Sotiris’ village, where he has spent all his life, and his kafene, the café which holds a major part of his heart. The sign with the name of this café “BEAUTIFUL HELLAS CAFE” declares a very powerful identification with Greece, expressing a character of Ellinikotita (Greekness or

140 Παπιή, αδέξθη, δεν αντέχω άλλα. Πνήγισμαι. Ωραία η Αυστραλία. Όμως τι τα θέλεις, εμένα δεν με σηκώνει. Αλλώς συνήθησα. Τώρα γερήματα τι δουλεύει να κάνω; Στο χωρίο είχα τον καφένι. Ξέρεις, δεν κέρδιζα πολλά. Όμως ξόσα Παπιή, Ζούσια! Εκεί με ήξεραν όλοι. Εδώ κανένας δεν θα με μάθει. Ποιος ενδιαφέρεται να μάθει τον Σοτήρη. Καδένα από το Μαραθόβουνο.
141 Παπιή, αδέξθη, δεν αντέχω. Πνήγισμαι. Θα γηρίσω στο χωριό.
142 Ο Σοτήρης Καδένας από το Μαραθόβουνο της Κύπρου βρέθηκε – κατά πόσο τό’ λεγε και ο ίδιος - δυο φορές πρόσφυγας μέσα σ’ ένα χρόνο.
143 Δεν ξέρω κανένα μονο εγγελεξίκα, είμαι ο Σοτήρης Καδένας από την Κύπρο. Ξέρεις Ελληνικά;
Hellenism). The village’s busy life before August 1974 is vividly portrayed with the villagers getting off the buses coming from “Hora”\textsuperscript{144}, the island’s capital Nicosia as it is also known to the locals, and head off to Sotiris’ Café.

The \textit{national symbols} ‘indicator’ is employed concurrently with the \textit{geographic location} regarding the sign “H Orea Ellas [Beatiful Hellas Café]” where Greece (Ellas) or Hellas constitutes a symbol declaring Greekness on the island of Cyprus. Sotiris’ comment about the sign of his café being ‘faded’ indicates the long presence of Greek identity on his island. The fading might even indicate ‘humbleness’ of this identity, a ‘timid’ reminder that despite the occupation of part of Cyprus, Greek identity is struggling to stay alive.

The \textit{language} ‘indicator’ locates language elements that represent the Greek-Cypriot linguistic character. Firstly, the language that Sotiris speaks is stated to be Greek; secondly, the Cypriot dialect characteristics are evident in some of the conversation: “The carnival is over, Σάννου …”, “Paul, my brother”, “We, in the village…\textsuperscript{145}” with words such as ‘πανάδρκα – fiestas’, ‘αρφέ - brother’, ‘χωρκό - village’ reflecting this dialect. The Greek language diacritics orthography is present in the text.

The \textit{socio-cultural elements} ‘indicator’ detects elements that describe the lifestyle in the villages in Cyprus. For example, the presence of Kafene is a significant aspect of Greek men’s life, where men pass their time drinking coffee, chatting with each other, discussing politics, reading the newspapers, and socializing with each other. Socio-cultural characteristics are evident in the description where the workers come home after work on the bus from five o’clock onwards and then gather at the café. Cultural life is particularly portrayed in the way the villagers drink their coffee “sweet coffee, with a little sugar, or sugarless\textsuperscript{146}, or a drink “cognac, dry wine, zivana (Cypriot raki)\textsuperscript{147}, accompanied with ‘meze’ or snacks including tomato and cucumber in the summer period, or roasted pumpkin seeds and Cypriot halloumi cheese in winter.

The \textit{family bonds} ‘indicator’ is apparent in the relationship of Sotiris with his brother. Pavlis, already in Australia for many years, as soon as his brother becomes a refugee in Cyprus he invites him and his wife to come to Australia and he has them stay in his house in Sydney. Later, when he sees Sotiris becoming depressed, he tries to comfort him by assuring him that

\textsuperscript{144} Χώρα. It is common for the capital cities of many Greek islands to be known as “Hora”.
\textsuperscript{145} “Τέλειωσαν Σαββάτα τα πανάδρκα”, “Παπιή, αρφέ μου”, “Εμείς στο χωρκό…”
\textsuperscript{146} καφέ γλυκό, βαρύ με ολέγη, σκέτο
\textsuperscript{147} κονιάκι, κρασί στερκά, ζιβάνα
he will find him a job at the factory. Another example of the strong family bond is the strong relationship between Sotiris and his father while he was still alive, and the the importance of the father’s inheritance of the café left for his son.

A transnational identity is diffused throughout the text. The constant reference to the ancestral village “to horko [the village]”\(^\text{148}\) retains a peripatetic tone of being ‘here’ and ‘there’. Moreover, the orientation is more strongly associated with the homeland, situated in the ‘there’ rather than the host country Australia ‘here’.

Personal identity and ethnic identity are interlinked in the story. Sotiris feels very proud of his original name and he stresses it wherever possible. However, it is evident that Sotiris’ brother Pavlis Kadenas, perhaps as a result of having come to Australia at an early stage of his life, decides to change his name to the anglicised ‘Paul Kaida’, an act indicating assimilation.

5.3.1.5 Concluding statements

The transnational notion of identity is intense in most of the text and is based on the concepts of memory, nostalgia, urge for return and the description of past events as remembered. The main thought occupying Sotiris’ mind is that of his village before August 1974. This shows how much he misses his home place and how much he wants to be back. This creates the sense that there might appear to be a problem within the last line of the short story, thus, Sotiris words “I’m going back to the village.”\(^\text{149}\), as this village, Marathovouno, is under occupation. Sotiris and his wife had to abandon it in August 1974. The interpretation that can be given to this situation is that Sotiris hopes that his village will be free soon and that by returning to his island he will be able to accomplish this dream. The Turkish invasion of Cyprus, although not directly mentioned by the writer, is implied by the narrator’s statements.

All of the Greek-Cypriot refugees who left their towns, villages and homes in July - August 1974 as a result of the invasion initially believed that their expulsion was only a temporary situation. They never accepted the possibility that they would not return. With this statement, the writer is clearly trying to convey a message, a hopeful message that the Cypriot refugees will one day go back to their homes. The fact that the part of the island where Sotiris’ village lies is under occupation does not stop him from imaginatively surpassing the borders and extending his thoughts beyond reality, trying to reach the desired destination, his familiar place where he lived for over sixty years. This leads to the conclusion that Sotiris’ identity is

\(^{148}\) ην ρσξθφ (χωρόδ)
\(^{149}\) Παπιή, αδέιθη, δεν αντέχω. Πλίγνπκαη. Θα γυρίζω στο χωρόδ.
interlinked with the past, thus the pre-August of 1974 days. It can also be said that migration increased Sotiris’ urge to return to his enslaved village.

The ancestral village ‘to horko’ in this story has a global dimension. In this context and from the migrant’s point of view the village is the whole of Cyprus, and also the place where one can feel at home, as the **BEAUTIFUL HELLAS CAFÉ** is for the main character. Conclusively, “Hellas – Greece” becomes a symbol of “home” and also a symbol of return. Ultimately, it constitutes a reminder of the Greek-Cypriot identity and a symbol of return to the ancestral villages and towns for all the Greek-Cypriot refugees.

### 5.3.2 Poso Makria eine i Ithaki [Ithaca, So far away] by Nikos Piperis

#### 5.3.2.1 About the short story

Piperis’ short story ‘**Poso makria eine I Ithaki [Ithaca, So far away]**’ is a unique example of diasporic literature in that it portrays diasporic and transnational aspects of identity exceptionally well. The story is written in the simple demotic Greek language and the narrator is the writer. It is a rather lengthy text of twelve pages; however, the length, in this case, is a positive attribute allowing for the narration to be comprehensive, meticulous, and detailed.

#### 5.3.2.2 Setting, characters, and themes

**Setting**

The setting takes place in Australia, mainly in the main character’s dwelling, a room in an old double-storey house in Brunswick Street in Fitzroy, Melbourne. There, Yiakoumis, the main character, spends endless hours remembering his homeland and dreaming of his return. The Fitzroy area is described as a vibrant Greek centre “**in the heart of the Greek Community**”\(^{151}\). In this room Yiakoumis finds refuge in solitude, away from the busy life outside. The main furniture described to be in the room is a small single bed and a bamboo chair. The ‘Greek kafeneio’ [café], namely the “Ethniko [Ethnic]” is an important part of the setting, where the early Greek male migrants gather and discuss matters of concern such as their new life in Australia, employment issues, new arrivals, and the ‘old’ country. There is also the port, presumably Port Melbourne, where Yiakoumis disembarked on his arrival to Australia, just like many other migrants who arrived during the post-World War II period. The last scene

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\(^{150}\) Nikos Piperis’ short story “Poso Makria eine i Ithaki [Ithaca, So far away]” was published for the first time in Piperis, N. (2002). *Edo ki Ekei, Diigimata* [Here and There, Short Stories], Melbourne: Ekdoseis Tsonis, pp. 104-118.

\(^{151}\) στην καρδιά της Ελληνικής παροικίας
takes place in the hospital where Yiakoumis has been committed after becoming mentally ill, largely due to his homesickness.

Characters
The main character, Yiakoumis, is known among his friends as “Yiakoumis Hktikios” meaning ‘sickly’, a term derived from his strong nostalgia and long desire to return home, or a serious form of homesickness, all of which bothered him constantly. Yiakoumis’ real surname is not known to anyone but he is mentioned to be from Pano Lakka of Preveza [a town in Western Greece] and he has been a migrant for four years. Physically, he is described to be a tall, slim and strong man, with straight black hair and a moustache. He is a very lonely person who keeps to himself and his wish is to save some money and then go back to his village in Greece. Other characters mentioned by name are Kostas Spartiatis, a friend of Yiakoumis, who is a factory worker and usually meets with him at the “Ethniko” café, and Manolis from Leros, another fellow-country-man who usually goes fishing on Sundays and knows Yiakoumis too. There are a number of other friends who are not directly involved in the plot. The only female mentioned is the landlady of the house where Yiakoumis lives. A priest is mentioned in the last part of the story as he comes to give his blessings to Yiakoumis who is ill in hospital.

Themes
The main theme of the story deals with the issues of loneliness, isolation and homesickness of migrants in Australia. Several other concepts such as nostalgia, love of one’s own country and the longing for return appear to occupy the life of the main character, representing all other migrants. Another important theme is the employment of migrants in factories and the early migration patterns revealing the fact that most of these migrants were single males. These single men’s lives are well illustrated through their gatherings at the traditional “kafeneio” where they all catch up with each other and discuss matters regarding their old country and also their life experiences in Australia. The issue of return to the homeland is definitely a crucial one as the large majority of migrants were never able to fulfill their dream in going back. The theme of migration is presented through the main character who describes migrants as victims of war, poverty, earthquakes, urbanism and many other problems confining individuals to exile. A tragic condition affecting the first-generation migrants is the fact that many of them do not only remain ‘captive’ in the host country but many of them become ill spending the final years of their lives hospitalized in various institutions. The concept of motherland is present throughout the story portrayed as Ithaki [Ithaca], a symbolic
representation of “the home country which provides a good life to its citizens, a mother who
loves her children sacrificing herself for them”\(^\text{152}\). Finally, a theme that also appears in many
other stories by Piperis is the “deserted village” and “urbanization”.

5.3.2.3 Summary of the plot:

Yiakoumis lives in an old double-storey house in one of the poor neighborhoods of
Brunswick Street in Fitzroy\(^\text{153}\). He often locks himself inside his small rented room, avoiding
going out and enjoying himself because he fears that once he tastes the good outdoor life he
will become accustomed to the Australian lifestyle and therefore he will end up staying in
Australia forever. He fears the thought of not returning to his homeland. His plan is to work
hard for five or six years and after that he can go back home to live his life. Yiakoumis is
portrayed as Odysseus who blocked his ears with wax so as not to hear the delusive songs of
the sirens and who also put blinkers on his eyes to keep him focused towards his dream.
Yiakoumis lives by himself, opposed to the usual phenomenon of the time when newly
arrived migrants shared accommodation, saving rent in this way. He has promised himself to
stay by himself in his room and think about his homeland, his village, and his people. This
way he believed he remains focused toward his plan “so that he would not lose his Greekness,
or become assimilated and estranged from his roots and to be able to return as soon as
possible”\(^\text{154}\).

Yiakoumis dreams of his homeland which is suitably referred to as Ithaki (Ithaca), the
ultimate place of return. “In the gloomy light of the far dream which almost blinded, as if
looking through a vague diorama of delusions, his Ithaca emerged, powerful, sudden,
unexpected. Far, proud, unreachable, beautiful and virginal, shining just like following a
thunderstorm”\(^\text{155}\). He appears to be mentally ill and this is shown through all of these
imagined scenes or hallucinations which result from his condition. However, at times
Yiakoumis is able to think logically and clearly, and he can make judgments. He maintains
that for some individuals there have never been any real homelands: “He knew that for some
there had never been any Ithacas. [...] Perhaps that’s why they left [...] searching for them in

\(^{152}\) This is the writer’s perception (Nikos Piperis) as expressed in an interview with the writer of this thesis (Oct.
2007).

\(^{153}\) Brunswick Street, only two kilometres from the City centre of Melbourne, was, during the Greek mass
migration period, a thriving Greek centre with a large Greek migrant population, businesses owned by Greeks,
and a vibrant Greek community.

\(^{154}\) να μη χάσει την ελληνικότητά του, να μην αφομοιωθεί κι αποξενωθεί και να γορίσει όσο μπορότα πιο
σύντομα
foreign places. The land that gave birth to them was too small, its air stifling and sour like the
juice of a non-ripe pear, an enormous hand that was trying to strangle them. While still there,
these people looked at the motherland like a baby looks at the empty and wizened breasts of
its mother.” 156. According to Yiakoumis this is the reason why all those Greeks left their
country. However, at this thought he becomes very angry, and when this happens he swears
and knocks furniture over. He is upset for the mere reason that these people abandoned their
motherland. “They took off over the seas and they got lost ....”157. He concludes that as a
result, no other motherland (patrida) has loved them, and they, driven by stubbornness, never
loved any other country as much as it was needed to make it their own.

His questions as to any other reasons why those individuals chose emigration as an escape are
fruitless. He cannot justify the voluntary exile, or the reason why those staying behind
allowed them to leave. This very question is Yiakoumis’ main cause of becoming insane. He
reckons that if these migrants were asked the question whether they really like their new
“motherland” there will be four categories of people with different answers. First are those
who were forced to leave their birthplace because of war or earthquake, or other similar cause
and, according to Yiakoumis, their answer would be a laconic one “very nice, very nice”158,
trying to give an impression that they are happy in their new country, and with a “smile
resembling that of a person who is defeated but who does not accept their defeat, or a person
who has been betrayed but who themselves have never betrayed anyone, while trying to see
through the foggy horizon, all that with their lips tightly stretched and their eyes wet from
tears” (definitely thinking of their native land).

The second category is that in which individuals (whom Yiakoumis considers to be the
impolite ones as well as the most ‘down to earth’) once asked the question they look sideways
and back as if looking to find something, and then they respond rather angrily: “Oh, brother,
as along as your stomach is full, wherever you may happen to be it is still a homeland. It’s no
use trying to find an answer”159. With these in mind Yiakoumis concludes that those
individuals are better off here in this new country. “They forgot who they were in the past,

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155 Στο μεσόφωτο του άπιαστου ουνίρου που τύφλωσε, σα να ήταν μέσα από κάποιο αόριστο διάρκημα ψεύδασθήκερας, δυνατή, απότομη, αποστάκτηση έξπεταγόταν η Ιθάκη του. Μακρινή, αγκάθρη, αφριτή ισαμποκοπούσε, όμορφα και παρθένα, ωςτε απ' τη μπόρα.

156 Ήξερε άτι για μερικούς δεν υπήρξαν ποτέ Ιθάκες [...]. Ίσως γι αυτό να έπηγαν [...] αναζητώντας τις σε άλλες θάλασσες, σε ξένους κόσμους. Ο τόπος που τους έγνεσε ήταν στενός, ο αγώνας του πνιγήρος σαν το χωμό του άγουρου, στιβάρ, ένα πελώριο χέρι που τους έπηγγε σα να έβυθε, σώνει και καλά να τους πνίξει. Από κοντά τον έβλεπαν όπου το πενελόπικο βρύσος βλέπει τα στέρα και ζαρωμένα βυζά της μάνας του.

157 Πήρανε τις θάλασσες και χάθηκαν...

158 πολύ οράια, πολύ οράια

159 Αχ καμηένε, το στομάχι σου να είναι γεμάτο, όπου κι αν είσαι, πατρίδα είναι. Τι τα ψάχνεις;
their sparkling eyes, dreams, loves, and youthful aspirations. They feared the anticipated hardships of a new uprooting and they sentenced themselves as migrants for ever.”160.

The third group of migrants rejects the thought of return justifying their stay in the new land as the result of having children, a family, and a job. “What would happen with all these? How could they leave their jobs? They had come thousands of kilometres away for a job, because if they had a job in their country they wouldn’t have come here. And the children? What would happen to them? They are used to different habits, different languages, different stories, and different schools. How can they possibly adjust to the new ways of life, all so different to them?”161 These people are regarded by Yiakoumis as cowards, unable to fight, not wanting to make an effort. He does not want to accept this to be a problem; however, deep inside he has an answer: “When you have saved enough, get up and go!”162.

The fourth category of migrants, although only a few individuals, “never gave up, and never recognized any new country as their own. Ithaca, like a fire, was burning inside them, brightened their eyes making them shine like thunderbolts, and filled their sleep with beautiful dreams about the homeland, the trip of return, which became warm words when they were awake, encouraging words, and they were enthusiastically saying these to the others “further down”, sowing this way the sorrow of nostalgia in their brains, they awakened Odysseus in their blood”.163

When asked about himself, Yiakoumis introduces himself as ‘Yiakoumis from Pano Lakka in Preveza’, a “migrant of four years who will possibly become permanent” who regards himself a man like Odysseus of Homer. “Take me, open up my heart, what will you find? I will tell you what you will find. You will find an island and an Odysseus, I say. That’s what you’ll find and nothing else, although I am not even from an island”164. He becomes obsessed with the dream of return and he constantly discusses it with his friends at the ‘Ethnico’ Café. He dreams of going back to his village where he will try to bring back the people that ‘xenitia -
exile’ stole from it. He believes that these people should return home, however they would need to have jobs. So, in his imagination he builds factories, offices, shops for them. He also builds swimming pools, cinemas, entertainment places, as well as houses, new and modern, “just like the ones he can see here in some rich neighborhoods (of this country)”. He encourages others to do the same in their place of birth. He also wishes to build a high-school so there would be no need for the children to leave their village and go to the city for their education. “In this way they would grow up within their families and thus get a proper upbringing”. He would then, “if he won the lotto of course, send tickets to all his fellow-country people living abroad to return home”. In the meantime, he suffers with “homesickness” and finds temporary relief by singing the Greek National Anthem and other patriotic songs in secluded corners of the factory where he works.

Sometimes, Yiakoumis writes long letters to the newspapers and with his limited English he tries to inform others about his background and the history of his race, the glorious country where he comes from, about Plato, Aristotle, and Alexander the Great, and, this way, show others that he descends from great roots. This way, people will not tease him or look at him with suspicion when he meets up with his fellow-country men speaking their native language, since they know no other.

On Sundays he goes to the port, “I do this as a kind of pilgrimage, you see, just like I am going to church, to the Sunday liturgy”. There, he walks up and down the now deserted area, where one can only find a few fishermen trying to catch some fish. He stands there staring at the ocean, and in the distant horizon he visualizes “the mountain slopes of his homeland, with the wild dogs [tsakalia] and the olive trees, and the red-coloured roofs of the houses in his village that sparkle in the hot sun”. At the same time, he reflects on the busy times of the port during the mass migration, thinking that there are no more ships entering the port, apart from a tanker every now and then, or a warship. The only other things remaining in this place are the cranes. “Those years now are gone, when thousands of migrants, one day the Italians, the next day the Greeks, the day after the British, the Germans, the Slavs, in whatever order one might want to refer to them. Now, all that is left are the staring cranes, the same old cranes, old steel, which marked unmistakably the place where the migrants’ dreams, packed up in an old suitcase or a worn out sack, touched the cold and wet cement of

164 Πάρε με μένα, ντες, κι άνοιξε την καρδιά μου, τι θα βρεις μέσα; Να σου πω εγώ τι θα βρεις; Θα βρεις ένα νησί κι έναν Οδυσσέα, σου λέω. Αυτό θα βρεις, και τέποτα άλλο, κι ας μην είμαι από νησί καθόλου

165 Χτίσιο

166 The writer refers to Port Melbourne, the famous port where most of the Greek migrants landed during the Greek mass migration of the 1950s up to the early 1970s.
This first contact of migrants with the new land is well portrayed by the writer in the following words: “Here, the first acquaintance (of the migrants) with the land, the first contact, was taking place, here they (the migrants) first set foot on the foreign soil which for many would become a homeland and for most a grave”\(^\text{169}\).

Yiakoumis’ behaviour often shows insanity. For example, when he is at the port, ignoring the fishermen that are nearby, he approaches the cranes and talks to them, sometimes with sweet, loving words about his now deserted village, then he hugs them as if they are some old friends of his, or fellow-country men, and sometimes with anger and frustration, shaking them in despair as if he wants to throw them over and into the sea, kicking them hopelessly, swearing “because everything was so harsh, so distant, and everything bothered him”\(^\text{170}\). At other times, usually on rainy days, he wears his army coat which he brought from his homeland and he goes down to the city centre where he starts “to march in a parade as he said”\(^\text{171}\) the same way as he did when he was in the army, timing himself, and singing loudly patriotic songs about “Tepeleni” and ‘Grammos’\(^\text{172}\) which remind him of the war he took part in (World War II). He kept doing this “until his coat had become worn out and his boots got holes in them”. By then, everyone in the area, from the City Council to the station, had known him, so he believed that there was no more need to waste any more time since everyone had learned his songs and enjoyed his Greek ‘manliness’\(^\text{173}\). At times, he would lie down on his bed and for hours he would search his radio to find a Greek station. This radio is described by the writer as a dark brown ‘Astor’ which had twelve lamps and was also used to play records. It had cost him five wages and he bought it with a warranty making sure that it would ‘surely’ broadcast European programs. Confident that he would one day find a Greek station he tried for months listening to every sound it emitted that sounded like Greek speech or music. This went on until one day when “God helped him”\(^\text{174}\) and he eventually did find the station and “his room was filled with Greek words “Here is the Voice of Greece’”\(^\text{175}\). With excitement then he screamed loudly and his amazement was such that he stood there, without moving or...
changing posture, just touching lightly the button on the radio listening to the whole program until it was finished. Then he marked with a pencil the location of the station, and promised himself that he would never from now on move the position. “My Virgin Mary I wish that my hand gets cut off if I ever move it (the station)”¹⁷⁶. Noting the day and time of when the next Greek program would be on, he happily danced a few steps of ‘tsamiko’. The following week on the day the program would be broadcast he invited some of his friends to come to his flat, he offered them beer and he then announced to them that he had a surprise for them. At the right time, he turned the radio on and there in the silence of the night sounded the same, ‘so sweet’ phrase: “The Voice of Greece”¹⁷⁷. The sounding of the Greek language made everyone then listen to the program in awe “as if listening to a church liturgy” and as if that message was sent just for them. They then celebrated with more beer and dancing which caused the landlady to come and complain.

At some stage, Yiakoumis loses his job because he was involved in a fight with another factory worker. His friend Kostas who finds him at the “Ethniko” café tries to comfort him and promises him that he would talk to his boss at the glass factory where he also works. For sometime, Yiakoumis stays separated from the rest of his migrant friends until he is found to be suffering from a mental illness. “I got sick, my nerves, I had to be submitted for treatment ...”¹⁷⁸. Whether the illness resulted from Yiakoumis’ unemployment or whether the termination of work was related to this illness is not known. The dialogue that follows between Yiakoumis and Kostas confirms that Yiakoumis’ condition is genuine and shows that friends did help and support each other in this early migratory stage of their lives. Kostas arranged to meet Yiakoumis at the station the next morning so they would go to the glass factory together. However, to Kostas’ disappointment Yiakoumis did not turn up. Several days went past without Yiakoumis appearing either at the ‘Ethniko’ or the football ground where his friends used to gather. One of the fishermen, Manolis from Leros, also indicated that Yiakoumis had not been seen at the port either. Worried about their friend, Kostas and some other fellow men decide to go to his house to look for him. They discover that the flat has been rented to another tenant and according to the landlady Yiakoumis has been admitted to a medical clinic, after “just having escaped death”. They are urged by the lady to act quickly and catch a taxi to go and see him “Fancy them, the young man had been unconscious ...

¹⁷⁵ “I Foni this Ellados” was one of the first programs to be broadcasted to Australia directly from Greece.
¹⁷⁶ Παναγή μου να μου κοπήσει το χέρι αν το κοιμήσω
¹⁷⁷ Η Φονή της Ελλάδας
¹⁷⁸ Αρρώστησα και λίγο ... τα νεύρα μου, έπρεπε να μπω μέσα μερικές μέρες για θεραπεία ....
for three days and they had no idea”\textsuperscript{179}. The landlady’s words indicate that Yiakoumis has attempted suicide by taking a high dose of medicine and she also hands a letter to Kostas which the police had found in Yiakoumis’ apartment. At the clinic, Kostas and the other friends can almost not recognize Yiakoumis who is in a very bad condition. Weak and frail, Yiakoumis is rather disturbed by the visit of his friends and refuses to communicate with them. His friends try to make him remember who they are by mentioning his village, the “Ethniko” kafeneio where they used to play cards together, the port, the cranes, and so on, but he does not respond. His friends visit him several times and they also inform other friends too who all try to bring Yiakoumis back to reality. A priest is also invited to go and give his blessings but all in vain. The doctors’ predictions for Yiakoumis are that it would take a long time for him to recover.

Yiakoumis’ letter is not discussed until some time later when Kostas is asked about it by the friends in the group. At this point, a description of the “Ethniko” kafeneio is given by the writer. The “Ethniko” is full of workers who have just finished their morning shift at General Motors, others who are looking for work or for a room or house to rent, or some who have come down from Bonengilla, the migrant hostel for ‘new arrivals’ in northern Victoria, trying to find a fellow-country person who would help them get out of there and come to settle in Melbourne. In his letter, which Kostas reads to their friends, Yiakoumis expresses his feelings about his homeland while referring to himself as a third person “My dearest Ithaca... you are so far away! Yiakoumis will not come back to you. Imprisoned here in this distant South, surrounded by oceans and seas which stand in front of him like unconquerable city walls, tied up in this land by life’s everyday conditions, he has this day decided that there is no return for him”\textsuperscript{180}. In the letter he talks about his “dreams that cannot be actualized and the songs of the doves nesting at the City Council building, which do not cheer up the people any more”, and he goes on “he looked for it (Ithaca) everywhere: in the patriotic songs, in the cranes, in the damp warmth of his war coat, inside him, especially inside him. And who knows if he has found you where he is now”\textsuperscript{181}. These words highlight the main character’s disappointment, denoting that he is losing the battle with life while his dream of return gradually fades away. They may apply to many first-generation migrants who stayed in exile not by their choice but because of the uncontrollable circumstances that led their lives.

\textsuperscript{179} Ακούες εκεί, τρεις μέρες το παιδί σε αφανία, παρά λίγο να πεθάνει, κι αυτοί ‘αγρόν αγώνισαν’
\textsuperscript{180} Θάξε κου πολιτισμική... πόσο μακρά είσαι! Ο Γιακουμίς δεν θα ξαναγράψει πια κοινά σου.
Φυλακισμένος εδώ στο μακρινό Νότο, περιζωσμένος από οκεανούς και θάλασσες που ορθώνονται απόκοριστα, δεμένος στον τόπο τουτο απ’ τις συμβατικότητες της καθημερινής ζωής, απεφάσισε σήμερα ότι δεν υπάρχει για κείνον γιορτισμός.
In the rest of the letter Yiakoumis identifies himself as a leper, destined to live in isolation at the outskirts of his village, forgotten by everyone. The village is described in the context of night-time when the wild-dogs living up on the nearby mountain haul through the moonlit night, and the owl and bats emerge looking for food in the darkness. The river is also mentioned running towards the sea, adding to the mystery of the night. All of these symbols add to the description of the psychological state of the main character. Finally, Yiakoumis’ dog is mentioned crawling up by the door, waiting for his master to return [just like Odysseus’s dog]. The final lines of the letter reflect Yiakoumis’ conclusions as to why he is still away from home: “Yiakoumis will not return to his Ithaca. He looked for you everywhere. He never forgot how far you are. He never forgot where you are. If he has not found you it is because the slip roads of the mind, twisted with ‘human robes’ cannot reach there. And he remained halfway, staring at the abyss.” These statements indicate that Yiakoumis is aware of his mental condition, which in turn signifies a fatal end to his life in exile.

The final part of the story reveals that Yiakoumis’ future is uncertain from now on, although one friend suggests that they should raise money among themselves in order to send Yiakoumis to his village. But “the others kept quiet”\textsuperscript{183}, expressing ambiguity and uncertainty as to the outcome.

5.3.2.4 Analysis of the notions of identity

The “identity indicators” model used to discover the notions of Greek identity successfully identifies a range of identities. Firstly, the place identity indicator as Greece appears through the symbol of Ithaca “Ithaki” and this is introduced early in the title of the story. Thus, the concept of Ithaca is identical to that of Greece, representing the homeland, the land waiting for the exiled migrants to return. So, whenever Ithaca is referred to, it generally implies Greece and consequently anyone’s homeland. This homeland is always on the mind of Yiakoumis and is portrayed through a range of images expressed with well chosen adjectives by the writer. “In the midst of the unconceivable dream that blinded him, as if from a vague diorama of delusions, his Ithaca always popped up powerful, sudden, uninvited. Distant, lofty,

\textsuperscript{181} Σ’ αναζήτησε παντού στα εμβατέρια, στους γερανούς, στην υγρή ζωστασία της χλαίνης, μέσα του, προ πάντων μέσα του. Κι αν σε βρήκε εκεί που είναι τώρα, ποιος το έδειξε;

\textsuperscript{182} Δε θα γνώριζε ο Γιακουμάς στην Ιθάκη του. Σ’ αναζήτησε παντού. Ποτέ δεν έζησε πόσο μικρά είσαι. Ποτέ δεν έζησε πού είσαι. Αν δε σε βρήκε, είναι γιατί οι ανεμόστρατες του νου, πλεγμένες με ανθρώπινα σκούπες, δε φτάνουν ως εκεί.

\textsuperscript{183} Οι άλλοι σώπαιναν.
unreachable she shined, beautiful, virgin, as if after a storm”\textsuperscript{184}. The description continues with personifications and metaphors. “Over the frothy hump of the sea, where the seagulls and the boats were bouncing, the sun sank all red. Ithaca, the sea, the ocean, all were drowning in blood... Ithaca, So far away!”\textsuperscript{185}. The place indicator projects Greece through the Greek language radio program “The Voice of Greece”; therefore, when it is impossible for the main character to go to Greece, Greece comes to him through this symbolic representation. The program is also a projection of Greece in a transnational way as it denotes transnational Greek identity transmitted in the Diaspora.

Greece is portrayed strongly through a number of symbols. Firstly, its historical dimension with references to World War II and places such as “Tebeleni” and “Grammos” where Greek soldiers fought patriotically for their country. Yiakoumis, being one of them, appears showing off his ‘Greekness’ wearing his old army coat and boots “marching” along the main city street singing loudly patriotic songs, feeling that he was in this way doing his duty. “...from the City Council Building down to the station everyone knew him, even the people in the stores had learned his songs, had enjoyed his Greek manliness, it was no longer necessary for him to waste any more time.”\textsuperscript{186} Greek diasporic identity is well presented in these lines through the main character’s behaviour. The same indicator also guides the reader to discover the location in Greece which Yiakoumis identifies with his village: “Yiakoumis the Diseased from Panou Lakka of Preveza”\textsuperscript{187}. Other locations of Greece are evident in the surnames of characters such as Kostas from Sparta and Manolis from Leros, sign-posting the wide range of areas in Greece where Greek migrants came from, with these individuals now being members of the Greek community of Australia. Yiakoumis’ village appears again in the description included in the letter he left for his friends to read: “During the nights when there is a full moon the ‘tsakalia’ ( wild dogs) are howling at the nearby mountain with the olive groves... Further down, the river, hiding under the plane trees, runs down restlessly towards the sea, with noises as if talking during a sleep”\textsuperscript{188}. Words such as “tsakalia”, “olive trees”, and “planes” provide a vivid description of the natural environment of Greece with its fauna and flora.

\textsuperscript{184} Στο μετάφορο του άπαιτη ειδούς που τύφλωνε, σαν να ήταν μέσα από κάποιο αόριστο διόρομα μελισσοπιστών, δίνεται, από το “χτήμα” αποστάλματος στους πάντες η Ίθακή του. Μακρινή, αγέροχη, όστραχη λαμποκοπούλια, όμορφη, παράξενη, ύστερα απ’ τη μνήμη.

\textsuperscript{185} Πόσο απ’ την αφορητή καμάρα της θάλασσας, εκεί που εκπεμπόταν τα χλοροπούλια και τα κάκτια, βρίσκονταν κατακόκκινος ο ήλιος. Η Ίθακή, η θάλασσα, το πέλαγος πνίγονταν στο αίμα... Πόσο μακριά είναι η Ίθακή!

\textsuperscript{186} ...από το Δημαρχείο μέχρι το σταθμό του ήξεραν όλοι, ακόμα και τα καταστήματα είχαν μάθει τα τραγούδια του, είχαν χαρεί την ελληνική λεπτομέρεια του και δεν ήταν ανάγκη πια να χάνει τον καιρό του.

\textsuperscript{187} Γιακουμής ο Χτικός απ’ την Πάνου Λάκκα της Πρέβεζας
Greece also appears in its mythological dimension with constant referring to Ithaca and Odysseus, thus, reminding the reader of the persisting desire of the main character to return to his birthplace.

The diaspora-Australia indicator is also evident in the story-lines presenting a contrast to Greece. Aspects of Melbourne such as Brunswick Street in Fitzroy and the Greek community are inter-tangled featuring the multicultural character of Australia. Furthermore, the Greek community is a representation of the Greek collective and diasporic identity. “Yiakounis spent most evenings by himself in an old double-storey house in a poor neighbourhood in Brunswick Street. Until he returned to the homeland he didn’t want, as he, himself, said, any outings and fun. It was as if he was in mourning; although Brunswick Street was in the heart of the Greek Community, just two kilometres from the centre of Melbourne”\textsuperscript{189}.

The religiosity identity indicator is shown where a priest is brought to give blessings to Yiakoumis who is ill in hospital. The prayers of Yiakoumis’ friends also reflect religiousness as a norm in difficult times of the migrants’ lives. The statement which the main character says at the moment when he finally finds the radio station which broadcasts the Greek program “My Virgin Mary, may my hand be cut off”\textsuperscript{190} denotes religiosity and culture through a language proverb.

The language identity indicator is clearly evident in the text with the demotic Greek language used throughout. Proverbs and metaphors appear frequently indicating a rich tradition expressed through the language. Some of these are the following: “As long as your stomach is full, and wherever you are it is still a homeland”\textsuperscript{191}; he sang so that “the barbarian areas would be tamed”\textsuperscript{192}; if he won the lotto “he would have enough money for the hens to eat as well”\textsuperscript{193}; “God helped in that everything worked for him”\textsuperscript{194}. This last saying also shows religiosity denoting faith in God by the main character.

\textsuperscript{188} Σηο λιχρηεο πνπ είλαη γεκάην ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάξ ην θεγγάς

\textsuperscript{189} Ο Γηαθνπκήο ... ηα πεξηζζφηεξα βξάδηα ηα πεξλνχζε κφλνο ηνπ ζην δσκάηηφ ηνπ πνπ βξηζθφηαλ ζ” έλα παιηφ δηψξνθν ζπίηη ζε κηα θησρνγεηηνληά ζην Μπξάλζγνπηθ ΢ηξεη. Μέρξη λα μαλαγπξίζεη ζηελ παηξίδα δελ ήζειε, έιεγε, εξόδους και γλέντα. Ήηαν, μαθες, ζα να πενθδεηε. Κι ας ήηαν ηο Μπξάλζγνπηθ ΢ηξεη ζηελ χπλν ηεο Διιελ ηθήο παξνηθίαο, κφλν δπν ρηιηφκεηξα απ” ην θέληξν ηεο Μειβνχξλεο.

\textsuperscript{190} Παλαγία κνπ λα κνπ θνπεί ην ρέξη αλ ην θνπλήζσ

\textsuperscript{191} Σσ ηα ζηνκάρη ζνπ λα είλαη γεκάην, θη φπνπ θη αλ είζαη παηξίδα είλαη.

\textsuperscript{192} οι βάξβαξεο κεξηέο λα κεξψζνπλ

\textsuperscript{193} θα είε ιεθηά λα θάλε θαη νη θφηεο

\textsuperscript{194} το τα άφερε ο θεός δεξιά
The *culture* identity indicator is used a few times. Thus, when Yiakoumis managed to find the radio station with the Greek program he danced a “tsamiko” to express his excitement and joy. Dancing is also performed when Yiakoumis’ friends are gathered at his apartment after listening to the Greek program on radio.

The *national symbols* identity indicator is portrayed in the scene where Yiakoumis sings the *Greek national anthem* and the patriotic song “*Goodbye poor world*”\(^{195}\) in some areas of the factory where he works. The main character’s Greek army costume and the patriotic songs sung by him are also symbols of the national character of Greece.

Greek identity is also clearly shown in the name of the café “Ethniko”, meaning “ethnic”, where the early Greek men were often found socializing with their fellow Greek-men, talking about their homeland and welcoming new arrivals. Ethnic identity is well depicted here.

### 5.3.2.5 Concluding statements

Piperis in his story has presented a very strong form of Greek identity in its diasporic and transnational contexts. The diasporic notion of identity is shown in the Greek community of Melbourne and the Greek populated suburb of Fitzroy. It is also reflected in the main character who remains strong in the Greek ideals and behaves solely in a typical Greek way, throughout the story.

Greece is present in almost every line of the story with constant reference to *Ithaki* which constitutes a symbol of return. Additional reference to Odysseus empowers the main character to adopt a role of a driving force back home. The plethora of identities in this short story makes it a significant sample of diasporic Greek literature representative of the documented writings of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s.

Sadly, the main character does not fulfill his dream of return which he so much longed for as he is struck down by mental illness. Identity is presented as marginalized where the main character is shown to be withdrawn from the rest of society as well as from his own community. In this context this migrant is suffering isolation, loneliness, and depression, all of which are symptoms experienced by many other first-generation migrants.

Finally, the transnational identity which is depicted in the Greek language radio program adds a note of continuity of the Greek identity in Australia, denoting an optimistic future for the Greek presence in this part of the world.
5.4 Third period - From Twilight to New Dawn: 1978 – 2001 - Shifting Identities

5.4.1 Alpha kai Veta [Alpha and Veta-The First and Second (Generations)]

5.4.1.1 About the short story

Katsaros’ short story ‘Alpha and Veta, The First and Second (Generations)’ is one of eight short stories in the collection ‘Algidones [Ailments]’. It is a rather lengthy story of about fifteen pages and is narrated in the first person. It is written in simple demotic Greek with a mild sense of humour in some scenes and a sharp tone. These, together with some idioms, lighten the seriousness of the arguments between the characters, making the narration pleasant and easy to follow. The story is about the clash between first-generation parents and their second-generation children. Although written by a male, the story is told through the mouth of a female character, the daughter of a first-generation migrant couple, namely Veta. A dynamic dialogue is used to describe the events and to emphasize the importance of the issues being presented. The issue of identity is vividly portrayed throughout the story, mainly from the point of view of the second-generation Greek girl. A number of contrasts are also used in order to highlight the difference between concepts. For example, the ‘first’ generation is referred to by the young girl as ‘yesterday’, while the ‘second’ generation, represented by the girl herself, is identified as ‘today’- “You are the ‘present’ and I am the ‘past’” (p. 41).

5.4.1.2 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting

The story is set in suburban Melbourne. The first scene is set in the family home where young Veta is arguing with her parents, the matter being the fact that she has fallen in love with an Australian young man. There is palpable tension in the atmosphere as they exchange upsetting words which hurt their feelings. Several flashbacks unveil parts of the girl’s childhood regarding her perception of identity. The first flashback unveils events which took place when Veta first attended school where she was challenged with problems of coping and adjusting

\[195 \text{Έρε γενά κατάμαχε κόσμε} \]

\[196 \text{Katsaros’ short story “I Alpha kai I Vita [The First and Second (Generations)] was published in Katsaros, G. (2001). Algidones, Diigimata [Ailments, Short Stories], Melbourne: Dionysos Books, pp. 29-45.} \]
into the mainstream school system. It was then that after her teacher’s comments on her Greek-background and her obligation to behave as an Australian, she began to feel the dualistic notion of her identity. The second flashback is about Veta traveling in a train where she meets an elderly Greek woman who appears to be grieving for her son who took his own life as a result of a love relationship which his parents did not consent to. In the fourth scene, inspired by the story of the old lady, Veta announces to her family that she is going on a trip to Greece, a decision which makes her parents feel over-delighted, as they hope that this trip will make her forget her boyfriend. In the sixth scene Veta meets her grandmother and discovers her cultural roots. In the seventh scene Veta is back to Australia and re-announces to her parents her plan to marry John, which they oppose strongly. Veta marries John and moves to Sydney with him. Finally, in the eighth scene Veta returns home to see her ill mother who is dying in hospital. In the epilogue of the story the family reunites and mother forgives Veta as she hugs her grandson for the first and final time.

**Characters**

There are three main characters in the story, thus, the father, the mother and their only daughter ‘Veta’. Veta has finished university, thus, she is in her mid-twenties, and has also been on a trip to Greece. The name Veta happens to be the second letter of the Greek alphabet, representing the second generation, whilst “Alpha” represents the first generation, the parents in this case. The ‘grandmother’ in Greece is also introduced, marking the importance of her to the younger generation. John, Veta’s boyfriend and later husband, as well as the young grandson are also introduced towards the end.

**Themes**

The main theme of the story is Greek-Australian identity. It emerges mainly through a family dispute over the protagonist’s decision to marry an Anglo-Saxon husband. The girls’ parents are said to have raised their daughter according to their traditional customary and religious beliefs, thus, within a strict Greek culture and Greek-Orthodox environment. Family is a central concept in the story and adherence to the Greek way of life is considered a tradition. However, a second-generation child who also grows up within the wider Australian society adopts a new set of characteristics which often are against the parents’ wishes and expectations. The family bond between members of the family is well illustrated, as well as the generosity of parents to their children.
Finally, the strong rejection of anything non-Greek and the disapproval of mixed marriages by the first-generation Greek migrants are fine examples of the migrant experience. The rigid ideas of the migrant parents regarding the marriage of their Australian-born children with non-Greeks are perhaps the main intention of the writer. The thought of their children remaining in the new land causes them to become firmer in their nationalistic beliefs and this also leads them to extreme behaviours, such as the rejection of their own children. This, in turn, reflects a strong attachment of the first-generation Greek parents to their cultural roots and their ultimate wish for return to their homeland.

5.4.1.3 Summary of the plot

‘Veta’ announces to her parents that she is in love with an Australian Catholic young man. Both parents object to this decision and strongly try to persuade their daughter to consider the differences between the two and change her mind. The discussion leads to a serious argument where the parents become hysterical about the issue, while Veta stresses that neither language, nor religion or culture can stop her from being in love with someone. “I love him and I want to live with him’...From there on, the discussion was indescribable. What was said was a result of hysteria. Father was breaking glasses and mother was screaming”\textsuperscript{197}. Mother was crying “Oh, what a disaster has come of us! What sort of a son-in-law will we talk with....!’\textsuperscript{198}.

Veta reflects on her previously harmonious relationship with her parents. She appreciates her parents’ efforts to provide her with the best possible education and a good life. However, “they were building my future the way they wanted it themselves, the way they liked it, the way that suited them. They wanted me, when the time came, to marry someone they chose for me...someone who would be Greek and Orthodox Christian. But most importantly, Orthodox.”\textsuperscript{199}. They had not realized that she was growing within a linguistically and culturally different environment, among children and teachers of other races. “They thought that what they provided me was enough to see me becoming the type of person they wanted me to be. They believed that sending me to Greek school on Saturdays and to Sunday on

\textsuperscript{197} Εγώ τον αγαπώ και θέλω να ζήσω μαζί του. Και δεν μου είναι κανένα εμπόδιο ούτε η γλώσσα, ούτε η θρησκεία, ούτε η κουλτούρα.

\textsuperscript{198} Αχ, τι κακό που μας βρήκε! Και με τι γαμπρό να μιλήσουμε εμείς...! φόναζε και ξαναφόναζε.

\textsuperscript{199} Έκτιζαν το μέλλον μου τέτοιο που το ήθελαν αυτοί, όπως τους άρεσε, όπως τους βόλευε. Ήθελαν να πάρω, σαν ερχόταν η άρα, ένα παιδί που θα μου διάλεγαν αυτό. Απαραίτητες προϋποθέσεις: να είναι Έλληνας, μορφωμένος και χριστιανός Ορθόδοξος. Προ παντός Ορθόδοξος.
Sundays listening to psalms that I never understood I would become a purely Greek girl and Orthodox Christian, according to the ideals of Greek civilization, as they pondered.  

In her reflections, Veta recalls her high school years when identity was an important preoccupation of her intellectual thinking. When she asked her father “Dad, do you see Australia as your homeland?”, his response was vague but definite “Australia for me is like her cars, the ones we make every day at General Motors. It is as much a homeland for me as are those cars. I enjoy her beauty as much as I enjoy the cars. By making the cars, we “built” Australia”. This conversation reveals that Australia for Veta’s parents (who represent most of the first-generation migrants) is simply a “second” homeland, just like a “step-mother”. “My parents never saw [this country] as their own. They loved it, they enjoyed, it, they honoured it, but they didn’t accept it as their homeland.” In regards to the second-generation persons, according to Veta’s father “Australia is as much a country to you as the car I make is for the buyers. We, the elders, we make it [Australia] beautiful so that you can enjoy it, have it. It belongs to you”.  

Veta wonders how her parents’ homeland belongs to her and asks her father “how does your country belong to us?”, “us” in this context referring to the second generation. Her father’s answer is firm and decisive “my homeland will be yours the same way as this house will be passed over to you upon my death”. To her response that she does not know her parents’ country, her father adds “you will inherit it whether you like it or not, just as you will inherit anything else that belongs to me, whether you like it or not. You cannot say ‘no’”. These words are the beginning of a long lecture about his perception of Greece as a homeland to his daughter. “That is why I have, since you were born, kept yelling that you are a Greek girl! A Greek girl! You might not like it but it is your duty to accept it the same way as you will accept my estates”. So, Veta accepts that she has a homeland that is passed on to her by

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200 Πίστεψαν πως με το να με στέλλουν κάθε Σάββατο στο Ελληνικό σχολείο και την Κυριακή στην Εκκλησία, όπου άκουγα έναν παπά και δύο γυναίκες να κηλουούν τις ώρες χωρίς να καταλάβαινα γιατί, θα μ’έκανα γνήσια ελληνίδα και ορθόδοξη χριστιανή, γαλούντας για τα νάματα του ελληνοχριστιανικού πολιτισμού.  

201 Η Αυστραλία για μένα είναι σαν τα κάλα της General motors που κάνω κάθε μέρα. Όσο δικά μου είναι εκείνα τόσο είναι πατρίδα μου κι αυτή. Και όπως πάλι χάριζα την ομορφιά τους, έτσι χάριζα και την ομορφιά της, την ίδια την Αυστραλία.  

202 Οι γονείς μου ποτέ δεν την είδαν για πατρίδα τους ... Την αγαπούσαν, την χαιρόταν, την τιμούσαν, όχι όμως να τη δεχτούν και για πατρίδα τους. Δεότερη πατρίδα να! Μητριά να! Τίποτα παραπάνω.  

203 Εμείς οι μεγάλες την κόντουμο όμορφη για σας, να τη χαιρέστε εσείς, να την έχετε δική σας. Σε σας ανήκει.  

204 Λοιπόν, όπως θα κληρονομήσεις οτιδήποτε δικό μου, έτσι θα κληρονομήσεις και την πατρίδα μου. Θέλεις δε θέλεις. Όχι δεν μπορείς να πες.  

205 Γι αυτό, από τότε που γνώριζα «Είσαι Ελληνίδα! Είσαι Ελληνίδα! Μπορεί να μη σ’ αρέσει, αλλά χρειάζεσαι να είναι να το δεχτείς, όπως μ’ευχαριστηθής θα δεχτείς και την περιουσία μου.  

176
Veta realizes now that she has been growing up not only according to her parents’ beliefs and traditional ideas but also within a society where her parents had no control. She acknowledges this to be her “drama”, a dilemma which had been dichotomizing her inner self into two different personalities which she has to come to terms with. When she first went to school she was a purely Greek girl and the school environment was a completely different one to her family environment. She remembers the incident with her teacher saying “You are Australian children” when she stood up and said that she is Greek. The teachers’ comments that she was an ‘Australian child’ with ‘Greek’ origins made her very confused. From then on she pretended that she was “Australian” but to her father’s objection who insisted “You are Greek”. Since then, Veta was “Greek in [her] home environment and Australian in the outside world”, with numerous questions arising as to her identity.

Later, she was confronted with racist names such as ‘wog’ which made her not want to hear the word ‘Greek’ again. As a result, she began to hate the Greek part of herself and become fonder with her Australian character. The more she behaved as an Australian, however, the more she was rejected by her Australian counterparts until she was really confused and felt like she was the victim of the conflict between her two worlds. She was always confronted with the question of “What am I?”.

Her views about identity were fully shaped during her tertiary studies, and she felt happier than ever before. All was going well until the moment when she announced to her parents that she had met John, an Australian young man. They objected to this by saying that John was “non-Greek”, a stranger, a non-Orthodox. “With a stranger? And who are we going to speak with? How are we going to understand each other? How are we going to celebrate Easter together?”

In another serious argument with her parents, Veta almost came to the decision to choose between her parents and the man she was in love with. Their relationship had reached its worst and Veta began having suicidal thoughts. Until one day when Veta met an old Greek lady in the train who had just lost her son recently as a result of a suicide, the reason being

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206 Δίκαη Διιελίδα. Έρσ παηξίδα ... στη φαντασία μου.
207 ...στο σπίτι ήμων Ελληνίδα και έξω Αυστραλέξα, ενώ μέσα μου τα ερωτήματα όλο και φούντωναν.
208 Με ξένον (θα παντρευτείς); Και με ποιον θα μιλήσουμε εμείς; Και πώς θα συνεννοηθούμε; Και πώς θα γιορτάσουμε μαζί το Πάσχα;
that he was in love with a non-Greek girl whom his parents did not approve. Following this, she decided on this trip herself. In this way, she would re-assess her relationship with John and start her life afresh. Her parents were more than delighted in this decision.

Her impressions of Greece were positive, although she discovered the negative aspects as well. Most importantly she found her roots; she fell in love with the landscape, the climate, and the classical monuments. She also met her grandmother who instilled in her a pride for her Hellenic background through the narration of myths regarding the Greek ancient gods. “People had an obligation to stay and die in their birthplace” was the grandmother’s final statement. Veta was also able to understand the difference between Greeks living in Greece and Greeks living abroad. She could see how her grandmother was “a free person by living in Greece and eventually passing into immortality”, while she, an ordinary human being, was sentenced to live in Melbourne with all the comforts of modern life but always fearful of eternal death and therefore unable to follow her own dreams.

On her return to Australia, Veta announces to her parents that she still loves John and urges them to accept him as their future son-in-law. This stirs up another argument which this time is very intense. Her mother walks away and locks herself in her room, her father gets very angry and then the two of them, father and daughter, have a discussion about the generation gap. This reveals aspects of concern about the cultural roots passed from one generation to the next, the permanency of residence of first and second generation persons, and the perception of first-generation migrants that their stay in Australia is only temporary. Veta appears to be the sensible second-generation child who knows her destination and her father, finally, accepts that his daughter cannot follow his own way of thinking.

Veta, although disheartened by her mother’s stubbornness, marries John and moves to Sydney to live for three years. Her letters to her parents receive no reply. When her father calls to say that her mother is seriously ill in hospital, Veta comes home with her husband and young son to be by her mother’s side. Her mother, however, continues to deny her while Veta is begging her for forgiveness as she reminds her that all humans are under the care of God and that ethnicity does not make one less human than another. Finally, the two of them find themselves hugging each other and Mother accepts her son-in-law and her grandson. With remorse she blames “those who did not let us stay and live in our own country”209, implying that they would perhaps be happier in their own country.

209 Υ δυστυχία της ζωής μου (φταίει) ... εκείνοι που δεν μας άφησαν να ζήσουμε στον τόπο μας.
The final words of the story create an emotional climax, with mother hugging her grandson as she weeps with joy. The grandson’s words “Grandma, my mother says that I am Greek” express the continuity of identity through the generations. Similarly, mother’s final words “My boy, my Greek boy!” expressed at the moment when she was dying, intensify the Greek parents’ wish to pass on to their children their ethnic and cultural identity.

5.4.1.4 Analysis of the notions of identity through the use of ‘identity indicators’

Katsaros’ story is all about the question of migrant identity, mainly the phenomenon of the co-existence of first-generation and second-generation Greek identity in Australia. Several notions of identity are presented throughout the story, namely: conflicting identities, negotiated identities, transplanted, diasporic and transnational identities. Veta, representing second-generation persons, although adhering to her family traditional way of life and staying attached to her cultural roots, wants to have a rather modern and cosmopolitan life-style. Veta’s parents, representing first-generation Greek migrants, had been forced to leave their country due to adversity and post-war conditions. Their ultimate dream is to be able to return to their homeland one day. Realizing that this might not happen, they seek ways to keep their children close to their traditions and customs ignoring the fact that these children are trapped between the two worlds, the Greek family and the mainstream Australian society. This story highlights the phenomenon of children are exposed to dilemmas regarding their identity, raising questions of bilingualism, inter-marriage, the generation-gap, the clash of identities and establishing a life in the new land.

Veta’s insecurity as a child of migrants who is caught between two cultures presents a situation where the two identities, the Greek and the Greek-Australian, appear to conflict, whilst at the same time this phenomenon can also be regarded as a “dichotomy of identity”. There are many examples where Greek Australian identity is present in the story, such as Veta’s reflection: “My teacher was right when she said: You are an Australian child”. This forces her to negotiate her identity as she tries to be both Greek and Australian, depending on the situation, For example, “with time, I began to pretend that I was an Australian”, in contrast to her father insistence “You are a Greek”, and therefore “I stopped arguing and

210 Γηαγηά, ε κακά ιέε η εγψ είκαη Γθξήεθ!
211 Αγνξάθη κνπ, Έιιελά κνπ εζχ!
212 Όμως ‘πεο το πεο το το κοπέλι...’ με τον καιρό άρχια κι εγψ να προσποιούμαι την Απζηξαιέδα.
213 Είσαι Ελληνίδα!
from then on, at home I was a ‘Greek’ and outside ‘an Australian’, as more and more questions on identity were born in me.\textsuperscript{214}

The identity indicators model enables us to identify a series of Greek identity characteristics represented by the nominated indicators. These are the following: The ‘place’ indicator is evident in the discussions between the second-generation daughter and her parents each time they argue about their cultural background. Katsaros also portrays ‘Greece’ in its landscape and mythological dimensions through the conversations between Veta and her grandmother. Greece is also implied in Veta’s statement that “she is a Greek girl who adores Greece which has been up until then a rather abstract idea in her subconscious. However, when she visits her place of ancestry that is when she discovers her Hellenic roots and learns about Greece’s classical civilization. Greek mythology is centered on the twelve gods whose names have been given to planets in our solar system, according to yiayia (grandmother). ‘Diaspora-Australia’ being another aspect of the ‘place’ indicator, is evident throughout the story. For example: in the parts where Father refers to his ‘General Motors’ workplace, and in Veta’s claim that when she started English school she was just a ‘Greek girl’. However, the contrast between the two countries forms a dynamic connection of Veta with Greece “In my imagination, this unknown motherland [Greece] has taken new dimensions, very different to those of Australia”.\textsuperscript{215}

The ‘core values’ indicator enables some of the Greek values to be revealed, such as the ‘pride’ for the Greek felt by Veta while in Greece. Love and respect of one’s own land is also well illustrated. Yiayia’s statement that “Greeks owe to live and die here, in their place of ancestry, for their place of ancestry, so that they can become immortal like gods” is a fine example.\textsuperscript{216} Here, another notion of identity is also shown, that of rejected persons who leave their homeland as a result of not being fully accepted by their own society. Yiayia confirms that people and gods in Greece come into an agreement that they (the people) would stay and look after the land. “It is the agreement that the gods have made with Greeks when they chose them to be their successors”.\textsuperscript{217} However, “it is the poverty of the land that chase the Greeks

\textsuperscript{214} Λοφάζω και το εξής στο σπίτι ήμουν Ελληνίδα και έξω Αυστραλέζια, ενώ μέσα και τα ερωτήματα όλο φούντωναν.

\textsuperscript{215} Στη φωνή μου η άγνωστη αυτή πατρίδα έπαιρνε άλλες διαστάσεις, πολύ διαφορετικές απ' ό,τι ήταν η Αυστραλία.

\textsuperscript{216} Χροστάν οι Έλληνες [...] να ζήσουν και να πεθάνουν εδώ στον τόπο τους, για τον τόπο τους, για να γίνουν και αυτοί αδιάνατοι στον θεό.

\textsuperscript{217} Είναι η συμφωνία που έκαμαν οι θεοί με τους Έλληνες όταν τους διαλέξαν για διαδόχους τους.
away to foreign places, but this agreement pulls them back, because it is only through this place that they can become immortal!”.218

‘The ‘religiosity’ indicator is used to identify aspects of Greek Orthodoxy; these are shown in the dialogue of Veta with her parents when she announces her relationship with someone who is not Greek Orthodox, but a Catholic instead. Both parents insist that their daughter marry someone who is a Greek Orthodox. This attitude denotes that Greek identity for most Greek migrants is intertwined with the Greek Orthodox religion.

Finally, the ‘family formation’ indicator highlights the bond between the family members. Grandmother plays an important role in the Greek family; however, in this case she is in Greece. So, the writer takes Veta there to meet her and to explore her cultural roots through her. This migrant family is characterized by a commitment by the parents to provide their daughter with a good education and upbringing. The relationship between parents and child is shown to break down when the daughter falls in love with an Australian man. This, in turn, reflects the over-protection that the parents provide to the child, which in this case causes damage to the family connectivity. However, at the end of the story the family bond strengthens again as Mother, who is now dying, finally reconciles with her daughter and is finally able to hug her young grandson for the first time.

Diasporic identity emerges in its duality in this story. A transnational tone is also added with the visit of the second-generation girl to her roots back in Greece, and the meeting with the grandmother living there.

5.4.1.5 Concluding statements

This short story illustrates the relationship between the first-generation migrants with the second-generation children. The second generation is shown to directly be involved in matters concerning the future of young Greek-Australians. It has been shown that the expectations of the parents cannot always be realized as the children’s lives are sometimes contrary to that of the parents.

The story presents Greek identity from the perspective of a young Greek-Australian girl who, although respecting her parents’ cultural ideals, is faced with the dilemma of having to choose between her parents and her boyfriend. The family objects to the marriage basing their arguments on the difference in language, religion and ethnicity. Inter-marriage in the era of

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218 Είναι η φτώχια αυτού του τόπου που διώχνει τους Έλληνες σε ξένη μέρη, αλλά και αυτή η συμφωνία είναι
this story is not wel-accepted. Religion is also shown to be a major factor of parent-child disagreement. Parents appear to forcefully enforce on their children the Greek cultural identity.

It is concluded that for second-generation persons Greece remains an abstract idea which can be appreciated when the young Greek-Australians visit their country of origin. Greek parents are also shown to gradually understand their Australian born children and respect their preferences and decisions. Finally, these migrants accept the fact that they are now permanently living in the new land.

5.4.1 To Tracter [The Tractor] by Dionysia Mousoura-Tsoukala

5.4.1.1 About the short story

Mousoura-Tsoukala’s short story “To trakter [The tractor]” presents a range of life experiences and messages relevant to Greek persons of both the diaspora and Greece in a condensed style. It gives a detailed view of a Greek migrant family’s struggle in Australia to survive, establish a home, and, at the same time, remain focused on their dream of return to the homeland. This dream is symbolically represented through ‘the tractor’, as also shown in the title of the story. The uniqueness of this story lies in the realization of the family’s return even though this happens under different and unpredictable circumstances.

The short story is written in the first person from a man’s point of view as he reflects on past experiences concerning his family, which consists of himself, his wife and their only son. It is a rather long story of about ten pages and written in the simple demotic language in an easy to follow narrative style. The writer, through the narrator, uses a range of images from the recent past, such as the death of the man’s wife, interwoven with other images from the far past, including World War II and the Greek Civil War concerning their homeland, followed by the family’s emigration to Australia. The facts presented in the text indicate that the short story was written at a time close to its publication, the year 2000, although set in the late sixties.

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5.4.1.2 Setting, characters, and themes

Setting

Although Mousoura-Tsoukala’s stories concerning life in the homeland are usually set in her personal birthplace, the island of Zakynthos, this particular story refers to a family originating from the northern region of Greece, the province of Macedonia. The setting begins with a scene in the family’s ancestral village outside Thessaloniki, where Vassilis gazes at the fields filled with wildflowers in the heart of Spring. “It is April-May, with all its smells and flowers. With the northern winds embracing Thermaikos Bay and caressing the beautiful North (of Greece) all over”220. Vassilis overflows with mixed emotions: anger, regret, sadness, disappointment, frustration, relief. He is thinking about his wife and takes on a spiritual conversation with her about the life they lived together in Australia. The atmosphere is peaceful, relaxing and as the monologue progresses, it becomes increasingly emotional. Some of the ideas appearing to be complex at the beginning of the story become clearer towards the end. The largest part of the setting is Melbourne, through a flashback, where the family lived for all their migrant life. The story unwinds like a movie covering the family’s life from the day they disembarked in Australia until the day Yiannoula died. Finally, the setting returns to the village in Greece, with Vassilis concluding the narration and expressing his view about the days to come.

Characters

The central character is Vassilis who is also the narrator. He appears to be a middle-aged to a mature-aged man. His wife sometimes called him by his nickname Vasos, or Vasakis. The story is written in the first person allowing the main character to reveal his inner world and share issues and concerns with the reader about past experiences, present situations and future dreams. Thus, everything that the reader becomes informed of in the story comes through Vassilis’ words.

Yiannoula, Vassilis’ wife, died of breast cancer in Australia. She is described by her husband to have been beautiful with long hair, and a devoted wife and mother. She usually did not care about herself, nor did she ask for anything; she sacrificed herself for the family. With her inspiration and perseverance, Yiannoula was the source of courage and strength for Vassilis who feels lucky to have had such a good and able wife. She was the one who kept the family’s dream alive, thus, to sustain their financial and emotional energy in order to save

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220 Απριλίου, και Μαΐου με όλες τις μυρωδιές και τα λουλούδια του. Με τα μελτέμια και τα μπορώνια του ν’ αγκαλιάζει το Θερμαϊκό και να χαιτίζουν απ’ άκρη σ’ άκρη τον όμορφο Βορρά...
enough money to be able to actualize their return to their ancestral village, and there, to buy a tractor and work their land. The couple appears to have lived happily together, although life was often too harsh on them.

Yannakis is the couple’s son, who at the time of his parents’ migration to Australia was only one and a half years old. Having spent his early years in a solely Greek speaking environment, when he first went to school he could only speak Greek and he was frightened of school. His inability to communicate in English caused him embarrassment, which, together with other negative experiences, influenced him psychologically in that he grew up to hate school. For this reason he did not succeed academically, but he learnt a trade and became a plumber, “earning good money”. According to his father, he is a hardworking and honest person. Yannakis is in love with Anna, their Italian neighbours’ daughter, whom he has known since childhood.

A few other characters are also mentioned throughout the narration but they are silent. Such characters are kyra-Smaro from their village, who encouraged Yiannoula not to be afraid of the long sea journey to Australia; also mentioned are some other people aboard the ship along the voyage, and others who shared the same house with Vassilis and Yiannoula in their early settlement period.

**Themes**

There are many themes in this story related to diasporic and transnational identities. The main theme is the struggle of a young migrant family emigrating to Australia with the dream of earning enough money to return home and buy a tractor which they need in order to be able to cultivate their land. Other themes include: 1) the bad conditions caused by war which forced large numbers of Greek people to emigrate to other lands; 2) the long and dangerous journey to Australia by sea; 3) the difficult moments migrants experienced during the mass migration period regarding housing and settlement, e.g. sharing a house and facilities; 4) working patterns concerning migrant families with one spouse working day-shift and the other night-shift in order to be able to look after their young children; 5) the attempt by migrants to purchase their first house as an indication of settlement but at the same time a risky effort as they are not aware of the terms and conditions of bank repayments; 6) the erosive effect of time on migrants staying focused on their initial dream of return and who instead begin to adjust, and in a way, integrate into the host society, until they realize that it is impossible for them to go back; 7) the occasions of serious illnesses which had a detrimental effect on the survival of a family, and in some cases leading to death; 8) intermarriage among Greek and
non-Greek second-generation persons; 9) the taking over by relatives of land owned by migrants in the homeland; 10) the appalling way in which returning migrants are treated by the local people in the homeland; 11) the decision to transfer the remains of a loved person and bury them in the homeland as it was their foremost wish; 12) the decision to visit the homeland every few years and spend time there as a negotiated pathway of balancing life ‘here’ and ‘there’; 13) the carrying out and fulfilment of goals by the second-generation children set by their first-generation parents.

5.4.1.3 Summary of the plot

Vassilis, a Greek migrant who lived in Australia for over twenty five years, has returned with his son Yiannakis to their ancestral village in Northern Greece, near Thessaloniki. Their return is to pay tribute to Yiannoula, Vassilis’ wife, who died of breast cancer and is buried in Melbourne and whose wish was for the family to return home one day. There, they would buy a tractor for their land, grow crops and live happily. The story begins with Vassilis standing in the colourful field in front of their house in Greece, which was Yiannoula’s dowry from her parents. There, in the middle of this field, he reflects on his life from his childhood days until the present.

Vassilis remembers that his father wanted him to work the land, although he himself wanted to be able to at least read and write, and so he held on to any kind of printed paper he came across, hid it and later read it secretly. He continued to self-educate himself even in his adult years. The land, some of which he inherited from his parents too, needed to be cultivated, and this required hands but Vassilis and Yiannoula could not afford to employ workers, and they wished they owned a tractor to work the land. This was the reason why they decided to emigrate to Australia. This was their aim. Then they would return home.

Vassilis then recollects memories from the bitter past, with his father vanishing in Albania during the war and his mother also dying in the Civil War. He then remembers the day when, despite Yiannoula’s objections, they embarked on the Πατρίς [Patris], the ship which took them to Australia, “the land of prosperity”. He recalls the long and difficult journey aboard where they experienced things which they could not understand as they knew nothing about sea life. Once they arrived in Melbourne they lived in Moonee Ponds. Their first housing experience was at a crowded house in which they rented a room and shared the rest of the house with other migrants. The narrator describes this experience as a very intense and memorable time where everything was shared causing confusion, frustration and often
arguments among the tenants about the fair usage of the kitchen and bathroom facilities. An aspect of the migrants’ entertainment at the time is also presented through watching wrestling on television every Sunday, where the famous wrestlers Spiros Arion and Mario Milano were the favorites among the migrants.

Another pleasurable aspect of the migrant life in Melbourne is the visit to the Victoria Market where Greek migrants could find everything they wished for, all those things they were deprived of in Greece (meat, fish, cheese, fresh vegetables), while at the same time they would reflect on their poverty years in Greece, considering themselves very lucky to be in Australia. On those visits to market they would bring back home a paper bag full of ‘fish and chips’ and enjoy sharing them with the rest of the tenants and the owners as well. During those moments they would talk about the homeland and compare the dollar to the Greek drachma so that they would be able to estimate what their wages were equivalent to in Greek currency. This would mean that they were feeling privileged to be earning ‘such good money’, including overtime and bonus payments, and calculating how much they would have in the bank. The sooner they saved the amount of money they aimed for, the quicker they would be able to actualize their return to the homeland. Those migrants avoided buying any new furniture or electrical appliances because their plan was to return home soon. If anyone decided to buy a television set the only brand they would select was ‘Phillips’ because they believed that this was the only suitable type that would function in Greece.

In those early years Vassilis worked day-shift in ‘Dunlop’, a car-tyre factory, and Yiannoula did night-shift in Crosby, a shoe factory. Yiannakis had started school but he felt frustrated and unhappy because he did not know the English language. His treatment by the teacher and the teasing by the other children at times of embarrassment were the reasons he came to hate school. So, he did not achieve academically and became a plumber. The family changed three houses in six months as having a little child was not favored by the landlords. The family then decided to buy their own house with a mortgage from a bank, rather than keep renting. They saw this as the best solution and planned to sell it later, pay the balance of the loan to the bank and use the remaining amount to pay for their tickets and return home where they would fulfill their dream. However, when they decided to check with the bank after a few years, they discovered they owed more than they had borrowed. They were disheartened and terribly disappointed but Yiannoula encouraged Vassilis to persist in their goal and follow their dream. They were even hoping for Yiannakis to marry the daughter of one of Yiannoulas’

221 ηε γη της Επαγγελίας
friends back in the village where they hoped that they would eventually return to live. Vassilis begins to believe that the erosion of time had already drawn them in an assimilatory process which both he and his wife did not want to accept and therefore the ‘tractor’ remained their only hope, the symbol of their return, although this seemed to be moving further and further away.

During those difficult times Yiannoula was diagnosed with breast cancer and she was soon close to death. She tells Vassilis that there is no need for her to be taken to Greece for burial ‘You don’t have to take me to Greece... God is everywhere, and when a person’s soul is clean, the soil is light wherever they are buried... This place is also ours, we worked hard here, we feel for it and it cares for us too, it is alright even here...’222. With these words Yiannoula attempts to convince her husband that it is alright for her to be buried in Australia as this land is also their own; however, the main reason for her decision is that she does not want to incur on her family any additional costs, or because she feels that it is too late to go back. She is also aware of her son’s relationship with the Italian girl and she doesn’t want to be a problem for his future.

Staring at the peach groves that stretch in front of their house in Greece, Vassilis continues his monologue addressed to his dead wife telling her about the unfair handling of their land taken over and now being used by relatives who had never left the country. He feels as though he wants to ride the tractor which he has now purchased and drive it into their stolen land destroying the peach trees that have been planted there by the new owners. "From where I am standing now, on our small piece of land in front of our house, are the bloomed and fragrant peach trees ... they beautify the view and calm the soul, this soul which, as soon as it found out what our relatives have done to us, wanted, out of anger for the injustice done, to get into the field with the tractor and destroy them all".223 However, Vassilis does not really want to harm the trees. He lets his anger subside as he also thinks that at least the family house and the piece of land in front of it have not been taken over. He forgives those who committed an injustice to his family by maintaining that those people might have been in greater need to survive than themselves, as well as the fact that his family was not the only one to suffer such injustice.

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222 ... δεν είναι ανάγκη να με ταξιδέψως στην Ελλάδα... ο Θεός βρίσκεται παντού, κι όταν η ψυχή είναι καθαρή, το χώρο ανάλαφρο όπου κι αν πλακοκάβα ο άνθρωπος... Κι αυτός εδώ τόπος μας είναι, τον ποτίσαμε με τον ιόδρο μας, τον πονάμε και μας πονάει, καλά είναι κι εδώ...

223 “Από δω πού στέκομαι, στο μικρό χωράφι μπροστά στο σπίτι μας απλώνονται μπροστά μου ολόκληρες και μπροστά στοι κράτησες οι ροδακινίδες... ομορφιάζουν την ματιά και γαντσίζουν τη ψυχή, τούτη τη ψυχή που έτρελαμε δια μας σκέφτοντας οι συγγενείς στην απουσία μας, από την οργή και την αγανάκτηση για την αδυνατίστηκε να μπει μέσα με το τρακτέρ και να τις ρημαζεί λόγω εξελιθτου...”
With these thoughts he visualizes the future when he and Yiannakis will be returning to Melbourne. There, Yiannakis will marry Anna, the Italian girl whose parents were always good family friends. According to Vassilis’ words Yiannoula had taken notice of the secret love between her son and Anna while still alive and therefore she tried in every way to bring Anna closer to their traditions and culture. She taught her how to cook special Greek food the way Yiannakis preferred it so that when she would not be around Yiannakis would be in good hands. Vassilis’ greatest disappointment is not mainly the loss of their land but the realization that people in Greece do not accept the migrants returning home. He finds that they have changed. “What hurt me more is that most of the people here look at us with jealousy. People have changed ... or, who knows? They might have always been the same but just look different to us because we have changed...”224.

Finally, Vassilis assures his wife that in Australia Yiannakis is determined to work hard in order to save enough money and then return to the village where he will extend their house and make it into a double-storey one. He will shape the gardens and fence them the way it’s done in Australia and he will bring Yianoula’s remains and bury them in their ancestral land. This will be done so that her soul will be rested in peace: “He will also bring you here as well so that your soul will be rested in your own land, the one where you were born on.”225 Yiannakis will make use of the tractor by cultivating the field in front of the house and plant it with all sorts of flowers that his mother used to like. He will even bring seeds from Australia of flowers that cannot be found in Greece. He hopes that the garden would become like a dream place. Vassilis himself will be there, enjoying sitting at the balcony watching his grandchildren, the beautiful garden, and ‘their tractor’ because Yiannakis plans for them all to be going back every two or three years. As Vassilis finishes his monologue he states that “[the] dream will be followed and achieved by [their] son”: “And our dream will be actualized by our child”226.

5.4.1.4 Analysis of the notions of identity

There are numerous notions of identity in this story. The characters’ lives in Australia are embodied with the diasporic nostalgia and urge for return to the homeland. However, the husband and son eventually decide to live in Australia because this is where they now belong and this is where the son’s future is. Indeed, this is the case for many migrants today who,

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224 Εκείνο που με πλήγωσε περισσότερο όμως είναι που οι περισσότεροι εδώ μας κοιτάνε με μισό μάτι, αλλάζανε οι άνθρωποι Γιαννούλα, αλλάζανε, ή ποιος ξέρει, μπορεί πάντα έτσι να ‘ταν και μας φαίνονται αλλιώτικοι επειδή ίσως αλλάζαμε εμείς...

225 Θα φέρει και σένα λέει να ανακατεύτη η αγαπημένη σου ψυχή στον τόπο σου, στη γη που σε γέννησε...

226 Και το άνειρό σου, το άνειρό μας, θα το συνεχίσει το παιδί μας.
despite their initial goal to leave after a few years, remain in Australia because of the fact that their children and grandchildren live there. So, in their effort to prevent their sons and daughters from becoming ‘migrants’ or feeling ‘strangers’ in their ancestral homeland the first-generation migrants sacrifice themselves by staying in Australia.

Identity is challenged in a variety of contexts. However, the concepts of ethnic, cultural and personal identity are hugely tested in four main dilemmas which constitute important issues in this story: a) the dilemma of actualizing the dream of return under different circumstances as to how it was initially planned, because someone in the family dies and is buried in the foreign land; b) the dilemma of one deciding to live in the foreign land because they have already set roots there, although the initial plan was to return and live in the homeland; c) the dilemma of second-generation young people to live in the country of origin, whilst they have already established relationships in Australia; d) finally, the dilemma in acknowledging, as projected by the protagonist, whether during the long absence from the homeland it is the migrants who have changed or perhaps the locals?

Greek identity is explored through the ‘identity indicators’ model and found in a range of facets. The place –Greece ‘indicator’ is employed intensely and a number of notions of local identity are discovered: a) the reference to the family’s village in Northern Greece, outside Thessaloniki, Thermaikos Bay declares locality; b) the Patris ship which departed from Piraeus and took the migrants to Australia also denotes Greekness through the symbol of ‘Patris’ meaning ‘fatherland’ or homeland’. Greece is also portrayed through the landscape which the main character describes as being at home during spring-time, when nature is at its best.

The diaspora-Australia ‘indicator’ presents Australia as the “lucky country”, where “everything seems easy to achieve, everyone can have a job, people live in harmony despite the different religions, languages and colours, where there is no war or civil war”. All these positive attributes of Australia are highlighted so that a contrast can be made with the conditions in Greece. At this point the writer, through the main character, maintains that the insecurity, poverty and miserable life conditions in Greece forced the “best of the population” to emigrate to other lands in search of a better life. She also postulates that those in control of Greece who stayed behind would have been happy for managing to get rid of so many thousands of young Greeks by sending them away “to be fed” by other nations. Greece, conversely to Australia which is assumed to be a land of wealth, is referred to as ‘Psorokostena’, a term often used by many Greeks to describe their ‘poor country’.
The culture ‘indicator’ is employed on several occasions. The issue of dowry for the girls is mentioned indirectly, stating that Yiannoula had received a house with a piece of land attached to it. Christmas was celebrated aboard the Patris and Christmas carols were sung creating an emotional atmosphere on the ship and bringing tears to everyone’s eyes. Cultural influences are also found in the mother’s attitude towards her non-Greek prospective daughter-in-law introducing her in an indirect way into the Greek cuisine and culture in general. As a result, the mother’s instinct prepares her son’s marriage to the Italian background girl by showing her how to make the traditional ‘pita’ the way her son likes it.

The language identity indicator identifies language characteristics, proverbs and sayings. The case where Yiannoula sings a folk song to her little boy on their journey to Australia “my little Yiannakis has withered, my little Yiannakis has felt the bitterness”\(^\text{227}\) offers a taste of the traditional demotic songs still popular in Greece. Other sayings such as “over and over again”\(^\text{228}\) pinpoint language expressions in casual conversational contexts. The general language of the text presents a rich sample of cultural characteristics of the Greek people and Greece’s landscape.

The family bonds identity indicator is solidly evident throughout the story-lines expressing a strong relationship between husband and wife, and the bond of parents and child. Thus, Yiannoula is portrayed as a focused and devoted wife who admits a loss from the battle with cancer while continuing to give advice and guidance to her husband and son regarding their future. She accepts to be buried in the host country rather than her motherland in order for her husband and son to enjoy the benefits of staying in Australia, considering the difficulties of settling in Greece if they decided to do so.

The religiosity identity indicator identifies instances where migrants realize that it is impossible or hard for them to actualize their return to the beloved homeland and they comfort themselves in the thought that God is everywhere; therefore their souls can be rested in any land. Thus, Orthodoxy is given an ecumenical dimension and a transnational character.

Transnational identity is evident throughout the text and is particularly expressed through the family’s aim to repatriate. The avoidance to buy new furniture and items that they would not be able to take with them back to Greece indicates that they regarded their migration as only temporary. Those who managed to purchase a television chose a Philips brand because this would be the only one to work in Greece, in case they decided to take it back home on their

\(^{227}\) Μαξάζεθε ν Γηαλλάθεο, πηθξάζεθε ν Γηαλλάθεο...

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return, considering that most migrants aimed at going back one day. The constant connection of the main characters’ state of mind with the homeland is enabled through memory and through the symbol of the ‘tractor’. This transnational interchange is also evident from the reverse context; thus, the main character finds himself in Greece after his wife’s death and experiences a similar mental process taking place as he feels emotionally connected to Australia. The fact that the son will move his mother’s remains to the homeland, and also take seeds of native flowers from Australia and plant them in the garden of their family house in Greece, adds a very distinct sense of transnationalism to diasporic identity.

5.4.1.5 Concluding statements

The story provides numerous examples of migrant life in Australia expressed through a wide range of diasporic identities. The erosion of identity is also well illustrated. For example, identity changes from its original powerful composition of strong love, nostalgia, and ‘symbolic’ dream of return to the ancestral homeland, to a passive, accepting, modified, and accommodating identity which develops after many years of living in the new land. Thus, Yiannoula accepts that Australia is now the family’s home, Vassilis is happy to spend his retirement years in both Australia and Greece, and Yiannakis, being a second generation Greek, is going to marry an Italian background girl and live in Australia, although he will often be taking his family to his parents’ ancestral village.

The case of Yiannoula dying of breast cancer is yet another example of the problems faced by many women, including Greek migrant women, which is important to consider in the process of identity discovery. The female Greek migrant identity is thus revealed in its health-social dimension. This issue creates questions of whether many of those migrant women struck down by cancer have been victims of ignorance about prevention, exposure to hazardous jobs, or simply having suffered too many hardships.

Finally, the Greek diasporic and transnational identities are well interlinked as the surviving characters decide to spend time in both the adopted country and the ancestral land. This bipolar identity, swinging between ‘here’ and ‘there’, establishes that even the dead wife’s and mother’s remains can be transported and buried in the homeland. So, in this way the female figure becomes the new symbol of return, replacing the tractor which had been the driving force of repatriation while she was still alive. The concept of return in this context is modified

228 το βιολί, βιολάκι
in that it becomes a series of regular visits or temporary stays. A chain of identities becomes the regulator of the ‘migrant-longing-returnee’ dilemma.
CHAPTER SIX

6. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

The present thesis has examined the diasporic and transnational notions of Greek identity in Australia through the study of Greek literary productions written by Greek Australian writers. The genre chosen to be analysed has been the short story for its richness in themes and issues relating to the migrant experience, portrayed through the characters. The study has focused on the works written throughout the twentieth century, thus during a time span of one hundred years. This period has been examined in three stages, namely, the First Period (1901 – 1951), the Second Period (1952-1977), and the Third Period (1978-2001).

An overview of the literary presence of Greeks in Australia revealed that a corpus of Greek literature has been developed which is characterised by a range of works, including poetry, short stories, theatrical plays, travelogues, novels and other kinds of writing documenting the experiences of Greek migrants in Australia (Kanarakis 1985, 1991², 2003a). These experiences are found to be similar in many ways to Greek migrant life in other parts of the Greek diaspora. All these have had an impact on the original transplanted identity of the early Greek migrants causing it to adopt a mixture of characteristics and become enriched, negotiated, or adapted according to the societal demands and conditions existent at the given times when the literary works were written.

A study of the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism examined the presence of migrant communities around the world, together with the associated concepts of ‘home’, ‘belonging’ and ‘xenitia/exile’. More specifically, it examined the Greek diaspora in Australia, and the transnational connection of this community with the place of origin.

Diaspora, although as a concept it has been around for a long time, did not receive the attention it deserves until only a few decades ago. A term with a Greek origin, diaspora refers to the dispersal of ethnic groups which function as ethnic minorities outside the geographical borders of their corresponding cultural centre. Although an old concept, diaspora has recently taken on new dimensions. While it initially referred to small populations in the Mediterranean area, today it is concerned with the whole world, with every ethnocultural group having its own diaspora (Fishman 2005). The current theories support the existence of a number of types of diasporas. Cohen (1997) refers to five types of diaspora: the Victim, the Labour, the Trade,
the Imperial, and the Cultural diasporas. In terms of the Greek diaspora, Greek geographer Polyzos (1947) states that there have been three main epochs of Greek migration: the agrarian (antiquity), the commercial (Middle-Ages) and the industrial (twentieth century). The general approach to diaspora refers to voluntary or involuntary removal of people from their ‘ancestral’ land.

Modern Greek diaspora is consists of the historical diaspora and the migrant diaspora. The historical diaspora covers the period following the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the end of World War II, while the migrant diaspora was formed between 1890 and the early 1970s. The Greek diaspora of today is estimated to be more than five million persons. In Australia, according to the 2006 Australian Census, it numbers over 365,000 persons. These Greeks are scattered in all states of the continent, with most living in Victoria. A current phenomenon is that of the first-generation numbers steadily diminishing as the Greece-born migrants are passing away each year, with the second- and third-generation persons reluctantly taking the lead in community organisations in an effort to maintain the Greek culture in Australia and pass it onto the newer generations. Some, however, are assimilated due to inter-marriage and other factors.

The Greek presence in Australia emerged in 1829 with seven Greek men from the island of Hydra arriving as convicts, while the first stream of Greeks arrived in the 1850s in search of gold. The numbers increased in the early twentieth century with mostly Greek males arriving, mainly from the islands. The majority of these Greeks worked in shops as shop-assistants or in restaurants as waiters, kitchen-hands and cooks, with some working in the cane industry in Queensland. Some managed to own their own cafés, fish-shops and milk-bars, a phenomenon that clearly describes the small-business life of the early Greeks on this continent.

Greek migration to Australia reached its peak between 1950 and 1970 with large numbers arriving by sea, in a struggle to escape a war-torn home-country following World War II. Faced with civil war, unemployment, persecution, political instability and economic insecurity and with the encouragement of the Greek government, thousands of Greek people were forced to emigrate. Later on, following the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot refugees were the last group of Greeks to arrive in Australia.

Greek life in Australia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century evolved around the established community organisations, with the Sydney Greek Orthodox Community being the

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229 General Secretarial for Greeks Abroad, 2010
first one to be formed (1899), followed with the Melbourne Greek Orthodox Community (1900). A significant number of locality groups, brotherhoods and associations were established over the years which supported and promoted the Greek language and culture in this part of the world.

With the large number of Greek persons in Australia who, over the years, established community language schools, the Greek language was maintained to a good level until the end of the twentieth century. Greek media and book publications have also played a positive role in maintaining and promoting the Greek language. However, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the future of the language remains uncertain as the new generations appear to be gradually moving away from their cultural roots, and as the degree to which the Greek language is spoken at home is decreasing, with the additional tendency of the state government policies promoting languages other than the Greek.

As a way of documenting their life experiences in Australia and in an effort to express their emotional world regarding the problems faced in their new land, Greek migrant writers have contributed to making of the Greek-Australian literature corpus. With oral poetry being the first type of literature to appear in the early 1900s, Greek literature developed through other forms of literature such as short stories, poems, autobiographies and travelogues. The first samples of written literature were the short stories of the Cypriot George Nicolaides in 1913, written in Greek and published in *Afstralia*, the very first Greek newspaper that circulated in Australia in the same year. Since then, several other writers emerged and published their works giving real examples of Greek community life in Australia.

Identity, being at the core of this research, is a multi-dimensional concept with a complex interpretation and an excellent tool for studying socio-cultural behaviours. Contemporary theorists support the idea of multiple identities, which, according to context, are based on national, social, cultural, class, familial, gender or sexual preference considerations. As a result, various identities may exist in the one and the same person, such as: a social, a cultural, an ethnic, a hyphenated identity, and so on. These interlinked identities are partly formed beyond the individual’s control, contributing to one’s overall personal identity. It is usually when a person’s personal beliefs and values are threatened that their identity is challenged and defended. Thus, identity is marked out by difference and otherness. Migrants in particular experience a constant shaping and reshaping of their identity as they move through the various stages of adjustment or adaptation in the new land and as they move through the life cycle.
To live in a land away from home can create a conversation in which different identities co-exist by being recognised, exchanged and mixed (Chambers, 1994).

Several factors impact on the shaping of identity of a person living in the diaspora. Ethnicity, a permanent characteristic bestowed by the country of origin, plays a significant role in this process. Regardless of whatever other characteristics one may adopt through life, ethnicity forms part of a person’s identity for ever. While ethnicity is a permanent characteristic derived from parentage and the country of origin, ethnic identity can change, adapt, or evolve over the course of one’s life. Ethnic identity is founded on the traditional values language, behaviour patterns, religious practices and social networks (Cahill & Ewen 1987). Fundamentally, the formation of ethnic identity is an evolving process, though one can reject one’s ethnic background.

The thesis has focused on the diasporic and transnational identities of people living in the diaspora and both of these concepts link to the contrasting terms ‘here - there’, ‘home - abroad’, belonging – not-belonging’, all of which imply ‘place’. Diasporic identity is a process that can develop over time and it varies from person to person. However, transnational identity is the degree to which an individual is connected to the place of origin through networks involving technological advances. These networks can be marked by patterns of communication or exchange of resources (Vertovec 2001) and, in a way, break down the boundaries (Fortier 1999).

An overview of Greek identity reveals that it is characterised by language, culture, science, technology and letters. This identity has evolved since antiquity, through the classical years and over the eras of the Roman and Byzantine Empires until the Greek Revolution of 1821 which marked the end of a 400 year period of the Ottoman Turkish occupation. It was after 1830 when the first Greek nation-state was established that the Modern Greek identity was born, as an exclusive sovereign identity.

This identity appears to directly relate to ‘language’ although language is not a sole criterion. Though a key characteristic, language differentiates between individuals’ ethnicity and ethnic identity. However, the current transnational and global trends influence, to a degree, the continuity and purity of a group’s original language, causing a number of other characteristics and linguistic terms to be adopted. Other factors influencing language are: bi-lingualism, bi-culturalism, inter-language borrowing, language loans and inter-marriage (Haugen 1950;
The language of Greek Australians has been influenced by these factors, as have the languages of other ethnic groups.

Greek identity, similarly to other ethnocultural identities, has been affected by several trends and conditions, such as globalisation and cross-border communication. Transnationalism, as a prominent academic concept, has emerged over the last decade, although its origin as a reality goes back much further, if we accept the evidence of the selected short stories dating back to 1913. A vehicle of connection of diasporic ethnic groups with the ancestral land, transnationalism is facilitated through the use of modern technologies. This allows migrants to conduct activities and maintain commitments that link them with significant others such as relatives, co-villagers, political comrades and fellow-country persons who dwell in the homeland or nation-states other than the ones in which the migrants themselves reside (Vertovec 2004, p. 971). Transnationalism, therefore, has had a defining impact on the formation of identities and on Greek identity as well. As a result, Greek diasporic identity has recently been transformed into a modern transnational identity, accommodating a combination of elements that define it as a multifaceted and shifting identity. The identity framework as applying to Greeks used for this thesis has been confirmed as essentially descriptive of Greek identity.

The exploration of identity through the study of literary texts, more specifically the short stories written by first- and second-generation Greek writers in Australia, has been an enlightening task and has provided insights into the writers’ personal lives and experiences.

**The stories and the revealed themes and issues**

Nine short stories were selected and analysed in which male and female characters depicted real people. The methodological approach used was structural, socio-cultural, and thematic. An identity model was devised and used in the analysis of the short stories which examined the portrayal of Greek identity and its characteristics. This model included seven ‘identity indicators’, namely: *place*, *language*, *socio-cultural elements*, *core values*, *religiosity*, *family formation* and *national symbols*.

The analysis section revealed several identities applying to Greeks in Australia throughout the twentieth century. The strongest ‘identity indicators’ have proven to be ‘place’ and ‘language’, followed by ‘socio-cultural elements’, ‘core values’ and ‘family formation’. The least appearing indicators are ‘national symbols’ and ‘religiosity’ (Table 6.1 shows the identity indicators as they appear in the texts).
The selected short stories are part of Greek diasporic literature and constitute a discourse of identity formation in diasporic and transnational contexts. They are a rich collection of migrant experiences documenting the life journeys of migrants as they are portrayed through the characters in the stories.

These short stories derive from the migrants’ stages of adaptation in the host-society and their cycle of movement between ‘here’ and ‘there’. They reflect perceptions and notions of the individual writers’ identity and consequently a community’s ideals and values. For example, issues such as ‘family connectedness’ and ‘community bond’ between its members can reveal concepts that are universal for all people, but with characteristics that identify specific groups. Georgantopoulos’ short story ‘The Stranger’ demonstrates clearly both of these views: The first one, ‘family bonds’, is shown through the description of the writer’s urge (through the main character) to visit the homeland in order to see his parents in the homeland before they die. This is shown so vividly through the disappointment this person feels when he eventually arrives there only to find that his parents are already dead. The second view, ‘community bond’, is highlighted through the main character’s personal understanding that his compatriots who are still living in the foreign land are the only people he feels close to during those moments when he is overtaken by feelings of alienation and strangeness even when he is in his homeland. This second point also has a universal meaning, as the other migrants the writer feels the connectedness with can be either Greeks of Australia, Greeks of the diaspora, or simply other migrants regardless of their ethnic background who are living away from their country of origin.

The ultimate wish for the persons returning to the homeland is to reconstruct the ‘self’ in order to feel they still ‘belong’. Thus, the driving force for return consists of the strong desire to belong, the search for a home as a means of identification, and the resolution to the tormenting struggle for reconciliation with the past.

The major themes presented in relation to the migrant experience revolved around the concepts of diaspora, homeland, exile, nation, belonging, culture, loneliness, homesickness, psychological encapsulation, and identity related outcomes such as marginalization, estrangement, alienation, and adaptation. In addition, issues relating to gender and class are essential tools in identifying social problems. All of these concepts are related to the actual or imaginative return to the ancestral homeland. Therefore, all of the aspects of a migrant’s life can overlap in both the homeland and the diaspora (or exile), with ‘home/place’ emphasizing
sometimes the homeland and sometimes the diaspora. In the analysis of the short stories, these concepts are represented through the devised ‘identity indicators’.

Alienation and negativity are common during the visits to the homeland. However, it has been evidenced that although denial and pessimism have had negative implications on Greek migrants they have also had a positive effect by strengthening their Greek identity. Negativity is due to the bitterness, disappointments, rejection by the homeland, loss of family and loved persons, nostalgia for the homeland, and failing to succeed with their dream of return.

The strengthening of identity is vividly shown in some of the short stories, such as the ‘Stranger’ by Georgantopoulos, ‘Telemachus’ by Andonis Fatseas, ‘O Sotiris o Kadenas’ by Rakis, and ‘Ithaca, So Far Away’ by Piperis. This strengthened identity is due to a number of factors: a) firstly, the intensity of nostalgia over time, which, in turn, generates feelings of homesickness and the urge for return, or guilt for not doing so because of economic or other reasons. Moreover, when the migrants do return, they are usually unable to stay because they already have a family back in the host country, including children and grandchildren. In addition, the loss of loved ones, the weakened relationships with other relatives, and generally, the lack of friends influence their initial decision to stay. Another reason for their inability to stay is that they have become accustomed to their ‘adopted’ new place of residence which by now they call ‘home’, with opportunities offered there, including better health systems and welfare. All these conditions create a complex network of diasporic and transnational identities which shape the nature of Greek migrants in the diaspora.

In Rakis’ story ‘O Sotiris o Kadenas’, the concept of identity strengthening is particularly emphasized. The main character’s identity is overshadowed by both expulsion and migration. This character is overwhelmed with feelings of homesickness about his occupied village in Cyprus. Yet, the connection with Cyprus is through his ancestral village and the associated memories that are generated, even though the main character is not able to visit this part of the island because of the ongoing occupation by the Turkish forces.

A migrant’s identity is also affected by the conditions which caused emigration and this differs from person to person, even for each of the members of any particular ethnic group. Thus, the reasons for migration are usually unpleasant, ranging from inter-ethnic or civil war situations, persecution, unemployment, economic hardship etc. Very few cases are related to family reunion, marriage, skilled employment, education purposes, and so on, and these have been occurring in the most recent period.
The male writers studied in this thesis deal with issues such as gambling (Nicolaides, Georgantopoulos, Piperis), loneliness, alienation (Georgantopoulos, Andonis Fatseas, Piperis), single men (Nicolaides, Georgantopoulos, Andonis Fatseas, Piperis), the confinement of female second-generation daughters within the traditional family structure (Andrew Fatseas, Katsaros), nostalgia, and the longing for return to the homeland (all of the writers). Reconciliation between first and second generations is a theme appearing in the most recent stories (Mousoura-Tsoukalas and Katsaros). This is in contrast to the early short story, ‘Secret Sacrifice’, where the second-generation female character is isolated and treated according to the stereotyped ideas of her parents.

‘Religiosity’ appears mainly in Galanis’ story ‘The Baptism’ where the characters in the story are strict followers of the Greek Orthodox tradition, ensuring the baptism of their children as Orthodox Christians, and in Andonis Fatseas’ ‘Telemachus’ where the main character is not prepared to give up either his ethnic or his religious identity. Religiosity is also indirectly evident in Mousoura-Tsoukala’s story ‘The Tractor’ with the female character declaring that “God is everywhere”, and therefore it is acceptable for a migrant to die in a land other than the ancestral one. The Cyprus issue and the Greek identity of the island are well discussed in Rakis’ story “Sotiris Kadenas” where the main character is able to connect with the happy past in his ancestral village through a series of memories.

While there were no female short-story writers known in the first half of the twentieth century, there appeared some during the Greek mass migration period and many more in the last decades of the century. The selected female writer (Mousoura-Tsoukala) is a representation of all the other female writers who emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, and her short story (The Tractor) was chosen for its wide range of themes, such as: the migration process of Greek families in the sixties and seventies; the month-long ocean journey on the Patris to Australia; the devastating stage of settlement and adaptation; initial housing problems; unfamiliarity of the local culture and policies; the odyssean dream of return; the striking of illness and death; bitterness; the irony of return followed by betrayal; acceptance; forgiveness; reconstruction of the past; inter-marriage between new-generation children and the optimistic future of the subsequent-generations; and finally, the acceptance of migrants to die in their adopted new land.

A summary of the main themes and issues emerging in the short stories is shown in Table 6.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT STORY</th>
<th>THEMES AND ISSUES RELATING TO MIGRANT IDENTITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **FIRST PERIOD 1901-1951** | The Early Greek Migrant Presence in Australia
Isolated Transplanted Identities |
| To Gramma tis Manas [The Letter to Mother] G. Nicolaides | gambling, isolation, loneliness, the protecting image of ‘mother’, symbol of mother |
| O Xenos [The Stranger] Th. Georgantopoulos | intense nostalgia, regret for staying away for too long, longing for return, disappointment upon return to the homeland, estrangement from society of origin, nostalgia for Australia while being in Greece, memories from WWII |
| Mystiki Thysia [Secret Sacrifice] Andrew Fatseas | gender problems, deprivation of young females to education, compliance of girls to family traditions, male independence, freedom of boys, strictness of parents, family business orientation |
| Ta Vaftisia [The Baptism] J. Galanis | religiousness, religion in a new context (Greek Orthodox priest visiting country towns to serve the Greeks, absence of priests in country towns), adherence to Greek Orthodox practices (baptism of children), naming of child after the priest, isolation of families from main Greek community, family celebrations |
| Tilemachos [Telemachus] Andonis Fatseas | intense homesickness, marginalisation, suicidal tendencies of migrants, defeated identity, loss of one’s job, unemployment, the never realised return to the homeland, the symbolical dimension of homeland (national anthem, army uniform), mental/psychiatric illness, depression |
| **SECOND PERIOD 1952 – 1977** | The Years of Greek Mass Immigration in Australia – Community Migrant Identities |
| O Sotiris o Kadenas [Sotiris Kadenas] B. Rakis | becoming a refugee and then a migrant, dual identity (Greek-Cypriot), longing for return, housing (living in small city apartments), occupation of Cyprus, desired freedom of Cyprus, connection with the happy past, Greekness of Cyprus |
| Poso Makria ine i Ithaki [Ithaca, So far away] N. Piperis | homesickness, mental/psychiatric illness, intense nostalgia for homeland, concept of Ithaca symbolising the homeland, regret, betrayal by homeland, men living as bachelors |
| **THIRD PERIOD 1978 – 2001** | From Twilight to New Dawn: 1978 – 2008 Shifting Transnational Identities |
| I Alpha ke i Veta [Alpha and Veta - The First and Second (Generations)] G. Katsaros | gender issues, feelings of inferiority in females, generation-gap, inter-marriage, mythological dimension of Greece, the glorious past of Greece, discovery of one’s cultural roots, the defining role of grandmother |
| To Trakter [The Tractor] D. Mousoura-Tsoukala | the long journey to Australia on the Patris ship, housing (desire to purchase own house, house mortgages, ignorance of language and bank policies), repatriation, rejection and betrayal by own people, living ‘here’ and ‘there’, acceptance of Australia as permanent home, inter-marriage, second-generation hopeful future |
A historical comparative approach reveals that the prevailing themes of the First Period (1901-1951) relate to gambling (The Letter to Mother), estrangement in the homeland and remorse for delaying the journey of return (The Stranger), the young daughter’s sacrifice and loyalty in supporting her parents’ family traditions and practices and also working for their family business (Secret Sacrifice), the strong Orthodox faith of Greeks living in the countryside (The Baptism), and finally, the non-negotiated pure Greek identity (Telemachus).

The themes appearing in the Second Period (1952-1977) deal with the strong bond with the homeland. The ancestral village in Cyprus (O Sotiris o Kadenas) and the symbolical representation of Greece as Ithaca (Ithaca, So far away) are multidimensional images, pre-occupying the main characters’ minds. Mental illness in male migrants is also a significant happening (Ithaca, So far away).

The common themes appearing in the Third Period (1978-2001) are: the hopeful plans to return home, the striking of cancer disease (breast cancer) in female migrants, the consequent unrealised journey of return accompanied with plans to share residency ‘here’ and ‘there’, and inter-marriage among second-generation children (The Tractor). In ‘Alpha and Veta’ (First and Second Generations), the main theme is the clash between first and second generations, the persistent attitudes of parents towards keeping their children close to their Greek Orthodox beliefs and ideals, and finally inter-marriage, denial and non-acceptance of it initially and gradual acceptance by parents towards the end of their life. Greek identity is strongly portrayed through the birth of a grandchild who is taught to speak Greek and be proud to be Greek.

**Final Remarks**

Several factors have impacted on the nature of Greek ethnic identity suggesting a transformation of the original and rigid Greek identity which was confronted by the once mono-ethnic local identity. It seems that the findings of earlier studies that “the moulding of ethnic identity” being seen in terms of ‘them’ and ‘us’, and confined to a rather narrow interpretation, in that “identity [was] not moving towards a broader idea of the Australian identity nor related to a global identity” (Cahill & Ewen 1987, p. 24), now prove that diasporic identity, with the aid of transnationalism, is now moving slowly and steadily towards the mainstream Australian identity and also towards a global identity.
APPENDIX 1: The Various Greek Concentrations in the Five Continents of the Diaspora

Basic break down of the Greek diaspora in Oceania

Australia 700, 000
New Zealand 10, 000
Papua New Guinea 70
TOTAL 710, 070

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>3,402,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>710,070</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>79,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>1,182,973</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>139,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5,514,403</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General Secretariat of Greeks Abroad, 2008
APPENDIX 2: The Typology of Migration

Greece as a Homeland
(source of migrants)

Australia as a Host Country
(receiver of migrants)

- Urban villagers
- Pluralists
- Assimilated
- Transilient
- Alienated/defeated

Goldlust & Richmond (1974)
APPENDIX 3: Diasporic and Transnational Identities

The Greek-Australian diasporic and transnational identity

A representation of the Greek-Australian identity, acting as process and content, and its relationship with Greece (homeland), Australia (host society) and Greek diasporic/transnational communities across the world.
APPENDIX 4: Greek Ethnic Identity

The Greek-Australian identity functioning as ‘process’ and ‘content’

- Ethnic psychological captivity
- Ethnic encapsulation
- Ethnic identity clarification
- Pluralist by ethnicity
- Multi-Ethnicity & reflective nationalism
- Globalism & global competency

Banks, J. (1982)

- Defence of ethnic identity
- Family & Social relations
- Community
- Positive emotional involvement
- Religion
- Language
- Identification with the receiving society
- Perception of discrimination
- Physical characteristics
- Citizenship
- Food
- Sport or recreation
- Customs

APPENDIX 5: Greek Diasporic Identity

Interaction between Greece as homeland and the diasporic community in a particular country (such as Australia) or countries. The Greek ethnic communities function as diasporic communities.

The Greek diasporic identity sways between a particular diasporic community and the homeland.
APPENDIX 6: Greek Transnational Identity

Interaction between the Greek diaspora in Australia with Greece and other countries of the Greek Diaspora.

The Greek transnational identity oscillates between these three poles.
APPENDIX 7: Global Greek Identity

A representation of the interaction between Greece, Greek Diaspora in Australia, Greek Diaspora in other Countries, and the world as a Global Community.

The Greek global identity endures the contextual complexities and survives through balancing between Greece as homeland, Australia as host country, other parts of Greek diaspora, and the world as a whole.
APPENDIX 8: Information about the Short Stories

The information below is presented in the order in which the short stories are analysed in Chapter 5. It includes the title of the short story, its English translation, the name of the writer and the source.

1. To Grammatikis Manas [The Letter to Mother] by George Nicolaides
   (Kanarakis 2003b, pp.196-198)

2. O Xenos [The Stranger] by Theodoros Georgantopoulos (Theo Georgeson)

3. Mystiki Thysia [Secret Sacrifice] by Anargyros (Andrew) Fatseas
   (“Krikos”, Year 8, No. 79-80, 1957, pp. 115-117; Kanarakis 1985 and 1991²)

4. Ta Vafitisia [The Baptism] by James (Dimitris) Galanis
   (Kanarakis 1985 and 1991², originally published in “Oikogenia”, year 3, No. 27, 1953, p.43)

5. Tilemachos [Telemachus] by Andonis Fatseas
   (“Krikos”, Year 8, No. 79-80, 1957, pp. 120-122; Kanarakis 1985 and 1991²)

6. O Sotiris o Kadenas [Sotiris Kadenas] by Babis Rakis
   (“Antipodes”, Year 4, No. 8, 1978, pp.11-12)

7. Poso Makria ine I Ithaki [Ithaca, So far away] by Nikos Piperis

8. I Alpha ke i Vita [Alpha and Vita] by George Katsaros

9. To Trakter [The Tractor] by Dionysia Mousoura-Tsoukala
APPENDIX 9: Biographical Notes about the Writers

First Period 1901 – 1951: The early Greek Migrant Presence in Australia - Transplanted Identities

1. Nicolaides George (1891 – 1966)

George Nicolaides was born in 1891 in the village of Livadia in the province of Larnaca in Cyprus. One of three boys, Nicolaides was born into a poor family and experienced the hardships of poverty and hard work early in his life. At the age of fifteen he was forced to leave school and find a job as his parents were unable to provide a living for him and his brothers. He turned to the sea and in 1906 he was employed on a ship. A year later he became an assistant cabin steward on the famous ship _Salamis_ and in 1908 he disembarked in Alexandria where he sought a new life on the land this time. There he worked for a tobacco merchant and at the same time became involved in the vibrant Greek local Community and its intellectual world. In 1911 Nicolaides visited Athens, thus accomplishing his dream to see the glorious city with his own eyes. Soon after he returned to Alexandria he moved to the town of Aswan in the south-eastern part of Egypt where he found a better paid job. There he worked on a project at the Aswan Dam, the world’s biggest dam at the time and established relationships with other Greeks who lived there.

Nicolaides arrived in Melbourne on the 5th of June 1913 after two of the families he had met in Aswan had already migrated and settled there. Soon after arriving in Melbourne he met Efstratios Venlis, the founder of the Greek press in Australia. Venlis had launched the first ever Greek-language newspaper in Australia by the name _Afstralia_ incidentally one day after Nicolaides’ arrival in the country.\(^{231}\)

Only about a year later, in 1914, Nicolaides moved to Adelaide where he lived for the rest of his life. In this city, he initially worked for his friend Sigalas’ sweet factory for a while but soon he started publishing a Greek newspaper called _Oceanis_ (Ocean-Nymph) and thus he became the founder of the Greek press in South Australia. However, this newspaper was discontinued by mid 1915, only to start circulating again in Sydney where Nicolaides had transferred it and co-owned it with another Greek, Nikolaos Yiannikos. Thus, he established the first Greek newspaper in New South Wales as well. This paper was circulated throughout Australia and New Zealand but it ceased publication after about a year. When the newspaper was transferred to Sydney Nicolaides remained in Adelaide where he continued to work at the

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candy factory, even after *Oceanis* was closed. In fact, he worked at the candy Factory Café until 1929. After that he decided to open his own business and he bought a milk-bar in the centre of Adelaide. However, Nicolaides went bankrupt and closed business after a few months because Australia, like the rest of the world, was hit by the Great Depression which had devastating effects on the country’s economy. After that, he changed several jobs, thus he became a salesman for the same candy factory where he worked before and later he built his own sweets factory at his house. At the same time he took over an ice-cream and candy bar and in 1939 he opened another shop which was unsuccessful again. So, he went back to the first job he had at Sigalas’ candy factory where he stayed until 1946 when he decided to move to Sydney with his wife and two of his daughters. In Sydney he opened different businesses such as a candy shop and a few milk-bars at foreshore suburbs where he made and sold sweets. On his retirement in 1954 Nicolaides and his wife Margarita returned to live in Adelaide and soon after the two of them went on an extended world trip. In 1966 Nicolaides passed away and was buried in Adelaide.

Nicolaides wrote articles and short-stories. Seven of his short-stories were published between July 1913 and April 1914 in *Afstralis*, the first ever Greek newspaper of Australia that was established by Efstratios Venlis in 1913 in Melbourne. The research conducted by George Kanarakis on the life and contribution of George Nicolaides to Greek literature and Greek Press in Australia has brought to life these magnificent works (Kanarakis, 2003b). It is important to mention the titles of these seven short-stories as they, themselves, reveal a glimpse of the kind of life or issues that persisted at the time. These titles are the following: “To Aeroplano - The Aeroplane”, “Ito Oneiro - It was a Dream”, “To Gramma tis Manas, - The Letter to Mother”, “Anef Titlou, I Ekini – Without Title, or She”, “I Agapi tis Ftohias – The love of the Poor Woman”, “Eikon ek tou Psistikou, - Picture from Real Life” and “Hartopaiktis - The Gambler”.232

The short-story titled ‘The Aeroplane’ constitutes the first literary piece written in Australia. Nicolaides was the first person of Greek background to publish a literary piece in the Greek language in this country and this first story appeared in the very first Greek newspaper *Afstralia* which started circulating only a month before Nicolaides stepped foot in Australia. Nicolaides’ contribution was not only of literary value but he also contributed to the presence of the Greek press in Australia by publishing the newspaper *Oceanis*, the second newspaper

in Australia, the first in Adelaide and the first in N.S.W. Another contribution was the publishing of the first ever Greek book, *Pragmateia peri ithikis* by Dimitrios Sigalos, published through the newspaper he had founded *Oceanis*. Through the same newspaper, after it moved to Sydney, he published the first Greek magazine, *Parthenon* in New South Wales. In addition, he is the founder of the first community organisation in South Australia, the *Panhellenic Philantropic Association of South Australia* ‘*Omonoia*’. Nicolaides’s intellectual capability helped make significant contributions to Hellenism in Australia through a wide range of activities of literary, publishing and community service nature (Kanarakis 2003b).

Unpublished book: Nicolaides included his short stories and articles in a hand-written manuscript, titled “*Diigimata [Short Stories]*”, in 1923 which he gave to his friend Letho Vidali in Adelaide (Kanarakis 2003b, p.69).


Theodoros Georgantopoulos was born in Acrata, Achaia on August 6th, 1905. He completed primary school in his village and his first formal Scholarchio in Aegio. In 1920 he emigrated to the USA with his father and younger brother and in 1923 he and his brother moved to Australia, a decision made by their uncle. Initially he worked in his uncle’s shop in Sydney and later he moved to Junee where he worked until 1928. In the meantime he brought to Australia three of his remaining four brothers and opened a shop in Aria Park, which ran between 1928 and 1936 and in Dubbo in 1936. In 1942 he returned and settled in Sydney where he opened the Liberty Inn in Pitt Street and built a successful business career. He was always deeply attracted to literature, both English and Greek, and therefore published poetry (firstly in 1927), prose and drama. His writings appeared in Greece and Australia, such as in *Ethniko Vema, Elliniki Foni, Efimerida Syllogou Athinaion, Helmos* (Athens), *Truth, Sydney Morning Herald and Chronicle* (Ariah Park) and the periodical *Krikos* (London). He was in Greece in 1969 as a special correspondent of *Ethniko Vema* and *Panellinios Kirykas*.

His first literary works were poems which he published in the Greek-language newspaper *Panellinios Kirykas* in 1927.

Books published:
Poetry: *Nostalgia* in Athens in 1965 (including, apart from his own poems, translations of Shakespeare, Lord Byron and Dante).
He translated poetry from English to Greek by Shakespeare, Lord Byron and Rossetti, and drama by Arthur Miller.

Unpublished works:
Theatre/plays: A View from the Bridge, Jackpot, and The Beatle.
Poetry: Reflections
Narratives: Greeks Abroad

3. Fatseas Anargyros (Andrew) (1907 - ?)

Anargyros Fatseas was born on 19th November 1907 in the village of Potamos, Kythera. His formal education involved four years at elementary school and four years at Scholarheio. He lived in Kythera until 1924 when he migrated to Australia, supported by his brother who was already there. Initially he worked in his brother’s café at Inverell in the northern New South Wales and for another six years in other Greek cafes in rural towns of NSW (1924-1929) and in Sydney (1930). From 1930 to 1935 he worked in Newtown (an inner city suburb) at milk-bars and cafes. In 1935 he started working at the newspaper Ethniko Vema, in the editorial department and stayed there for approximately eight years.

In 1944 Fatseas was appointed by the education division of the Australian army as a teacher of English at the Ascot Military Base in Sydney for the Greeks who were serving in the army. That same year he was hired by the Greek Community of Sydney and NSW as a Greek teacher and after a year he was appointed as the school principal. Between 1954 and 1980 he worked as a Greek interpreter and translator at the NSW courts. Since 1955 he had been teaching English by correspondence to newly arrived immigrants for the Department of Education in NSW. His first literary writings appeared in Panellinios Kirykas in 1927. He wrote in both the English and Greek languages. His writings include poetry, feature articles on issues of immigration, short stories, plays, essays, books and theatre reviews and educational material in newspapers such as Panellinios Kirykas, Ethniko Vema, Efimerida Syllogou Athinaion, Sydney Morning Herarld, The Sun, The Australian, Daily Telegraph and Sunday Sun, as well as in periodicals and magazines such as Krikos (London), Antipodes, Ikoyenia, Australian Women’s Weekly and Woman’s Day.

Published works:
Drama - *Tonia Mantouri*, which was serialized in *Ikoyenia* (1957-1958). This work concerns the life of a Greek immigrant woman and the author stigmatizes the Greek customs of matchmaking and dowry.

Some of Fatsea’s work remains unpublished. Unfortunately, there are no research findings on his death.


He was born on 13th April 1910 in New South Wales in Australia of Kytherian parents. His family decided to return to Kythera early in 1914 just before the outbreak of the First World War, with the purpose of settling permanently in their village of Aroniadika. There, James finished primary school at the *scholarhio* of Kythera (1915-21). However, the war (1914-18) caused hardship and serious financial problems to the family and in 1924 James and his father returned to Australia where they settled in Macksville, N.S.W. and opened a milk-bar. James also managed to attend high school for two to three years but in 1935 he moved to Sydney after his father died and the family business was sold. There he worked for his relatives, the Andronicus brothers, as an agent for their coffee company for some time and later he was employed as an interpreter on the passenger ships for the Pacific & Orient Company on the Europe-Australia line. In 1941 he joined the Australian army and served in New Guinea and the Pacific islands. In 1943 he was transferred to Bathurst and soon after to Wollongong. After finishing his service he settled in Newcastle (1946), N.S.W. where he and his brothers established a business of wholesale food supply and Greek imports. In 1959 he moved to Sydney where he started a similar business and worked in it until the end of his life.

His first writings, mainly sports reports and travelogues, appeared in 1933 in the newspaper *Nambucca and Bellinger News* of Macksville, New South Wales. His first literary pieces were written in 1941 when he served as a soldier in New Guinea, with his first collection of short stories *North of Atabrine Line* written in the English language. He came into friendship with writer Frank Hardy with whom he organised an army writers’ club. Many of his literary works written in New Guinea and Bathurst appeared in the journal *Army* which he published in New Guinea with Hardy. His other works were published in the Greek and English languages in Greek and Australian newspapers, journals and periodicals and also in New Zealand. Some of the venues for his works were: *Ethniko Vema, Panellinios Kirykas, Afstarloellin, Neos Kosmos, the Expres, Northern Star, the Tribune, Sydney Morning Herald, the Mercury, Argus, national Advocate, Krikos* (London), *Pertinent, Meanjin, The Realist, Better Business, Newsview*, (Auckland) and others. Most of his literary writings were written
in the English language which he mastered well although his education in English was minimal. Some were written in Greek. His published works included essays, articles, short stories, travelogues, critiques, book reviews and translations. The main themes of his short stories and journals are around Greek immigrant life and the social problems of Greeks in Australia or the political conditions in Greece. Galanis died on 26th June 1970.

Short story collections: *North of the Atabrine Line* and *Crosses Without Names and Other Stories* (unpublished).

5. **Fatseas Andonis (1909 – 1961)**

He was born in 1909 in Smyrna in Asia Minor where he finished elementary school. He moved to Athens with his family in 1922 as refugees after the Asia Minor catastrophe and studied at a French lyceum for four years. Following his military service he worked as an accountant until 1946 when he moved with his wife to Egypt and lived there for a year. In 1947 he emigrated to Australia and settled in Brisbane. Soon after, he was offered a position at the Greek newspaper *To Ethniko Vima* in Sydney, where he worked as a member of the editorial staff for twelve months, after which he decided to return to Brisbane. There, he worked in different posts such as managing a café that he set up himself, as a clerk for the Brisbane City Council, later on for another company as a clerk, and then he opened a delicatessen in partnership.

His literary writings include poems, short stories, translations, newspaper articles and book reviews. He published them in the newspapers *To Ethniko Vima* and *Panellinios Kirykas* and in the periodical *Krikos* (London). He also edited a book and translated several works by famous writers from English to Greek and from Greek to English, including Lord Byron’s poem ‘On this Day I complete my Thirty-sixth Year’ (*Panellinios Kirykas*, 25 March 1954). There are no publications in book format. He died relatively young on 9th January, 1961.

**Second Period 1952 - 1977: The Greek Mass Immigration in Australia - Migrant Identities**

6. **Rakis Babis (1932 - )**

Babis Rakis was born in Alexandria in Egypt, on May 5th, 1932 of Cypriot origin. He completed his studies at Averofion High School in 1951 after which he went to Cyprus (1953) where he began a career in journalism in 1955, with a number of different newspapers. Between 1960 and 1972 he worked for the radio network of Cyprus writing feature articles
and interviews. He migrated to Australia with his family in 1975 and settled in Sydney. From that date until 1981 he worked as a journalist at the newspaper *Panellinios Kirykas*, composing political articles and commentaries. From 1981 to 1982 he worked for the newspaper *Ethniko Vema* after which he joined the Greek Department of the Sydney Ethnic Radio 2EA.

His works in literature were mostly in the form of short stories and appeared in various journals in Cyprus (*Fakos, Nea Epohi*), and in the Australian newspapers *Panellinios Kirykas*, and *Nea Patrida* and the periodicals *Antipodes*, *Ellinis*, and *Tachydromos*.

Published books:


7. **Piperis Nikos (1938 -)**

Nikos Piperis was born on February 2nd, 1938 in Karnezeika Nafplion, Greece. He completed high school there and a year later, in 1956, he migrated to Melbourne, Australia. He initially worked as a factory worker and in 1964 he obtained a degree from RMIT University in Engineering. He then worked in the military aeronautics industry for a number of years and in 1973 returned to Greece with his family with the desire to stay permanently. However, a year later he returned to Melbourne and was employed in the military guns industry until 1993. He started writing in his adolescence and still writes poetry and prose. His first literary composition (a poem) to be published was in 1955 in the Nafplion newspaper *Syntagma*, and his first short story in 1956 in *Argonafplia*. Some of his works that were written in Australia were published in the newspapers *Pyrsos* and *Neos Kosmos* and the periodicals *Ikogeneia* and *Antipodes*. The themes of his writings evolve around the deserted Greek village, Greek nature, the Greek migrant experience and the Odyssean dream of return. A range of diasporic and transnational identities are found in Piperis’ works through the description of real people who experience migrant life in its family, employment and community aspects. These identities, despite the many problems encountered in the foreign land, persist in the idea of return; however, the fact that the homeland has partly betrayed them causes uncertainties as to the possibility of return being actualized.

Piperis is married to an Anglo-Australian, and has two children.
Books published:
Short story: *Edo ki ekei* [Here and There], Melbourne: Ekdoseis Tsonis, 2002.

**Third Period 1978 - 2001: From Twilight to New Dawn – Shifting Identities**

8. **Katsaros George (1937 - )**

George Katsaros was born in Greece in 1937 and studied at the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens. He migrated to Australia in 1968 with his family. During the first two years he worked as a labourer and then as a businessman until 1976. At the same time he taught Greek in community and private schools. After receiving a Diploma in Education from La Trobe University he worked as an educator at Victorian secondary schools and later at the correspondence school in Victoria, where for the first time he introduced the study of Modern Greek composing the study material by correspondence. He remained at this post until his retirement in 1999. Katsaros is married and a father of two children.

His literary writings include poems, short stories and theatrical plays, some of which appeared in literary journals in Melbourne. His themes reveal a range of diasporic and transnational identities including both the first- and the second-generation Greek background migrants. The emphasis on the new-generation persons is particularly powerful and rich, focusing on new identities that emerge through youth issues, parent-children conflicts, and intermarriage situations.

Books published:
Travelogue: *O Megalos Minas* [The Big Month], 2001.
Religious Study: *Ean mi tis Gennithei Anothen* [When Someone is Born from Above], 2008.

9. **Mousoura-Tsoukala Dionysia (1940 - )**

Dionysia Mousoura-Tsoukala was born in 1940 on the island of Zakynthos where she completed high school. The daughter of a priest, Dionysia grew up in an environment of
traditional family, social, and religious values and beliefs. She migrated to Melbourne in 1967 with her husband and two children. She studied Interpreting and Translating at RMIT University and she still works in this field. She is also a Community Health Educator for the Cancer Council of Victoria. For many years she taught Greek at Greek community schools. She writes poetry and prose and many of her works have been published in literary periodicals and anthologies in Australia, Greece and America. Mousoura-Tsoukala is married and has two children.

Mousoura-Tsoukala’s short stories mirror a world where Greekness is evident in both its localized and diasporic aspects. Most of these stories are characterised by a realistic description of family situations within a multicultural environment in which the characters attempt to find the real sense of their identity, maintaining a close link to Greek family customs and traditions. Her themes evolve around community life in Australia, especially the area of desolation and segregation of first-generation migrants who grow old away from their homeland, many of whom end up in nursing or psychiatric centres. She also deals with life in Greece, particularly Zakynthos, her birth-place. There is a strong sense of transnationalism in Mousoura-Tsoukala’s works as her characters interact constantly with the homeland through memory, nostalgia and sometimes visiting. Life in Greece is usually the one left behind before the writer’s emigration. A strong sense of humour is also evident in many of her works, an attribute that softens the severity of the problems faced by the characters in her stories.

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